

# European Union: Integration and Disintegration

POLS 3521 3.0  
Fall 2024

## Course Information

Course Instructor:  
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Office Hours & Location:  
Tuesdays 2:45-3:45pm Ross S639  
Course Time & Days: Tuesday 11:30am  
Class Location: BC 215

## Land Acknowledgment

York University recognizes that many Indigenous Nations have longstanding relationships with the territories upon which York University campuses are located that precede the establishment of York University. York University acknowledges its presence on the traditional territory of many Indigenous Nations. The area known as Tkaronto has been care taken by the Anishinabek Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and the Huron-Wendat. It is now home to many First Nation, Inuit, and Métis communities. We acknowledge the current treaty holders, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. This territory is subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement to peaceably share and care for the Great Lakes region ([LA&PS Land Acknowledgement](#)).

## Course Overview

### Course Description (catalogue)

Examines the processes and policies of European integration. It pays particular attention to the advantages of closer integration on the European continent while also considering the difficulties of governing a multi-level and multi-national polity. Topics include current European issues such as the Euro and Euro-zone crisis, enlargement, democratic accountability as well as specific policy areas.

## Course description (extended)

The European Union is, quite probably, the most ambitious, complex and controversial experiment in regional integration. Gradually, over the course of more than sixty years, states have cooperated to develop deeper and more complex relationships with one another, mitigated by complex institutional structures. However, in recent years the stability of these arrangements has come into question. Events such as the British exit vote (Brexit), COVID-19, the financial crisis, the rise of right-wing populism, the on-going migrant and refugee challenge and most recently the energy and security crisis due to the war in Ukraine are undermining the viability of the Union. Can the European Union survive these crises? Will the European states continue to cooperate, even in the face of immense challenges?

We will begin this course with an overview of the European Union, its goals, aims and institutions. From there, we will try and gain an understanding of how the European Union is shaped by internal and external events, and how the EU, in turn may shape some of these events. We will look at the European Union through the lens of current and on-going crises and ask whether the EU can survive these crises.

## Course objectives and learning outcomes:

By the end of this course, students will:

- understand the institutions and functions of the European Union;
- develop an understanding of the interaction between the national and European levels of governance;
- assess the impact of various forces on international cooperation;

In addition to these knowledge-based aims, the course is also designed to contribute to skill development. Through the course requirements, students are encouraged to:

- assess the strengths and weaknesses of academic arguments
- practice formulating persuasive and effective arguments

## Course format and organization:

This course is an in-person class. Although this course is officially considered a lecture class, I apply a very interactive teaching style. While the first sessions will follow a more traditional lecture style, the more the course progresses, the style will put student participation in the centre. All sessions require an active participation of all students.

## Course evaluation:

Assessment	Due date	Weight %
Active participation and attendance	continuously	20%
In-class writing assignment 1	September 24	15%
In-class writing assignment 2	October 8	15%
Quizzes	Friday each week after reading week	15%

Short essay	December 3	35%
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All assignments are due midnight. Assignments for this course must be received within the time frame specified for the assignment and are to be handed in on eClass.

#### Active Participation:

Each week, you will receive a participation grade out of 10 possible points. Your final participation grade will be based on your best 10 weeks. (the first week does not count and you have one “freebee”). If you are ill or otherwise excused, I will take this into consideration. In these cases, I may ask you for documentation.

Half of your daily participation grade will be for attendance. This means arriving on time, not leaving early and showing basic respect in class (i.e. no earphones, using social media, texting etc.). Points will be deducted if your attendance does not conform to these expectations. The remaining points will be for active participation, including asking questions, contributing to the class discussion, taking part in small group discussions and generally showing knowledge of and interest in the material.

Students are not permitted to use generative artificial intelligence (AI) for this assignment. The use of generative AI tools will be considered a violation of York University’s [Senate Policy on Academic Honesty](#).

