

Political and Economic Integration in the EU: Member States' Preferences and Public Opinion

Spezialisierung BA 2017/18
International Relations / Comparative Politics

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OLAT: [click here](#)

Spring Term 2018

Thursdays (see exact time below)

Class room: AFL-H-376

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1 Course Outline

We will start the seminar by studying European integration theories and by briefly discussing the major economic integration steps, EU institutions, policy making, and EU policy fields. Building on these theoretical and empirical insights, we will analyze the current challenges of integration triggered by the Eurocrisis, Brexit, and other recent developments. To that end, we will analyze member states' preferences for different integration models, public opinion, and the domestic politics of EU integration. Among others, we will discuss the following questions:

- How is the power balance between EU institutions and member states?
- What is the variation in member states' preferences for different integration models, and what explains that variation?
- How and why has public opinion on integration (i.e., EU-skepticism) changed since the outbreak of the crisis in the different member states?
- How is the EU politicized on the domestic level, and how does domestic politicization impact EU policy making?

In the fall term, we will discuss different theories and the state-of-the-art of the literature on the above mentioned questions with an in-depth analysis of academic articles, which will serve as preparatory work for the BA thesis. Students will further deepen their expertise in a topic related to the course with a term paper. The spring term is then devoted to the discussion and exercise of methodological approaches that students can apply in their BA thesis (based on the work of the fall term). Students are expected to read the literature in advance and to actively engage in the sessions. The seminar specializes students in international relations or comparative politics, and it must be booked in the spring term again (there is no automatic enrolment).

2 Schedule and Required Readings

All articles marked with a * are voluntary readings. Please note, however, that for a deeper exploration of a potential topic for the term and BA paper, the early in-depth reading of the respective additional articles is highly recommended.

2.1 Fall Term

1. Introductory Session (September 21)
2. European Integration Theory (Lecture) (September 28)
 - Moravcsik, Andrew and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2009. Liberal Intergovernmentalism. In Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds.). *European Integration Theory*, Chapter 4, 67-88. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Strobj Jensen, Carsten 2013. Neo-functionalism. In Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (eds.). *European Union Politics*. Chapter 5, 59-70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2008. A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science* 39, 1–23.
- * Schimmelfennig, Frank, Dirk Leuffen, and Berthold Rittberger. 2015. The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization and Differentiation. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(6): 764–782.
- * Winzen, Thomas and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2016. Explaining differentiation in European Union treaties. *European Union Politics* 17(4): 616–637.
- * Genschel, Philipp and Markus Jachtenfuchs. 2015. More Integration, Less Federation: The European Integration of Core State Powers. *EUI Working Papers* 33.

3. EU Institutions and Integration Milestones (Lecture) (October 5)

4. EU Policies and the Economic and Monetary Union (Lecture) (October 12)

- Verdun, Amy. 2013. Economic and Monetary Union. In Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (eds.). *European Union Politics*. Chapter 22, 296-308. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Copelovitch, Mark, Jeffrey Frieden and Stefanie Walter. 2016. The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(13): 811–840.

5. The Politics of the Economic and Monetary Union (Colloquium) (October 19)

- Johnston, Alison, Bob Hancké, and Suman Pant. 2014. Comparative Institutional Advantage in the European Sovereign Debt Crisis. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(13): 1771–1800.
- Armingeon, Klaus and Skyler Cranmer. 2017. Position Taking in the Euro Crisis. *Journal of European Public Policy*.

6. Member States' Preferences for Economic and Fiscal Integration (Colloquium) (October 26)

- Wasserfallen, Fabio. 2014. Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(2): 420–435.
- Bailer, Stefanie, Mikko Mattila and Gerald Schneider. 2015. Money Makes the EU GO Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(3): 437–456.

7. Students' presentations on further readings deepening the topics of the previous four sessions (November 2)

8. Public Opinion and Integration (Lecture) (November 9)

9. Public Opinion and Integration (Colloquium) (November 16)
 - Bechtel, Michael M., Jens Hainmueller, and Yotam Margalit. 2014. Preferences for International Redistribution: The Divide over the Eurozone Bailouts. *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 835-856.
 - Hobolt, Sara B. and James Tilley. 2014. Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(6): 795–819.
 - * Gomez, Raul. 2015. The Economy Strikes Back: Support for the EU during the Great Recession *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(3): 577–592.
 - * Rose, Richard and Gabriela Borz. 2015. Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration *Journal of Common Market Studies* 1–18.

