

PS 122A – The Politics of European Integration

Fall 2020

11:00 am – 12:00 pm

Room: Zoom ID#:

Lecturer

Matthew Stenberg

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OH: Friday, 1:00-2:30 pm

OH Zoom ID#:

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 component of your participation grade, but attendance can be met by viewing the lectures asynchronously as well (see below under Course Structure) – *with the exception of the Model EU week*. 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. Students who cannot attend synchronously should post a short question they have from the lecture video in the relevant bCourses thread. Please note: we will not be actively monitoring/answering questions in this thread, so if it is a question you'd like an answer to, please ask in class, come to office hours, etc!

Make-up quizzes or extra-credit assignments will not be offered. We have structured the exam 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. Late work will be penalized 1/3 of a letter grade per day.

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 paper will trigger assignment of a failing grade for the course. *Papers 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>

Grading

Grade Distribution:

A: >93%	B-: 80%-83%	D+: 67%-70%
A-: 90%-93%	C+: 77%-80%	D: 63%-67%
B+: 87%-90%	C: 73%-77%	D-: 60%-63%
B: 83%-87%	C-: 70%-73%	F: <60%

Grade Breakdown:

Participation (Section grade): 10%

Short Paper: 15%

Short Exam: 15%

Model EU Simulation: 25%

Reading Responses: 10%

Final Paper: 25%

Students will need to complete over the course of the semester: one short paper, one short exam, two reading responses, participation in a Model EU simulation, and one research paper.

Your short paper will be a 3 page paper responding to the following theoretical prompt: "Given what you've learned about the history and evolution of the European Union so far, which of the two primary theories do you think **best** explains the process of European integration? Why? Consider both theoretical arguments and historical instances in your essay, and be concrete with your examples and illustrations." It will be due on bCourses before class on September 30. This paper requires no outside research.

Your short exam will be an open book, take home exam. It will be on bCourses and will be submitted using the Quizzes function. 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. One class period is also cancelled (dates noted on syllabus) to maximize student's opportunity to take the exam. It will be multiple choice/fill in the blank.

During Part 3 of the course (The Contemporary EU in Crisis) students should post **two (2)** reading responses on a bCourses discussion thread in your SECTION bCourses. These should be about a paragraph long and should engage with the readings for that class period. They will be due before lecture on the corresponding day. If a lecture is scheduled for multiple class periods, they will be due before lecture on the final day. They must cover at least two different topics (ie, you cannot save both of your reading responses for Brexit). You may choose which two lecture periods to focus on from this section of the course. These are not the same as a discussion post for asynchronous lecture viewing. Threads will be available for readings earlier in the course to count for participation grade, but for the assignment, it must be on Part 3 of the course.

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 is primarily a group assignment, though there will be some individual components. There will be three 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 (3 pages) as well as one piece of proposed legislation. The second is an individual participation component. Each student will be graded on their individual active participation in the Model EU. The final component is a brief group participation grade; each group member will rate their groupmates' active contributions on a 1-5 scale; the average of those scores will be given as a group participation grade. 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.

Finally, you will do one research paper (10-12 pages, double spaced) on a topic of your choice pertaining to the EU. While this can intersect with domestic politics of a member state if you so choose, it must tie directly to the EU itself. Your GSI will assign you small interim assignments (for example, an outline, and a library preparation guide) throughout the semester for participation points as part of your section grade to make sure you stay on track. Some of these are already scheduled and are on the syllabus, though more may be added. The final paper will be due by December 14 (the date of our final exam window from the university).

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. The link is as follows:
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1hEDEn62c40DvQsW0_2dR2FuocEJlq_fb?usp=sharing
 - 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. 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. Lecture recordings will be taken down after two weeks (we will run out of space on the Google Drive)
 - 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. I personally struggle to follow the chat while also lecturing, but the GSIs will read out any questions posted there that you don't feel comfortable asking aloud.
 - iii. I do ask that, if possible under your current circumstances, please 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 just prior to the lecture as PDFs and will always remain available.
- 4. If you cannot attend a lecture, you need to post a short question you have from the lecture in a bCourses thread before your next section. (For example, if you miss a Wednesday and Friday lecture, you should watch both and post two separate discussion questions on the relevant threads before your section on Monday). 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. These cannot be made up after the fact, though you are of course welcome to watch any videos that are still online.
- 5. Your midterm exam will be offered as take home, open book exam on bCourses. It will be multiple choice/fill in the blank based.
- 6. **Important:** The only lecture class periods where it is *essential* for you to attend synchronously are the Model EU, which will be held after Thanksgiving break.

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 midsemester (our simulation is only open for one month, so this will be the earliest access date). If students are unable to purchase access (purchasing requires 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 and to your specific role!

Textbook:

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

Access an electronic version of the textbook online for free through the 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. You can also buy a used version on Amazon, if you prefer a paper copy.

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

Assigned readings should be completed in conjunction with the appropriate lecture. The reading list below is subject to change.