#### Quizzes

The quizzes start weekly after reading week. You have to answer **5 questions** about the course material. Each Quiz will open after class and close Thursday midnight. The Quiz with the lowest mark will be dropped.

Students are not permitted to use generative artificial intelligence (AI) for this assignment. The use of generative AI tools will be considered a violation of York University’s [Senate Policy on Academic Honesty](#).

#### In-class writing assignment:

In week 3 and week 5 you will have to answer a question in writing in class. We will reserve 45 minutes for this task at the end of the class. You will have the choice between two questions – each addressing one topic. You are asked to answer the question in an essay-style response by referring to the course material (the readings, lecture slides, your notes). Electronic devices or the text book are not allowed but you can use any hand written notes.

You should demonstrate knowledge of the course readings, the lecture, and the course discussion. You should provide a clear answer to the question and your answer should be based on what you have learned in class.

The answer should be about 2-3 pages long.

Students are not permitted to use generative artificial intelligence (AI) for this assignment. The use of generative AI tools will be considered a violation of York University’s [Senate Policy on Academic Honesty](#).

### Short Essays:

You have to write one short essay of approximately **1800 - max 2200 words (including bibliography)** each. Assignments are to be double spaced, using a standard 12pt. font such as Times New Roman, Calibri or Arial and 1" margins. I expect you to use a collection of **peer-reviewed academic sources** (minimum three), use **correct citations (APA, MLA or Chicago)** and referencing. If you need help with how to format a bibliography or correctly reference citations, please refer to [SPARK](#) at the York University website.

I will post the details of the assignment, including a list of possible topics, to our eClass page. Assignments are to be submitted through Turnitin on the eClass page. I do not accept emailed assignments.

Late Work Policy and Rubrics: I will post rubrics for the reaction papers and short essays on eClass. The rubrics include the details about late submission.

Students are allowed to use generative artificial intelligence (AI) for this assignment to some extent.

Submitting work created through the use of generative AI tools that goes beyond the allowed extend may be considered a violation of York University's [Senate Policy on Academic Honesty](#). See the section "Use of GenAI" below for more information.

In addition, please review [AI Technology & Academic Integrity: Information for Students](#).

## Grading

The grading scheme for this course conforms to the 9-point system used in undergraduate programs at York University. For a full description of the York grading system, visit the York University [Academic Calendar](#).

GRADE	GRADE POINT	PERCENT RANGE	DESCRIPTION
A+	9	90-100	Exceptional
A	8	80-89	Excellent
B+	7	75-79	Very Good
B	6	70-74	Good
C+	5	65-69	Competent
C	4	60-64	Fairly Competent
D+	3	55-59	Passing
D	2	50-54	Marginally Passing
E	1	(marginally below 50%)	Marginally Failing
F	0	(below 50%)	Failing

## Use of GenAI

The use of Chat GPT and other AI generators is developing fast in many areas of society. My aim is to provide a clear guideline about the use of GenAI in this course. I understand that policies of the university, practices of students and the capabilities of the software can change quickly. For that reason, this guideline may have to be adapted during the course. Any changes to the guideline will be communicated in class.

AI software that use large language models can be helpful for doing research on the course topic and writing papers. However, you need to be aware of their limitations:

**1. Errors:** AI generators make mistakes and it make things up (called “hallucinations”). Assume the output is incorrect unless you check the claims with reliable sources. I will have to consider it your own error if you reproduce an error in your assignment.

**2. Bias:** Their output may reflect bias because the data they are trained on may reflect bias or may not include sufficient data from certain groups.

**3. Citation:** These tools use existing sources without citation. Therefore using their outputs puts you at risk of plagiarism.

Use the table below as a guidance when and how AI is allowed for an assignment in this course.

