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, Russell Dalton and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics Today (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2003). 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, 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:
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)
JHH Weiler, The Constitution of Europe (Cambridge/99)
Howeth and Keeler, Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy (Palgrave/2003)

Reading Schedule
Week 1 (January 23): Introduction
I. France and The European Union System: 3 weeks (January 29, February 5, 12)
Week 2: France and The Development of the European Union
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France and the European Union, Intro. and Ch. 1
Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the National State, Chs. 2 and 4
J.H.H. Weiler, *The Constitution of Europe*, Ch. 2, AThe Transformation of Europe@
*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**
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

**Week 4: Issues of Governance and Theories of Integration**
Laura Cram, A Governan
Christopher Lord, *Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity*
The Fischer speech on 12 May 2000
Börzel and Risse, *Who is Afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalize a Multi-level Governance System*
Charles Leben, A *Federation of Nation-states or a Federal State?*
Helen Wallace, *Possible Futures for the European Union: A British Reaction*
Weiler, Fischer: *The Dark Side*
Giuliano Amato, A *Strong Heart for Europe*

II. The French Political System, and how it relates to Europe@ 3 weeks (February 19, 26, March 4)

**Week 5: Institutional Arrangements (Pick up take-home examination)**
Schain, *Politics in France*, pp. 1-39
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*, 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 (Return take-home examination)**
Week 7: Europe, Political Parties and Elections
Schain, Politics in France, pp. 39-52.
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, Ch. 3
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, 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 Representan: The Case of European Integration
Frognier, Identity and Electoral Participation...

III. Case Studies in Policymaking: Europe Through the Prism of French Politics: 7 weeks (March 18, 25, April 1, 8, 15, 22, 29)

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

Buller, J., Evans, M. and James, O. (eds) (2002) Understanding the Europeanisation of Public Policy, special issue of Public Policy and Administration,
Peterson and Bomberg, Decision-making in the European Union, Ch. 5.
John Keeler, The Politics of Neo-corporatism in France, Ch. 3
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 Europes 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
Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe, pp. 208-216;
Journal of Cold War History, 3/1, December, 2000, selections
Keeler, A Response to Andrew Moravcsik...
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, Ch.5

Weeks 9-10: Judicialization and the Emergence of a European Rights RegimeC 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
Howeth and Keeler, Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy (Palgrave/2003): Chapters 1-5, 10 and 11
Hoffmann, S. (1964) De Gaulle, Europe and the Atlantic Alliance, International Organization, JSTOR

Week 12: Monetary Policy and the Impact of the Euro: 1 week
Wallace and Wallace, Policy-making in the European Union, Chs. 4 and 6.
John Goodman, Monetary Sovereignty: The Politics of Central Banking in Western Europe, Chs. 1, 2, 6, 7.

David Cameron, National Interest, the Dilemmas of European Integration and Mailaise, in Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge
Alison Cottrel, AASofter Euro, Stronger Europe, in Edwards and Wiessala, The European Union
Swann, The Single European Market and Beyond, selections
Ross, AEMU 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
Katznelson and Zolberg, Working Class Formation, Chs. 6 and 9.
Schain, Almmigration and Politics, in Hall, Hayward and Machin, Developments in French Politics
Schain, The Impact of the Extreme Right on Immigration Policy
Guyomarch, Machin and Ritchie, France in the European Union, Ch.8
Weiler, The Constitution of Europe, Ch. 10.