EURR 5106 / PSCI 5609
Selected Topics in European Integration Studies:
Negotiating Brexit
Wednesdays, 8:35 – 11:25 a.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Professor Achim Hurrelmann
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Course description:
In a referendum held on June 23, 2016, voters in the United Kingdom (UK) opted by a narrow majority in favour of their country’s withdrawal from the European Union (EU). This decision on the so-called “Brexit” – often interpreted as the result of a populist rebellion against political elites – has generated huge challenges for both British and European decision-makers. In March 2017, the UK government formally launched the withdrawal process, and negotiations under Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union began in June 2017. British and European negotiators have until March 2019 to finalize the withdrawal arrangements and to decide on the post-Brexit relationship between the UK and the EU. The outcome of these negotiations will be of enormous significance for the future economic and political relationship between both polities, but also for the longer-term development of the British state and the European integration project.

This course will analyze the roots of the referendum decision, debate policy options for implementing Brexit, examine the content and complications of the negotiations (which constitute a two-level game with international and domestic aspects), and assess the longer-term impact of Brexit on British and European politics. The course will actively follow progress in the negotiations between September and December 2017, and will include a simulation in which students take the roles of key actors. At the end of the course, students will have developed a good understanding of the political developments leading to Brexit, the challenges of making the referendum decision a reality, the positions of key stakeholders on the British and European side, and the resulting negotiation dynamics. Going forward, they will be able to critically analyze and take an informed position on the ongoing Brexit processes.

Reading list:
Large parts of the seminar will be based on the detailed and text-based discussion of core readings. All required texts are accessible as electronic library reserves via the ARES system. This course is designed for students who already possess a working knowledge of the political system and policy processes of the UK and the EU. Students without this kind of knowledge are
advised to obtain a general textbook as source of reference. Please consult the instructor for advice if this applies to you.

**Evaluation:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation in class discussions</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory paper for simulation, and its presentation</td>
<td>20% (October 18, 2017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in simulation</td>
<td>30% (November 1 and 8, 2017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final research paper</td>
<td>30% (December 8, 2017)</td>
</tr>
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**Participation in class discussion:** The majority of seminar sessions will be constructed around a discussion of a set of required readings (around 60-90 pages per week). In addition, some sessions will make use of teaching methods that require active student participation, such as group work, debates, or role-playing. It is essential that all students do all of the required readings for each session, bring electronic or physical copies of the required texts to class, and take the time to think about questions they would like to discuss about them. In addition, it is expected that students follow developments in the Brexit negotiations closely in the press (for instance in publications such as the *Economist*, the *Guardian*, *EU Observer*, *Euractiv* or *Politico Europe*). Participation marks will be assigned according to the quality and quantity of contributions. Regular attendance is a prerequisite for obtaining a good participation grade.

**Preparatory paper for simulation, and its presentation:** In the simulation, students will play the roles of key actors or stakeholders in the Brexit negotiations. These will include the main negotiators on either side (David Davis for the UK, Michel Barnier for the EU, and key members of their respective teams), party leaders and other politicians in Britain (e.g., Theresa May, Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn, Nigel Farage), leaders of other EU member states (e.g., Angela Merkel, Emmanuel Macron, Viktor Orbán), important EU politicians (e.g., Jean-Claude Juncker, Guy Verhofstadt), as well as reporters for the British and European media. Depending on the number of students enrolled in the course, each of these roles will be played by one or more students. In preparation for the simulation, all students are expected to write a 3-5 page (double spaced) preparatory paper outlining and explaining the negotiation stance of “their” actor. Papers might comment on the actor’s prioritization of policies/aspects of the negotiations, desired negotiation outcomes, as well as strategic considerations. The preparatory papers will be presented to the class in the session on October 18, 2017. Presentations should be no longer than 10 minutes; presenters are encouraged to use visualization methods (PowerPoint, handouts, etc.). Further information on the paper and presentation will be given in class.

**Participation in simulation:** The simulation will take place in the class sessions on November 1 and 8, 2017 (parts of the session on November 15 may be added if needed). Given the broad range of topics affected by Brexit, we will concentrate on a selection of issues (to be determined, reflecting the progress of talks until November 2017, as well as the interests of the course participants). The simulation will be structured in various stages/episodes to mirror both the multilevel context of the negotiations (international and domestic arenas) and the diversity of topics. Simulation sessions will include (a) direct talks between the British and EU negotiators; (b) strategy/briefing meetings of negotiators on both side with key domestic/European stakeholders; and (c) press conferences in which negotiators and politicians comment on the state of the negotiations. Depending on the role played, participation in the simulation may include preparing short written products, such as position papers or media reports (maximum three in number, 500 words each); these will be assessed along with the oral contributions to the simulation. More detailed instructions for the simulation will be given in class.
**Final research paper:** Students are expected to write a short research paper of 12-15 pages (double spaced, ca. 4000-5000 words) on a topic relating to the course discussions. The due date for the paper is December 8, 2017. The paper must be based on a clearly stated research question which must be discussed with, and approved by, the instructor in advance. Students are encouraged to think about potential paper topics early in the term. The paper may draw on the research that students have done for the simulation, but it may also be on a different topic. Further information on expectations and various permissible paper formats will be given in class.

