

GEST 590: POLITICS IN EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Time: Thursday: 2-4.30 pm	Classroom: Healy 106
Office hours: Wednesday 2-4 pm - see sign up sheet on Canvas for additional times	Office: ICC 504

1 Overview

Topics Addressed

This course examines three major crises in European Politics: the Eurocrisis and the future of the monetary union, the rise of populist parties in West and Eastern Europe and the threat to European Unity following Brexit and the refugee crisis. We situate these crises in the larger History of European integration starting with the creation of the ECSC and EEC in the post-war period, followed by the deepening of European integration through the Single Market and the European Union. We also examine each crises from the perspective of major debates in comparative political economy (e.g. growth models and varieties of capitalism/welfare states, the transformation of democracy and party systems in Europe or the political consequences of population flows and ethnic diversity). Students will also develop a working knowledge of the European Union, its institutional architecture, formal and informal governance structure, as well as its policy-making capacities (or lack of).

We will cover questions such as:

- How did Europe “achieve” the Single Market? and what’s next?
- What does the European Union do? and how?
- What **doesn’t** the European Union do? and why?
- How do domestic politics affect EU politics? (and vice versa)
- Why did the European Union enlarge to the East? With what consequences?
- What are the consequences of the refugee crisis on European politics?
- What explains the recent success of populist parties? With what consequences for the European Union?

Course Structure

The class combines lectures and discussion. Lectures are written in dialogue with the week's readings. Readings need to be completed prior to the class under which they are listed. You should come prepared to engage the readings in class discussion. Assigned readings are a mix of:

- General overview pieces chosen for the substantive knowledge they provide (be ready to be quizzed on these readings)
- Political science articles mixing theory and empirical analyses
- Thought pieces chosen to foster debate on the key issues confronting the European Union today

2 Evaluation

Class participation, quizzes and newspaper articles (20 %)

Participation is extremely important. Students should speak several times during each session, and their contributions should be informed by the weekly readings. If in class participation is not your strength, please make an appointment to meet with me early on in the semester: we can work together to help you become more comfortable speaking up in a public setting.

To encourage participation, I strongly recommend that you take notes when doing your reading. Make sure to bring your notes to class. When reading and preparing for class, you should have the following issues in mind:

- A parsimonious summary of the argument
- Contradictions and agreements between the readings
- Conceptual fit between the theory and the data
- The quality of the empirical evidence
- Policy implications, either explicit or implicit, of the readings. Under what conditions, if any, are those implications likely to apply? Under what conditions might these implications be obsolete?
- What are the assumptions implicitly made by the authors (e.g. assumptions about how politics work, who are immigrants, what politicians might want, etc...)? Do these assumptions differ across readings?

European Union in the news: Throughout the semester I will also hand out a total of **3 short quizzes** asking substantive questions on the institutions and governance structure of the European Union. These quizzes are “open book.”

Finally, you will be in charge of monitoring the news for interesting coverage of EU politics. First, I will pair you up with one of your peers. Second, together, pick two of the following topics (all need to be covered):

- The EU and Democratic Decline in Eastern Europe

- Eurosceptic Populism in Southern Europe
- Refugee/Immigration Control in the EU
- The EU’s Energy and Environmental Policy
- Regulation of the Internal Market and Trade Policy
- The Eurozone [anything that relates to it, e.g. “the end of the Greek bailout”]
- Brexit
- The Franco-German Relationship
- The EU’s Foreign Policy [includes the Eastern boarder and relationship with Russia]
- EU Governance [anything that speaks to how the EU makes decisions and implements them]

Each week, as a pair and by **Wednesday noon**, you will share with the class (on Canvas) a link to an article –published in the last 7 days – relevant to **one** of these two topics. You will add two small paragraphs, one briefly summarizing the issue covered in the article and the other explaining how it ties to the class, why you think it is interesting, or any other comments you wish to share. I will pick two articles and we will briefly discuss them at the beginning of each class.

