



Course Manual

EU Enlargement Policy and Europeanisation



EU flag; Photo: Markus Spiske for Unsplash

Course instructors

Dr. Zamira Xhaferri

z.xhaferri@uva.nl

Dr. Dorian Jano

d.jano@uva.nl | dorian.jano@gmail.com

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MA European Studies

Note: This MA course is part of the Jean Monnet Module on *Enlargement and External Relation of the European Union* – ENLARGEU



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Course Content

The European Union (EU) has grown from a community of 6 Member States to a Union of now 27 Member States. With each subsequent enlargement, the EU has faced questions of the growing political, cultural, and economic divide between Member States. The EU enlargement has been a complex multi-step interaction and multi-dimensional transformation process, involving different actors (the EU, the Member States, and the applicants) with diverse logic of rational or normative action that persists or changes over time and thus determining the different degrees and the formal institutionalization of horizontal integration (accession, association, or exclusion).

This course combines academic discussion with real-world insights on the EU enlargement. It examines the nature, dynamics, and impact of EU enlargement on the EU itself and candidate Member States. In doing so, it looks into the role of the EU as a normative soft-power actor and the legal framework governing the EU enlargement, its interaction with and the effects in the third States. The course adopts an interdisciplinary approach by combining perspectives of legal studies and political science. We will specifically discuss the conceptual and theoretical framework of EU enlargement and Europeanization with a particular focus on the motivations and explanations associated with them, the EU enlargement process and compliance with EU acquis by the candidate countries emphasizing the main dilemmas and their implications, and EU enlargement and rule of law with an emphasis on Western Balkans.

Learning goals

The learning goals of the Jean Monnet course are:

- To understand the development of EU enlargement policy, its legal foundations and the current political debates around it;
- To familiarize students with the analytical and theoretical framework of EU Enlargement and Europeanization;
- To identify the state of play and challenges in the current EU enlargement policy and its impact;
- To provide students with the analytical tools to critically think about the EU's role, its political objectives and policy mechanism towards EU enlargement dilemmas and deadlocks.

Course Approach

The course consists of seminars (group meetings) and several lectures. The EEPE course provides information for preparing the seminars and the lectures. Each seminar description contains a list of literature and documents (to be prepared) and provides main questions and cases for group discussions building on the most recent policy and legal developments. The lectures will provide introductions and explanations on key topics of the course. Students need to prepare for each teaching event. The teacher serves as a moderator for student discussions during the seminars. Of course, active student participation by putting forward views and arguments is essential.

Course Communication

Students will find all information about this course on Canvas. Please check your official UvA email regularly, as well as the course's Canvas for announcements (announcements in Canvas are simultaneously sent to the student email address by default setting—unless you change it). If you like to continue to use your private email address, we kindly suggest you set up forwarding in your UvA email account to your preferred email account. Students who wish to schedule individual meetings with the lecturer are kindly requested to reach out via the Canvas page.

Course Attendance

Active, thoughtful, quality participation, demonstrating intimate and thoughtful familiarity with the assigned readings and class topics, is highly welcome, as it will undoubtedly help students improve their overall final grade. Mandatory readings, seminars, case notes and research papers will constitute an integral part of the knowledge students should master to pass the course successfully.

Course Assessment

The course assessment consists of a group presentation (30% of final grade) and a research paper (70% of final grade)

1. **Group presentation (30%):** Students will create groups of three consisting of two speakers presenting on a topic of their choice and one commentator providing feedback. The topic should relate to a recent development, or a pressing issue related to the course content.

Deadlines: The group presentations are due on the 7th and 14th of June 2023. Students are required to upload their presentation slides before coming to class.

2. Research paper (70%)

Deadline: 28 June 2023, 18:00 CET

Students should also write a research paper (from now on referred to as 'paper') on a topic of their choice. Detailed instructions for writing the paper will be published on Canvas on **the 9th of June 2023**.

Length: Max 2500 words (excluding footnotes), Times New Roman, Font 12, Line spacing 1,5. No 10% margin applies. If students exceed the word limit, the grade will be lowered by 1 point. The paper must be the result of the original and individual work of the student—the presumption of fraud results in a grading of 0. In case of unforeseen circumstances (which should be announced in advance and proven), the research paper may be submitted no longer than one weeklate. In case of failure to meet this requirement, the research paper will receive a grade of 0. The student will be subject to a re-sit assessment, the same as when the student fails to receive a passing grade for the research law paper. The re-sit requirements are announced on Canvas.

