

COURSE OUTLINES

European Enlargement: Past, Present, Future

EURR4106/PSCI4609

(4th year seminar)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Winter 2018, with Prof. Joan DeBardeleben as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU Relations with Russia and the Eastern Neighbourhood (Sept. 2016-August 2019), Carleton University, Ottawa. This course outline is the most recent version, updated Winter 2018.

The Jean Monnet Chair is co-funded by a grant from the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

The European Commission support for the production of publications does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflect the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

EURR 4106, PSCI4609
EU Enlargement: Past, Present, Future

Instructor: Professor Joan DeBardeleben, Carleton University
joan.debardeleben@carleton.ca

GOALS OF THE COURSE

Among the most important goals of this course are the following:

- a) To familiarize students with the history, importance, and processes of EU enlargement
- b) To access the social, economic, and political impacts of accession in the new member states, with a particular focus on the 2004 and 2007 enlargements
- c) To consider prospects for future enlargement and their potential significance for the EU and for Europe.

This is a seminar-type course, so active participation is a key element of the course concept and of student success. Attendance at all class sessions is expected.

Requirements:

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Seminar participation | 15% |
| Term paper proposal | 5% |
| Term paper | 45% |
| Short class presentations | 10% |
| Country presentation | 15% |

Seminar Participation: Participation will be evaluated each week on the basis of attendance and the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion; familiarity with required course readings will be considered an important criterion of evaluation. In addition, students are expected on some occasions to bring in additional or supplementary readings to reinforce their participation. Please consult with instructor if you are concerned about this element, as I will try to assist in facilitating your participation.

Term paper proposal (3 pages, double-spaced): The term paper topic must be approved. The proposal is a brief description of the topic, countries, and thesis you will explore in the paper, along with a preliminary bibliography.

Term paper: The term paper topic must be approved; failure to gain approval of the proposal may also adversely affect your term paper mark. The paper should address a specific problem related to EU enlargement in more detail and normally involve a comparative analysis of two countries. You should have a question and a particular thesis (hypothesis) or theses that form the framework of analysis for the paper. You may make use of materials from your country presentation for your term paper. The paper should be about 20 pages (doubled spaced, 12 pt font) in length. Additional research materials are required for this paper, including academic writings (articles, books, chapters) and, where appropriate, primary source documents (e.g.,

government documents). The paper will be evaluated on the basis of the quality of the research, the analysis, and the presentation.

Short class presentations (2): Each of these two presentations will be about 5-7 minutes in length and will involve reflection on a question related to the week's readings, to start class discussion. No extra reading, beyond the required reading, is expected for these presentations. They are intended to encourage seminar participation and kick-start the week's discussion.

Country presentation: This will be an in-depth presentation on one of the countries that has acceded to the EU, desires accession, or is a candidate state, focused around the particular theme of the week or some aspect of it. The presentation will be about 20 minutes in length and involve a power point presentation. Students will sign up for presentation dates at the first class session.

COURSE STRUCTURE

***Week 1* INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE**

***Week 2* THE HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE OF ENLARGEMENT FOR THE EU AND FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

- Historical perspectives
- Comparison of past enlargements (prior to 2004)
- Widening vs. deepening
- Theoretical perspectives on explaining enlargement

*Nieves Perez-Solorzano Barragan (2016), "Enlargement," in *European Union Politics*, 5th edition, eds Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Barragan (Oxford), pp. 228-240

*Marisa Cremona (2017), "Enlargement as Foreign Policy" In *European Enlargement across Round and Beyond Borders*, edited by H.A. Ikonou, A. Andry, and R. Byberg, eds (Routledge), pp.36-56. Chpt 1 of the book is recommended: Antonio Varsori, "Enlargement disenchanted? Two transitions of democracy and where are with today's crisis," pp.19-35.