**Submission of coursework:**

All written assignments must be submitted through the electronic drop box in cuLearn. Unless a specific exception has been arranged, assignments sent per email or submitted as hardcopies will not be accepted. Comments on assignments, as well as grades, will be made available in the cuLearn grade book. Unless a medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided, late assignments will be penalized by two percentage points per day (including weekends); assignments more than a week late will receive a grade of 0%. Unexcused absence on the date of the presentation or simulation will result in a grade of 0% on this course component.

**Class schedule and reading list (see below for details on required readings):**

Sept. 6, 2017    Introduction: The Politics of Brexit | Course Logistics and Administration  
- Oliver 2017

*Part I – Understanding Brexit*

Sept. 13, 2017    The Road to Brexit: History of the UK in the EU  
- George 2000  
- Westlake 2017  
- Daddow 2015  
- Menon and Salter 2016

Sept. 20, 2017    Implementing Brexit: The Legal Framework | Visit from Representatives of the European Parliament’s Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO)  
- Barnard 2017  
- Carmona, Cîrlig and Sgueo 2017

Sept. 27, 2017    Explaining Brexit: Economics, Culture, Politics  
- Goodwin and Heath 2016  
- Hobolt 2016  
- Inglehart and Norris 2016

*Part II – Challenges in the Brexit Negotiations*

Oct. 4, 2017    Policy Issues: Trade, Financial Services, Migration, and beyond  
- Dhingra, Ottaviano and Sampson 2017  
- Armour 2017  
- Sumption 2017  
- Mayhew 2017  
- Whitman 2016  
- Soares 2016
Oct. 11, 2017  Strategic Considerations: UK and EU27 Negotiation Positions
  - HM Government 2017
  - European Council 2017
  - European Parliament 2017
  - Reading list may be updated if warranted by progress of negotiations.

Oct. 18, 2017  Key Stakeholders in the Negotiations (Student Presentations)
  Due Date for Preparatory Paper

Oct. 25, 2017  No class (Fall Break)

Part III – The Brexit Debate: Simulation

Nov. 1, 2017  Simulation Part I

Nov. 8, 2017  Simulation Part II

Nov. 15, 2017  Debriefing, Reflection on Simulation Outcome

Part IV – Implications of Brexit

Nov. 22, 2017  The UK Post-Brexit: Opportunities and Challenges
  - Minford 2015
  - Dhingra et al. 2016a, 2016b
  - Morgan 2017
  - Freedman 2017
  - One of the following: Hepburn and Teytelboym 2017; McHarg and Mitchell 2017; MacDonald 2016

Nov. 29, 2017  The EU Post-Brexit: Business as Usual?
  - Oliver 2017
  - Barbieri 2017
  - De Vries 2017
  - Ferrera 2017
  - Rees 2017
  - One of the following: Sapir, Schoenmaker and Véron 2017; Kalcik and Wolff 2017; Koenig 2016

Dec. 6, 2017  Brexit as a Democratic Act | Concluding Discussion
  - Jones 2016
  - Eleftheriadis 2017
  - Weale 2017
  - Shaw 2017
  Due Date for Final Paper is Dec. 8, 2017.
## Reading list and supplementary literature:

### Introduction: The Politics of Brexit (September 6, 2017)

|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### The Road to Brexit: History of the UK in the EU (September 13, 2017)

|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### Implementing Brexit: The Legal Framework (September 20, 2017)

|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### Explaining Brexit: Economics, Culture, Politics (September 27, 2017)


### Policy Issues: Trade, Financial Services, Migration, and beyond (October 11, 2017)

### Supplementary literature
- London School of Economics, Brexit blog, [http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/](http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/).

### Strategic Considerations: UK and EU27 Negotiation Positions (October 18, 2017)

#### Required reading (90 pages)
- Reading list may be updated if warranted by progress of negotiations until October 2017.

#### Supplementary literature

### The UK Post-Brexit: Opportunities and Challenges (November 22, 2017)

#### Required reading (75-83 pages)

In addition, read one of the following (depending on your interests):
### Supplementary literature


### The EU Post-Brexit: Business as Usual? (November 29, 2017)

**Required reading (73-83 pages)**


In addition, read one of the following (depending on your interests):


### Brexit as a Democratic Act (December 6, 2017)

**Required reading (43 pages)**


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**Supplementary literature**

- London School of Economics, Brexit blog, [http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/](http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/).
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**Academic Accommodations:**

The Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS) is a centralized collection of learning support services designed to help students achieve their goals and improve their learning both inside and outside the classroom. CSAS offers academic assistance with course content, academic writing and skills development. Visit CSAS on the 4th floor of MacOdrum Library or online at: www.carleton.ca/csas.

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send the instructor your *Letter of Accommodation* at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). **Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.** After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with the instructor to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website (www.carleton.ca/pmc) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

**Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:**

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own”. This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:**

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>A+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67-69</td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63-66</td>
<td>C</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60-62</td>
<td>C-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-79</td>
<td>B+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>57-59</td>
<td>D+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73-76</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53-56</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>D-</td>
<td>1</td>
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Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.