Course Rationale:

The objective of this course is to explore the subject of European Union expansion to the east and south from an interdisciplinary, multifocal perspective. Comprised of a political scientist, a sociologist, and two literature and culture experts – all of them possessing significant pertinent area studies expertise in the region – and with additional guest lectures by an economist and political scientist specializing in comparative European studies, this team-taught course will address crucial problems of political enlargement and social integration, including the following:
• In what ways did the inclusion of ten new members in 2004— the EU's largest expansion to date in terms of landmass and population—and two additional members in 2007 and one in 2013 affect the identity and self-perception of the old core of European nations?
• What is the factual political status of the newly admitted member states, and what are the specific challenges of integration that they must still face today? Are these challenges analogous throughout the new Europe, and if not, what factors (historical, cultural, social) may account for the differences?
• What have been some of the consequences of expansion in terms of practices of social mobility; what can be learned from the microhistory of those regions that have been blessed by new investment as well as those parts of the new EU that have been passed over as sites of new capital allocation?
• What are the key geopolitical challenges faced by the enlarged supranational entity of the EU, in terms both of immediate stewardship and long-term strategy? As well—and the assembled teaching team is especially well-suited to address this issue—what have been some of the consequences of enlargement on the literary and artistic scenes of Europe new and old alike; what types of other dialogues or interpenetrations of ideas has enlargement occasioned?
• Finally, what can be said of the internal dynamics of the East European states themselves, given that for many of their citizens the condition of being part of a transnational entity governed from elsewhere (the Soviet Bloc) is still a fairly recent memory, in the context of their current integration within a new supranational political body?

A decade since Western Europe began to open its doors and welcome Eastern Europe to the table of an expanded EU commons, betting its future on an essential commensurability between, and a shared fate of, the member states, this may be as good a time as any to try to provide answers to the questions above.

Course Format:
The course is divided into two parts. The first addresses issues of East European domestic and transnational identities in the broader European context, and the intersection of these issues with the European integration project. This part of the course will explore representations by others and self-representations of Eastern Europe, historical conflict, migration, religious identities, and gendered identities as avenues for access into defining Eastern Europe's unique characteristics while recognizing both its diversity and organic links to a united Europe. The second part of the course examines structures and policies that connect the people and societies of Eastern Europe to the European Union. It will address the topics of democratic consolidation, conflict management, minority rights, environmental policy, and the role of Eastern European leadership in formulating EU policy, all as key processes in the European integration project.

Course Goals:
By the end of this course you will have achieved the following goals:
a. Understand the politics of European integration and development of the European Union, particularly with respect to inclusion of the EU's newer member states in Eastern Europe
b. Achieve greater understanding of the cultures and societies of Eastern Europe
c. Gain exposure to a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities
d. Improve your analytical skills
e. Practice and improve your research skills

Course Materials:
Notes on reading materials:
• Unless indicated otherwise, all readings that appear in the course schedule are required.
• Readings are available through Compass, library e-reserve website, or through web-links.
• Readings, such as book chapters, that can't be found in electronic journals are available on library e-reserve.
Grade Scale:
You can earn a maximum of 200 points in this class. The points translate to letter grades as follows:

| A+ = 195-200 | B+ = 174-179 | C+ = 154-159 | D+ = 134-139 | F = 120 and below |
| A = 188-194 | B = 164-173 | C = 144-153 | D = 124-133 |
| A- = 180-187 | B- = 160-163 | C- = 140-143 | D- = 120-123 |

Requirements:
Participation: 20 points
Weekly papers: 50 points (10 papers x 5 points each)
Midterm take-home essay:* 40 points
Research proposal:* 10 points
Research paper presentation:* 20 points
Research paper:* 60 points

IMPORTANT: Students who fail to complete any of the assignments marked with an asterisk (*) on the list of requirements above will fail the course.

Lecture Notes:
Read the assigned texts for each lecture before coming to class. During the lecture we will highlight the main points from the assigned readings. You will be expected to know the content of the lectures for the exam. Therefore, it is imperative that you come to class regularly, pay close attention, and keep good notes.

