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 Mitterand. 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 structures— 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 the forthcoming edition of Gabriel Almond, Russell Dalton and G. Bingham Powell, European Politics Today (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, in press). A copy of the chapter will be provided for you. All readings from books and articles will be made available to you in the reserve reading room of Bobst Library. 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:

Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union (St Martin's/1998)

Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies (Routledge, 1998)


Reading Schedule

Week 1: Introduction
I. France and The European Union System— 3 weeks

Week 2: France and the Development of the European Union

Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the National State, selections
Michael Mann, “Nation States in Europe and Other Countries: Diversifying, Developing, Not Dying,” in Daedelas, 122, 3 (1993)
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, selections

Week 3: The Process of Governance in Europe

Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies, Ch.1 and 3
Wallace and Wallace, Policy-making in the European Union, Part I.
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

Ben Rosamund, Theories of European Integration

II. The French Political System, and how it relates to Europe— 3 weeks

Week 5: Institutional Arrangements

Schain, “Politics in France”
Keeler and Schain, Ch. 1, “Mitterrand’s Legacy” and Ch. 13, Cameron, “National Interest, the Dilemmas of European Integration and Malaise,” in Chirac’s Challenge
Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France, Chs. 4-6
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, selections
Guyomarch and Machin, “A History of Hesitations on the Road to Maastricht,” French Politics and Society, Fall, 1992
Keeler and Schain, Ch. 2, "Models of Democracy in Fifth Republic France..." in Chirac’s Challenge
Howeth, François Mitterrand and the “Domaine Réservé,” FPS Winter, 1992

Week 6: The Policy-making Process

Schain, “Politics in France”
Alec Stone, Ch. 3, "Constitutional Politics and Malaise in France," and Frank Baumgartner, Ch. 4, "The Many Styles of Policymaking in France," in Keeler and Schain, Chirac’s Challenge...
Suleiman, Elites in French Society, Chs. 4-7
Stone, The Birth of Judicial Politics in France, selections
Lequesne, “French central government and the European Political union: the fusion of public policies,” in Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies, Ch.6
Week 7: Europe, Political Parties and Elections

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,"
in Michael Lewis-Beck, Editor, How France Votes
Grunberg, Perrineau and Ysmal, The European Elections of 1999, selections

III. Case Studies in Policymaking: Europe Through the Prism of French Politics — 7 weeks

Week 8: Agriculture— 1 week

Douglas Webber, The Hard Core: The Franco-German Relationship and Agricultural Crisis Politics in the European Union (EUI working paper)
John Keeler, The Politics of Neo-corporatism in France, Ch. 3
Keeler, De Gaulle and Europe’s Common Agricultural Policy,” French Politics and Society, 8/4, Fall, 1990, Special Issue on de Gaulle and Europe
“America's Farm Subsidies,” The Economist, June 27, 1992
Wallace and Wallace, Policy-making in the European Union, Chs. 7 and 12
George Ross, Jacques Delors and European Integration, selections
Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe, selections
Journal of Cold War History, 3/1, December, 2000, selections

Weeks 9-10: Judicialization and the Emergence of a European Rights Regime— 2 weeks

Alec Stone, The Birth of Judicial Politics in France, selections
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

Week 11: Trade and Industrial Policy— 1 week

Francesco Duina, Harmonizing Europe, Chs. 1-4
Schmidt, From State to Market, Chs. 2, 7-9, 10-11 (passim)
Wallace and Wallace, Policy-making in the European Union, Ch. 14-15
Elie Cohen, “Europe Between Market and Power: Industrial Policies...,” in Mény, Muller and Quermonne, eds., Adjusting to Europe: The Impact of the European Union on National Institutions and Policies, Ch.8
Wallace and Young, eds, Participation and Politics in the European Union, Chs. 4, 6, 7, 9.
**Week 12: Immigration policy** — 1 week

Hollifield, *Immigrants, Markets and States*, Intro and Ch. 8
Schain, “Immigration and Politics,” in Hall, Hayward and Machin, *Developments in French Politics*
Schain, “The Impact of the Extreme Right on Immigration Policy”

**Weeks 13-14: Monetary Policy** — 2 weeks

David Cameron, National Interest, the Dilemmas of European Integration and Mailaise,” in Keeler and Schain, *Chirac’s Challenge*
Swann, *The Single European Market and Beyond*, selections
Ross, “EMU and the French Model of Society”