

Syllabus

Paradoxes of Europeanization

M.A.-Seminar

Thursday 10.00-11.30

Online on Zoom

WS2020/21

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FB Politik- und Verwaltungswissenschaft

Overview

The European Union is both, a complex and often contradictory political multilevel *system* and a *process* with path-dependencies and unintended consequences that produces paradoxes on different levels. Why did citizens in rural, economic dependent regions of the UK vote for Brexit? How is it possible that nations within the most democratic international organization in the world become non-democratic and why does the EU allow such a backslide? Why is the EU an economic power on a global stage but does not manage to become a military or security hegemon, not even in the wider European region?

This seminar is an experiment. It investigates several paradoxes within the European Union and tries to answer research questions related to these paradoxes scientifically. However, the seminar does not intend to "solve" the paradoxes. Rather, we try to describe, analyze, and understand the complex problems of the EU on different levels and may conclude that the EU generates unsolvable tensions within and between its different parts.

The seminar is divided in three parts. On the level of the citizens, we want to tackle phenomena like populism and Euroscepticism, general disintegration preferences and have a look at the rural-urban divide within the EU. On the level of the member states, we ask why crises led to more integration, how the autocratic backlash could have happened with the EU, and why the democratic institutions of the Treaty of Lisbon did not work in the intended ways. On the level of the EU, we ask generally what kind of power the EU is and wants to be on global stage and why its ambitions could not be realized.

Course Goals:

On successful completion of this seminar students will be able to:

- identify basic and advanced economic, political, and social dimensions of European integration paradoxes.
- describe and analyze public opinion towards the EU and Euroscepticism.
- Understand different scientific traditions of analyzing EU related phenomena
- use the concepts and databases for tracking, comparing and analyzing political behavior in EU affairs.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES:

Student Responsibilities:

The seminar will meet Thursdays from 10.00 to 11.30 in Zoom. The seminar format means that each individual student is responsible for completing the required readings prior to the class meetings, and for contributing to the discussion of the material. Absence from single sessions has to be communicated via mail in advance. Punctuality is crucial and tardiness will not be tolerated, unless specific and justified reasons are presented to the instructor (such as slightly overlapping class, mobility issues).

You have to register in Ilias to get to the course material and in StudIS to get your grade!

Grades:

The grade consists of three parts, the (group)presentations (20%), the development paper (pass/fail), and the research paper (80%). Students can only be graded if they are registered for the course in StudIS. The examination requirements of the department require the weighted mean of all parts to be at least pass (4.0). Additionally, all parts have to be provided. Individual parts cannot be repeated separately.

(Wortlaut FB: „Eine Prüfungsleistung ist bestanden, wenn der gewichtete Durchschnitt aller Teilleistungen mindestens ausreichend ist und alle Teilleistungen erbracht wurden. Einzelne Teilleistungen können nicht gesondert wiederholt werden, sondern nur im Rahmen der Wiederholung der gesamten Prüfungsleistung“)

Presentation:

Because of the threatening Covid situation, we are free to choose which presentation format we want to have. We can either have larger topic presentations as a group or smaller paper presentations as individual students. I will decide this - after consulting your preferences - after the first session.

Term Paper:

The paper consists of two separate items of work:

First, a short development paper (1 - 2 pages), that takes our readings and discussions as a point of departure and develops a research agenda and/or a preliminary empirical investigation on a topic of your interest. This assignment is the first step towards your final paper and is due to January 10th 2021. Topics can thus vary according to individual preferences, but should remain in connection with the class theme, and be chosen in accordance with the instructor. This research idea will also be presented by the student in the last block of the seminar (development paper and its presentation graded pass/fail).

The final paper (~5000 words) that should include a theoretical argument and an empirical observation related to it has to be handed in no later than 15.04.2021. The final paper is individual, original, fair, and should demonstrate aptitude to both synthetic and critical reasoning. "Original" means that the paper does not exist prior to its writing by the student and reflects the ideas of its author. This requirement excludes plagiarism, and authorized reproduction of already existing papers. "Fair" means that if you borrow from other people's work (to a limited extent), you should quote it and acknowledge it appropriately (by the use of quotation marks and in a bibliography). "Critical reasoning" means that you are able to use different sources and put them in perspective in order not to simply repeat what other people say, but are able of highlighting or questioning underlying problems, context and crucial conditions, etc.

Term Papers will be graded on basis of the following criteria:

- Research question (relevance and precision): 10%
- Structure (logical consistency): 10%
- State of the art: 10%
- Argument and analysis: 60%
- Scientific standard: 10%

Deadline 15.04.2021

Course Plan

I The Present State of the EU

05.11. Introduction

12.11. Session 1: The development of the EU and EU research

Kellstedt, P. M., & Whitten, G. D. (2018). The fundamentals of political science research. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-4

II Citizen Paradoxes

19.11. Session Brexit

- Los, B., McCann, P., Springford, J., & Thissen, M. (2017). The mismatch between local voting and the local economic consequences of Brexit. *Regional Studies*, 51(5), 786-799.
- Becker, S. O., Fetzer, T., & Novy, D. (2017). Who voted for Brexit? A comprehensive district-level analysis. *Economic Policy*, 32(92), 601-650.
- Carreras, M., Irepoglu Carreras, Y., & Bowler, S. (2019). Long-term economic distress, cultural backlash, and support for Brexit. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(9), 1396-1424.
- Clarke, J., & Newman, J. (2017). 'People in this country have had enough of experts': Brexit and the paradoxes of populism. *Critical Policy Studies*, 11(1), 101-116.
- Schwartz, C., Simon, M., Hudson, D., & van-Heerde-Hudson, J. (2020). A Populist Paradox? How Brexit Softened Anti-Immigrant Attitudes. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-21.

