POLICIES AND POLICY-MAKING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION PO314

Department of Sociology Maynooth University

2022-23

Spring term

Convenor: Professor John O'Brennan

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Consultation

hours:

Lectures:

THURSDAY 9-1000

Friday 10-1200

TSI118

:

THURSDAY 12-1 pm

TSI241ALE



OVERVIEW

The European Union (EU) constitutes a dense landscape of cross-national governance. It represents a unique ongoing experiment in supranational politics and produces legislative measures that impact across the 27 member states on more than 440 million people. This module examines the EU policy-making process, how policy ideas come on to the EU agenda and are debated and enacted (or not) by the EU institutions. The European Union is facing significant challenges in 2023, on both the domestic and external fronts. After grappling for some years with the protracted Eurozone crisis, Brexit and Covid, it has had to respond to the devastating attack on Ukraine by Russia in 2022-23. The war has challenged European unity and the emergent European defence structures and has also brought renewed attention to issues of migration as a consequence of millions of Ukrainian citizens felling Russian attacks on their country.

This module introduces students to the EU policy-making landscape and the most important set of EU policies and does so by asking what it is that the EU *does*. By studying different policy areas, together we will analyse how this evolving and expanding tier of European governance impacts on national political systems (and on EU citizens). The opening phase of lectures sets the scene for the study of EU policy-making and covers the evolution of the EU, the legal basis for policy-making, and theories of integration as well as the idea of the single market, which is so central to the EU.

Weeks 3-10 constitute the most substantial part of this module and focuses on the full range of EU policies. It identifies EU policy competences and examines a series of the most salient policy areas including agriculture and regional policies, the Euro, asylum, foreign affairs and security, and enlargement. This fast-pace, seminar style course will allow for plenty of topical debates, while developing

students' analytical skills, encouraging students to look beyond the headlines to understand how the EU works (and how it does not), supplemented by regular online interaction/learning. In the final part of the module, we bring the threads together in a mock-conference discussing "Whither EU policy integration", where students will present their own original arguments about a chosen policy area (date tbc). The module is part of a Jean Monnet European Union Erasmus Plus project on European Integration (2020-2023). There will also be a number of additional lectures delivered by world renowned experts as part of the Maynooth Centre for European and Eurasian Studies seminar series.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

On successful completion of the course students will have

- a very good understanding of the processes of EU policy-making;
- in-depth knowledge of key EU policies and the controversies surrounding them;
- specialist knowledge of scholarly and public debates of at least two EU policy areas;
- practiced their skills in summarising and prioritising information and report writing;
- enhanced their critical and analytical skills by presenting, discussing and defending alternative viewpoints;
- developed their communication skills by preparing and presenting their own conference/research paper (bar original empirical research);
- and perfected their academic writing and independent research skills.

ASSESSMENT

This course is assessed 100% through continuous assessment. There are **three** components to this:

- "Research paper", 2,500 words, 50%

- "Conference" presentation & participation in conference discussion (10 min. paper, concise version of argument elaborated in research paper including brief abstract), 30%
- Regular, active and constructive participation in class, total 20%

Research paper:

The "research paper" is an extended essay of 2,500 words (excluding bibliography). It is closely connected to the "conference paper" that you will give as part of our mock conference. Students choose their own topic, which must be related to one or two policy areas covered by the module and be linked to the broad question of "The future of European integration". Every topic has to be approved by the lecturer(s). Do not use textbook chapters to inform your "research paper": you must use think tank material and academic journal articles and monographs. News items and legal text should be used as empirical evidence only.

Deadline for essays is Monday 1 May, noon. Essays should be deposited via Turnitin Assignments on Moodle. Please make sure you keep electronic copies of your essay.

Presentation/"conference paper":

"Conference papers" might differ from the type of presentations you were expected to give on other modules. As we will engage in our own mock conference, the idea is to prepare short presentations that concentrate on a core argument from your "research paper", and aim to put this argument very coherently, supported by substantive evidence, to other students to engage in a discussion.

The point of the presentation is not to give other students an introduction into this policy field--they should have a good understanding the general direction of the policy area already from class discussions. Rather, its purpose is to make an argument about "The future of European integration" based on your expertise from your research paper.

As this is a conference, you will have to "apply" with a brief abstract of 200 words outlining your argument. This abstract will be included in the conference booklet and serves as an outline of your talk for other students.

The conference will take place in Week 12 (day TBC in class in week 1).

The abstract is due on Wednesday 22 March 2023

Participation:

Prepare for class by always reading the required readings (mainly textbook chapters). Ask questions; engage in the debate; participate in small group work; demonstrate that you are well-prepared and on top of the discussion by making references to the readings.