Students are expected to locate their materials for their research papers and group presentations. There is a vast literature available to access in the UvA library using, inter alia, the keywords “(EU) Enlargement”, “Europeanization of Candidate Countries”, ‘Rule of Law’, “Western Balkans”.

General requirements on grading:

- *Final grade:* To pass the course, an average mark of above 5.5 is required. To be awarded a final grade and to pass the course. The final grade is calculated based on the respective weight of all group presentations and research papers and will be rounded to the nearest decimal point.

- *Re-sit and compensation:* If the weighted grade of all assignments is below 5.5, a re-sit is required. Only the research paper may be repeated. The group presentation is not subject to retake. If you have missed the deadline for the research paper, the latter counts as 0. You can only re-sit the research paper if you have made a serious first attempt. For the re-sit of the research paper, the student(s) will have to choose a different research topic.

- *Grades on assignments may not be carried over:* All grades awarded for group presentations and research



papers expire. That means that the students cannot carry them over when repeating the course in the following academic year. Hence all your awarded grades expire if you have not achieved a final mark of 5.5 or higher after the repeat assessment.

Course structure

Week	Lecture	Seminar
Week 1	5 June 2023	7 June 2023
Week 2	12 June 2023	14 June 2023
Week 3	19 June 2023	21 June 2023

Creating a Positive and Safe Classroom

Teachers have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion and to set reasonable limits on how opinions are expressed. A similar responsibility applies to students. This means that diversity of opinion is always welcomed, but any discriminatory, racist or sexist comments or anything that may be perceived as such is unacceptable and may lead to expulsion from the class.

In all your interactions on Canvas, with your teachers and with your fellow students, please be respectful and professional: remember that all your comments and posts are formal course submissions so please treat them as such. Your online engagement in the course should be considered in the same terms as your behaviour in a formal classroom setting and should be bound by the same rules of respect and appropriate professionalism. Your contributions should thus always be written in a proper academic style, not like social media posts or text messages.

See also: Social Safety Support Guide for students: <https://www.uva.nl/en/shared-content/studentensites/uva-studentensite/en/az/social-safety/social-safety.html>

Plagiarism and fraud

The Examinations Board will be notified of all attempts at fraud or plagiarism. When fraud or plagiarism has been established, the Examination Board may impose severe sanctions.

The following examples are fraud and plagiarism at the UvA: copying someone else's answers during examinations (cheating), cutting and pasting text from another source and presenting it as if it were your work or using someone else's text without proper acknowledgement of the sources.

Plagiarism may consist of:

- the use of quotations that are not marked, for example, by quotations marks and/or the source of which is not referenced;
- The creative use of cutting and pasting or rearranging another person's work (a text or the part of a text, whole sentences or parts thereof, or rewritten parts of sentences), or translations of such works, from printed or internet sources.
- This is also true for copying or accepting fellow students' work or offering one's work to fellow students. In other words: you are never allowed to take another person's ideas and pass them off as your own.

Lecture Schedule and Reading List

Lecture Week 1: 5 June 2023

Theorizing EU enlargement and Europeanization of Candidate Countries

The first module starts with an introduction to the themes, structure, and goals of the course. Then we discuss the main theoretical arguments and the motivations behind EU enlargement. We will also expose the discussion on the Europeanisation concept and the process, the specific mechanisms and conditions of the impact the EU enlargement has on the domestic politics and policies of the acceding countries. The focus of this first session will be to set up a conceptual and theoretical framework that will guide us throughout the entire course and enable us to understand the EU approach, its mechanisms and conditions that 'matter' most in EU enlargement as well as the EU transformative power and domestic capacities to comply with EU *acquis*.

Required Readings:

- Frank Schimmelfennig & Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2020. The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the external incentives model revisited, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:6, 814-833 [Link](#).
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2005. Introduction: Conceptualizing the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe. In *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, 1–28. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [Link](#)
- Cirtautas, Arista Maria & Frank Schimmelfennig. 2010. Europeanisation Before and After Accession: Conditionality, Legacies and Compliance, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 62:3, 421-441 [Link](#)
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2005. The politics of EU enlargement: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, in *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*, eds F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier. New York: Routledge, 3-25. [Link](#)

Recommended readings:

- Hillion, Christophe. 2014. EU Enlargement. In *The evolution of EU Law*, edited by Craig, Paul and Gráinne de Búrca. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 188-216. [Link](#)
- Kaiser, W., & Elvert, J. (Eds.). 2004. *European Union Enlargement. A Comparative History*. Routledge. (Introduction & Chap.10; pp.1-9 & 201 & 221). [Link](#)
- Ikonomidou, H. A., Andry, A., & Byberg, R. (Eds.). 2017. *European Enlargement across Rounds and Beyond Borders*. Routledge. (Introduction & Conclusion; pp.1-16 & 238 & 251). [Link](#)
- Jano, Dorian. 2014. The Politics of EU Enlargement Revisited. What Conditions Matter in the Case of the EU's South-Eastern Enlargement? *Contemporary Southeastern Europe*, 1, 68–91. [Open Access](#), Or [Watch](#) Dorian Jano - The Politics of EU Enlargement Revisited
- [Watch](#): Florian Bieber, (Re-Conceptualising) Europeanisation, 15.3.2021 (Lecture Series, Jean Monnet Chair in the Europeanisation of Southeastern Europe, Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz).

Seminar Week 1: 7 June 2023

Required Readings:

- Jano, Dorian. 2022. “EU Enlargement Rounds and Dilemmas: The Successful, the Reluctant, the Awkward, and the Laggards”. In B. Costa (Ed.), *Challenges and Barriers to the European Union Expansion to the Balkan Region*. 18-38. IGI Global. [Open Access](#)
- Sedelmeier, Ulrich. 2011. Europeanisation in new member and candidate states, *Living Rev. Euro. Gov.* 6 (1) [Link](#)

Recommended readings:

- Börzel, Tanja A., Antoaneta Dimitrova & Frank Schimmelfennig. 2017. European Union enlargement and integration capacity: concepts, findings, and policy implications, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:2, 157-176 [Link](#)



- Gateva Eli. 2021. Enlargement Policy and European Union Politics. In Laursen F. (Ed.), Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford University Press. [Link](#)
- Nugent Neill. 2017. The Government and Politics of the European Union (8th ed.). Palgrave. [Link](#)
- Steunenbergh, Bernard and Antoaneta Dimitrova. 2007. Compliance in the EU Enlargement Process: The Limits of Conditionality. *European Integration online Papers* 11(5). [Open Access](#)
- Treib, Oliver. 2014. Implementing and complying with EU governance outputs", *Living Rev. Euro. Gov.* 9, [Open Access](#)
- Toshkov, Dimitar. 2010. Taking stock: a review of quantitative studies of transposition and implementation of EU law. Vienna: Institute for European Integration Research. Working Paper No. 01. [Open Access](#)

Lecturer: Dr. Dorian Jano, MA

Lecture Week 2: 12 June 2023

EU enlargement and its impact on the Western Balkans

The second module will focus on the current enlargement round in the countries of the Western Balkans. It starts with a general overview of the post-communist transformations in Eastern Europe, and a critical assessment of the European Union strategies and policies applied to the region. The process has become entrapped in the persistent (either real or perceived) EU enlargement tensions and trade-offs between deepening and widening, political and technical, fatigue and resistance, democratization and stabilization, and individual and pair-wise accession. We will discuss the EU and national instruments used for the adaptation and implementation of EU *acquis* into domestic legislation as well as provide empirical data and case studies of the candidate countries' performance in adopting and implementing EU laws.

Required readings

- Elbasani, Arolda. 2013. Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans: Enlargement Strategy, Domestic Obstacles and Diverging Reforms. In *European Integration and Transformation in the Western Balkans: Europeanization or Business as Usual?* Edited by A. Elbasani. Routledge. [Link](#)
- Jano, Dorian. 2008. From Balkanization to Europeanization: The stages of Western Balkans Complex Transformations, *L'Europe en Formation: Journal of Studies on European Integration and Federalism* 3(349-350):55-69. [Link](#)

Recommended readings:

- Petrovic, Milenko & Tzifakis Nikolaos. 2021. A geopolitical turn to EU enlargement, or another postponement? An introduction. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 29(2), 157–168. [Link](#)
- Sekulić, Tatjana. 2020. *The European Union and the Paradox of Enlargement: The Complex Accession of the Western Balkans*. Springer Nature. [Open Access](#)
- Jelena Džankić, Soeren Keil, Marko Kmezić (eds.) *The Europeanisation of the Western Balkans: A Failure of EU Conditionality?* (Introduction, Conclusion & Chap.2; pp.1-38 & 237 & 246).
- Schwarz, Oliver. 2016. Two steps forward one step back: What shapes the process of EU enlargement in South-Eastern Europe? *Journal of European Integration* 38(7), 757–773. [Link](#)
- Jano, Dorian. 2014. The Politics of EU Enlargement Revisited What conditions matter in the case of the EU's South-Eastern enlargement?, *Contemporary Southeastern Europe: An Interdisciplinary Journal on Southeastern Europe*, 1(1): 68-91. [Open Access](#)