Participation:
Your participation grade depends on your attendance and how much you engage in class discussion. Take extra care to contribute to the discussion by asking questions, sharing insightful comments or by expressing your views on the topics covered in the course. Participation should not be confused with attendance, which means simply showing up for class. The participation grade will be determined by the frequency and the quality of your contributions. IMPORTANT: The lead instructor reserves the right to call on you with questions about the readings.

Weekly Commentaries:
Every week until early April all graduate and undergraduate students are required to submit a short commentary (300-600 words or approx. 1-2 double-spaced pages) on the readings and lectures of the previous week. This paper will be an opportunity for you to reflect on the themes covered in class and to express your views on them. This assignment is due every Tuesday at NOON on Compass. A submission link will be available under the "Assignments" tab. In the event you encounter posting difficulties, e-mail the commentary to Prof. Gasyna. These short papers are worth 5 points each.

Midterm Take-Home Essay: Due March 19
Both undergraduate and graduate students compose an essay as a response to a question provided by the lead instructor. In your essay, you will be expected to demonstrate that that you are knowledgeable about the topics covered in the readings and during class discussion, and that you can articulate your own thoughts and opinions about them. Instructions and guidelines will be distributed a week before the essay is due.

Research Paper: Due May 5
Students are required to complete a research paper (12-15 pages for undergraduates, 15-20 for graduate students) on a topic that is relevant to the main themes of this course. Chris Shore (2000) in Building Europe has pioneered and demonstrated the merits of analysing the visual representations of the European Union for a deeper understanding of the European Union’s values and policy priorities. For the research paper assignment, part of the paper must develop such a visual analysis. Images have the power not just of telling a story “worth a 1,000 words,” as the proverb goes, but also of affecting people at a deeper, emotional, rather than cognitive level, as first theorized by Horkheimer, Adorno, and Benjamin. Social scientists have also documented the rise of images and so-called sound bites in political discourse in the last twenty years. Students will be required to subject a certain policy or political issue to such a visual analysis and textual analysis. Students will receive instructions and already existing examples of such analysis in and outside of EU scholarship. Please consult with the lead instructor as early in the semester as possible about your research question. A 3-4 page research proposal is due five weeks into the course. The proposal must include the paper’s title, its main research question, an explanation for the importance of the question and a
brief presentation of the main arguments in the literature and your proposed research design. The paper is due on the last day of class. At the end of the class, the best two or three student papers will be published on the course webpage and the webpage of the European Union Center.

Research Paper Presentation:
Students are required to present their research paper in a conference setting during the last two-three weeks of the semester. Although the paper’s final draft is not due until the last day of class, it is expected that students will be in a position to present their main findings at the conference. Students will create power point slides or other computer formats to support their presentations.

Late Essays and Papers:
Weekly commentaries are due on Compass Tuesdays by 12 noon.

Take-home essays and research papers must be posted on compass by midnight of the due date. Students will also submit a hard copy of their research papers. Points will be subtracted for each additional day the essay or paper is late unexcused.

COURSE SCHEDULE (TOPICS AND READINGS)

PART A: IDENTITY CONUNDRUMS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Week 1 COURSE INTRODUCTION: Profs. Carol Leff, Zsuzsa Gille, and George Gasyna
Geography as Destiny: What are the Boundaries of Europe?

Two primers:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O37yJBFrfg [geography]
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VvIPSY_Sbfgr [policy]

January 22 GASyna
The production of Eastern Europe, Central Europe and the Balkans


Week 2 Being European?

