

# Syllabus

## **Agricultural Policy in European and Global Perspective**

SS 2017

B.A.-Seminar

Thursday 11.45 - 13.15

D 432

Dr. Thomas Malang

Universität Konstanz

FB Politik- und Verwaltungswissenschaft

### **Overview**

One can easily argue that international agricultural policy is an economic and environmental disaster. Agriculture is an incredible protected policy field, with a huge amount of subsidies lavished on farmers in the developed worlds, with trade barriers that distort the benefits of free trade, with dependencies between world regions that lead to underdevelopment and famines and with their negative impact on the environment. The seminar is designed to explore the political interests and institutions that underlie the current agricultural policy in an international perspective.

In the first part, we conceptualize globalization as a process that changed the preferences of governments in two dimensions of agricultural policy. The first is the preference for protectionism as compared to free trade. The second one is the preference for food security. We take an International Relations (IR) perspective, especially a International Political Economy (IPE) perspective, to examine why agricultural interest groups could translate their preferences into national policy.

The second part of the seminar focuses on the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). CAP is the most unusual policy field in EU politics. First, as Kleine (2014) argues, it is the only policy field within the EU where formal policy making - instead of informal one - is the modus operandi. Second, as the descriptive work by Duttler et al. (2016) indicates, CAP is the policy field where most differentiations are granted. Third, Bailer et al. (2015) show that the most conflict in the Council is in CAP, manifested in the most abstain or no votes through all Council configurations. Additionally, CAP is still the policy field with the biggest budget. The seminar traces the reforms of CAP but especially looks into the empirical political behavior in the policy field. Therefore, voting records in the Council and the secondary law differentiations serve as data for the seminar.

In the third part, we focus on the global level, especially the negotiations within the World Trade Organization (WTO). We try to disentangle the structural factors for bargaining power in agricultural policy and try to shed light on the role of the EU within the WTO.

The last part of the seminar looks at the newest developments of agricultural policy, especially the new turn of sustainable development and new south-south relations in agricultural trade.

### **Course Goals:**

**On successful completion of this seminar students will be able to:**

- Identify basic and advanced theories of international political economy and its application to agriculture
- Asses the nature of decision-making in international institutions with a focus on agriculture and judge its value for IR studies.
- Examine the complex role of agriculture for development and economic relations between nation states.
- use the basic and advanced concepts, databases, and methods of decision-making scholars in IR.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES:**

### **Student Responsibilities:**

The seminar will meet Thursday from 11.45 to 13.15 in D 432. The seminar format means that each individual student is responsible for completing the required readings prior to the class meetings, and for contributing to the discussion of the material. Absence from single sessions has to be communicated via mail in advance. Punctuality is crucial and tardiness will not be tolerated, unless specific and justified reasons are presented to the instructor (such as slightly overlapping class, mobility issues).

**You have to register in Ilias to get to the course material and in StudIS to get your grade!**

### **Grades:**

The grade consists of three parts, the presentations (25%), the development paper (pass/fail), and the research paper (75%). Students can only be graded if they are registered for the course in StudIS. The examination requirements of the department require the weighted mean of all parts to be at least pass (4.0). Additionally, all parts have to be provided. Individual parts cannot be repeated separately.

(Wortlaut FB: „Eine Prüfungsleistung ist bestanden, wenn der gewichtete Durchschnitt aller Teilleistungen mindestens ausreichend ist und alle Teilleistungen erbracht wurden. Einzelne Teilleistungen können nicht gesondert wiederholt werden, sondern nur im Rahmen der Wiederholung der gesamten Prüfungsleistung“)

### **Presentation:**

Every student has to present the topic of one session. In these presentations, we are not looking for complete summaries of the readings, but for thoughtful engagement with the problem under discussion. Try to sketch the development and state of the art of the theoretical and empirical aspect of the phenomenon as brief as possible. Your task is to set the ground for a thoughtful discussion of the required reading in class. In the end, please include 1 - 2 analytical discussion questions.

