

CPO 6757/EUS 6930

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Course description

Since its inception the European Union (and its predecessors the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and the European Community) has been referred to in the literature most often as *sui generis*. Use of this term to describe the EU implies that it is in a class by itself, and thus not an appropriate topic for the approaches and/or tools of comparative political analysis. This course is designed to question this assumption by explicitly evaluating the decision-making, policy making processes, and political character of the EU in an explicitly comparative context.

This course is intended to serve as both an introduction to the European Union (EU), including its basic history and core institutions, as well as a comparative analysis of the character of the EU as a political system (no previous knowledge of the EU is required, though it will be helpful). The first part of the course serves as a general introduction to the both the history and institutions of the EU, the second part examines political institutions (in general and of the EU more in depth) from a comparative perspective, and the third part focuses on politics and policy making – this includes system characteristics (democracy, representation, etc.) as well as more specific aspects of policy making (agenda setting, decision making). Throughout the course students are encouraged to utilize their own expertise to bring into the analysis other political systems for the purposes of comparison. The course is conceptualized as a true seminar, particularly during the 2nd and 3rd parts of the course. To this end maximal engagement in discussions is expected of all students. With the exceptions of introductory section formal lectures and presentations by the professor will be minimal.

Assignments and Grading

- **Class participation (10%)**
Participation requires attendance, but also active engagement in class discussions, demonstration of completion of reading assignments and ability to initiate/lead discussion.
- **Discussion leader (10% each, 2 total = 20%)**
Each student will provide discussion questions to the class in advance and lead discussion of the readings twice, *once in Part 2 and once in Part 3 of the class*.
- **Response papers (10% each, 4 total = 40%)**
~750-1250-word papers that engage with the readings to critically assess the EU as a political system in a comparative context. *2 must come from Part 2 & 2 Part 3 of the class*.
- **Final paper (30%)**
The final paper should investigate some aspect of the European Union in a comparative framework/context – either in the abstract (theoretical) or against specific cases. Paper topics will be discussed with (and must be approved by) professor in the 3rd and 4th week of class and regular progress on papers will be demonstrated throughout the semester as noted in syllabus (topic, abstracts, outlines, in-class discussions, etc.).

Grading Scale

94% - 100% = A

90% - 93% = A-

87% - 89% = B+

84% - 86% = B

80% - 83% = B-

77% - 79% = C+

74% - 76% = C

70% - 73% = C-

67% - 69% = D+

64% - 66% = D

60% - 63% = D-

< 60% = F

Required Books & Materials

1. Hix, Simon and Bjørn Høyland (2022), The Political System of the European Union (4th Edition) ISBN: 978-1-3503-2547-0 **note that older editions are not acceptable.*
2. Lelieveldt, Herman and Sebastiaan Princen (2023), The Politics of the European Union (3rd Edition) ISBN: 978-1-009-31834-1 **note that older editions are not acceptable.*
3. Various articles and book chapters assigned below in detailed syllabus. These will be available online or within Canvas files as needed.

Attendance

Note that class attendance and active participation is required for this course and constitutes 10% of your grade. The professor will randomly circulate an attendance sheet, provide insider information for exams and otherwise incentivize regular attendance. Repeated absences will unquestionably affect your performance on exams since they will be based on class lectures as well as readings. Lecture notes and other related course materials discussed or distributed during class will NOT be posted online or otherwise distributed (except in the case of an *excused* absence). Please note that an unexcused absence on the date you are scheduled to lead discussion will result in a zero for that assignment.

According to the Office of the University Registrar, “acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused.”

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty, including plagiarism (of self or others) and any unapproved assistance with course assignments (including, but not limited to use of generative AI), will not be tolerated. Any student engaging in such activities will be dealt with in accordance with university policy. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism, and what the university policies are. If you have doubts, I am happy to discuss with you.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this class, you should contact the Dean of Students Office so that special arrangements can be made to accommodate you (<https://disability.ufl.edu>). It is your responsibility to do so at the beginning of the semester and to communicate directly with the professor during the first week of classes (or as soon as the disability occurs).

Please Note:

- *University and departmental policy on cheating/plagiarism apply (just do not do it).*
- *Incompletes are provided only in extreme circumstances (per university policy)*
- *Professor reserves the right to change syllabus as necessary.*

PART I - INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (Jan. 11): What is the European Union? International organization, post-Westphalian state or other?

