

PS 122A – The Politics of European Integration
Summer 2020 – Session D (July 6 – August 14)
10:00 am – 12:00 pm

Lecturer

Matthew Stenberg

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OH: Monday, 1:00 pm – 2:30 pm

Graduate Student Instructor

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OH: Tuesday, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm

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 is a graded component of your participation grade, but attendance can be done by viewing the lectures asynchronously as well (see below under Course Structure). 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. We have structured the exams to be as flexible as possible for your individual schedules while also making it possible to get graded material back to you in a timely fashion.

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, especially in the distance learning environment. Misconduct, including cheating, on an exam or a quiz will trigger assignment of a failing grade for the course. *Exams will be checked using turnitin.* No warnings will be issued. For further information, go to <http://sa.berkeley.edu/conduct>.

Student Resources

For students needing additional support with additional strain from distance learning, Coronavirus, or any other reason, Berkeley has some resources available for student support. In addition to the below, further resources may become available: check <https://sa.berkeley.edu/covid19> for the most recent updates.

Basic Needs Center (Food and Housing): <http://basicneeds.berkeley.edu/>

Counseling and Psychological Services: <https://uhs.berkeley.edu/counseling>

Disabled Students' Program: <https://dsp.berkeley.edu/>

Student Technology Equity Program: <https://technology.berkeley.edu/STEP> [Note: Mainly for Fall 2020, but requires an early application, so making you aware]

Grading

Participation: 15%

Midterm 1 [History and Theory]: 15%

Midterm 2 [Institutions]: 15%

Model EU Simulation: 30%

Final Exam [EU Responds to Crises]: 25%

Students will have two midterm exams, in addition to a final. Exams will all be structured as open book, take home exams. Exams will be on bCourses and will be submitted using the Quizzes function. They will be graded blind and subsequently run through turnitin. Students will have a set period of time to take the exam over the course of multiple days, to accommodate different responsibilities, time zones, and other issues that might arise. Two class periods are also cancelled (dates noted on syllabus) to maximize student's opportunity to take the exams.

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. Specific assignments will be given once class enrollment stabilizes. This assignment will partially be done individually and partially done in groups that meet online. There will be two components to your Model EU grade. The first is a written component, which will be graded for the group as a whole. Each group, representing one EU member state, will prepare a short strategy document as well as one piece of proposed legislation. The second is an individual participation component. Each student will be graded as to their active participation in both the in-class Zoom portions of the simulation as well as their use of the online ICONS simulation platform. Attendance for the in-class Zoom sessions of the Model EU is the only part of the course that is *essential* to be synchronous. Simulation participation will be graded on two things: your accuracy representing your country and your individual active participation in the simulation.

Course Technology Structure

Per campus directives, our course will be held online. We acknowledge that this both can make certain aspects of learning more difficult and introduce new complications to the learning environment for students. We are attempting to adjust the course to be as effective as possible for students. As such, we will use the following course structure:

1. The course will be offered synchronously.
 - a. You must be logged in to Zoom with your Berkeley log-in.
2. Live lectures will be recorded and made available online.
 - a. Files must be viewed online and cannot be downloaded.
 - b. You must be logged in using your Berkeley e-mail to access these recordings.
 - c. Campus is in the middle of transitioning to a new video service within bCourses, Kaltura. At present Kaltura has issues uploading longer files that make it impractical to upload lectures with the quick turnaround times needed for a summer course. If this responsiveness improves, we will transition to storing lectures in Kaltura directly on bCourses instead of on the Google Drive.
 - i. YouTube videos used in class will be linked to via Kaltura (the Media Gallery tab in bCourses) after lecture.
3. Videos will be taken down just before you gain access to the exam (ie, the first exam is at the end of Week 2 of the course, so you will have access to the lecture videos for weeks 1-2 until the exam is issued).
 - a. Note: By enrolling in the class, you are consenting to the slight possibility of your likeness potentially appearing on video – efforts will be made to minimize this possibility. Videos will be uploaded to a server, with download disabled. Students should NOT share videos outside of those enrolled in the course, to ensure student privacy.
 - i. We will use Zoom to keep the spotlight function on the instructor, which should keep the video from automatically jumping to other speakers.
 - ii. Student voices will still be heard in the video. If you are uncomfortable with your voice being heard on video in lecture, you can submit your question using the Zoom chat function and one of the instructors can read it aloud.
 - iii. I do ask that, if possible under your current circumstances, you have your video on during the lecture. It is helpful for the instructors to better gauge understanding of the material and for us to feel less like we are lecturing to a void.
 - b. Slides will be made available following the lecture as PDFs and will always remain available.
4. Attendance will be taken in lecture and contribute towards your participation grade; however, it can very easily be made up if you cannot attend a lecture synchronously. If you cannot attend a lecture, you need to post a short question you have from the lecture in a bCourses thread before section that week. (For example, if you miss a Wednesday and Thursday lecture, you should watch both and post two separate discussion questions on the relevant threads before your section on Friday). This is not intended as any sort of punishment for missing lecture – we know there are myriad challenges that all students are facing now. It is an accountability mechanism just to make sure you can't fall too far behind in the class. Falling behind in a short summer course can be very hard to recover from, and we want you to do as well as possible.
5. Exams will be offered as take home, open book exams on bCourses.