**The presentation should be maximum 15 minutes** (without discussions)

**Presentations will be graded on basis of the following criteria:**

- Literature incorporated (relevance and precision): 30%
- Theoretical stringency: 30%
- Timing: 10%
- Slides 10 %
- Discussion lead: 20%

### **Term Paper:**

The paper consists of two separate items of work:

First, a short development paper (1 - 2 pages), that takes our readings and discussions as a point of departure and develops a research agenda and/or a preliminary empirical investigation on a

topic of your interest (graded pass/fail). This assignment is the first step towards your final paper and is due to July 10<sup>th</sup> 2017. Topics can thus vary according to individual preferences, but should remain in connection with the class theme, and be chosen in accordance with the instructor.

The final paper (~3500 words) that should include a theoretical argument and an empirical observation related to it has to be handed in no later than 15.09.2017. The final paper is individual, original, fair, and should demonstrate aptitude to both synthetic and critical reasoning. "Original" means that the paper does not exist prior to its writing by the student and reflects the ideas of its author. This requirement excludes plagiarism, and authorized reproduction of already existing papers. "Fair" means that if you borrow from other people's work (to a limited extent), you should quote it and acknowledge it appropriately (by the use of quotation marks and in a bibliography). "Critical reasoning" means that you are able to use different sources and put them in perspective in order not to simply repeat what other people say, but are able of highlighting or questioning underlying problems, context and crucial conditions, etc.

**Term Papers will be graded on basis of the following criteria:**

- Research question (relevance and precision): 10%
- Structure (logical consistency): 10%
- State of the art: 10%
- Argument and analysis: 60%
- Scientific standard: 10%

**Deadline for Term Papers: 15.09.2017**

## Course Plan

### I Theories and Preliminaries

#### 27.04.17 Session 1: Introduction

#### 04.05.17 Session 2: The Political Economy of Agricultural Policy

##### Required Reading:

De Gorter, H., & Swinnen, J. (2002). Political economy of agricultural policy. *Handbook of agricultural economics*, 2, 1893-1943.

#### 11.05.17 Session 3: The Globalization of Agriculture: Protectionism and Food Security

##### Required Reading:

Garmann, S. (2014). Does globalization influence protectionism? Empirical evidence from agricultural support. *Food Policy*, 49, 281-293.

Candel, J. J., Breeman, G. E., Stiller, S. J., & Termeer, C. J. (2014). Disentangling the consensus frame of food security: the case of the EU Common Agricultural Policy reform debate. *Food Policy*, 44, 47-58.

##### Additional Reading:

Ufkes, F. M. (1993). The globalization of agriculture. *Political Geography*, 12(3), 194-197.

Special Issue: The Globalization of Agriculture (1993), *Political Geography* 12(3), pp. 194-296

#### 18.05.17 Session 4: Domestic Factors and PO

##### Required Reading:

Thies, C. G., & Porche, S. (2007). The political economy of agricultural protection. *Journal of Politics*, 69(1), 116-127.

##### Additional Reading:

Olper, A., Falkowski, J., & Swinnen, J. (2014). Political reforms and public policy: evidence from agricultural and food policies. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 28(1), 21-47.

Jensen, N. M., & Shin, M. J. (2014). Globalization and Domestic Trade Policy Preferences: Foreign Frames and Mass Support for Agriculture Subsidies. *International Interactions*, 40(3), 305-324.

### II The Common Agricultural Policy of the EU

#### 25.05.17: Session 5: Bank Holiday, no class: Background reading: EU and CAP

##### Required Reading:

Wallace, H., Pollack, M. A., & Young, A. R. (Eds.). (2010). *Policy-*

*making in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, USA, Ch. 8: The Common Agricultural Policy: The Fortress Challenged, pp. 181-206.

Lelieveldt, H., & Princen, S. (2015). *The politics of the European Union*. Cambridge University Press, Ch 3: The Institutional Framework, pp. 47-75

#### **01.06.17 Session 6: CAP as Negotiation**

##### **Required Reading**

Bailer, S., Mattila, M., & Schneider, G. (2015). Money makes the EU go round: The objective foundations of conflict in the Council of Ministers. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 437-456.