LEVEL		DESCRIPTION	ASSIGNMENT
1	No AI	The assignment is completed entirely without AI assistance. You have to rely solely on you knowledge, understanding, and skills. <b>AI must not be used at any point during the assignment.</b>	Quizzes, in class assignments, participation
2	AI-ASSISTED IDEA GENERATION AND STRUCTURING	AI can be used for the assignment for brainstorming, creating structures, and generating ideas for improving work. <b>No AI content is allowed in the final submission.</b>	Short Essay
3	AI-ASSISTED EDITING	AI can be used to make improvements to the clarity or quality of student created work to improve the final output, but no new content can be created using AI. <b>AI can be used, but the use of AI content must be documented in an appendix.</b>	Short Essay
4	AI TASK	AI is used to complete certain	-

	COMPLETION, HUMAN EVALUATION	elements of the task, with students providing discussion or commentary on the AI-generated content. This level requires critical engagement with AI generated content and evaluating its output. <b>You will use AI to complete specified tasks in your assessment. Any AI created content must be cited.</b>	
5	FULL AI	AI should be used as a 'co-pilot' in order to meet the requirements of the assessment, allowing for a collaborative approach with AI and enhancing creativity. <b>You may use AI throughout your assessment to support your own work and do not have to specify which content is AI generated.</b>	-

Based on Perkins, M., Furze, L., Roe, J., & MacVaugh, J. (2024). The Artificial Intelligence Assessment Scale (AIAS): A Framework for Ethical Integration of Generative AI in Educational Assessment. *Journal of University Teaching and Learning Practice*, 21(06), Article 06. <https://doi.org/10.53761/q3azde36>

Further information about Level 2 and 3:

The levels are cumulative. This means that Level 3 includes level 2.

You cannot use **new** content created by AI in the final submission, **except:**

- the bibliography
- section headlines

At the end of your bibliography, add a note indicating which AI tool you used and how you used it. It should show that you stayed in the limits of the allowed level of AI for the assignment.

## Readings and resources

There is **ONE REQUIRED** text for this course (abbreviated in the syllabus as *Key Controversies*):

Zimmermann, Hubert, and Andreas Dür, eds. *Key Controversies in European Integration*. Third edition. The European Union Series Texts. London: Red Globe Press, 2021.

## Course Schedule

### ***Session 1: Introductory session and course organization***

**Topic:** What is this course about? What are the requirements? What are our (the lecturer's and your) expectations? How is the course structured? There are no required readings for

class today, but if you have no background knowledge at all of the EU, you may find it useful to look at the resources below.

- EU's website ([www.europa.eu](http://www.europa.eu))
- Introductory video, "What Actually is the European Union? - TLDR Explains."

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBx-HjbHwGk>)

## ***Session 2: A brief history of the EU***

**Topic:** The goal of this week is to try and understand how the European Union developed from a simple trade agreement among six member states to a complex system of multi-national and multileveled governance. The history of the EU is especially important in order to understand contemporary dynamics and crisis responses.

*Preparation:*

What are the most recent three news stories that you remember about the European Union?

### **Literature/Media:**

Introduction: Key Controversies (pp. xix – xxiv)

Constantin Chira-Pascanut (2018) "A Short History of the European Union: From Rome to Lisbon" Chapter 2 in *European Union Governance and Policy Making: A Canadian Perspective*. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Achim Hurrelmann and Amy Verdun (eds.) University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

## ***Session 3: How does the EU work?***

**Topic:** Many of the critiques of the European Union centre around the EU's perceived inability to act, or inability to act collectively. This was evident during the 2015 migrant and refugee crisis and at times during the COVID pandemic responses. At the same time, when the EU does act collectively, many express concern that it is not a democratic body and that it is overreaching its powers. This week we will explore the central paradox of national vs supranational powers and evaluate the EU's successes and failures.

### **Literature/Media:**

- Derek Beach and Uwe Puetter (2021) "More powers for Brussels or Renationalization?" Chapter 2 in *Key Controversies*.
- Richard Bellamy and Christopher Lord (2021) "How Democratic is the EU?" Chapter 3 in *Key Controversies*

BBC News. "How the EU Works: A Video Guide," July 16, 2014, sec. Europe.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23488006>.

