

**PS 122A – The Politics of European Integration**  
**Summer 2019 – Session A (May 28 – July 3)**  
**Room: Etcheverry 3108**

**Lecturer**

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OH: Wednesday, 1-2:30 pm, 715 Barrows

**Graduate Student Instructor**

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Tuesday, 1-2:30 pm, 715 Barrows

**Course Description**

For more than sixty years, the European Union has represented the world's most advanced experiment in governance beyond the nation-state. More recently, however, this experiment has become mired in financial turbulence and growing social protest, and for the first time faces the withdrawal of a member. This course takes a broad view of the promise as well as the challenges of European integration. It looks at the EU's institutional components, the events leading to the single currency in the 1990s, enlargement eastward into the post-socialist world, and the major crises that have been challenging Europe since 2008: the financial crisis, the rise of populism, and Brexit. These topics allow us to assess Europe's ability to craft adequate responses to the challenges posed by economic transformation, terrorism, multiculturalism, and worldwide financial interdependence, and to come to a better understanding of the EU's current and future role on the world stage.

**Course Policies**

Attendance at all lectures and discussion sections is required. Since lectures will supplement and complement the readings without always summarizing them, everyone should plan on taking notes on the lectures as well as readings. Material covered in lectures and class-wide discussions as well as sections may be included in the exam questions.

Make-up exams or extra-credit assignments will not be offered. Dates for the exams and final exam are listed on the syllabus. If you have conflicts with these dates, please let me know at the beginning of the term. Exceptions will be granted only in cases of serious illness, injury, or documented family emergencies.

Students needing accommodation through the DSP program or for other reasons should make sure their letters are submitted as early as possible, so that we can ensure we meet their needs to be successful in the course. If students wish to discuss their accommodation needs with me, I am happy to do so.

Academic integrity is a top priority. Misconduct, including cheating, on an exam or a quiz will trigger assignment of a failing grade for the course. No warnings will be issued. For further information, go to <http://sa.berkeley.edu/conduct>.

**Grading**

Attendance and Participation: 20%

Map Quiz: 5%

Midterm: 25%

Model EU Simulation: 20%

Final Exam: 30%

Students will have one map quiz, which will primarily be on a map of the EU along with some basic facts, and one midterm exam, in addition to a final. The final exam will take the entire session on the last day of class. Students will also participate in a Model EU simulation on the last week of class, where they will examine an issue from the perspective of a European actor and play that actor in a Council debate and vote. More details about the simulation will be forthcoming when course enrollment stabilizes.

## Required Readings

Costa, Olivier, and Nathalie Brack. *How the EU Really Works*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Routledge: 2019.

*(Yes, unfortunately, you do need the most recent version. There have been significant changes in the EU in the past couple of years, and I want to make sure there are no issues with out of date institutional information. There will be a copy of the textbook on Course Reserve in Moffitt.)*

Outside of the required textbook, readings will be made available through bCourses.

Assigned readings should be completed by Thursday of each week, so that students can fully participate in section on Fridays. If you divide the readings over the week, it should be the equivalent of only one or two readings per class session and some are quite short. The reading list below is subject to change.

## Course Schedule

### Week 1: The Theories and Origins of European Integration

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapters 1-2.
- Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, (Stanford University Press, 1958), Ch. 8 (283-299).
- Craig Parsons, "The Triumph of Community Europe," in *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, ed. Desmond Dinan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2014), 115-134.
- Mark Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), 357-398.
- Richard Baldwin, "The Causes of Regionalism," *The World Economy* 20:7 (1997), 865-888.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the central state, but how? Types of multi-level governance," *American Political Science Review* 97:2 (2003), 233-243.

### Week 2: Deepening and Widening

- **Tuesday, June 4: Map Quiz**
- Karen Alter and Sophie Meunier-Aitsahalia, "Judicial Politics in the European Community: European Integration and the Pathbreaking *Cassis de Dijon* decision," *Comparative Political Studies* 26:4 (January 1994), 535-561.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization* (Winter 1991), 19-56.
- Wayne Sandholz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics* 42:1 (1989): 95-128.

- [OPTIONAL] Christopher Preston, "Obstacles to EU Enlargement: The Classical Community Method and the Prospects for a Wider Europe," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 33:3 (September 1995), 451-463. [OPTIONAL]
- Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization* 55:1 (December 2001), 47-80.
- Milada Anna Vachudova, "EU Leverage and National interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52:1 (January 2014), 122-138.

### Week 3: European Institutions

- **Thursday, June 13: Midterm Exam**
- Costa and Brack, Chapters 3-7.
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Høyland, "Empowerment of the European Parliament," *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013), 171-189.
- Michael W. Bauer and Jarle Trondal, "The Administrative System of the European Union," in *The Palgrave Handbook of the European Administrative System*, ed. Michael W. Bauer and Jarle Trondal (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 16-21.

### Week 4: Identity in Crisis

- Kirk Bansak, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner, "How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers," *Science*, 354:6309 (October 2016), 217-222.
- Tom McTague, "How the UK lost Brexit battle" *Politico EU* (March 27, 2019), <https://www.politico.eu/article/how-uk-lost-brexit-eu-negotiation/>
- R. Daniel Kelemen, "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit," *Government and Opposition*, 52:S2 (April 2017), 211-238
- Cas Mudde, "Jean-Claude Juncker and the populist zeitgeist in European politics," in *On Extremism and Democracy in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 53-55.
- Cas Mudde, "Europe's Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making," *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (November/December 2016), 25-30.
- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, "Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37:6 (July 2011), 861-880.
- Béla Greskovits, "The Hollowing and Backsliding of Democracy in East Central Europe," *Global Policy* 6:51 (June 2015), 28-37.

### Week 5: Economies in Crisis

- **Monday, June 24: Simulation Written Assignment Due**
- Peter A. Hall, "The Mythology of European Monetary Union," *Swiss Political Science Review*, 19:4 (2005), 508-513.
- Wade Jacoby, "The EU Factor in Fat Times and in Lean: Did the EU Amplify the Boom and Soften the Bust?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52:1 (January 2014), 52-70.
- Stephen Bloom and Vladislava Petrova, "National Subversion of Supranational Goals: 'Pork-Barrel' Politics and EU Regional Aid," *Europe-Asia Studies* 65:8 (October 2013), 1599-1620.
- [OPTIONAL] Mary Daly, "EU Social Policy after Lisbon," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 44:3 (2006), 461-481. [OPTIONAL]

- Fritz Scharpf, “Monetary Union, Fiscal Crisis and the Disabling of Democratic Accountability,” in *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, eds. Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 108-142.
- Kevin Featherstone, “The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49:2 (2011), 193-217.
- Sebastian Oberthür, “Where to go from Paris? The European Union in climate geopolitics,” *Global Affairs* 2:2 (2016), 119-130.

### **Week 6: The Once and Future Europe**

- Mark Leonard, “Chapters 10-11,” *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 121-143.
- **Monday, July 1: Model EU Simulation**
- **Tuesday, July 2: Conclusions / Simulation Debriefing / Review**
- **Wednesday, July 3: Final Exam**