



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**POLS351/INTP351: *Power and Policies in the European Union***

**TRIMESTER 1 2011**  
28 February to 2 July 2011

**Trimester dates**

Teaching dates: 28 February to 3 June 2011  
Mid-trimester break: 18 April to 1 May 2011  
Study week: 6–10 June 2011  
Examination/Assessment period: 10 June to 2 July 2011

**Withdrawal dates**

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at  
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

**Names and contact details**

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**Class times and locations**

**Lecture Times:** Friday, 11:00 – 12:50  
**Venue:** HMLT206

**Office Hours:** Friday 14:00 – 15:30, or by appointment

**Course delivery**

This course meets weekly for two hours. For most of the first six weeks the entire two hours will be devoted to lectures as students become acquainted with processes of European integration and the evolving institutions of the European Union. From Week 7 onward each class will be divided into two halves. In the first half of each class the instructor will present materials on particular policy areas in the contemporary EU. The second half of each course will be devoted to discussions and debates on the broad policy areas/themes listed below.

## Communication of additional information

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures or posted on the course Blackboard site.

## Course content

This course investigates the process of European integration as well as the creation of 'European' policies. It begins by introducing the institutions of the contemporary European Union and asking how they came into being and how they have developed to the present. After introducing the history and institutions of the Europe Union, the course examines the processes and debates that shape policy making in the contemporary European Union. It asks whether developments have reached another turning point between the failure of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 and the coming-into-force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2010. Has integration proceeded too far too fast for some Europeans? Has the multiplication of unresolved internal conflicts and institutional overload become too much for some European voters? Does the EU need a period of 'consolidation' to resolve these problems? Or, will integration become dis-integration? Also, what role, if any, does 'Europe' play in the world?

## Learning objectives

Students passing the course should be able to do the following:

- Describe in detail the institutions of governance in the European Union
- Evaluate different explanations for how the institutions of European governance came into being and have evolved over time
- Explain how processes of European integration—the creation of a common set of institutions and policies—drives and, sometimes, resolves political conflicts
- Understand how and why contemporary debates about policy, democracy, institutions, and enlargement take place in Europe.

## Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote approximately 200 hours to POLS/INTP351 during the trimester. This includes: 24 hours in class (2 hours of lectures per week); approximately 60 hours reading course materials; 80 hours researching, writing (*and rewriting!*) essays and preparing for tests.

## Readings

### Essential texts:

- Desmond Dinan (2010), *Ever Closer Union*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Simon Hix (2005 or 2010), *The Political System of the European Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005/2010.

All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 7 February to 11 March 2011, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus.

After week two of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from vicbooks on Level 3 of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

### Assessment requirements

This course is assessed internally according to the following criteria:

- 1) **One 50-minute, in-class test = 20%**. There will be a fifty-minute closed book test held on **Friday, 1 April**. It will take place during the first half of class. This test is designed to assess your understanding of the mechanics of European institutions. Without understanding how these institutions operate, you cannot understand EU policy, conflicts or behaviour in the world.
- 2) **One 1-hour-and-fifty-minute, in-class test = 40%**. This test will be closed-book and held on **Friday, 3 June**. This exercise will be cumulative and test students' understanding of explanations for the evolution of European institutions and the creation of policies.
- 3) **One 3,000 word essay = 40% (total)**. This essay assignment has three parts:
  - **1-2 page (600-word maximum) Statement and Bibliography (= 10%)**: Submit a one-to-two page summary that: 1) states the question motivating your paper and why it is important to the reader (answers the 'So what?' question), 2) offers a provisional, falsifiable answer to this question (your 'hypothesis,' 'thesis,' or 'argument') and 3) outlines the evidence you will present to support your argument (suggests why your 'hypothesis' is better than other possible 'hypotheses') . You must also include a bibliography of sources (not included in the 1-2 page space limit). **Statement and Bibliography** are due at the beginning of class **Friday, 1 April**. *You do not need to submit this part of the assignment to Turnitin.com*. More information about essay format and topics is provided at the end of this course outline.
  - **Final Essay (= 30%) due at the beginning of class Friday, 27 May**. *No Final Essay will be assessed unless a 1-2 page Statement has been submitted! You must submit an electronic copy of the Final Essay to Turnitin.com!* The essay length is exclusive of bibliography.
  - **Submit electronic copy of Final Essay to Turnitin.com** (a plagiarism detection service). No essay will be marked until an electronic copy is submitted. Late penalties (see below) apply to submission of both hard copies and Turnitin.com electronic copies.