Course Schedule

Section 1: History of European Integration

August 26: Course Introduction

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 1.

August 28: Sovereignty and Regionalism after World War II

- Richard Baldwin, "The Causes of Regionalism," *The World Economy* 20:7 (1997), 865-888.

August 31: Theories of European Integration

- Mark Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), 357-398.
- 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.

September 2: Early Military Integration

- Sean Kay, "Chapter 2: The Formative Period," in *NATO and the Future of European Security*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998, pp. 13-34.

September 4: Early Civilian Integration

- 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.
- Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, (Stanford University Press, 1958), Ch. 8 (283-299).

September 9: Domestic Barriers to Integration

- Jean-Marie Palayret, "De Gaulle Challenges the Community: France, the Empty Chair Crisis, and the Luxembourg Compromise," in Jean-Marie Palayret, Helen Wallace, and Pascaline Winand, eds. *Visions, Votes and Vetoes*. (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006), 45-77.

September 11: International Barriers to Integration

- Bill Lucarelli, "EMU: The First Experiment," in *Endgame for the Euro: A Critical History*, London: Palgrave Pivot, 2013, pp. 24-37.

September 14-16: Institutional Integration

- 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.

September 18-21: The Enlargement Process and Post-Socialism

- 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.

- 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.
- Mitchell Orenstein, “What Happened in East European (Political) Economies? A Balance Sheet for Neoliberal Reform,” *East European Politics & Societies* 23:4 (Fall 2009), 479-490.

September 23: Neighborhood Policy and Russia

- Elena A. Korosteleva, “Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Union: Bringing ‘the political’ back in the eastern region,” *European Politics and Society* 17:S1 (2016), 67-81.

September 25: Economic and Monetary Union

- Peter A. Hall, “The Mythology of European Monetary Union,” *Swiss Political Science Review*, 19:4 (2005), 508-513.

Section 2: European Institutions

September 28: Commission

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapters 3.2, 7.1.

September 30: Council(s)

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapters 3.1, 4.1, 7.2.
Short Paper Due

October 2: Court of Justice

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 5.1.

October 5: Parliament

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 4.2.
- [OPTIONAL] Simon Hix and Bjorn Høyland, “Empowerment of the European Parliament,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013), 171-189.

October 7: European Parties

- Ariadna Ripoll Servent, “Political Groups and National Party Delegations,” *The European Parliament*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 183-215.

October 9: Monetary Governance

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 6.2.
- Research paper topic due

October 12: Smaller Institutions

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapters 6.1, 6.3.

October 14: Exam on Institutions and History

NO CLASS. Multiple Choice/short answer exam on bCourses. Quiz window opens Wednesday, October 14, 11:00 am. Quiz window closes Friday, October 16, 10:59 am

Section 3: The Contemporary EU in Crisis

October 16-19: Eurocrisis

- 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.
- 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.

October 21: Coronavirus Response

- 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).

October 23: Library Resources and Researching Remotely

- **Guest Speaker: Natalia Estrada, Political Science Subject Librarian**
- [Library Resources Guide Due](#)

October 26: Regional Policy

- 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.

October 28: EU and Climate Change

- Sebastian Oberthür, "Where to go from Paris? The European Union in climate geopolitics," *Global Affairs* 2:2 (2016), 119-130.

October 30: Energy

- Andrea Prontera, "Chapter 1", *The New Politics of Energy Security in the European Union and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Read pp. 9-19 and 35-40 closely. Skim pp. 1-9 and 19-35.

November 2: European Identity Construction

- Kristine Mitchell, "Rethinking the 'Erasmus Effect' on European Identity," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53:2 (2015), 330-348.
- Cas Mudde, "Europe's Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making," *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (November/December 2016), 25-30.

November 4-6: Democratic Backsliding

- Péter Krekó and Zsolt Enyedi, "Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism," *Journal of Democracy* 29:3 (July 2018), 39-51.
- Watch excerpt of Viktor Orbán's speech on Illiberalism, available on the Media Gallery on bCourses. Watch from 21:15 in the video to 28:20.
- R. Daniel Kelemen, "The European Union's Authoritarian Equilibrium," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:3 (2020), 481-499.

November 9-November 13: Migration 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.

- Peter Nedergaard, “Borders and the EU legitimacy problem: The 2015–16 European Refugee Crisis,” *Policy Studies* 40:1 (2019), 80-91.
- Paper Outline Due: November 11

November 16-20: Brexit week

- 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)
- Friday, November 20: Group Simulation Written Assignment Due
 - Strategy Document to be submitted on bCourses
 - Proposed legislation to be submitted on ICONS

November 23: Conclusions and discussion

- Mark Leonard, “Chapters 10-11,” *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 121-143.

November 30-December 4: Model EU Week

- **Live attendance is mandatory!**
- Friday, December 4: Submit Group Member Peer Grade on bCourses

December 14: Final Paper Due