Topics

- General introduction to the course
- Introduction to core concepts: International organization, Supranational political system, (post) Westphalian state, or Empire?
- Basic intro to institutions and structures

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 3, pp. 46-72
2. Hix and Høyland, The Political System of the EU, Introduction pp. 1-22
3. Marks, Gary, (2012) Europe and Its Empires: From Rome to the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50. Number 1. pp. 1–20

Week 2 (Jan. 18): How did we get here? The History of the European Union

Topics

- The origins of the EU (motivating factors)
- The early years – from Council of Europe, to ECSC to EEC
- The first crises and responses – de Gaulle, Eurosclerosis and the great leap forward
- The boom years and good times – from the single European Act to Nice and from 9 to 15 member states
- The post-Soviet years – widening versus deepening, the road to Lisbon and an EU of 28
- The current context – from crisis to crisis, the EU today

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 1, pp. 3-27
2. Leucht, B., Katja Seidel and Laurent Warlouzet, Eds. (2023), Chapters 1-4, pp. 7-83 Reinventing Europe – The History of the EU 1945 to the Present, Bloomsbury Publishers, 2023

Week 3 (Jan. 25): Theories of Integration: From Neofunctionalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism to Post-functionalism and New Intergovernmentalism

Topics

- The early approaches – Neofunctionalism and federalism
- The “realist interlude” – (Liberal) Intergovernmentalism and IR approaches
- The political shift – Supranationalism, multi-level governance and the political system approach
- Integration in crisis – post-functionalism and new intergovernmentalism

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 2, pp. 28-45

2. Pierson, P. (1996). The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2), 123–163.
3. Lefkofridid, Z. and P. Schmitter (2020) “Neofunctionalism in the Decade of Crises” Chapter 6 in Brack, N., & Gürkan, S. (Eds.) Theorising the Crises of the European Union Routledge.
4. Hooghe, Liesbet & Gary Marks (2019) Grand theories of European integration in the twenty-first century, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8
5. Jones, E. D. Kelemen, and S. Meunier (2021) “Failing Forward? Crises and Patterns of European Integration” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1519-1536
6. Rauh, C (2020) “Between neo-functionalist optimism and post functionalist pessimism: Integrating politicization into integration theory,” Chapter 7 in Theorising the Crises of the European Union, Nathalie Brack and Seda Gürkan (Eds), Taylor and Francis
7. Hodson, Dermot & Uwe Puetter (2019) The European Union in disequilibrium: new intergovernmentalism, postfunctionalism and integration theory in the post-Maastricht period, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8, 1153-117.

PART II: POLITICAL SYSTEMS & INSTITUTIONS

Week 4 (Feb. 1): The Executive Branch

Topics

- Defining the executive branch
- Evolution and roles and powers of the European Commission
- Evolution, roles and powers of the European Council
- Understanding the changing character of the EU’s dual executive
- **PAPER TOPIC /INITIAL PUZZLE QUESTION DUE**

Readings

1. Hix and Høyland The Political System of the EU, Introduction Chapter 2, pp. 25-56.
2. Moe, T., & Caldwell, M. (1994). The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government: A Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 150 (1), 171-195.
3. Tsebelis, G. (1995). Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multi-cameralism and Multipartyism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(3), 289-325.
4. Bach, Tobias, and Kai Wegrich, (2020) 'Politicians and Bureaucrats in Executive Government', Chapter 26, pp. 525-546 in Rudy B. Andeweg, and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Executives*, Oxford University Press.
5. Murlon-Druol, Emmanuel (2010), Filling the EEC leadership vacuum? The creation of the European Council in 1974 *Cold War History*, 10:3, 315-339.
6. Beach D. & Sandrino Smeets (2020) New Institutional Leadership – how the new European Council-dominated crisis governance paradoxically strengthened the role of EU institutions, *Journal of European Integration*, 42:6, 837-854.
7. Wonka, A. (2008). Decision-making dynamics in the European Commission: Partisan, national or sectoral? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15, 1145-1163.

8. Nugent, Neill & Mark Rhinard (2019) The ‘political’ roles of the European Commission, *Journal of European Integration*, 41:2, 203-220.