Hard copies of **1-2 Page Statements** and **Final Essays**, not handed in at lectures, are to be posted to the Political Science and International Relations Essay Collection Box

on the 5<sup>th</sup> floor of Murphy (across from the lifts). ***I will collect materials turned into these boxes before lecture!***

Before you submit an electronic version of your **Final Essay** to Turnitin.com you must create a personal profile. Go to Turnitin.com and follow the directions to create an account. The Class ID number for this course is **3805323**. The password is **Lisbon** (case sensitive).

### **Penalties**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Submit the final draft of your essay to Turnitin.com.

### **Class Representative**

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

### **Statement on legibility**

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply;
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply;
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

### **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

### **Use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

### **WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION**

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study). Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress). Most statutes and policies are available at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy), except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx) (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/avcacademic](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic).

## Organisation of Lectures, Readings and Discussions

### *Part I - Introduction*

#### **Week 1      February 28 - March 4      Europe in 2010: Nation States and the EU**

Friday, 4 March – Introduction: European integration - “So what?”

- Desmond Dinan, “Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Integration,” and “Uncertain Terrain, 1958-1972” in *Ever Closer Union*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.9-51.
- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Ch. 1, pp.1-23.

### *Part II – The Institutions of the Contemporary European Union*

#### **Week 2      March 7 – 11      Institutions of the EU Executive**

Friday, 11 March – The Commission and the Council

*Readings:*

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Ch. 2, pp.27-71
- Desmond Dinan, “The Commission,” and “The European Council and the Council of Ministers” in *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.171-234.

#### **Week 3      March 14 – 18      Institutions of the EU Legislature**

Friday, 18 March – The Council, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice

*Reading:*

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chs. 3, pp.72-110, 180-206.
- Desmond Dinan, “The European Parliament” in *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.235-64.

#### **Week 4      March 21 - 25      Institutions of the EU Judiciary**

Friday, 25 March – The Council, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice

*Reading:*

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chs. 4, pp.111-143.
- Desmond Dinan, “Other Institutions and Bodies” and “Interinstitutional Dynamics” in *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.235-300.

Time permitting: revision for *Test on institutions of European Union* (1 April)  
**Week 5      March 28 – April 1      EU Budget, Redistribution and CAP**

***Test on Institutions of Contemporary European Union during first 50 minutes of class***

***1-2 page Statements due 11am 1 April, beginning of lecture.***

Thursday, 1 April – Budget, Redistribution and the Case of the CAP

*Reading:*

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.329-358.
- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Ch.8, pp.271-308.

### **Part III – Politics and Policymaking in the Contemporary European Union**

**Week 6      April 4 - 8      ‘Relaunching’ Europe and Policymaking after SEA**

Friday, 8 April – A New Dynamic of European Integration: Market Expansion and Regulation?

*Reading:*

- Desmond Dinan, “A Community in Flux, 1973-1984”, “From European Community to European Union, 1984-1993”, in *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.53-102.
- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, pp.235-270.

**Week 7      April 11 - 15      ‘Deepening’(?): EMU, Identity and Democratic Deficit**

Friday, 15 April – Movement toward Integration or Disintegration?

*Reading:*

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, “The Emergent European Union,” pp.103-132, 359-414.
- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, pp.177-180, 202-207, 309-343.

***MID-TRIMESTER BREAK 18 APRIL – 1 MAY***

**Week 8      May 2 - 6      Trouble with Markets**

Friday, 6 May – Social Policies, Labour Markets and the ‘Democratic Deficit’

*Reading:*

- Stephan Leibfried (2005), “Social Policy,” in H. Wallace, W. Wallace, and M. Pollack, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5th ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.243-78. (instructor will make available)
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.415-450.

**Week 9      May 11 – 13      Enlargement or “Widening”**

Friday, 13 May – Causes, Process and Consequences

*Reading:*

- Desmond Dinan (2005), *Ever Closer Union*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Ch.5, pp.133-59.
- Frank Schimmelfennig, “The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union” [\*International Organization\*](#), Vol. 55, No. 1 (Winter, 2001), pp. 47-80 (instructor will make available)
- Ulrich Sedelmeier (2005), “Eastern Enlargement,” in H. Wallace, W. Wallace, and M. Pollack, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp.401-428. (Instructor will make available)

**Week 10      May 16 – 20      European Common Foreign and Security Policy**

Tuesday, 20 May – Common Foreign and Security Policy

*Reading:*

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Ch. 12, pp.387-405.
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.529-566.
- Additional reading on evolving European External Action Service to be determined

**Week 11      May 23 – 27      EU ‘Soft Power’?**

***Final Essay (hardcopy and Turnitin.com copy!) due 11am, Friday 27 May***

Friday, 27 May – Trade, Development, Energy and Environment

*Readings:*

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, pp.374-387.
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.483-528.
- Additional reading on EU as ‘normative power’ to be determined.