*One of the following:

- Helen Sjursen, "Enlargement and identity: Studying Reasons," In *European Enlargement across Round and Beyond Borders*, edited by H.A. Ikonou, A. Andry, and R. Byberg, eds (Routledge), pp.57-74 (library reserves)
- George Stephen, *Britain and the European community: the politics of semi-detachment* (Oxford University Press, 1991), electronic resource, Chpt. 1 (accessible through the library catalogue)
- Anders Widfeldt, "Sweden and the European Union: Implications for the Swedish Party System," in *The European Union and the Nordic Countries*, Lee Miles, ed, (London, New York: Routledge), pp.98-113, electronic resource (accessible through the library catalogue)

- Tija Tiilikainen, “Finland and the European Union,” in *The European Union and the Nordic Countries*, Lee Miles, ed, pp. 114-129, electronic resource (accessible through the library catalogue)
- Christopher Preston, *Enlargement and Integration the European Union* (Routledge, 1997), chapter on Greece, pp. 45-60 OR on Spain and Portugal, pp. 61-80 (through p. 80)

Karen E. Smith (2011), “Enlargement, the Neighbourhood and the European Order,” Chpt. 13, in *International Relations and the European Union*, 2nd edition, eds. Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, pp. 299-323.

Frank Emmert and Sinisa Petrovi (2014),”The Past, Present, and Future of EU Enlargement,” *Fordham International Law Journal* 37 (5), pp. 1349-1373,
<http://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2350&context=ilj>

See the europa website for important documents on EU enlargement:

Week 3 THE 2004 and 2007 ENLARGEMENTS

- Motivations for accession and for enlargements
- The geopolitical context
- Processes and requirements
- Conditionality: controversies
- Political factors affecting enlargement.

*Andrew Moravcsiki and Milada Anna Vachudova (2003) , “National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement, “ *East European Politics and Societies* 17(1): 42-67.

*Heather Grabbe (2007) ,”Enlargement Policy towards Central and Eastern Europe: What EU Policy-Makers Learned,” In *European Enlargement across Round and Beyond Borders*, edited by H.A. Ikonou, A. Andry, and R. Byberg, eds (Routledge)

OR

Heather Grabbe (2014), “Six Lessons of Enlargement Ten years On; The EU’s Transformative Power in Retrospect and prospect 52 , *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Annual Review, pp. 40-56.

*Frank Schimmelfennig (2006), “The community trap: liberal norms, rhetorical action and eastern enlargement of the European Union, “in *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*, Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., pp. 142-171

Week 4 POLITICAL IMPACTS OF ACCESSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

- East Central Europe transition in comparative perspective
- Criteria and dynamics of democratization
- Rule of law, human rights, and minority rights issue
- Regional variations

*Geoffrey Pridham, *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-communist Europe*, Chpt. 2, pp. 25-62.

*Milada Vachudova (2010) "Democratization in Post-Communist Europe,: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 82-104

OR

Tanja A. Boerzel and Frank Schimmelfennig (2017), "Coming Together or Drifting Apart? The EU's Political Integration Capacity in Eastern Europe," *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2):

*One of the following (be prepared to provide a short summary for other students):

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

OR

Eltion Meka (2016), "European Integration, Democratic Consolidation, and Democratic Regression in CEE: An Institutional Assessment," *Journal of European Integration* 38 (2): 177-192.

Week 5 Part II: WEST BALKANS: AN ONGOING ENLARGEMENT PROCESS: Regional variations

*Florian Bieber, "Building Impossible States? State-building strategies and EU membership in the Western Balkans," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (10): 1783-1802

*Arolda Elbasani (2008) ,"EU Enlargement in the West Balkans: strategies of borrowing and investing," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 10 (3): 293-307

*Dominik Tolksdorf (2015), " The European Union as a Mediator in Constitutional Reform Negotiations in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Failure of Conditionality in the Context of Intransigent Local Politics," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 21 (4)

See the EU' s progress reports: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/package_en

Week 6 WEST BALKANS: AN ONGOING ENLARGEMENT PROCESS (cont'd) Regional variations (other case studies)

*Spyros Economides and James Ker-Lindsay (2015) "Pre-Accession Europeanization: the Case of Serbia and Kosovo," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (5):1027-1044.