6. Sections will be partially recorded. When material is presented or reviewed in a lecture style, it will be recorded and shared. When it is Q&A / group discussion, sections will not be recorded for student privacy.
7. **Important:** There are only two lecture class periods where it is essential for you to attend synchronously – the Model EU, which will be held the Monday and Tuesday of the last week of class.

Required Materials

Simulation:

ICONS. ICONS is an online foreign policy system run by the University of Maryland. We will be running the model EU partially through ICONS due to having to do remote instruction. Access to our class simulation *will be \$13.00 per student*, which can be paid online. Specific links to enroll will become available July 14 (our simulation is only open for one month, so this will be the earliest access date). If students are unable to purchase access (purchasing does require a credit card), please let me know and I will try to help figure out a means. A specific link to your purchase will be provided as soon as our simulation opens – please do not try to purchase directly on the ICONS site beforehand, as we want to make sure you're being assigned to our course's simulation!

Textbook:

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

You can acquire a relatively cheap copy on Amazon, rent a kindle version for the semester, or access an electronic version of the textbook online for free through the Berkeley library at the following link:

<http://oskicat.berkeley.edu/record=b25613692~S52>

I cannot put the PDFs of all of the assigned chapters on bCourses due to fair use restrictions; however, it should be easy to access the book through the library proxy server, and the library has told me our access allows for unlimited users.

Outside of the required textbook, readings will be made available on bCourses as PDFs.

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*, Chapter 1. [Chapter 2 is an optional additional reading – strongly recommended if you feel unsure about the theory].
- 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, 2nd 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

- 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.
- **Midterm 1: Take Home Exam, issued July 16, 1:00 pm. Due by July 18, 11:59 pm.**
 - Suggestion: You may want to wait until after your Section meets on Friday to take the exam, if your schedule allows.

Week 3: European Institutions

- Costa and Brack, Chapters 3-4, 5.1 (this section only), 6-7.
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Høyland, “Empowerment of the European Parliament,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013), 171-189.
- Peter A. Hall, “The Mythology of European Monetary Union,” *Swiss Political Science Review*, 19:4 (2005), 508-513.
- Cas Mudde, “Europe’s Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making,” *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (November/December 2016), 25-30.
- **No lecture on Thursday, July 23. Please use this time for your exam, if you are able.**
- **Midterm 2: Take Home Exam, issued July 23, 10:00 am. Due by July 25, 11:59 pm.**

Week 4: Economies in Crisis

- [OPTIONAL] 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. [OPTIONAL]
- 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.
- Scott Greer, Anniek de Ruijter, and Eleanor Brooks. “The COVID-19 Pandemic: Failing forward in public health,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of EU Crises*, eds. Marianne Riddervold, Akasemi Newsome, and Jarle Trondal (2020).

Week 5: Identity in Crisis

- **Monday, August 3: Group Simulation Written Assignment Due**
- 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/>
- Sara Hobolt, Thomas J. Leeper, and James Tilley, “Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of Brexit,” *British Journal of Political Science* forthcoming (2020)
- R. Daniel Kelemen, “The European Union’s Authoritarian Equilibrium,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:3 (2020), 481-499.
- Peter Nedergaard, “Borders and the EU legitimacy problem: The 2015–16 European Refugee Crisis,” *Policy Studies* 40:1 (2019), 80-91.

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, August 10 and Tuesday, August 11: Model EU Simulation**
- **Wednesday, August 12: Conclusions / Simulation Debriefing / Review**
- **Thursday, August 13: No Class.**
- **Final: Take Home Exam, issued August 13, 10:00 am. Due by August 15, 11:59 pm.**