This module is an advanced elective module. It is designed for students who already have some knowledge of the EU institutional environment. The module will be based around weekly lectures that will take place from week 1 through to Week 12 of the spring semester. Attendance at lectures is OBLIGATORY. Because the public health advice around Covid 19 makes it unlikely that we will be able to meet in person during this semester, teaching will take place via MS Teams. Students can also arrange a one to one consultation with the lecturer during consultation hours (1100-1300 on Wednesdays).

Plagiarism:

I expect students to be familiar with the departmental policies on plagiarism and conduct in the classroom as published in the Third Year Politics Student Handbook.

General information:

All of the information for this course (outline, readings, assignments, etc.) and updates are available at:

Every student enrolled in this course has automatic access to all the course materials on line through moodle.

Please note that the schedule of topics and readings may be subject to change and that all students are responsible for any announcements made in the class. If you must miss a class, you are responsible for the material that you have missed (getting notes, etc.). I would advise you to contact other students on the course to fill you in.

Where lecture slides are used by the lecturer or as part of student presentations, these will be uploaded to moodle after the class. No lecture notes will be available.

Resources:

The core textbook for this course is

Helen Wallace, Christilla Roderer-Rynning, Mark A. Pollack and Alasdair R. Young (November 2020), Policy-Making in the European Union, 8th Edition, Oxford: OUP.

(Roughly 40 Euro, from MU Bookstore)

this is a new edition of a widely used textbook and is available at the university bookshop.

Some key journals where the scholarly debate on European policy-making takes place (alphabetical order):

Cambridge Review of International Affairs

Common Market Law Review

Comparative European Politics

European Journal of Political Research

European Political Science

Journal of Common Market Studies

Journal of European Integration

Journal of European Public Policy

West European Politics

READING LISTS AND SOURCES FOR THIS MODULE

Because European integration is ongoing, students will need to keep themselves abreast of current events. The best newspaper to consult is the *Financial Times*, whilst the *Economist* also covers a broad range of issues connected to the European Union. The best Irish newspaper to consult for EU coverage is the *Irish Times* (www.irishtimes.com) where Naomi O' Leary is the excellent EU Correspondent, based in Brussels. Tony Connolly of RTE also reports regularly from Brussels and has become one of the most trusted journalists covering EU affairs. The newest daily web-based entity reporting on the EU is *Politico* and it should also be consulted regularly: (http://www.politico.eu/) The website *Bookforum* (www.bookforum.com) provides an invaluable set of links to an exhaustive range of articles with social, economic and political themes from around the world and should be visited daily by students of political science and sociology.

Students should note that *the reading lists included in this outline are not exhaustive*. While they are intended to give you a grasp of the major issues, there are always other sources that you could usefully consult. When your essays are marked, credit will be given to those students who demonstrate they have carried out research to find and use their own sources. Students should also note that there are links between the various issues covered in this module, and that credit will be given to students who demonstrate the capacity for appropriate synthesis. In other words students should take a holistic approach and not treat the subjects covered simply as self-contained units. The most useful starting point for document research (EU institutions) is undoubtedly www.europa.eu.int (EU-homepage).

Further useful web-pages and blog sites are:

- i) Centre for European Policy Studies (Brussels-based independent thinktank): www.ceps.be
- ii) Carnegie Europe (Brussels-based independent think-tank): http://carnegieeurope.eu/#/slide_3808_no-quick-fix-for-nato-and-russia
- iii) The European Council on Foreign Relations (A new think tank dedicated to strategic analysis of the challenges facing Europe and EU foreign and security policy in the twenty first century), (www.ecfr.eu)
- iv) Europe 2020 (Paris-based think-tank, focused on serving 'the generations born since the Treaty of Rome'): www.europe2020.org
- v) <u>www.sosig.ac.uk/eurostudies</u> (UK-based gateway to resources on the EU)
- vi) the European Policy Centre (Brussels-based think tank): www.epc.eu
- vii) The Institute of European Affairs (Dublin-based organisation with educational and political aims): www.iiea.com
- viii) The Federal Trust (UK-based organization which lobbies for a federal EU): www.fedtrust.co.uk
- ix) *The Economist* <u>http://www.economist.com/</u>
- x) Financial Times http://news.ft.com/home/uk
- xi) Centre for European Reform (A prominent London-based think tank): www.cer.org.uk/
- xii) Open Democracy (One of the most impressive discussion sites on the net and one with a strong European focus): www.opendemocracy.net/
- xiii) European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) The European Union's in-house Paris-based think tank charged with producing policy papers and advice on EU Security and Defence Policy:

 www.iss.europa.eu
- xiv Eurobarometer (Official EU public opinion monitoring site), http://ec.europa.eu/public opinion/index en.htm
- xv) LSE EUROPP European politics blogsite from LSE which is absolutely superb source for current debates on Europe http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/