*Beata Huszka (2017), "Human Rights on the Losing end of EU Enlargement: The Case of Serbia," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, DOI10.1111/jcms.12604

*Milada Anna Vachudova (2014), "EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten years On," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52: ;122-138.

Week 7 ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF ACCESSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

East Central Europe economic transition in comparative perspective
Criteria and dynamics of market reform
Economic performance and development
Regional variations

*Rachel Epstein (2014), "Overcoming 'economic backwardness' in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (1): 17-34

*Heribert Kohl (2015), "Convergence and Divergence – 10 Years after Enlargement," *Transfer, ETIU*, vol. 21 (3), 285-311.

*Miroslav N. Jovanovic and Jelena Damnjanovic, "EU Eastern Enlargement: Economic Effects on New Members, 2000-2012," *Journal of Economic Integration* (29)2: 210-243

Gergo Medve-Balint (2014) "The Role of the EU in Shaping FDI Flow to East Central Europe", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (1): 35-51

Wade Jacoby (2014), "The EU in Fat Times and the Lean," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (1): 52-70

Week 8 SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ACCESSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

European, national, and subnational identities
Immigration and emigration
Population mobility (Schengen accession)
Regional variations

*Besir Ceka and Aleksandra Sojka (2016), "Love it but not feeling it yet? The state of European Identity after the Eastern Enlargement," *European Union Politics* 17 (3): 482-503.

*One of the following:

- Conor O'Dwyer and Katrina Z.S. Schwartz (2010) "Minority rights after EU enlargement: A comparison of antigay politics in Poland and Latvia," *Comparative European Politics* (8): 220
OR
- Olga A. Avdeyev (2015) *Defending Women's Rights in Europe: Gender Equality and EU Enlargement* (Albany: State University of New York Press), read selectively from the Introduction.

*One of the following or the second from the above category:

- Timofey Agarin and Ada-Charlotte Regelman (2015), “Which is the Only Game in Town? Minority Rights Issues in Estonia and Slovakia During and After EU Accession,” in *Trajectories of Minority Rights Issues in Europe*, eds. Timofey Agarin and Malte Brosig (Routledge), pp. 59-76
OR
- Ana Bracic (2016), “Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs and Human Rights,” *American Political Science Review* 110(3): 530-546.
OR
- Jill A. Irvine and Leda Stulovic (2015), “Gender Equality in Croatia: Closing the Compliance Gap,” in *Gender (In)equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe*, edited by J.A. Irvine and L. Sutlovic (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 62-88

Optional:

Martin Kahanec and Klaus F. Zimmermann (2016), *Labor Migration, EU Enlargement and the Great Recession* (Spring Verlag), Chpt 1

Week 9 EUROPEANIZATION AND POLICY CHANGE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Theoretical perspectives on Europeanization

Case studies of policy change

Environmental policy

Energy policy

Social policy

Agricultural policy

*Heather Grabbe (2015), “Europeanization, Negotiations, and Influence,” in *The EU’s Transformative Power* (Palgrave), pp. 39-74.

* Tanja A. Boerzel and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2017), “Larger and more law abiding? The impact of enlargement on compliance in the European Union,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(2): 197-215.

*Please read one of the following and be prepared to report on it:

Antoaneta Dimitrova and Aaron Buzogany, “Post-Accession Policy-Making in Bulgaria and Romania,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (1): 139-256

OR

Gorton, Matthew, Carmen Hubbard & Lionel Hubbard (2009). “The Folly of European Union Policy Transfer: Why the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) Does Not Fit Central and Eastern Europe.” *Regional Studies*, 43:10, 1305-1317.