Week 5 (Feb. 8): The Legislative Branch

Topics

- The role of the legislative branch
- Legislative typologies
- Evolution, roles and powers of the European Parliament
- Evolution, roles and powers of the Council of the European Union
- The evolution of bicameralism in the EU

Readings

1. Hix and Høyland *The Political System of the EU*, Introduction Chapter 3, pp. 57-88.
2. Kreppel, Amie (2014) “Legislatures” Chapter 22 in *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Kaare Strom and Shane Martin Editors, Oxford University Press.
3. Griglio, E. and N. Lupo (2023) “The Administration of Bicameral Parliaments,” Chapter 4 in *The Routledge Handbook of Parliamentary Administrations*, T. Christiansen, E. Griglio and N. Lupo Eds., Routledge.
4. Andreas Warntjen (2010) Between bargaining and deliberation: decision-making in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:5, 665-679.
5. Kantola, J., and Miller, C. (2021) Party Politics and Radical Right Populism in the European Parliament: Analysing Political Groups as Democratic Actors. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 59: 782–801.
6. Novak, S. & Maarten Hillebrandt (2020) Analysing the trade-off between transparency and efficiency in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:1, 141-159.
7. Hobolt, Sara B. and Christopher Wratil (2020) Contestation and responsiveness in EU Council deliberations, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:3, 362-381.
8. Brack, N & O. Costa (2018) Democracy in parliament vs. democracy through parliament? Defining the rules of the game in the European Parliament, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 24:1, 51-71

Week 6 (Feb. 15): The Judicial Branch

Topics

- The political role of the judiciary
- Forms of high courts
- Evolution, roles and powers of the European Court of Justice
- The creation of the constitutional foundations of the EU
- The impact of the ECJ

Readings

1. Hix and Høyland *The Political System of the EU*, Introduction Chapter 4, pp. 89-120.
2. Dietze, Gottfried (1956) Constitutional Courts in Europe, *Dickson Law Review*, 313-325.
3. Stone, A. (1990), The Birth and Development of Abstract Review: Constitutional Courts and Policymaking in Western Europe. *Policy Studies Journal*, 19: 81-95.

4. Shapiro, M., & Stone, A. (1994). The new constitutional politics of Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 26(4), 397.
5. Weiler, H.H., J. (1994). A Quiet Revolution: The European Court of Justice and its Interlocutors. *Comparative Political Studies*, 26(4), 510–534.
6. Blauberger, Michael & Susanne K. Schmidt (2017) The European Court of Justice and its political impact, *West European Politics*, 40:4, 907-918.
7. Ceruti, Alejandro Pizarroso. (2019). The European Court of Justice: Legal interpretation and the dynamics of European integration. *Columbia Journal of European Law*, 25(2), 253-282.
8. Pavone, T. And Kelemen, R.D. (2019) The Evolving Judicial Politics of European Integration: The European Court of Justice and National Courts Revisited, *European Law Journal*, 25:4, 352-273.

Week 7 (Feb. 22): Interinstitutional Relations

Topics

- Dynamic of executive-legislative relations
- The impact of bicameralism
- Inter-institutional oversight
- **PUZZLE QUESTIONS/HYPOTHESES DUE**

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 4, pp. 73-100
2. King, A. (1976). Modes of Executive-Legislative Relations: Great Britain, France, and West Germany. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1(1), 11-36.
3. Saiegh, S. M. (2015). Executive-legislative relations. In Routledge handbook of comparative political institutions pp. 162-180. Routledge.
4. Cheibub, J. A., and F. Limongi (2010), From Conflict to Coordination: Perspectives on the Study of Executive–Legislative Relations, in: *Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos Legislativos*, 1, 1, 38–53.
5. Laloux, Thomas and Tom Delreux (2021) The origins of EU legislation: agenda-setting, intra-institutional decision-making or interinstitutional negotiations? *West European Politics*, 44:7, 1555-1576.
6. Rosén, Guri and Anne Elizabeth Stie “Balancing seclusion and inclusion: EU trilogues and democratic accountability,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29:3,383-404, 2022
7. Kreppel, A. (2018) Bicameralism and the balance of power in EU legislative politics, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 24:1, 11-33
8. Sergio Fabbrini & Uwe Puetter (2016) Integration without supranationalisation: studying the lead roles of the European Council and the Council in post-Lisbon EU politics, *Journal of European Integration*, 38:5,481-495.