January 27 GASyna

Krzysztof Czyżewski and the Borderland Foundation in Sejny, Poland. Selected readings available at http://pogranicze.sejny.pl/?lang=en


Andrzej Stasiuk, FADO, (Dalkey Archieve Press, 2009), pp. 57-78. COMPASS

Graduate Students only

January 29 **LEFF**


**Week 3 History Wars: The Contentious Politics of Re-Constructing the Past**

February 3 **LEFF**


STUDENTS NOTE: The entire study is in the PDF – you are responsible for pp. 27-53

Literary Excepts from Yuri Andrukhovych, *Perverzions (Writings from an Unbound Europe)* (Northwestern University Press, 2005) chapters 1, 21-23 (~31 pp). COMPASS

Monty Python and the Holy Grail, “Dennis, the Constitutional Peasant” [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOOTKA0aGI0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOOTKA0aGI0)

February 5 **GASYNA**

Case Study

*Poles, Russians and the Katyn Forest Massacre from World War II to the Polish Plane Crash of 2010—Historical Truths and Historical Conspiracies (Russian and Polish Media Coverage)*


**Week 4 Transnational Identities: Mobility, Boundaries, and Migration in Europe**

February 10 **GILLE**


Jachym Topol, *City, Sister, Silver* (Catbird Press 2000), Chapter 9, 168-179. E-Reserve

Consult:


**NOTE TO STUDENTS:** this is useful for an overview of the general argument and approach to tackling the question of perception vs. reality about what immigration “costs.”
Graduate Students only
Christianne Barnickel and Timm Beichalt. 2013. “Shifting Patterns and Reactions—Migration Policy in the New EU Member States” East European Politics and Societies. 27:3 (August) COMPASS

This article presents an analysis of patterns of migration and related policy reactions in the new EU member states. The empiric findings that combine both similarities and dissimilarities between cases are interpreted against two major context factors: (1) democratic and economic transition as well as (2) Europeanization. As it turns out, late socialism and the first stage of transition are more relevant for understanding migration flows, whereas impacts from the EU level help us to make sense of the character of reactions. As expected by Europeanization research, the migration policies of Central European countries do not amount to homogeneous profiles of migration policy. In order to understand differences, we can again refer to different transition paths prevalent in specific cases.

February 12 GASYNA Discontents of migration: “The Polish Plumber”


Graduate Students only

RELATED FILM: Dir. Krzysztof Kieślowski, Three Colors: White, Poland-France 3 Cinéma/Canal+, 1994 [treats the potency/impotence of the Eastern European e/migrant in the immediate postcommunist period]. ON FEBRUARY 16, 2015
Week 5 Religious Identities
***Research Proposals due by Thursday

The Polish-Jewish Relationship
February 17 GASYNA


Graduate Students only


This article discusses the problem of neighborly coexistence in religiously and ethnically diverse settings. It tackles some widespread assumptions regarding the importance of religious/ethnic factors in shaping neighborly relations as well as the question of broader sociopolitical contexts and their impact on neighborly coexistence. In so doing, it argues against those approaches that place “neighborhood” at the center of debates on the breakdown of societal coexistence and use it as a tool of explanation of interethnic and interreligious conflicts. More specifically, the article engages critically with the way the idea of “neighborhood” is used in debates on Polish history. It argues that the idea of past harmony and peaceful coexistence in “multicultural” settings reinforces the image of the Polish society as tolerant and diversity-friendly and stresses that the harmonious neighborly coexistence was brought to an end by “outsiders.” As a result, not only does it serve the dominant group rather than minorities, but it precludes the understanding of the dynamics of ethnic/religious pluralism. The article therefore suggests that the studies of diversity in Poland should pay closer attention to the context of the dominant—Polish and Catholic—culture in which the diversity has been accommodated. Striving to address this problem, it presents some findings from an ethnographic study of a multireligious and multiethnic neighborhood in rural Poland and provides some comparative insights.