- xvi) Bruegel (a European think tank that specialises in economics), http://bruegel.org/
- xvii) EurActv: (an independent pan-European media network specialised in EU policies. The EurActiv Network of both independent and integrated **offices provides free localised EU policy news in 12 languages),** http://www.euractiv.com/
- xviii) Verfassungsblog is a journalistic and academic forum of debate on topical events and developments in constitutional law and politics in Germany, the emerging common European constitutional space and beyond. It is particularly good on current rule of law issues within the EU,

http://verfassungsblog.de/en/

Students are strongly recommend to **read beyond the assigned readings**. There are numerous books and journals out there, focusing specifically on course themes or sub-themes. If you decide to read around a topic that interests you, do not just type keywords into search engines. Search for articles *intelligently*: Follow up the relevant references that you find in bibliographies of your set texts; browse journals that focus on related issues (for suggestions, cf list below); or look into books that stand next on the library book shelf to those you have identified as relevant.

Other key textbooks focusing on the EU Politics include:

- Cini, M. and Borragan Perez-Solorzano, N., (eds), (January 2022), European Union Politics, seventh edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press). This is a very accessible textbook, which will provide you with an understanding of EU history, institutions, policies, and key issues. The new edition is literally off the presses. The text is accompanied by a comprehensive set of online resources which can be found at: http://www.oup.com/uk/orc/bin/9780199281954/
- Bache, I., Bulmer, Burns, C., George, S., and Parker, O., (2020), *Politics in the European Union*, fifth, edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bradford, A., (2021) The Brussels Effect: how the European Union rules the world, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bache, I., Bulmer, S. George, S., and Parker, O., (2015), *Politics in the European Union*, fourth, edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Dinan, D., Nugent, N. and Patterson, W., (2017) The European Union in Crisis (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan).

- Hodson, D. and Peterson, J., (2017) *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: OUP).
- Kenealy, D., Peterson, J., and Corbett, R., (2018) *The European Union: how does it work?* Fifth edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Legrain, P., (2014) European Spring: Why Our Economies and Politics are in a Mess and How to Put Them Right, (London: CB Books).
- Leliveldt, H. and Princen, S., (2015) *The Politics of the European Union*, second edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Peterson, J. and Shackleton, M., (2012) *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: OUP).
- Pinder, J. and Usherwood, S., (2018) *The European Union: a very short introduction*, fourth edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Van Middlear, L. (2019) *Alarums and Excursions: improvising politics on the European Stage*, (New York: Agenda Publishing).
- Wallace, H., Roederer Rynning, C., Pollack, M. and Young, A. (eds), (2020), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Eighth edition, (Oxford: OUP).

For **preparatory reading** or quick topic overviews the following textbooks can be helpful as they provide information easy to access and comprehensible:

- Ashiagbor, D., Countouris, N. and Lianios, I., (eds) (2012) *The European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Buchanan, T., (2012), Europe's Troubled Peace: 1945 to the Present (Blackwell History of Europe), (Cambridge: Blackwell).
- Corner, M., (2014) The European Union: An Introduction (London: I.B. Tauris).
- Dinan, D., (2014), Origins and Evolution of the European Union (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Dinan, D., (2010), Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European Integration, fourth edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan)
- Elinas, A.E. and Suleiman, E. (2012), *The European Commission and Bureaucratic Autonomy: Europe's Custodians*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Chryssochoou, D., (2008) *Theorising European Integration* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- De Burca, G. and Weiler, J.H., (2012), *The Worlds of European Constitutionalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Erikesn, E.O. and Fossum, J.E. (eds) (2012) Rethinking Democracy and the European Union (New York: Routledge).
- Fabrini, S., (2015) Which European Union?: Europe After the Euro Crisis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Gowland, D., (2016), Britain and the European Union, (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Habermas, J., (2012) *The Crisis of the European Union: a response* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Hix, S. and Hoyland, B., (2011), *The Political System of the European Union*, third edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan).
- Hodson, D. Peutter, U., Saurreger, S. and Peterson, J., (2021) *The Institutions of the European Union*, fifth edition, (Oxford: OUP).
- Nugent, N., (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, seventh edition, (Basingstoke; Palgrave).
- McCormick, J., (2014) Understanding the European Union, a concise introduction, sixth edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan).
- Olsen, J., (2020) *The European Union: Politics and Policies*, seventh edition, (Basingstoke: Routledge).
- Piris, J.C., (2012), *The future of Europe towards a two speed EU?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ross, G., (2011), The European Union and its Crises: Through the Eyes of the Brussels Elite, (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Van Middlear, L. (2019) *Alarums and Excursions: improvising politics on the European Stage*, (New York: Agenda Publishing).