Week 8 (Feb. 29): Types of Political Systems

Topics

- States versus political systems
- Confederal, federal and unitary political systems
- The EU as empire

Readings

1. Hay, C. and M. Lister (2006) “Theories of the State” pp.1-20 in Hay, Lister and Marsh (Eds.), The State: Theories and issues, Palgrave Press.
2. Sorenson, G. (2006) “The Transformation of the State” pp.190-208 in Hay, Lister and Marsh (Eds.), The State: Theories and issues, Palgrave Press.
3. Peters, G. and J. Pierre (2006) “Governance, Government, and the State” pp. 209-222 in Hay, Lister and Marsh (Eds.), The State: Theories and issues, Palgrave Press.
4. Caporaso, J.A. (1996), The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34: 29-52.
5. Galligan, Brian (2008) “Comparative Federalism” in Binder, Sarah, R. A. W. Rhodes, and Bert A. Rockman (Eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
6. Fabbrini, S. (2005) Madison in Brussels: The EU and the US as Compound Democracies, *European Political Science* 4(2): 188-198.
7. Kreppel, Amie (2011) “Looking ‘Up,’ ‘Down,’ and ‘Sideways’ – Understanding EU Institutions in Context” *West European Politics*, Vol 34, No. 1.
8. Henry, N. (2010) Politics beyond the state: Europe as civilization and as empire. *Comparative European Politics*, 8, 262–280 (2010).
9. Zielonka, Jan (2016) “The Uses and Misuses of the Imperial Paradigm in the Study of European Integration” Chapter 3, pp. 73-93 in Revisiting the European Union as Empire, Behr, H and Y.A. Stivachitis (Eds.), Routledge.

PART III: POLITICS

Week 9 (Mar. 7): Democratic Governance

Topics

- Theories of democracy - what do we mean by “democratic”?
- Models of democracy
- Democracy in the EU
- Political linkage (public opinion, institutional, partisan)

Readings

1. Saffon, M. P., & Urbinati, N. (2013). Procedural Democracy, the Bulwark of Equal Liberty. *Political Theory*, 41(3), 441–481.
2. Nicolaïdis, K. (2013), European democracy and its crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51: 351-369.
3. Lord, C., Moravcsik, A. (2008). Individual contributions to the Forum “Does the EU Suffer from a Democratic Deficit? *Intereconomics*, Springer, Heidelberg, Vol. 43, Iss. 6, pp. 331-340 (welcome to read the others as well).
4. Hix and Høyland The Political System of the EU, Chapter 5, pp. 123-144.
5. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 5, pp. 103-118.

6. Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A Post-functional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1), 1-23.
7. Kostadinova, Petia and Amie Kreppel (2022) Loyal agent or shirking partner: understanding the policy goals of national ministers in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29:1, 23-41.
8. Rosen, Guri and Anne Elisabeth Sties (2022) Balancing seclusion and inclusion: EU trilogues and democratic accountability. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 383–404.
9. Giurcanu, M. and P. Kostadinova (2022) A responsive relationship? setting the political agenda in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29:9, 1474-1492.

Week 10 (Mar. 14): SPRING BREAK

Week 11 (Mar. 21): Political Parties, Representation and Elections

Topics

- The role of parties and elections
- EU integration and ideology
- The role of ideology in EU institutions
- **PAPER OUTLINE/ABSTRACT DUE**

Readings

1. Hix and Høyland The Political System of the EU, Introduction Chapters 6-7, pp 145-203.
2. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapters 6-7, pp. 119-165.
3. Koole, R. (1996). Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel? A Comment on the Notion of the Cartel Party. *Party Politics*, 2(4), 507–523.
4. Deschouwer, K. (2003). Political Parties in Multi-Layered Systems. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10(3), 213–226.
5. Mair, P. (2007). Political Opposition and the European Union. *Government and Opposition*, 42(1), 1-17.
6. Kreppel, A. (2013). Legislative Implications of the Lisbon treaty: the (potential) role of ideology. *West European politics*, 36, 1178-1198.
7. Dutceac Segesten, A., & Bossetta, M. (2019). The Eurosceptic Europeanization of public spheres: Print and social media reactions to the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Comparative European Politics*, 17, 361-379.
8. Braun, D. (2021). The Europeanness of the 2019 European Parliament elections and the mobilising power of European issues. *Politics*, 41(4), 451-466.

