France in Europe

This course begins with the assumption that important areas of politics and policy-making in France can no longer be understood solely from the perspective of the French political system. Although there has been a considerable debate about the nature of policy-making at the European level, as well as the direction in which this process is moving, there can be little doubt that there are few policy-making areas in France that are not touched in some way by the evolution of “Europe” during the past half-century. Between common European policies and policy-making structures, and harmonized policies marked by European standards that constrain domestic choices, French policy-making has been gradually transformed by the evolution of Europe. This course will permit us to view the system of European governance through the prism of the French political process.

In this course, we will first analyze the relationship between European governance and the French political system. We will examine the evolution of EU governance during the past twenty years, and the role of France in transforming the European governing system. We will focus particularly on how and why the role of France moved from resistance to closer union under de Gaulle to a prime mover of a more integrated system under Mitterrand. We will then discuss how policy-making in France has adapted to European governance. We look at the changes in the constitutional arrangements of the Fifth Republic, and then at the process of policy-making. We will analyze the evolution of traditional institutions, political parties, interest groups, and then the dynamics of the political system.

In the second part of the course we will examine five policy arenas, and analyze the different ways that European and domestic processes interact. In each of these arenas we will look at the impact of the evolution of European union, the interaction of French and European institutional actors, and the development of an interactive policy-making process. Finally, we will analyze the relationship between process and policy in each of these arenas.

This course consists of readings, lectures and discussions. There is no text for this course. Some basis information and analysis will be provided in Schain, “Politics in France,” chapter 9 of Gabriel Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Kaare Strom and Russell J. Dalton, Comparative Politics Today, Ninth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006). A copy of the chapter will be provided for you. I will also make available for you an electronic copy of a long chapter by Knapp and Wright on France and European integration. All readings from books and articles will be made available to you in the reserve reading room of Bobst Library, and or IFS. Many of the articles are also available on-line, through jstore. You will also be required to follow French politics either through a regular consultation of The Economist (weekly), or Le Monde on-line:
Other web-sites relevant to this course and for your own research will be given to you during class. There will be a take-home examination that will be returned by e-mail. Each student will also be responsible for either a critical review essay or a research paper of 20-25 pages on a topic of his or her choice (I will explain the difference to you, and I will also give you a list of suggested topics). If you would like to work with survey data, data sets will be made available.

The following books are available at the book store:


**Reading Schedule**

**Week 1 (January 16): Introduction**

**I. France and The European Union System:** 3 weeks (January 23, 30, February 6)

**Week 2: France and the Development of the European Union**

Knapp/Wright, pp 1-17

Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the National State*, Chs. 2 and 4


*French Politics and Society*, 8/4, Fall, 1990, Special Issue on de Gaulle and Europe, articles by Cohn, Hoffmann, Kolodziej, Kuisel

**Week 3: The Process of Governance in Europe: The Search for a Model**

Knapp/Wright, pp. 17-25

Ben Rosamund, *Theories of European Integration*, Chs. 5 and 6.


Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., *Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies*, Ch.1 and 3
Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to the European Community, Intro and chs. 1-6
Wallace and Young, eds, Participation and Politics in the European Union, Chs. 1-3.

Week 4: Issues of Governance and Theories of Integration

1. Governance:
   Helen Wallace, AThe Changing Politics of the EU: An Overview
   Laura Cram, AGovernance

2. Constitionalism
   Menon and Schain, Comparative Federalism, Chapters by
   Lowi, “Eurofederalism…”
   Majone, “Federation, Confederation…”
   Magnette, “Comparing Constitutional Change…”
   Shapiro, “The US Supreme Court and the ECJ…”

3. Democratic Deficit
   Menon and Schain, Comparative Federalism, Chapters by:
   Keleman, “Federalism and Democratization…”
   Kreppel, “Understanding the European Parliament…”

   Fritz Scharpf, “Problem Solving Effectiveness and Democratic Accountability in the EU”
   Christopher Lord, Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity,” in JCMS, November 2001

II. The French Political System, and how it relates to Europe” 3 weeks (February 13, 20, 27)

Week 5: Institutional Arrangements

Schain, “Politics in France,” pp. 1-39
Knapp/Wright, pp. 25-48
Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge
Ch. 1, "Mitterrand's Legacy"
Ch. 13, Cameron, “National Interest, the Dilemmas of European Integration and Malaise”
Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France, Chs. 4-6
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, Chs. 1, 2, 7
Keeler and Schain, Ch. 2, "Models of Democracy in Fifth Republic France..." in Chirac's Challenge

**Week 6: The Policy-making Process**

Schain, “Politics in France,” pp. 52-70
Knapp/Wright, pp. 48-62
Culpepper, Hall and Palier, Changing France (Palgrave, 2006), Ch. 1, Culpepper, “Capitalism, Coordination…”
Suleiman, Elites in French Society, Chs. 4-7
**Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge...**:
Alec Stone, Ch. 3, "Constitutional Politics and Malaise in France," and Frank Baumgartner, Ch. 4, "The Many Styles of Policymaking in France".
**Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies:** Lequesne, “French central government and the European Political union: the fusion of public policies,”(Ch.6)

