

PS 122A – The Politics of European Integration

Fall 2021

9:00 am – 10:00 am

Room: Cory 247

Lecturer

Matthew Stenberg

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OH (in person): Monday, 10:15-11:15 am

OH (in person): *** Social Sciences Building

OH (Zoom): Tuesday, 4-5 pm

OH Zoom ID#: *** **** *****

Course Description

For seventy 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

In-person lecture attendance is strongly encouraged but will not actively be incorporated into your participation grade – *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. Our assigned room does not have course capture, unfortunately, so we are not able to provide a high quality video of lecture as a replacement for in-person attendance.

Make-up quizzes or extra-credit assignments will not be offered. However, if you need an extension on a written assignment for any reason and ask in a timely fashion (in advance), we will do our best to accommodate you. Otherwise, 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.

While the university has a mask mandate in effect, there can be no eating in class. Medical or DSP exceptions to this are of course fine. I am happy to revisit this policy if the university mask mandate is lifted.

Academic integrity is a top priority. 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, 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/>
Ombudsperson for Students: <https://sa.berkeley.edu/Ombuds/>
Student Learning Center: <https://slc.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%

Assignments:

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.

Short Paper

Your short paper will be a 3-4 page paper, double spaced, 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 on September 29. This paper requires no outside research.

Midterm Exam

Your short exam will be an in class, written exam on Sections 1 and 2 of the course. It will be a combination of shorter and longer answers.

Reading Responses

During Section 3 of the course (The Contemporary EU in Crisis) students should post **three (3)** reading responses on a bCourses discussion thread on 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 three different topics (ie, you cannot save both of your reading responses for Brexit). You may choose which three lecture periods to focus on from this section of the

course. Threads will be available for readings earlier in the course to count for *participation* grade, but for the *assignment*, it must be on Section 3 of the course.

Model EU Simulation

Students will also participate in a Model EU simulation during 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 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 (3 pages, single spaced) 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. Additionally, a group participation grade will be incorporated; each group member will rate their groupmates' active contributions on a 1-10 scale; these scores will be incorporated into your individual participation grade in conjunction with the instructor's grade. Participating in class for the Model EU is *essential*. Simulation participation will be graded on two things: your accuracy representing your country and your individual active participation in the simulation.

Final Paper

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 bibliography) 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 16 (the date of our final exam window from the university).

Course Technology Structure (if need be)

Per campus directives, our course will be held in person. However, we may be required to move online due to power outages, wildfires, a return to COVID restrictions, or some new as yet unforeseen development. In this case, we will (hopefully temporarily) return to lecturing on Zoom. The backup Zoom room link is provided here: *** **** *. If we do have to return to Zoom lectures, I will e-mail out new course policies pertaining to online learning on an updated syllabus.

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. This will allow the instructors to keep track of participation outside the classroom in addition to in-class, in-person participation. For students who, at the time, are uncomfortable being in an in-person environment with more interaction due to the public health situation in December may have the option to participate in the Model EU primarily (though perhaps not entirely) through a combination of ICONS and Zoom; specific policies to be determined as we get closer. 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:

https://search.library.berkeley.edu/permalink/01UCS_BER/1thfj9n/alma991048443219706532

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, all readings are 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 25: Course Introduction

- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 1.1. [Chapter 1.2 is optional if you'd like a preview of the rest of the semester].
- *Individual introductory survey due [Google Form]*

August 27: Sovereignty and Regionalism after World War II

- Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. "Three Cheers for Comparative Regionalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, eds. Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 621-649.

August 30: 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.
 - Skip 387-390
- 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 1: 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 3: Early Civilian Integration

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

September 6: Labor Day – No Class

September 8: 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 10: 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 13-15: 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 17-20: 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 22: 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 24: 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 27: Commission

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

September 29: Council(s)

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

October 1: Court of Justice

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

October 4: 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 6: European Parties

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

October 8: Monetary Governance

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

October 11: Smaller Institutions

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

October 13: 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.

October 15: Exam on Institutions and History

Exam in class.

Section 3: The Contemporary EU in Crisis

October 18-22: 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 25: Library Resources for Final Projects

- Library Resources Bibliography Guide Due *Before Class*

October 27: 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, Jarle Trondal, and Akasemi Newsome (New York: Palgrave, 2021), 747-764.

October 29: 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.

November 1: EU and Climate Change

- Walker, Hayley and Katja Biedenkopf, “The historical evolution of EU climate leadership and four scenarios for its future,” in *EU Climate Diplomacy*, Stephen Minas and Vassilis Ntousas (London: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 33-46

November 3: 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 5-8: 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 10-November 12: 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 10*

November 15-19: 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 19: Group Simulation Written Assignment Due*
 - Strategy Document to be submitted on bCourses
 - Proposed legislation to be submitted on ICONS

November 22: Conclusions and discussion

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

November 24-26: No Class – Fall Break

November 29-December 3: Model EU Week

- **Attendance is mandatory!**
- *Friday, December 3: Submit Group Member Peer Grade on bCourses*

December 16: Final Paper Due