Week 12 (Mar. 28): Agenda Setting and Decision-making

Topics

- Agenda setting vs. gate-keeping
- Tools of agenda setting
- Coalition building
- Changing patterns of decision-making

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapters 8-10, pp. 167-237
2. Green-Pedersen, C., & Mortensen, P. B. (2012). "Policy agenda-setting studies: Attention, politics and the public" Chapter 13, pp.167-174 in Routledge handbook of public policy, Routledge.
3. Rochefort, D. and K. Donnelly (2012) "Agenda-setting and political discourse: major analytical frameworks and their application" Chapter 15, pp. 189-203 in Routledge handbook of public policy, Routledge.
4. Huhe, N., Naurin, D., and Thomson, R. (2018). The evolution of political networks: Evidence from the Council of the EU. *European Union Politics*, 19(1), 25-51.
5. Pierre Bocquillon & Mathias Dobbels (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.
6. Kreppel, Amie and Buket Oztas (2016), "Leading the Band or Just Playing the Tune? Reassessing the Agenda-Setting Powers of the European Commission" *Comparative Political Studies*, 50 (8) 1118-1150.
7. Ullrichova, E. (2023) Issue Hierarchization in Agenda-Setting: The Case of the European Council Agenda. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61: 108–123.
8. Laloux, Thomas (2020) "Informal negotiations in EU legislative decision-making: a systematic review and research agenda" *European Political Science* 19:443–460

Week 13 (Apr. 4): Implementation and OversightTopics

- Theories of policy implementation
- Oversight and accountability
- Implementation and oversight in the EU

Readings

1. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 11, pp. 238-260
2. Püzl, H., & Treib, O. (2007) "Implementing public policy," Chapter 7, pp. 89-107 In Handbook of public policy analysis Fischer, Miller and Sidney (Eds.), Routledge.
3. Rockman, B. A. (1984). Legislative-executive relations and legislative oversight. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 387-440.
4. Bovens, Mark (2010) Two Concepts of Accountability: Accountability as a Virtue and as a Mechanism, *West European Politics*, 33: 5, 946-967.
5. Daniel Finke & Jens Blom Hansen (2022) Contested comitology? The overlooked importance of the EU Commission, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29:6, 891-909.
6. Cheruvu, S. (2022). When does the European Commission Pursue Noncompliance? *European Union Politics*, 23(3), 375-397.
7. Fjelstul JC, Carrubba CJ. The Politics of International Oversight: Strategic Monitoring and Legal Compliance in the European Union. *American Political Science Review*. 2018;112(3):429-445.
8. Schmidt, V., & Wood, M. (2019). Conceptualizing throughput legitimacy: Procedural mechanisms of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness in EU governance. *Public Administration*, 97(4), 727-740.

Week 14 (Apr. 11): What is the European Union?

Topics

- Is the EU democratic?
- Is the EU a State? State like? Post-State?
- Does Europe (still) need the EU?

Readings

1. Hix and Høyland The Political System of the EU, Introduction Chapter 13, pp. 357-364.
2. Lelieveldt and Princen, The Politics of the European Union, Chapter 12, pp. 260-277.
3. Peter Mair & Jacques Thomassen (2010) Political representation and government in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:1, 20-35.
4. Schmidt, V. A. (2013). Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and 'Throughput.' *Political Studies*, 61(1), 2–22.
5. Sangiovanni, A. (2018) Debating the EU's Raison d'Être: On the Relation between Legitimacy and Justice. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*.
6. McNamara, K. R. (2018) Authority Under Construction: The European Union in Comparative Political Perspective. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56: 1510–1525.

Week 15 (Apr.18): Paper Presentations and General Discussion

Topics

- All students will present their research paper (initial draft) – including discussion of primary focus, research design, any outstanding challenges/hurdles remaining and preliminary conclusions.
- Students will discuss each other's research to provide constructive feedback.
- **DRAFT PAPER DUE April 15th**
- **FINAL (REVISED) PAPER DUE APRIL 29th**