

7DRAFT OUTLINE Jan. 5, 2018

EURR 4106, PSCI4609

EU Enlargement: Past, Present, Future

Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben

Winter Term 2018, Monday 11:30-2:30

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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 (due Feb. 5 at 5 p.m through CULearn)	5%
Term paper (due April 9, in class hard copy, and through CULearn)	45%
Short class presentations (2, at assigned class session)	10%
Country presentation (at assigned class session)	15%

Marks on oral assignments will be provided to in the CULearn gradebook. Marks on written assignments will be provided through the CULearn Dropbox.

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. You should meet with me to discuss your

topic at some point early in the semester. The Term paper proposal should be submitted to the CULearn Assignment Dropbox.

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. The paper should be handed in in hard copy and through the CULearn Assignment drop-box. Students may be asked to provide a short summary of the term paper for discussion in class on April 9 (5 minutes each following by a short discussion), time permitting.

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. The power point presentation should be submitted no later than 9 a.m. on the day of the presentation to the CULearn Assignment Dropbox.

Rules and penalties: You must complete the term paper to pass the course. Late papers will suffer a 2 pt penalty (of 100) (weekends excluded) for each day late and will not be accepted after April 16. A missed presentation will be given a grade of 0 unless there is a valid medical or equivalent excuse. You must notify me as soon as possible if you will miss your presentation, as this requires adjustment of planning for the course session.

COURSE STRUCTURE (READINGS MAY BE ADDED OR CHANGED)

Required readings can be accessed through ARES on CULearn. You must consult CULearn regularly for course notices, including changes to reading assignments and discussion questions.

Week 1 Jan. 8 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Week 2. Jan 15 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. Ikononou, 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. Ikononou, 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 Jan. 22 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. Ikononou, 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: Jan 29 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 Feb 5 Part II: WEST BALKANS: AN ONGOING ENLARGEMENT PROCESS

Regional variations

Guest speaker: Prof. Florian Bieber, University of Graz, Austria

*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 Feb. 12 March 5 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 Feb 26 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 March 5 SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ACCESSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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

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

*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.

*Read one of the following or a similar article and be prepared to report on it:

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

"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

Ana Bracic (2016), "Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs and Human Rights," *American Political Science Review* 110(3): 530-546.

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.

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. Stulovic (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 62-88

Week 9 March 12 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.

Tanja A. Boerzel and Diane Panke (2016), "Europeanization," in 5th edition, eds Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Barragan (Oxford), pp. 11-122.

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

*Please read at least 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. Ikononou, 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 March 26 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. Ikonomou, 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 April 2 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 April 9

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

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 to the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<https://carleton.ca/registrar/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 Richcraft Hall. 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:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

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.