OR

Mats Braun (2014), *Europeanization of environmental policy in the new Europe: beyond conditionality* (Ashgate), Chpt 4, pp.45-67 (optional pp. 9-25)

OR

Asya Zhelyazkova, Cansarp kaya, and Reini Schrama (2017), “Notified and substantive compliance with EU law in enlarged Europe: evidence from four policy areas,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(2): 216-238

West 10 PROSPECTS FOR ACCESSION FOR EASTERN PARTNERSHIP COUNTRIES: Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia

The Wider Europe concept and the Eastern Partnership
'Everything but Institutions'? Possible models
Geopolitical, political, and economic considerations

*Joan DeBardeleben (2017), "The Enlargement Template and the EU's Relations with Russia," in *European Enlargement across Round and Beyond Borders*, edited by H.A. Ikonou, A. Andry, and R. Byberg, eds (Routledge), pp.

*Korosteleva, Elena A. (06/2011). Change or Continuity Is the Eastern Partnership an Adequate Tool for the European Neighbourhood? *International relations* (London).(25)2. p.243 - 262.

*Leonid Litra and Ivane Chkhikvadze (2016), "EU Membership Perspective for Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine: Impossible, forgotten, or hidden?", Institute of World Policy (Ukraine), http://pasos.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/EU_Membership-_net_eng.pdf

Week 11 ALTERNATIVES TO ENLARGEMENT. EFTA, Variable Geometry, Multispeed Europe

The Swiss and Norwegian examples
Schengen and Eurozone examples
Public attitudes, Member states differences, and political controversy toward further enlargement

*Sieglinde Gstöhl, "Scandinavia and Switzerland: small, successful, and stubborn," in *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*, Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., pp. 33-41

*Lise Rye, "Integration from the Outside: The EC and EFTA from 1960 to the 1995 Enlargement," in *European Enlargement across Round and Beyond Borders*, edited by H.A. Ikonou, A. Andry, and R. Byberg, eds (Routledge)

*Zeynep Taydas and Cigdem Kentman-Cin (2017), "Who is Afraid of EU Enlargement? A Multilevel Comparative Analysis," *Political Research Quarterly* 70(3): 604-617.

Week 12 TURKEY: Stalled or failed accession?

Progress and prospects
Obstacles to accession
Political aspects of the accession process
The international context of the Turkish accession process

*Kemal Kirisci, *Turkey and the West: Faultlines in a Trouble Alliance* (Washington DC: Brookings, 2017), pages tbd (or another reading by Kemal Kirisci, to be announced)

*Tanja A. Börzel (2016), “Europeanisation Meets Turkey: A Case Sui Generis,” in *Turkey and the European Union: Processes of Europeanisation*. Ed Yonca Özer (Routledge, or 2012 Ashgate)

*Yonca Özer (2016), “The EU’s Impact on Democratisation in Turkey,” in *Turkey and the European Union: Processes of Europeanisation*. Ed Yonca Özer (Routledge, or 2012 Ashgate)

Ali Tekin and Aylin Güney (2015), ed. *The Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and politics* (Routledge), pages TBA

Week 13 Part I: Impact of EU enlargement on the EU

Part II: EU contraction as an alternative future?

Selected presentation of term paper summaries (students), time permitting

*Mark A. Pollack (2009), “Europe united? The impact of the EU’s eastern enlargement, five years on,” *European View* 8(2): 239-254.

*Dimitar D. Toshkov (2017), “The impact of Eastern Enlargement on the Decision-Making Capacity of the European Union,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(2): 177-196.

*Tim Oliver (2017), “The EU Falling Apart? Theoretical Discussion of Brexit, Grexit, and Other Exit Scenarios,” in *Solidarity in the European Union* (Springer), pp. 131-144.

Proposed country presentation schedule (subject to discussion):

Week 4: Selection form 2004/2007 NMSs

Week 5: Bosnia-Herzegovina

Week 6: Other countries of the West Balkans (Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, Croatia)

Week 7: Selection form 2004/2007 NMSs

Week 8: Selection form 2004/2007 NMSs

Week 10: Ukraine, Moldova

Week 11: Norway, Switzerland

Week 12: Turkey

Week 13: UK, Greece