The **databases** that students should use most regularly are:

- **Swetswise**: check for the journal title on the NUIM catalogue, click on the weblink and search Swetswise for the article
- **Ingenta**: access via NUIM library catalogue, search by article directly, or browse through title and year
- Business Source Premier: access via NUIM library homepage: from catalogue database, select Business Service Premier, then all databases, search by journal title
- **JSTOR**: access via NUIM library homepage: from catalogue database, select JSTOR, then all databases, search by journal title

THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

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European Parliament - http://www.europarl.europa.eu/home/default_en.htm
European Commission - http://ec.europa.eu/home/default_en.htm
European Council of the European Union - http://ec.europa.eu/
European Court of Justice - http://www.consilium.europa.eu/
European Court of Justice - http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo1_6308/
European Central Bank - http://www.ecb.int/home/html/index.en.html

The webpages of the European Union's main institutions provide an extraordinary range of source material on almost every aspect of politics, government and policy at EU level. Although you may find some of the material 'heavy' and rather bureaucratic in respect of jargon, it is worth thoroughly engaging with the websites as the course moves through the institutional cycle in particular.

MODULE THEMES AND DATES

Week 1 – Introduction to Module; and Theories of European Integration (2 Feb)

Wallace, Pollack and Roderer Ryning and Young (eds) (eighth ed., 2020) Chapters 1, 2, 3

Cini et al (2019), chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (especially 6 and 8).

Week 2 – Institutional Anatomy of the EU (key actors) and the policy process (9 Feb)

Wallace et al. (2020) Chapters 3, 4,

Cini et al (2022), chapters 10-13.

Week 3 – The Rule of Law within the European Union (16 Feb)

Keleman, R.D., (2020), 'The European Union's Authoritarian Equilibrium', *Journal of European Public Policy*', Volume 27, Issue 3pp.481-99.

Kochenov, D. and Pech, L., (2015) 'Monitoring and enforcement of Rule of Law in the EU: rhetoric and reality', *European Constitutional Law Review*, 11 (3). pp. 512-540, http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/23897/

Note: there will be a special guest lecture on EU Rule of Law issues by world-renowned expert Professor Laurent Pech (UCD) on 22 February 2023 hosted by

the Maynooth Centre for European and Eurasian Studies.. Everyone is encouraged to attend. Details here:

https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/social-sciences-institute/events/rule-law-backsliding-and-eus-inaction

Week 4 – The Single Market; Competition policies (23 Feb)

Wallace et al (2020), Chapters 5, 6,.

Cini et al (2022), chapter 20.

Week 5 - - Trade and Development policies (2 March)

Cini et al (2022), chapter 17

Wallace et al (2020), Chapter 16, 18

Week 6 – **CAP** and **Fisheries policy** (9 March)

Cini et al (2019), chapter 24.

Wallace et al (2020) Chapter 8

[STUDY BREAK, 13-17 March 2023]

Week 7–**Budget, Cohesion/Regional policy** (23 March)

Cini et al (2019), chapters

Wallace et al (2020), Chapters 9 and 10.

Week 8 – The Good, the Bad and the Covid Ugly: national and EU-level policy responses (30 March)

See moodle for materials on Covid

Special Issue of the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2021, Volume 59, Number S1.

Week 9 – The Eurozone and the Single Currency (6 April)

Cini et al (2022), chapter 26.

Wallace et al (2020) Chapter 7

{EASTER BREAK (10-14 April 2023}

Week 10 - EU Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy (20 April)

Cini et al (2022), chapter 18

Wallace et al (2020), Chapter 19

O'Brennan, J. (2018) 'EU Enlargement to the Western Balkans: Towards 2025 and Beyond', Dublin: Irish Institute for European and International Affairs (IIEA). May, https://www.iiea.com/publication/iiea-publication-eu-enlargement-to-the-western-balkans-towards-2025-beyond/

Week 11- Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) (27 April)

Cini et al (2022f), chapter 19

Wallace et al (2020), Chapter 17

Week 12 – **Concluding lectures** (Reflection) (4 May)

Week 12 - A half-day conference where students present and discuss their papers as if at a real conference; including concluding discussion: achievements, set-backs, crises, renewal, future? (date in week 12 tbc)