To get started, I suggest you scan EU news using a daily briefing such as Politico’s Playbook: <https://www.politico.eu/newsletter/brussels-playbook/> or one of these information websites focusing on the European Union: <https://www.internationalaffairsresources.com/eurunion.html#1>. Once you have identified something interesting, look for articles covering this topic in one of the major newspapers and magazines (in my experience, The FT and the Economist are a safe bet). You need not limit yourself to traditional newspapers, but you have to do due diligence to find out more about the publication you end up relying on (e.g. the piece could be part of a business group’s lobbying strategy).

Analytical paper (20%, includes a rewrite option)

The topic for this paper will be handed out at the end of class on week two (!). It is due at the beginning of class the following week.

Your paper must be typewritten, double-spaced with one-inch margins, and must not exceed 2500 words (about 10 pages). Attach a separate cover page that includes your name and a substantive title. Please do not place your name on any of the interior pages (e.g. in a header). As long as you stay within the assigned readings (and there is no reason to go beyond them), you may dispense with a bibliography and simply use this simple referencing format: “A second factor in Europe’s success was, paradoxically, the very intensity of the war” (Hitchcock, p. 3). Submit this paper electronically on Canvas. The title of the document should be “LASTNAME.analyticalP_2018”

Two policy memos (2 *10%)

The memos should be on any two of the topics listed above under the “European Union in the News” assignment. Through Canvas, I will provide more information on how to pick a memo

topic and on how to write the memo. Memos are due any time between weeks 7 and 10 (one memo per week only).

Examples of memo topics (picked by students) from previous years:

To: Johannes Hahn, Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy & Enlargement Negotiations
From: XXXX, Director-General, DG NEAR
Re: Adjusting European Neighborhood Policy in Response to the Conflict in Ukraine

To: Jerzy Buzek, European Parliament Committee for Industry, Research, and Energy, Committee Chair
From: XXXX, Deputy Director-General for Energy
Re: The Future of Nord Stream 2

To: Michel Barnier, Taskforce on Article 50 negotiations with the United Kingdom
From: XXXX, Senior advisor to Brexit Chief Negotiator
Re: Protecting citizens rights post-Brexit

Each memo must be typewritten, double-spaced with one-inch margins, and must not exceed 750 words. Attach a separate cover page that includes your name and a substantive title. Please do not place your name on any of the interior pages (e.g. in a header). Submit the memos electronically on Canvas. The title of each document should be “LASTNAME_memo1.2018” , “LASTNAME_memo2.2018”

Position paper (15%, written in connection with the class simulation)

The topic for the position paper will be handed out at the end of class on week 11. It is due at the beginning of class on week 12.

The position paper must be typewritten, double-spaced with one-inch margins, and must not exceed 1250 words. Attach a separate cover page that includes your name and a substantive title. Please do not place your name on any of the interior pages (e.g. in a header). Submit this paper electronically on Canvas. The title of the document should be “LASTNAME_positionP.2018”

Take home exam (25%)

At the end of class on week 13, I will hand out two essay questions. You will be asked to answer one. It will be due by midnight on Sunday of week 15. For illustrative purposes, here is one of last year’s essay questions:

- Since 2008, the European Union finds itself in the throes of several overlapping crises. Which one(s) pose the most significant challenges, and why? In other words, in what way(s) specifically do they call into question the EU’s structure, operations, and mission?

The final exam must be typewritten, double-spaced with one-inch margins, and must not exceed 2000 words. The format is an essay, so citations and footnotes are appropriate. I recommend using the following citation format: “A second factor in Europe’s success was, paradoxically, the very intensity of the war (Hitchcock, p. 3). Please attach a separate bibliography (which does not count against the 2000 word limit) that lists all sources that you drew on in your essay. Submit this paper electronically on Canvas. The title of the document should be “LAST-NAME_final.2018”.

Academic integrity

Please familiarize yourself with the letter and spirit of Georgetown University's standards for academic integrity: <https://sites.google.com/a/georgetown.edu/gsas-graduate-bulletin>.

