

Spring, 2007
Professor Martin Schain

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Tuesdays, 4:05- 6:35

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:

(<http://www.lemonde.fr/>), or both. 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:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, Policy_making in the European Union , 5th Edition (Oxford, 2005)

Howeth and Keeler, Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy (Palgrave/2003)

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

J.H.H. Weiler, The Constitution of Europe, Ch. 2, “The Transformation of Europe”

Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht, Chs. 2-6

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.

John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, Decision-making in the European Union, Ch. 1.

James Caporaso, “the European Union and the Forms of the State...,”@ The Journal of Common Market Studies, 34/1, 1996.

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

Marks, Hooghe and Blank, "European Integration in the 1980s: State Centric vs. Multi-level Governance," Journal of Common Market Studies, 34/3, 1996

Wallace and Young, eds, Participation and Politics in the European Union, Chs. 1-3.

Green Cowles, M., Caporaso, J. and Risse, T. (eds) (2001) Transforming Europe.

Europeanization and Democratic Change, Cornell UP, esp chs by Caparascos and Jupille, Schneider, Knill and Lenschow, Green Cowles and Risse

Week 4: Issues of Governance and Theories of Integration

1. Governance:

"The Changing Politics of the European Union": The Journal of Common Market Studies, November, 2001:

Helen Wallace, "The Changing Politics of the EU: An Overview"

Laura Cram, "Governance >to go="

2. Constitutionalism

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

Culpepper, Hall and Palier, Changing France (Palgrave, 2006), Ch. 7, Smith, "The Government of the European Union and a Changing France"

Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge

Ch. 1, "Mitterrand's Legacy"

Ch. 13, Cameron, "National Interest, the Dilemmas of European Integration and Malaise"

Jobert, B, 'Europe and the recomposition of national forums: the French case', *JEPP*, 10:3, 2003

Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France, Chs. 4-6
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, Chs. 1, 2, 7
Ladrech, R., 'Europeanisation of domestic politics and institutions: the case of France', *JCMS*, 33:1, March, 1994
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..."
Gordon and Meunier, "Globalization and French Cultural Identity," *French Politics, Culture and Society*, Sp. 2001
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)
Wilson, Ambler, Schain and Baumgartner on the "Politics of Protest," French Politics and Society, Spring/Summer, 1994
Wilson, "French Interest-group Politics," American Political Science Review, December, 1983; Comments: American Political Science Review, September, 1985

Week 7: Europe, Political Parties and Elections

Schain, "Politics in France," pp. 39-52.
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 Representation: 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

Keeler, "The Political and Institutional Bases of Agricultural Power in the European Community: Explaining the Fate of CAP and GATT Negotiations"

Keeler, De Gaulle and Europe's Common Agricultural Policy," *French Politics and Society*, 8/4, Fall, 1990, Special Issue on de Gaulle and Europe

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..."

Buller, J., Evans, M. and James, O. (eds) (2002) 'Understanding the Europeanisation of Public Policy', special issue of *Public Policy and Administration*,

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...*

Alec Stone Sweet, and T.L. Brunell, "The European Court and National Courts," in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5/1 (1997)

Alec Stone Sweet, "Constructing a Supranational Constitution," *American Political Science Review*, 92/1 (1998)

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

Irondele, B. (2003) 'Europeanization without the European Union? French military reforms 1991-96', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10:2, 208-226

Hoffmann, S. (1964) 'De Gaulle, Europe and the Atlantic Alliance', *International Organization*,

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.

Alison Cottrel, “A Softer Euro, Stronger Europe,” in Edwards and Wiessala, The European Union

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.

Schain, “The Impact of the Extreme Right on Immigration Policy” (WEP/2006)

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