10. Public Opinion, the Eurocrisis, and Brexit (Colloquium) (November 23)
 - Foster, Chase and Jeffrey Frieden. 2017. Crisis of trust: Socio-economic determinants of Europeans' confidence in government. *European Union Politics*.
 - Curtice, John. 2017. Why Leave Won the UK's EU Referendum. *JCMS*.

11. The Domestic Politics of EU Integration (Colloquium) (November 30)
 - Schneider, Christina J. 2013. Globalizing Electoral Politics: Political Competence and Distributional Bargaining in the European Union. *World Politics* 65(3): 452–490.
 - Hoeglinger, Dominic. 2016. The Politicization of European Integration in Domestic Election Campaigns. *West European Politics* 39(1): 44–63.
 - Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2016. The Politicization of European Integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 1–16.¹

12. Students' presentations on further readings deepening the topics of the previous three sessions (December 7)

13. Methods (Lecture) (December 14)
 - King, Gary (2006). Publication, Publication. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 39: 119–125.

14. Concluding Session (December 21)

¹This article provides a broader overview. The answers on readings are not required for this article.

2.2 Spring Term

1. Short Presentations of Research Ideas (February 22, 9.00 – 11.00)
 2. Time-Series-Cross-Section Analysis (TSCS) (March 1, 9.00 – 13.00)
 - Beck, Nathaniel and Jonathan N. Katz (1995). What do (and not to do) with time-series cross-section data. *American Political Science Review* 89(3), 634-647.
 - Wilson, Sven E. and Daniel M. Butler (2007). A lot more to do: The sensitivity of time-series cross-section analyses to simple alternative specifications. *Political Analysis* 15, 101-123.
 - Plümper, Thomas, Vera E. Troeger and Philip Manow (2005). Panel data analysis in comparative politics: Linking method to theory. *European Journal of Political Research* 44, 327-354.
 3. Hierarchical Modeling: Theory and Application in R (March 8, 9.00 – 13.00)
 - Gelman, Andrew and Jennifer Hill (2007). *Data Analysis Using Regression and Multilevel/Hierarchical Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 11-13.2, 237-284.
- *Deadline for the submission of the research design is on March 25.*
4. Individual Feedback on Research Design (March 29, 9.00 – 14.00, *AFL-H-351*)
 5. Presentations and Discussion of Research Design (April 12, 9.00 – 13.00)
 6. Presentations and Discussion of Research Design (April 19, 9.00 – 13.00)
 7. Interpretation of Findings, Replication Archive and Lab Session (May 3, 9.00 – 11.00)
 - King, Gary (1995). Replication, replication. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 28(3), 444-452.
 - King, Gary, Michael Tomz and Jason Wittenberg (2000). Making the most of statistical analyses: Improving interpretation and presentation. *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2), 341-355.
 8. Presentations of Findings (May 24, 9.00 – 13.00)
 9. Presentations of Findings (May 31, 9.00 – 13.00)

→ *Deadline for the submission of the BA thesis is on June 17.*

3 Course Information

3.1 Learning Objectives

- Good knowledge of the theoretical and empirical literature on economic and political integration.
- Development of own perspective on the findings of the EU integration research and its implications for current and future challenges.
- Clear and convincing presentation (written and oral) of complex problems.
- Elaboration of a theory-driven BA thesis with an original empirical analysis on a topic related to the course content.

3.2 Workload in Hours and ECTS Points

6 ECTS points are according to the Bologna regulation of the University of Zurich equivalent to 180 hours of work ($6 \times 30 = 180$). In the fall term, the expected working hours are roughly allocated as follows:

- 21 hours presence in class.
- 89 hours preparation of weekly sessions and presentation.
- 70 hours writing of term paper.

In the spring term, the expected working hours are roughly allocated as follows:

- 21 hours presence in class.
- 25 hours preparation of weekly sessions and presentations.
- 134 hours writing of BA thesis.

3.3 Grading

The performance is graded in both semesters. The assignments (for details, see next section) are weighted as follows:

Fall term	Term paper (65%)	Presentation (25%)	Answers on reading (10%)
Spring term	BA thesis (100%)		

4 Guidelines for the Assignments

4.1 Answers on Reading (Fall Term)

The aim of this assignment is that students learn focusing on the main points of the readings, and it serves as preparation for the discussion in class. The challenges task is to answer broad questions in very few words. Students should answer the questions in 2–4 clear and sharp sentences (not bullet points). The questions for questions for Session 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11 (October 19, October 26, November 16, November 23 and November 30) are the following:

- What are the research questions of the articles?
- What theoretical arguments are put forward?
- How are the main hypotheses operationalized/tested?
- What are the main findings?
- What are the practical implications and/or general aspects that you find interesting for a discussion? Pick one article to answer this final question.

