

## European Integration and Politics of Belonging in Europe

**Instructor:** Lucia Najšlová, PhD.

**Office hours:** Please arrange an appointment at [lucia.najslova@cerge-ei.cz](mailto:lucia.najslova@cerge-ei.cz)

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

In the past few decades, the European Union has delivered to its citizens quite a lot: peace, prosperity and an unprecedented level of protection of human rights. Can the same be said about what it does for its neighbors? And why is the EU undergoing so many crises today? This course covers the main political, social and economic developments in post-1945 European integration. We will explore its founding pillars and discuss how they are revisited today. The first part of the course addresses milestones of European integration and interests and positions of key players in the period 1945-1989. The second part focuses on post-socialist transformations, the 2004 Eastern enlargement and relations with the EU's Mediterranean neighbors. The course covers current events in European politics and EU's role in the world and offers analytical lenses for thinking about them in historical perspective. Discussions about current affairs will pay particular attention to migration, climate change, changing patterns of work and economic/gender inequalities. After taking the course students should have a fair knowledge of various competing interpretations of what the EU is and what it should be for its citizens and neighbors. Classes are interactive, students are expected to be familiar with required reading.

### ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING POLICY

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| 1. Attendance and in-class participation | 20 % |
| 2. Mid-term exam                         | 40 % |
| 3. Final exam                            | 40 % |

Both exams consist of an in-class quiz and a take-home essay assignment. Instructions for preparation will be provided in class

Letter Grade	Percentage	Description
A	93-100	Outstanding work
A-	90-92	
B+	87-89	Good work
B	83-86	
B-	80-82	
C+	77-79	Acceptable Work
C	73-76	
C-	70-72	
D+	67-69	Work that is significantly below average
D	63-66	
D-	60-62	
F	0-59	Work that does not meet the minimum standards for passing the course

## **STATEMENT ABOUT ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, HONESTY AND DIVERSITY**

The Undergraduate Program in Central European Studies (UPCES) seeks to promote and ensure academic honesty and personal integrity among students. Academic honesty is vital to integrity of the program. Academic honesty means performing all academic work without plagiarizing, cheating, lying, tampering, stealing, receiving assistance from any other person or using any source of information that is not common knowledge (unless that assistance or use is authorized by the person responsible for the supervising of that academic work or fairly attributed to the source of assistance or information). Students and faculty who believe that an act of academic dishonesty has taken place should contact the Director of UPCES.

### **UPCES Non-Discrimination/Harassment Policy**

The UPCES program in Prague promotes a diverse learning environment where the dignity, worth, and differences of each individual are valued and respected. Discrimination and harassment, whether based on a person's race, gender, sexual orientation, color, religion, national origin, age, disability, or other legally protected characteristic, are repugnant and completely inconsistent with our objectives. Retaliation against individuals for raising good faith claims of harassment and/or discrimination is prohibited.

### **UPCES Diversity Policy**

UPCES fully embraces diversity and strives to create a safe and welcoming environment for students from all backgrounds. Prague is a diverse community and UPCES is no different. All students should feel at home while studying abroad and UPCES will do its utmost to make sure that becomes a reality. Although unique challenges may arise, we believe that students from all walks of life will encounter wonderful opportunities for enrichment as they explore a new culture while studying abroad.

## **COURSE RULES**

**Being there:** This course can fulfill its objectives only if its participants are present. Presence means much more than showing up. Students are expected to be familiar with the readings required for every week, take notes, and actively contribute to class discussions. Every absence from the course has to be announced in advance and justified. Late notification can be accepted only in special circumstances. You are allowed to miss one class without providing documentation. Every other absence has an impact on your grade, unless it has been excused by the program director. An unexcused absence will result in deduction of 3 points from the total of 20 that can be earned for attendance/participation. Please note that an F grade for attendance/participation means also an F grade for the whole course.