26.11. Session Populism

- Inglehart, R. F., & Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash; Harvard Working Paper
- De Vries/ Hobolth, Walter (forthcoming). Politicizing international cooperation: the mass public, political entrepreneurs and political opportunity structures, International Organization.
- Rodrik, D. (2020). *Why does globalization fuel populism? Economics, culture, and the rise of right-wing populism* (No. w27526). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Schaub, M., Gereke, J., & Baldassarri, D. (2020). Strangers in Hostile Lands: Exposure to Refugees and Right-Wing Support in Germany's Eastern Regions. *Comparative Political Studies*, 0010414020957675.
- Arzheimer, K. (2009). Contextual factors and the extreme right vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 259-275.
- Rooduijn, M. (2017). What unites the voter bases of populist parties? Comparing the electorates of 15 populist parties. *European Political Science Review*, 1-18.
- Arzheimer, K. (2018). Explaining electoral support for the radical

right. In: Rydgren, J. *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3.12. Guiding Book:

Hochschild, A. R. (2018). *Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right*. The New Press.

10.12. Session Rural-Urban

Walsh, K. C. (2012). Putting inequality in its place: Rural consciousness and the power of perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 517-532.

Maxwell, R. (2019). Cosmopolitan immigration attitudes in large European cities: Contextual or compositional effects?. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), 456-474.

Beynon, M. J., Crawley, A., & Munday, M. (2016). Measuring and understanding the differences between urban and rural areas. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 43(6), 1136-1154.

Harteveld, E., van der Brug, W., De Lange, S., & van der Meer, T. (2018). Multiple Paths to the Populist Radical Right: Voting for Populist Radical Right Parties in Cities and the Countryside. *Paper presented in Harvard University's Populism, Nationalism and Radical Politics Study Group*.

III States Paradoxes

17.12. Session: Politicization and Crisis Integration

Sánchez-Cuenca, I. (2017). From a deficit of democracy to a technocratic order: The postcrisis debate on Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, 351-369.

Bressanelli, E., Koop, C., & Reh, C. (2020). EU Actors under pressure: politicisation and depoliticisation as strategic responses.

Jones, E., Kelemen, R. D., & Meunier, S. (2016). Failing forward? The Euro crisis and the incomplete nature of European integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(7), 1010-1034.

07.01.

Guiding Book:

Krastev, I. (2020). *After Europe*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

14.01. Session: Democratic Backslide

Hyde, S. D. (2020). Democracy's backsliding in the international environment. *Science*, 369(6508), 1192-1196.

Kelemen, R. D. (2020). The European Union's authoritarian equilibrium. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(3), 481-499.

Sedelmeier, U. (2014). Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(1), 105-121.

Morgan, G. (2020). Is the European Union imperialist?. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(9), 1424-1440.

21.01. Session: Democratization of the EU Paradox

De Clerck-Sachsse, J. (2012). Civil society and democracy in the EU: The paradox of the European citizens' initiative. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 13(3), 299-311.

De Wilde, P., & Raunio, T. (2018). Redirecting national parliaments: Setting priorities for involvement in EU affairs. *Comparative European Politics*, 16(2), 310-329.

Olsson, J. (2003). Democracy paradoxes in multi-level governance: theorizing on structural fund system research. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10(2), 283-300.

IV Foreign Policy Paradoxes

Guiding Book:

Bradford, A. (2020). *The Brussels effect: How the European Union rules the world*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Moravcsik, A: Why Europe Wins:

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/24/euroskeptic-europe-covid-19-trump-russia-migration/>

28.01. Session: General Set-Up

Eckes, C. (2018): The Paradox of EU External Relations. Taking Back Control, Inaugural lecture: University of Amsterdam.

Maher, R. (2020). International Relations Theory and the Future of European Integration. *International Studies Review*.

Chen, Z. (2016). China, the European Union and the fragile world order. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 775-792.

04.02. Session: The Weak Security Actor

Andreatta, F. and L. Zambarnardi(2017): The European Union as a Power, in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds.]: *International Relations and the European Union* (3. Ed.), Oxford University Press, pp. 74-94.

Toje, A. (2011). The European Union as a small power. *JCMS: Journal of Common market studies*, 49(1), 43-60.

Herranz-Surrallés, A. (2019). Paradoxes of parliamentarization in European security and defence: When politicization and integration undercut parliamentary capital. *Journal of European Integration*, 41(1), 29-45.

11.02. Session: The strong Economic Actor

Meunier/Nicolaidis (2017): The European Union as Trade Power, in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds]: *International*

Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press, Ch. 12

Dür, A., & Elsig, M. (2011). Principals, agents, and the European Union's foreign economic policies. *Journal of*

European Public Policy, 18(3), 323-338.

Jacoby, W., & Meunier, S. (2010). Europe and the management of globalization. *Journal of European Public*

Policy, 17(3), 299-317.