Students must upload the answers on OLAT the day before the session (in PDF format). For each accepted assignment, students get 1 point. If there are flaws in the answers, students get 0.5 points, and in case of major flaws 0 points. 5 accepted assignments will be graded with the maximum grade 6. The grade for this assignment is calculated as follows:

Points	5	4.5	4	3.5	3	2.5	2	1.5	1	0.5
Grade	6	5.5	5	4.5	4	3.5	3	2.5	2	1

4.2 Presentation (Fall Term)

Students (in groups of two or alone) will make a presentation that further deepens the topics of the course with a discussion of 2–3 additional articles or (parts) of a book. Please contact in advance the instructor with suggestions on the selected articles for advice send a rough outline of the presentation’s content to the instructor three days before the session. The presentations are supposed to discuss the approach and main arguments of the selected literature. The major aim of this assignments is to provide an interesting perspective on the topic (including a short original evaluation of the presenters’ view), which should stimulate a further discussion in class. Group presentations should not exceed 15 minutes, and presentations of one single student should not exceed 10 minutes. More details on the evaluation scheme will be provided in the course on October 12, 2017.

4.3 Term Paper (Fall Term)

The term paper (about 4000 words) serves as a preparatory work for the BA thesis. Students will choose a topic related to the course, develop a research question, and discuss in-depth the findings and arguments of the literature. In addition, the final section of the term paper already outlines first thoughts on the research design of the BA thesis that will be further developed in the spring term. Please consult the **Annual Review of Political Science** for guiding examples of professional literature reviews. The discussed research question should be addressed in the BA thesis conducted in the spring term. The main purpose of this assignment is to lay the preparatory ground for the empirical research conducted in the subsequent term. Students are welcome to send outlines of the term paper to the instructor for subsequent discussion in the office hours at any time of the semester. Submission date for the term paper is on *January 7, 2018*. Please upload the paper as PDF on OLAT. The term paper may follow this structure (note that this table of content is illustrative and can be adapted):

- Title
- Abstract (max. 250 words)
- Introduction with motivation of topic and research question
- Structured review of the literature (theoretical arguments and empirical findings) on the question of interest
- First thoughts on the research design of the BA thesis: hypotheses, methods, data, contribution.
- Conclusion with discussion of practical relevance

4.4 Research Design (Spring Term)

The goal of the research design (about 4000 words) is to discuss the research question that the BA thesis will address and the research plan that will allow to answer it. The research design, together with the term paper of the fall term, will be the basis of the BA thesis (see next subsection). Thus, the research design is not the actual research: it is the plan that shows how the research will be executed (including a time schedule specifying the research steps). Of vital importance is that the plan is feasible (i.e., the data is available, the methods are appropriate to evaluate the research question etc.). The research design should follow this structure (this table of content is illustrative):

- Title page (title, name, student number, e-mail)
- Abstract (max. 250 words)
- Introduction
- Research question, theory, and hypotheses (short)

- Methods and data
- Timeline on the specific research steps
- Conclusion with discussion of open questions and challenges

→ Submission date for the research design is *March 25, 2018*. Please upload the paper as PDF on OLAT. On *March 25, 2018* individual feedback on the research design will be provided.

4.5 BA Thesis (Spring Term)

The structure of the BA thesis should be similar to that of the articles we read during the seminar. The thesis should clearly and coherently link theory and methods, and discuss the content and contribution of the study. Readers must be able to understand how the analysis was conducted (data, operationalization, methods, etc). For further information, consult the BA thesis guidelines of the Department of Political Science ([see here](#)). The study must conform in structure and content with these guidelines. The thesis (about 8000 words) should follow the this structure (this table of content is illustrative):

- Title page (title, name, student number, e-mail)
- Abstract (max. 250 words)
- Introduction
- Overview of topic and literature
- Research question, theory, and hypotheses
- Methodology and data (information about operationalization and statistical analysis)
- Findings
- Conclusion (with discussion of contribution to the literature and practical relevance)

→ Submission date for the BA thesis is *June 17, 2018*. Please upload the paper as PDF and all the files for the replication archive (readme text, codebook, data files, R-code) on OLAT and hand in one hard-copy with a signed statement of authorship.

The scheduling of the milestones in elaborating the BA thesis is as follows:

- *February 22*: Short presentation of research ideas.
- *March 25*: Submission of the research design.
- *March 29*: Individual feedback on the research design (AFL-H-351).
- *April 12 & 19*: Presentation of research design.
- *May 24 & 31*: Presentation of findings and discussion of remaining challenges.
- *June 17*: Submission of BA thesis.

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