**Discussing concepts and ideas:** A discussion in which everyone learns has to be guided by basic rules. The rule number one in this case is that our main focus is on ideas and concepts, not on persons representing these ideas. Participants of the course can hold different opinions and should feel free to voice them. Our main task is to engage with how opinions, ideas, ideologies have shaped European integration in the studied period.

**Focusing on the selected issues:** The period covered in the course (1950s-2020s) might seem short when measured against the age of the universe. If we consider the numerous policies that were adopted in this period and impacts on lives of human polities, it can seem huge. While our discussions will certainly take us beyond the milestones selected in the syllabus, in order to get an in-depth understanding of the period, we will prioritize a few select issues. All assignments have to build on literature and key concepts studied in the course. Work not engaging course materials will not be accepted.

**Being on time:** Extensions can be granted only in special and well justified circumstances approved by the UPCES director. Otherwise, late submission will result in a 3 points/24 hours deduction.

**Appointments and conversations outside of classroom:** I am happy to provide additional consultations outside of regular course hours. The best way to arrange a consultation is to email me and briefly indicate the subject (e.g. paper writing, specific course material). In email correspondence, please do not open a new conversation as a response to an earlier thread discussing something completely different (i.e. a request for a consultation about paper writing should not come as a re: to an email in which course notes were sent.) Thank you for respecting this

## TOPICS AND A READING LIST

*The reading list might be amended during the course. Notifications about changes will be emailed in advance. Some of the materials can be found in library, most can be accessed electronically.*

### **Week 1**

UPCES introductory lectures

### **Week 2**

Introduction to the course. Themes, methods, homework, rules and rights. Politics, policy, polity.

#### Reading:

Excerpts from Jeremy Rifkin's *European Dream* (Penguin, 2003)

Conclusions in Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (Penguin 2001; orig. 1963)

Articles 2 and 49, Lisbon Treaty (Treaty on the European Union)

### **Week 3**

Who are the Europeans? Why was it so easy to invent the French, the Slovaks or the Germans, yet invention of Europeans seems a mission impossible? Belonging as an analytical lens. Writing about EU-rope: introduction to sources.

#### Reading:

Shore, C. (2000). Creating the people's Europe: symbols, history and invented traditions. In: Shore, C. *Building Europe: the Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 40-65.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice* 40(3), pp. 197-209.

### **Week 4**

Postwar. Destruction and longing for 'normalcy'. Beginnings of two integrations (east/west). The Schuman declaration and early institutions. Interdependence and supranationalism.

#### Reading:

Tony Judt: *Postwar: a history of Europe since 1945*. London: William Heinemann, 2005. Chapters 1, 3, 4  
*The Schuman Declaration of May 9, 1950*

[http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu\\_documentation/04/txt07\\_en.htm#declaration](http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_documentation/04/txt07_en.htm#declaration)

Winston Churchill: *United States of Europe*. University of Zurich, September 19, 1946.

<http://www.cfr.org/europe/churchills-united-states-europe-speech-zurich/p32536>

### **Week 5**

The US and European integration. The NATO and the Marshall Plan. Questions of independence and interdependence. Decolonization. East and "Power of the powerless". Guest workers.

#### Reading:

Judt, chapters 5, 8, 9

Introduction in Jennifer A. Miller. *Turkish Guest Workers in Germany: Hidden Lives and Contested Borders, 1960s to 1980s*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

Address given by J.F.K in Philadelphia, July 4, 1962 (2 pages)

[http://www.ena.lu/address\\_given\\_john\\_kennedy\\_philadelphia\\_july\\_1962-020002861.html](http://www.ena.lu/address_given_john_kennedy_philadelphia_july_1962-020002861.html)

## Week 6

Prosperity and crisis. Debates about “neoliberalism”.

### Reading:

Judt, chapters 10, 14, 17

## Week 7

Part 1: Midterm exam

Part 2: The EU Post-89 (A preview)

### Reading:

Excerpts from Fukuyama, F (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*,

[http://www.suz.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:00000000-36d7-41d4-0000-00000936ea84/Francis\\_Fukuyama.pdf](http://www.suz.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:00000000-36d7-41d4-0000-00000936ea84/Francis_Fukuyama.pdf)

Dace Dzenovska and Nicolas De Genova. “Desire for the political in the aftermath of the Cold War”. *Focaal – Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 80 (2018): 1-15.