Thomson, R., & Hosli, M. (2006). Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(2), 391-417.

##### **Additional Reading:**

Thomson, R. (2011). *Resolving controversy in the European Union: legislative decision-making before and after enlargement*. Cambridge University Press.

Egdell, J. M., & Thomson, K. J. (1999). The influence of UK NGOs on the common agricultural policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37(1), 121-131.

#### **08.06.17 Session 7: CAP Reform**

##### **Required Reading**

Daugbjerg, C., & Swinbank, A. (2007). The politics of CAP reform: trade negotiations, institutional settings and blame avoidance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(1), 1-22.

Kim, M. H. (2010). State Preferences and Institutional Feedback: CAP and European Integration. *International Political Science Review*, 31(3), 323-345.

##### **Additional Reading:**

Special Issue of *Journal of European Integration* (2009) 31(3): The Common Agricultural Policy: Continuity and Change

#### **15.06.17 Session 8: Bank Holiday: Reading of Background**

##### **Differentiation in the EU**

##### **Required Reading:**

Leuffen, D., Rittberger, B., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2012). *Differentiated Integration: Explaining Variation in the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, Ch. 1: The EU as a System of Differentiated Integration, pp. 1-28

#### **22.06.17 Session 9: Differentiation in CAP: Data**

##### **Required Reading**

Duttler, T., Holzinger, K., Malang, T., Schäubli, T., Schimmelfennig, F., & Winzen, T. (2017). Opting out from European Union legislation: The differentiation of secondary law. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(3), 406-428.

**Additional Reading:**

Malang, T. & K. Holzinger (2017):

### **III Global Agricultural Policy**

#### **29.06.17 Session 10: WTO-EU Relations**

**Required Reading:**

Poletti, A. (2010). Drowning protection in the multilateral bath: WTO judicialisation and European Agriculture in the Doha round. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 12(4), 615-633.

Daugbjerg, C., & Swinbank, A. (2007). The politics of CAP reform: trade negotiations, institutional settings and blame avoidance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(1), 1-22.

**Additional:**

Daugbjerg, C., & Swinbank, A. (2009). *Ideas, institutions, and trade: The WTO and the curious role of EU farm policy in trade liberalization*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Tudela-Marco, L., Garcia-Alvarez-Coque, J. M., & Martí-Selva, L. (2017). Do EU Member States Apply Food Standards Uniformly? A Look at Fruit and Vegetable Safety Notifications. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(2), 387-405.

#### **06.07.17 Session 11: WTO Negotiation**

**Required Reading:**

Davis, C. L. (2004). International institutions and issue linkage: Building support for agricultural trade liberalization. *American Political Science Review*, 98(01), 153-169.

da Conceição-Heldt, E. (2011). *Negotiating trade liberalization at the WTO: domestic politics and bargaining dynamics*. Springer, Ch. 2

**Additional Reading:**

da Conceição-Heldt, E. (2011). *Negotiating trade liberalization at the WTO: domestic politics and bargaining dynamics*. Springer.

#### **13.07.17 Session 12: New South-South Relations**

**Required Reading:**

Scoones, I., Amanor, K., Favareto, A., & Qi, G. (2016). A new politics of development cooperation? Chinese and Brazilian engagements in African agriculture. *World Development*, 81, 1-12.

**Additional Reading**

Amanor, K. S., & Chichava, S. (2016). South-south cooperation, agribusiness, and African agricultural development: Brazil and China in Ghana and Mozambique. *World Development*, 81, 13-23.

#### **20.07.17: Session 13: Food Security vs. Agri-Sovereignty**

**Required Reading:**

McMichael, P., & Schneider, M. (2011). Food security politics and the Millennium Development Goals. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(1), 119-139.

Lee, R. P. (2013). The politics of international agri-food policy: discourses of trade-oriented food security and food sovereignty. *Environmental Politics*, 22(2), 216-234.

**Additional Reading:**

Schanbacher, W. D. (2010). *The politics of food: The global conflict between food security and food sovereignty*. ABC-CLIO.

27.07.17: Session 14: **How to write Term Papers, Grading**