Late assignments and attendance

There are no extensions on any written work without documentation of medical emergency. Any late work will be downgraded one full grade every day it is late, beginning immediately after the hour of the stated deadline. Moreover, attendance counts towards your participation grade. More than two unexcused absences will result in a half letter grade reduction of your final grade.

3 Administrative details

Office Hours: on Wednesdays from 2 until 4 pm. You can make an appointment using Canvas (guarantees a 20 min slot).

Emails: I only answer work-related emails after 7 pm. Emails should be limited to 1) setting up office hours outside of the weekly slots mentioned on Canvas, 2) emergencies. If you have questions regarding something *already mentioned in class* such as paper format or final paper due dates, please check the syllabus and the Canvas discussion board, or email your peers before emailing me.

Class website (Canvas): For issues and questions that might benefit everyone in the seminar, I strongly encourage you to use the website discussion forum. I will answer questions posted on the discussion board every day, also after 9 pm.

Inside and Outside of Class: As a member of the SFS faculty, I unequivocally support and will defend your right to pursue knowledge and be treated with respect and dignity regardless of your identity, origin and political orientation. As a political scientist, a French citizen, a British national and a foreigner living in the United States, I have accumulated knowledge and experiences that I am very happy and eager to share with you, would you feel the need. In this divisive political climate, I hope you will feel safe reaching out to me with your concerns.

Schedule overview and Important deadlines:

- *Week 0 (08/28)*. **Summer Readings**
Submit answers to summer reading questions by midnight.
- *Week 1 (08/30)*. **Introduction**

The Origins

- *Week 2 (09/06)*. **The Launch of European Integration after WWII**
- *Week 3 (09/13)*. **How to Make a Market: the Single European Act and Beyond**
Analytical paper is due.
- *Week 4 (09/20)*. **Incomplete Institutions: the Monetary Union and the "Failed" Constitutional Treaty**
Quiz 1 [covers readings from weeks 2, 3 and 4, as well as slides from weeks 2 and 3]
- *Week 5 (09/27)*. **EU Policy-Making: Theory and Practice**
Quiz 2 [covers week 5 readings]
- *Week 6 (10/11)*. **The "Missing Policies": Social Policy and Employment Policy**
Quiz 3 [covers week 6 readings]

The European Union in Crisis

- *Week 7 (10/18)*. **The Great Recession and the Eurozone Crisis**
Memo week (1/4)
- *Week 8 (10/25)*. **The EU and the Regulation of Population Flows: from the 2004 Enlargement to the Refugee Crisis**
Memo week (2/4)
- *Week 9 (11/01)*. **Explaining the Success of Populist Parties since 2008**
Memo week (3/4)
- *Week 10 (11/08)*. **Taking Stock of the European Union's Response**
Memo week (4/4)
- *Week 11 (11/15)*. **Simulation: pre-Summit Workshops**
- *Week 12 (11/29)*. **Simulation: Day 1**
Position paper is due
- *Week 13 (12/06)*. **Simulation: Day 2**
Topic for take home exam handed out at the end of class
- *Week 14 (12/13)*. **Will the EU Disintegrate? Crystal Ball Forecast Informed by Theory**
- *Week 15*. **End of reading period**
Turn in final take-home exam.

4 Readings

With the exceptions of 3 book, all book chapters and all journal articles will be on Canvas. The books are:

- Tooze, Adam (2018), *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, Viking.
- Eichengreen, Barry (2008). *The European Economy since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- The European Union, *A Very Short Introduction*

- **Week 1. Introduction**
 - Eichengreen, Barry (2008). *The European Economy since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chap 1-11

- **Week 2. The Launch of the European Union after WWII**
 - The European Union, *A Very Short Introduction*, Chapter 2 [review your notes]
 - John Gillingham, *Coal, Steel, and the Rebirth of Europe, 1945-1955* (Cambridge, 1991), Chapter 5
 - John Gillingham, *European Integration, 1950-2003* (Cambridge, 2003), Chapters 2, 3 and 4
 - Eichengreen, Barry (2008). *The European Economy since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chap 1-6 [review your notes]