Seminar Week 2: 14 June 2023

Required readings:

- Böhmelt, Tobias & Freyburg, Tina. 2018. Forecasting candidate states' compliance with EU accession rules, 2017–2050. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(11), 1667–1685. [Link](#)



- Jano, Dorian. 2016. Compliance with EU Legislation in the Pre-accession Countries of South East Europe (2005–2011): A Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis, *Journal of European Integration* 38(1), 1-22, [Link](#)

Recommended readings:

- Richter, Solveig & Natasha Wunsch. 2020. Money, power, glory: the linkages between EU conditionality and state capture in the Western Balkans, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:1, 41-62 [Link](#). Or [Watch](#): Natasha Wunsch, *Linkages between EU Conditionality & State Capture in the Western Balkans*, 17.5.2021
- Börzel, Tanja A. 2011. *When Europeanization Hits Limited Statehood. The Western Balkans as a Test Case for the Transformative Power of Europe*. KFG Working Paper No. 30. [Open Access](#)
- Noutcheva, Gergana. 2009. Fake, partial and imposed compliance: the limits of the EU's normative power in the Western Balkans. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(7), 1065-1084. [Link](#)
- Trauner, Florian. 2009. From Membership Conditionality to Policy Conditionality: EU External Governance in South Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (5): 774–790. [Link](#)

Lecturer: Dr. Dorian Jano, MA

Lecture Week 3: 19 June 2023

The EU Enlargement on the Western Balkans from a Rule of Law Perspective

Implementation of EU-driven reforms in candidate countries largely depends on the rule of law-based enlargement as well as on a clear EU perspective. Overpoliticisation of the enlargement process renders the EU's enlargement law futile and undermines both the transformative effect of the pre-accession process and the EU's values. While EU action has contributed to reforms in technical and operational areas, such as improving the efficiency of the judiciary and the development of relevant legislation, it has had a little overall impact on fundamental rule of law reforms in the region.

Required readings

- Ognjanoska, Leposava. “Promoting the Rule of Law in the EU Enlargement Policy: A Twofold Challenge.” *CYELP* 17, (2021): 237-277.
- Hoxhaj, Andi. “The EU Common Regional Market Proposals for the Western Balkans.” *Legal Issues of Economic Integration* 49, no. 3 (2022): 311-338.
- Hoxhaj, Andi. “The EU Rule of Law Initiative Towards the Western Balkans.” *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 13, (2021): 143-172.
- Plakoudas, Spyridon. “The Limits of the EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans” (2012), p. 1-7, < <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/11/14/the-limits-of-the-eu-enlargement-in-the-western-balkans/>> last accessed: 8 May 2023.
- European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication. “Foreign affairs and security policy.” In *The European Union: what it is and what it does*, 30. Publications Office, 2020.
- European Court of Auditors, *EU support for the rule of law in the Western Balkans: despite efforts, fundamental problems persist*, 2022.

Seminar Week 3: 21 June 2023

Required readings

- Halmai, Gábor. “Chapter 3: Illiberal Constitutionalism in East-Central Europe.” In *Rule of Law in the EU: 30 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, edited by Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt, Andreas Moberg and Joakim Nergelius, 51-74. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2021.
- Basheska, Elena. “EU Enlargement in Disregard of the Rule of Law: A Way Forward Following

the Unsuccessful Dispute Settlement Between Croatia and Slovenia and the Name Change of Macedonia.” *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 14, (2022): 221-256.

Recommended readings

- Besselink, Leonard. “Chapter 2: Rule of Law Problems as Problems of Democracy.” In *Rule of Law in the EU: 30 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, edited by Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt, Andreas Moberg and Joakim Nergelius, 39-50. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2021.
- Nergelius, Joakim. “Why the Rule of Law Can Never be Part of an ‘Illiberal’ Democracy.” In *Rule of Law in the EU: 30 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, edited by Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt, Andreas Moberg and Joakim Nergelius, 75-86. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2021.
- Kelemen, Katalin. “Chapter 6: Legal Reasoning in Central and Eastern Europe from a Historical Perspective.” In *Rule of Law in the EU: 30 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall*, edited by Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt, Andreas Moberg and Joakim Nergelius, 107-142. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2021.

Lecturer: Dr. Zamira Xhaferri, LLM, EMLE