Budapest Holocaust Memorial

February 19 GASYNA

Contested Christianities, Contested Secularism

Jose Casanova, “Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration,” Eurozine, 2004. COMPASS

The *Charlie Hebdo* controversy:
"What everyone gets wrong about Charlie Hebdo and racism"
http://www.vox.com/2015/1/12/7518349/charlie-hebdo-racist

**Graduate Students only**


**Week 6  EU, Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Challenges**

**February 24  GASyna**


**News articles:**


**Graduate Students only**


**February 26  JOHN FEFFER**

JOHN FEFFER will be visiting our Campus on Feb. 26-7 as part of the Jean Monnet Eastern Europe Initiative Meeting with students & Class Lecture [in connection with his public lecture, “Backlash in East-Central Europe: What Happened to the Promise of 1989?”; on the women’s movement or recent Euroskepticism]

http://illinois.edu/calendar/detail/1889?eventId=32294071&calMin=201501&cal=20120206&skinId=6850

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**European Union Center**
EUROBAROMETER 2013

Q01. Which of the following are the most positive results of the EU? Firstly? And then?

- The free movement of people, goods, and services within the EU: 57%
- Peace among the Member States of the EU: 57%
- The euro: 25%
- The economic power of the EU: 23%
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world: 19%
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU: 15%
- The Common Agricultural Policy: 15%
- Other (SPONTANEOUS): 5%
- None (SPONTANEOUS): 1%
- Don’t know: 12%

Ronald Inglehart’s Values Map

Eastern Europe and EU Integration
Page 9 of 14
PART B: TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF EU GOVERNANCE AND POLICY

Week 7  Joining Europe: Accession Politics and the Tool of Political Conditionality

March 3 + March 5  LEFF


Freedom House Democracy Ratings, 2013. COMPASS

Read One:


Graduate Students only


Is the impact of EU accession conditionality sustainable after target states achieve EU membership? Although accession changes the incentive structure for compliance, this article suggests that a lock-in of pre-accession institutional changes can contribute to their persistence even after the EU's sanctioning power weakens. A case study of gender equality institutions in five new member states suggests that a combination of government partisan preferences and veto players explains whether such lock-in occurs. If institutional change no longer fits government preferences, the key condition is the presence of veto players who can lock in institutional change. Rather than impairing Europeanisation, as the literature often assumes, domestic veto players can thus foster it. However, the case study also finds that veto players can lock in non-compliance too if conditionality was unsuccessful, and it appears easier to reverse earlier institutional change than to redress the lack of it.

***TAKE-HOME MIDTERM GUIDELINES DISTRIBUTED

Week 8  United Europe and the Challenge of Southeast Europe

March 10  GASyna


Ana e. Juncos, “The EU's post-Conflict Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re)Integrating the Balkans and/or (re)Inventing the EU?” Southeast European Politics 6:2 (Nov. 2005) 88-108. COMPASS

Graduate Students only


March 12 LEFF

NB: EU DAY ON CAMPUS: 10 am KEYNOTE BY AMBASSADOR OF LATVIA

Minority Identities/Minority Policy in East-West relations
The Roma Challenge

Simhandl, Katrin. 2006. "‘Western Gypsies and Travellers’-‘Eastern Roma’: the creation of political objects by the institutions of the European Union.” Nations and Nationalism. 12(1): 97-115. COMPASS


RELATED FILM: Dir. Tony Gatlif. “Gadjo Dilo.” 1997 [France/Romania. A Frenchman visits a Romanian Gypsy village to looks for a certain musician, and thus complete his own father’s legacy]. ON APRIL 6

Week 9 Re-Negotiating Identity in New EU Member States

March 17 GILLE


Graduate Students only


March 19: Mid-term essay due on this day; no class

>>> WEEK 10: SPRING VACATION, MARCH 22-29 – NO CLASSES <<<

Week 11 The Economics of Integration: Costs and Benefits of Membership

Guest Lecturer, Professor Bartłomiej Rokicki, Visiting Scholar, Warsaw University

March 31 ROKICKI


Long before the cold war and the Iron Curtain's construction, the European continent was marked by a developmental divide in which the east suffered relative economic deprivation compared to the west. This article revisits the sources of 'economic backwardness' in eastern Europe and asks whether post-communist states' membership in the European Union (EU) upends the earlier structural conditions that had traditionally prevented east–west economic convergence. The article finds that while there is more economic opportunity for post-communist states in the EU than outside it, EU membership does not subvert the major drivers of the developmental divide. EU membership does, however, limit economic
volatility for the New Member States (NMS), which, in historical perspective, is a boon for eastern populations and stabilizing for democratic politics.