- **Week 3. How to Make a Market: the Single European Act and Beyond**
 - Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization* 45(January 1991): 19-56.
 - David Cameron, "The 1992 Initiative: Causes and Consequences," in A. Sbragia, *Euro-Politics* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1992): 23-74.
 - Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics* 42(October 1989): 95-128.
 - Eichengreen, Barry (2008). *The European Economy since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chap 7-8-9 [review your notes]

- **Week 4. Incomplete Institutions: the Monetary Union and the "Failed" Constitutional Treaty**
 - The European Union, *A Very Short Introduction*, Chapter 4 [review your notes]
 - Mody, Ashoka, *EuroTragedy: A Drama in Nine Acts*, OUP, chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4

- Tucker, J., Pacek, A., & Berinsky, A. (2002). “Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries.” , 46(3), 557-571.
- Eichengreen, Barry (2008). *The European Economy since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 11 [review your notes]
- **Week 5. EU Policy-Making: Theory and Practice**
 - The European Union, *A Very Short Introduction*, Chapter 3 [review your notes]
 - Hix, Simon and Hoyland Bjorn, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapters 1,2,3 and 4
- **Week 6. The “Missing Policies”: Social Policy and Employment Policy**
 - Esping-Andersen Gosta, 1990, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton University Press, chs. 1-4.
 - Hall, P.A. and David Soskice, 2001. *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chap 1 and 2
- **Week 7. The Great Recession and the Eurozone Crisis**
 - Tooze, Adam (2018), *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, Viking, Chapters TBD
- **Week 8. The EU and the Regulation of Population Flows: from the 2004 Enlargement to the Refugee Crisis**

The June 2018 Asylum and Migration Deal:

See Canvas for case study documents

Be prepared to discuss questions posted online [replaces the newspaper assignment]

 - Cavaille Charlotte and Jeremy Ferwerda. 2017. “How Distributional Conflict over In-Kind Benefits Generates Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties.” *unpublished manuscript*
 - Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. “Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition.” *American Political Science Review* 104 (1):40-60.
- **Week 9. Explaining the Success of Populist Parties since 2008**
 - Inglehart, R., and Norris, P. (2017). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, CUP, chapters, 2, 5 and 11
 - Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (2018) *Democracy and the Cartelization of Political Parties*, OUP, chapters 1 and 7.
- **Week 10. Taking Stock of the European Union’s Response**
 - Christopher Bickerton et al., “The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53: 703-22.

- Mair Peter (2013) “Popular Democracy and the European Union policy” in *Ruling the Void*, (excerpts) 119:142
- Pech, Laurent and Kim Lane Scheppele (2017) “Illiberalism Within: Rule of Law Backsliding in the EU.” *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*
- Mudde Cas (2013) “ Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So What?” *European Journal of Political Research* 52(1): 1-19.

- **Week 11. Simulation: pre-Summit Workshops**
See Canvas for case study material

- **Week 12. Simulation: Day 1**
No readings
No newspaper assignment
Position paper is due.

- **Week 13. Simulation: Day 2**
No readings
No newspaper assignment

- **Week 14. Will the EU Disintegrate? Crystal Ball Forecast Informed by Theory**

Read the following piece:

- Pollack, Mark A. (2005) , “Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 8:1, 357-398

Pick two among the following readings and try to make your own theory-informed predictions [replaces the newspaper assignment, post your forecast on Canvas]

- Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier (2016) ”Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration,” *Comparative Political Studies* 49:7. pp. 1010-1034.
- Spolaore Enrico , (2013), “What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists”, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 27, no. 3, Summer 2013, (pp. 125-44)
- Tanja A. Brzel and Thomas Risse (2018) “From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:1, 83-108
- Frank Schimmelfennig (2018) “Brexit: differentiated disintegration in the European Union,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:8, 1154-1173