### Additional:

Tony Judt, Chapter 21

## Week 8

The EU Post-89: re-shaping East/West; Looking and moving eastwards.

### Reading:

Sjursen, H. (2002) ‘Why Expand? The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU’s Enlargement Policy’. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 491-513.

Klinke, I. (2015) European Integration Studies and the European Union’s Eastern Gaze. *Millenium – Journal of International Studies* 43(2): 567-583.

## Week 9

CEE’s journey: between (post)communism and EU membership. Double role of aid recipient and aid provider.

### Reading:

Wedel, Janine L. (1995). US Aid to Central and Eastern Europe: Results and Recommendations. *Problems of Post-Communism* 42(3): 45-50.

Yuson Jung. “The Inability Not to Follow: Western Hegemonies and the Notion of ‘Complaisance’ in the Enlarged Europe”. *Anthropological Quarterly* 83, no 2(2010): 317-353.

Visegrad declaration (1991) <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/documents/visegrad-declarations/visegrad-declaration-110412>

### Additional:

Šimečka, M. (2014). Intellectuals Did Not Take the Responsibility, So Somebody Else Had To, *V4Revue*, <http://visegradrevue.eu/?p=3147>

Šiklová, J. (1993). Backlash. *Social Research* 60(4): 737-749.

Najšlová, L. (2013). *Foreign Democracy Assistance in the Czech and Slovak Transitions*. Madrid: FRIDE.

## Week 10

Can Turkey Be European? Why is it often considered the most controversial candidate for membership?

### Reading:

Baban, F. and Keyman, F. (2008) ‘Turkey and Postnational Europe: Challenges for the Cosmopolitan Political Community’, *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 107-124

Firat, Bilge. "Political Documents and Bureaucratic Entrepreneurs: Lobbying the European Parliament During Turkey's EU Integration". *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 39, no. 2 (2016): 190-205.

Additional:

International Crisis Group (2018) Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions. *Report No. 248*, January 29, 2018, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/248-turkeys-syrian-refugees-defusing-metropolitan-tensions>

## Week 11

Cyprus, the island that joined the EU only partly. What does it mean if a state split between a member and a neighbor? What role has the EU played in the Cyprus conflict?

Reading:

Constantinou, C. and Papadakis, Y. (2002) The Cypriot state(s) in situ. In: Diez, T. (ed.) *The European Union and the Cyprus conflict*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 73-97.

Caspersen, Nina. "Democracy, nationalism and (lack of) sovereignty: the complex dynamics of democratization in unrecognized states", *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 2(2011): 337-356.

Additional:

Mason, M. & Bryant, R. (2017) *Water Technology and Sustainability in North Cyprus*, LSE and PRIO Cyprus Centre Report, <https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=1361&type=publicationfile>

## Week 12

European crises (Greek debt, refugees). Sovereignty and solidarity, democracy and accountability.

Reading:

Powers, Theodore and Theodoros Rakopoulos "The anthropology of austerity: an introduction" *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 29, no.83 (2019): 1-12.

Geoff Gilbert, "Why Europe Does Not Have a Refugee Crisis". *International Journal of Refugee Law* 27, no. 4(2015): 531-535.

Van Midelaar, L. (2016) The Return of Politics – The European Union after the Crises in the Eurozone and Ukraine. *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 495-507.

Additional:

Herzfeld, M. (2016) The hypocrisy of European moralism. *Anthropology Today* 32(2): 10-13.

Gilbert, G. (2015) Why Europe Does Not Have a Refugee Crisis. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 27(4): 531-535.

## Week 13

Part 1: Final Exam

Part 2: Colloquium on questions of solidarity, belonging and futures in Europe.

Reading:

Nicolaidis, C & Howse, R. (2002). 'This is My EUtopia.. Narrative as Power'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 767-92.