April 2 ROKICKI

The Eurozone Question


News articles:


Consult:
National Bank of Poland (2004). *A Report on the Costs and Benefits of Poland’s Adoption of the Euro.* COMPASS Note: this is a 126 page analysis—consult for the kinds of issues a country must consider in adopting the euro.


Graduate Students only

Wade Jacoby “The EU Factor in Fat Times and in Lean Did the EU Amplify the Boom and Soften the Bust?” JCMS (January 2014) 52-70. COMPASS

This article describes the EU's impact on economic performance in the new Member States since the advent of membership. It first deals with the EU's role in promoting the economic boom that marked the region up to 2007, emphasizing the role of the single market and of the EU in anchoring and encouraging economic policy liberalization. The second section investigates the EU role in buffering the bust that occurred after 2007, looking at structural fund spending and financial sector instruments to enhance liquidity. I argue the EU had a (mostly unintentional) pro-cyclical effect that fuelled the boom and contributed to setting up the region for a very hard fall during the bust. I also show the EU efforts to buffer the hard times were far quicker in the area of structural fund spending compared to very slow and limited innovation in liquidity provision, especially for non-eurozone states.
Week 12 Democratic Advance/Democratic Backsliding  
April 7  GASYNA

The causal arrow—does the EU promote democracy?

Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2014. “Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession” JCMS  52:1 (January) 105-121. COMPASS


"Victor Orban and Hungarian Democracy." Newsfile media clippings on Hungarian case. COMPASS

Defending Democracy in the EU, Jan-Werner Muller, Journal of Democracy  24:2 (April 2013); 138-149

Consult:
Othering – The Czech far right EU parliament campaign
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/12/world/europe/european-candidates-see-opportunity-on-extreme-edge.html?_r=2

Youtube video of the ad: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8SCE4C4T6XE

Graduate Students only
Grzegorz Ekiert and Daniel Ziblatt, "Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe One Hundred Years On” East European Politics & Societies February (2013) 27: 90-107

In the twenty years since communism’s collapse, scholars of postcommunist Central and Eastern Europe have increasingly converged on the insight that long-run continuities reaching back to the nineteenth century are crucial in shaping some of the most important contemporary macro- and micro-level political outcomes in the region. Today’s political cleavages, political discourses, patterns of partisan affiliation, institutional choice, and the quality of democracy itself all appear to correlate to a remarkable degree with patterns from the “deep past.” To date, social scientists, however, have not
sufficiently reflected on what might explain this finding and how to study the impact of the general phenomenon of the long-run in the region. This article makes two contributions. First, we contend that in general, long-run continuities may ironically be more important in contexts of discontinuous institutional change such as in Central and Eastern Europe since frequent institutional disjunctures paradoxically open chasms between formal and informal institutions, preventing gradual change and producing patterns of institutional mimicry to cope with institutional ruptures. This insight may travel to other contexts of weak institutionalization. Second, we reject efforts to identify “deep causes” of contemporary outcomes without specifying how intervening events and crises intersect with these longer-run patterns. The article argues that scholars should study how these periods reinforce each other and jointly determine contemporary outcomes.

**RELATED FILM:** Eurochannel Short Films Tour: recent shorts on the theme of “youth;” various countries and directors. ON APRIL 20

**April 9 GILLE**


**Consult:**
4 Years of Polish Membership in the EU. The Balance of Socio-Economic Gains and Losses. UKIE, Warsaw. ONLY PP. 55-7.

**Week 13 Women in post-communist transition**

**April 14 GILLE**

Haney, Lynne. 1999. “But We Are Still Mothers”: Gender, the State, and the Construction of Need in Postsocialist Hungary.” In Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery (Eds.) *Uncertain Transition* 151-188. E-reserve


**Graduate Students only**


**April 16, as well as Weeks 14-16**

**Research paper presentations**

***Research papers due on the last day of classes (May 5).