

PS 122A – The Politics of European Integration

Summer 2021 – Session A (May 24 – July 2)

10:00 am – 12:00 pm

Room: Zoom ID#: *** * * * * * * *

Lecturer

Matthew Stenberg

Stenberg@berkeley.edu

OH: Tuesday, 1:00 pm – 2:30 pm

Graduate Student Instructor

Jacob Liming

jacobliming37@berkeley.edu

OH: Friday, 12:00 pm – 2:00 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, readings, 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>

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%

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.

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. There will be two components to this individual component. Each student will be graded as to their active participation by the instructors in both the in-class Zoom portions of the simulation as well as their use of the online ICONS simulation platform. Students will also submit a peer grade for their group mates, online on bCourses, which will be incorporated by the instructors into the final 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.

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. Campus has transitioned to make Zoom recordings available to stream through bCourses via Kaltura. This will be our default setting. If the new streaming option through bCourses has errors, we will transition to making the videos available via a Google Drive.
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 prior to 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 the relevant bCourses discussion thread before the first lecture the following week. You should additionally post the time stamp in the video that prompts your question. (For example, if you miss a Wednesday and Friday lecture, you should watch both and post two separate discussion questions in the relevant thread before your section on Monday). When an exam is issued (following weeks 2, 3, and 6), you will only have until the exam is issued (as opposed to the following Monday) to make up lectures, as the videos will be taken down. Response threads will be locked at this time. These posts are 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. 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. Midterm exams will be made available to students following the second section on Friday (4:00 pm). They will be due before lecture on the following Monday (10:00 am). The final exam will be made available at 10:00 am on Thursday, July 1, and will be due by Saturday, July 3, at midnight.
6. Discussion sections will be held synchronously and section attendance is mandatory. When material is presented in a lecture style, part of sections will be recorded and shared with students for review. However, since sections will be primarily conversation based, the vast majority of sections will not be recorded to respect the privacy of students. For more details on discussion section policies, please see the section syllabus.
7. **Important:** There are only three lecture class periods where it is essential for you to attend synchronously – the Model EU, which will be held the Monday-Wednesday 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 sometime after June 1 (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 evening 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

- **Submit introductory survey by Wednesday, May 26.**
- Olivier Costa and Nathalie Brack, *How the EU Really Works*, Chapter 1.1. [Chapter 1.2 is optional if you would like a preview of the rest of the semester. Chapter 2 is also an optional additional reading – strongly recommended if you feel unsure about the theory].
- Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), Ch. 8 (283-299 only).
- 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 Vetoos*. (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006), 45-77.
- 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 362-364; 387-390.
- 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.
- 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

NO CLASS MAY 31: Memorial Day

- 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.
- 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.
- **Midterm 1: Take Home Exam, issued June 4, 4:00 pm. Due by June 7, 10:00 am.**

Week 3: European Institutions

- Costa and Brack, Chapters 3-4, 5.1 (this section only), 6.1-6.3, 7.
- 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.
- **Midterm 2: Take Home Exam, issued June 11, 4:00 pm. Due by June 14, 10:00 am.**

Week 4: Economies in Crisis

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

Week 5: Identity in Crisis

- **Tuesday, June 22: Group Simulation Written Assignment Due Before Class**
- 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 the 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.
- 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.

Week 6: The Once and Future Europe

Synchronous attendance is mandatory this week for the Model EU.

- Mark Leonard, “Chapters 10-11,” Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 121-143.
- **Monday, June 28 and Tuesday, June 29: Model EU Simulation Debates and Writing**
- **Wednesday, June 30: Model EU Simulation Voting / Conclusions / Simulation Debriefing / Review**
- **Thursday, July 1: No Class.**
- **Final: Take Home Exam, issued July 1, 10:00 am. Due by July 3, 11:59 pm.**