**Week 12      May 30 – June 3**

Friday, 3 June – **1 Hour and 50 Minute In-Class Test**



## **Essay Assignment**

This Essay Assignment consists of three separate, but related, tasks and constitutes 40% of your grade for the course. The four tasks are:

1. Complete and submit a **1-2 Page Statement** that presents: a) the central question motivating your research project, b) your proposed argument/hypothesis (a possible answer to the central question above) and c) the type of evidence you propose to present in support of that argument (think about why this evidence is better than evidence supporting other arguments). It must also include a bibliography. This bibliography will be preliminary, but you must get started sometime! It is due by 11:00AM Friday, 1 April. This task is worth 10% of your grade. So, it is worth spending some time on it! Time spent at this stage will also (greatly) improve your **Final Essay**.
2. Complete and submit a **Final Essay** by 11:00AM Friday, 27 May. Remember, no **Final Essay** will be marked unless the student has also submitted a **1-2 Page Statement!** The final essay is worth 30% of your final grade.
3. Students are also required to submit electronic copies of their **Final Essay** to Turnitin.com. Please refer to the course outline for instructions about setting up a profile with Turnitin.com. The Course ID is **3805323** and the password is **Lisbon** (I believe the password is case-sensitive). Please set up your profile well before the deadline for the **Final Essay**. ***Final essays will not be marked unless an electronic copy has first been submitted to Turnitin.com. Late penalties apply to electronic copies submitted to Turnitin.com.***

Format (NB: Failure to follow these format instructions may affect your mark for the paper!)

1. To help ensure objectivity in the grading process, please print your name and any identifying information on a cover page for each assignment, but nowhere else. I flip these cover pages and shuffle the order before I read papers.
2. The text of the **1-2 Page Statement** may be no more than 600 words. The text of the final essay may be no more than 3000 words. This limit includes footnotes or endnotes, but not the bibliography or the cover. You must include a bibliography. **The text must be double-spaced, using a Times New Roman, 12-point font, and your margins must be at least 3cm on left, right, top and bottom. Ability to follow this format will be assessed!**
3. If you refer to the words or ideas of another author, you must cite that author. Your citations and bibliography may be in a format of your choice (e.g., Harvard, APA (American Psychological Association), Chicago, etc.). You must, however, use one style consistently and correctly! Check online for style/format sheets or consult one of the following references: Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, *Chicago Manual of Style*, *American Psychological Association Style Manual*, if you are unsure of how to cite sources correctly. **Correct usage of citations is a part of the assessment!**

- University regulations regarding academic integrity apply to this assignment and a failure to comply with them will result in University prescribed consequences!

## Assessment Criteria

Your essay will be assessed according to the following criteria:

**1. Language and Presentation (30%)** – Can you *follow directions with regard to format* and can you communicate your ideas in clear, forceful English without spelling or grammatical errors (20%)? Can you use a standard form of bibliographical citation in your notes and bibliography (10%)?

**2. Argument and Relevance (40%)** – Every expository paper must have an “argument,” the assertion of a “cause-and-effect” relationship that is “falsifiable”—one that it is possible to prove wrong. This is usually a “thesis” or a “hypothesis,” presented at or near the beginning of the paper. A clear argument is the essential backbone in the organization of any paper. It is worth 30%.

An argument must also be relevant. This raises the famous “So What?” question. You must tell the reader—preferably at the outset of the paper-- why she/he should be interested in reading your paper and understanding your argument. You might tell the reader that you address a problem that has not been addressed before or that has been addressed incorrectly or inadequately. Or, you might suggest there is a controversy or open question on which you intend to shed new light. Establishing relevance demonstrates that you know what others have and have not written about your subject. It is worth 10%.

**3. Evidence (30%)** – Once a paper has an argument, it must provide evidence to support it. There is more to providing evidence than simply listing facts or events that support your argument. Such a list says nothing about facts and events that do not support your argument and that you have—intentionally or unintentionally—not listed! Thus, a paper must create a structure that demonstrates logically why the evidence that supports your argument is better than the evidence that supports alternative arguments. Accordingly, 10% of your grade rests on the quality/originality of your evidence and 20% rests on how convincing your evidence and the structure of your presentation are.