**Week 7: Europe, Political Parties and Elections**

Knapp/Wright, 101-124
**Culpepper, Hall and Palier, Changing France:**
Ch. 9 Grunberg, “The French Party System...”; Ch. 10, Balme, “Convergence, Fragmentation....”
**Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge**
Appleton, "Maastricht and the French Party System,"
Toinet, "The Limits of Malaise in France"
**Michael Lewis-Beck, Editor, How France Votes:**
Lawson and Ysmal, “Do the Parties Matter?”
Daniel Boy and Nonna Mayer, “Cleavage Voting and Issue Voting in France”
Ross, “Europe Becomes French Domestic Politics,”
**Grunberg, Perrineau and Ysmal, Europe at the Polls: The European Elections of 1999:**
Cautrès and Sinnott, “The 1999 European Parliamentary Elections and the Political Culture of Europe”
Schmitt, and Thomassen, “Dynamic Represenation: The Case of European Integration®
III. Case Studies in Policymaking: Europe Through the Prism of French Politics: 7 weeks (March 6, 20, 27 April 3, 10, 17, 24)

Week 8: Agriculture: The First Common Policy: 1 week

Knapp/Wright, pp. 62-75
Menon and Schain, *Comparative Federalism*, Ch. 14, Sheingate, “Agricultural Biotechnology…”
Peterson and Bomberg, *Decision-making in the European Union*, Ch. 5.
Meunier, “The French Exception,” in *Foreign Affairs*, July/Aug 2000
Wallace and Wallace, *Policy-making in the European Union*, Chs. 7 and 12
Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, pp. 208-216; *Journal of Cold War History*, 3/1, December, 2000, selections
Keeler, “A Response to Andrew Moravcsik…”

Weeks 9-10: Judicialization and the Emergence of a European Rights Regime 1 week

Alec Stone, *The Birth of Judicial Politics in France*, Chs. 1, 4, 5, 8
Alec Stone, Ch. 3, "Constitutional Politics and Malaise in France," in Keeler and Schain, *Chirac's Challenge…*
Wallace and Wallace, *Policy-making in the European Union*, Ch. 18
Weiler, *The Constitution of Europe*, Chs 4, 5, 9

Week 11: A Common Defense Policy and Transatlantic Relations: 2 weeks

Knapp/Wright, 90-101
Howeth and Keeler, *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy* Chapters 1-5, 10 and 11
Week 12: Monetary Policy and the Impact of the Euro: 1 week

Knapp/Wright, pp. 75-90
Wallace and Wallace, Policy-making in the European Union, Chs. 4 and 6
Menon and Schain, Comparative Federalism: Ch. 12, Jabko, “The Politics of Central Banking…”; Ch. 13, Hallerberg, “Fiscal Federalism…”.
John Goodman, Monetary Sovereignty: The Politics of Central Banking in Western Europe, Chs. 1, 2, 6, 7.
Ross, “EMU and the French Model of Society”

Weeks 13-14: A Common Immigration policy?: 2 weeks

Andrew Geddes, Immigration and European Integration, Chs., Intro., Chs. 1, 4, 5 7
Andrew Geddes, The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe, Chs. 1, 3, 6, 9
Hollifield, Immigrants, Markets and States, Intro and Ch. 8.
Menon and Schain, Comparative Federalism, Ch15, Schain, “Immigration Policy”
Guiraudon, “European Integration and Migration Policy…..,” JCMS, June 2000
Faull, “An Immigration Policy for Europe”
Culpepper, Hall and Palier, Changing France, Ch. 5, Guiraudon, “Different Nation, Same Nationhood…”
Books on Reserve

Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France

Culpepper, Hall and Palier, Changing France

Dinan, Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to the European Community

Edwards and Wiessala, The European Union

Geddes, Immigration and European Integration

Geddes, The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe,

Goodman, Monetary Sovereignty: The Politics of Central Banking in Western Europe

Green Cowles, M., Caporaso, J. and Risse, T. (eds) Transforming Europe.

Grunberg, Perrineau and Ysmal, Europe at the Polls: The European Elections of 1999

Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union

Hollifield, Immigrants, Markets and States

Howeth and Keeler, Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy

Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge... :

Lewis-Beck, Editor, How France Votes

Menan and Schain, Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States in Comparative Perspective

Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies

Milward, The European Rescue of the National State, Chs. 2 and 4

Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht

Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, Decision-making in the European Union

Rosamund, Theories of European Integration

Stone, The Birth of Judicial Politics in France
Suleiman, *Elites in French Society*

Swann, *The Single European Market and Beyond*

Wallace and Wallace, *Policy-making in the European Union*

Wallace and Young, eds, *Participation and Politics in the European Union*

Weiler, *The Constitution of Europe*