### **Summary of Essay Assessment:**

- **20% Format, Grammar, Spelling, Style**
- **10% Citation and Bibliography**
- **30% Argument**
- **10% Relevance**
- **10% Quality/Originality of Evidence**

- **20% Methodology/Logical Structure of Evidence**

### Assignment

You have considerable freedom to choose your topic. I ask only that you analyse some issue of politics directly related to European integration and/or the European Union that fits into one of the broad categories below.

I will use the **1-2 Page Statement and Bibliography** as a control to help make sure you are on a productive track of inquiry. This will be the only opportunity for me to provide you with constructive feedback on your research, so I take it very seriously. You should, too! Please feel free to discuss your topic with me, or anyone else.

Sample Topics: (this list is meant to be suggestive and is far from complete!)

1. 'European identity,' 'democratic deficit,' 'deepening,' and 'multi-speed Europe'
  - How has the relationship between the European Commission and European Parliament evolved with the advent of the Lisbon Treaty? To what extent are changes Treaty-driven? What is the result of working accommodation between the two organs?
  - What is *Libertas* and what role did it play in the 2008 Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty? What role did it play in the 2009 elections to the EP?
  - A second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty was held in Ireland on 2 October 2009. Why did the Lisbon treaty pass this time? What changed in the Treaty, Ireland and the world between June 2008 and October 2009 to change the outcome of the referendum?
  - The German Constitutional Court delivered its tentative approval on the constitutionality of the Lisbon Treaty, on condition that the German parliament approve supplementary legislation. What did the German court demand and the German parliament provide? Have they made the EU more democratic?
  - Considerable discussion and proceduralism delayed Jose Manuel Barroso's appointment to a second term as President of the EU Commission. The European parliament grilled Barroso's nominees for the Commission, leading to the withdrawal of the Bulgarian candidate. What are these manoeuvres all about?
  - What is the role of the new presidency of the European Council? Is this role defined in the Lisbon Treaty or is it being defined by the member states and the present incumbent, van Rompuy?
  - Relations between national political parties and groupings in the European Parliament. What are the politics surrounding the UK Conservatives leaving the European Peoples' Parties grouping to become the core of a new "Euroseptic" formation?
  - June 2009 produced a new European Parliament (EP). Has the balance of power in the EP shifted between groupings? Has it shifted within groupings? Have the groupings themselves changed?

## 2. 'Liberal' vs. 'Social' Europe

- The politics of internal immigration in the EU. For example why/how did some "old" members of the EU (e.g. Austria and Germany) restrict labour movement from the Central and Eastern European (CEE) member states who joined the EU after 2004, while other "old" member states (e.g. UK, Ireland, Sweden) did not?
- Did "old" member states change their position on CEE labour migration after 2004? after Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007? Why or why not?
- The portability of healthcare within the EU.
- Financial crisis in Euro and non-Euro member states.
- The regulation of "free speech" and far right propaganda...on the internet.
- Regulation of intellectual property rights.
- Freedom of movement of services vs. national regulation of wages and labour markets.
- 'Bologna Process'/Reforms of tertiary education in the EU.
- Rules about media content in various European countries.
- EU attempts to regulate the wine industry, cheese, scotch....

## 3. Enlargement and Europe's Boundaries?

- The politics of immigration INTO the EU and/or FRONTEX.
- The EU, member states and the treatment of ethnic minorities.
- What are the implications of Slovakia's new language law? Is it compatible with the letter and spirit of EU regulations?
- Schengen and border controls.
- Should Turkey become a member of the EU?

## 4. European Common Foreign and Security Policy

- The creation of an EU external action service (i.e. foreign service).
- Iran and the EU
- EU military involvement in Africa and the Pacific.
- EU, US and NATO
- European Security and Defence Policy
- European military acquisition – European Defence Agency

## 5. European 'Soft Power'? – Trade, aid, energy and the environment

- Copenhagen, Lisbon, etc.
- Lome, Cotonou, etc.
- The EU and international institutions like the UN, WTO, WIPO....
- The privatization and/or liberalization of state and state-regulated energy industries.
- Russian-EU gas relations: Nabucco, Sabucco, Bluestream, Nordstream.
- The security policies (via-a-vis Russia?) of different EU member states.
- National and European domestic and foreign energy policies...

...and more!