**In class writing assignment.**

## **Session 4: The Court of Justice of the EU: Who rules?**

**Topic:** Another thing that makes the European Union a unique international institution, is that the Court holds substantial power, not only over the institutions, but also over the member states. Formally, European law takes precedent over national law and this can lead to some complications when national and European law are in conflict with one another.

Literature:

- Karen Alter and Daniel Kelemen and Jeremy Rabkin (2021) "Too Much Power for the Judges?" Chapter 4 in Key Controversies
- Jessica Guth (2016) 'Transforming the European Legal Order: The European Court of Justice at 60+', Journal of Contemporary European Research. 12 (1), pp. 455-466.  
[https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL\\_YOR/j50f41/cdi\\_doaj\\_primary\\_oai\\_doaj\\_org\\_article\\_c96568a373d24076b0a2f54ecc842c6b](https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_YOR/j50f41/cdi_doaj_primary_oai_doaj_org_article_c96568a373d24076b0a2f54ecc842c6b)

## **Session 5: The Euro: Success or Failure?**

**Topic:** One of the things that makes the EU unique is the level of integration that has been achieved. A key example of this is the Euro currency which is a single currency (and united monetary policy) for the member states. The single currency brings advantages and disadvantages with it, for the EU; for differently positioned individuals; for member states; and for countries and people outside the EU. This week we will look at the pros and cons of the common currency from these different perspectives.

Literature/Media:

- The Euro Explained: The History and How Countries Join TLDR Explains (2020) available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gKQs7fB3p0>
- Henrik Enderlein and Andreas Nölke (2021) "The future of the euro: union or disintegration?" Chapter 7 in Key Controversies
- Johannes Jäger "The historical enforcement of neo-liberal integration in the EU" The European Illusion , Attac Austria. Available at <https://the-european-illusion.eu/the-book/eu-history/>

**In class writing assignment.**

**READING WEEK**

## **Session 6: Foreign Policy**

**Topic:** If you look at the collective powers of the individual member states, then the European Union could be considered one of the most powerful international actors. The 27 member states exercise the ability to influence international events both through ideational and through military means. And yet, as we know, the EU consistently underperforms in the area of foreign policy. This week we will consider some of the key questions around the EU's potential and ability to act internationally.



## **Literature:**

- Luca Ratti and Hanna Ojanen (2021) "Towards a common European army?" Chapter 12 in Key Controversies
- Daniela Sicurelli and Mark A. Pollack (2021) Does the EU Act as a Normative Power? Chapter 10 in Key Controversies
- Lehne, Stefan. "Making EU Foreign Policy Fit for a Geopolitical World." Carnegie Europe. Accessed August 1, 2022. <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2022/04/14/making-eu-foreign-policy-fit-for-geopolitical-world-pub-86886>.

## **Session 7: EU enlargement**

**Topic:** The project of European integration grew from 6 founding members to 27 member states of the EU. We will discuss what this growth means for the governance of the EU and how it changed the character of the EU.

More countries want to join the EU. Since the mid-1990s new member states have to conform to democratic principles before joining the EU. We will analyze in this session political conditionality as a form of democracy promotion. In which ways does/did the enlargement process contribute to democratization in accession countries?

### **Literature:**

Rachel A. Epstein and Christopher Bickerton: Has EU Enlargement gone to far? Chapter 11 in Key controversies.

Pridham, Geoffrey. "European Union Accession Dynamics and Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Future Perspectives." *Government and Opposition* 41, no. 3 (June 2006): 373–400. [https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL\\_YOR/j50f41/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_59740175](https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_YOR/j50f41/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_59740175)

European Commission. "European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations: Ukraine." Accessed July 11, 2024.

[https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/european-neighbourhood-policy/countries-region/ukraine\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/european-neighbourhood-policy/countries-region/ukraine_en).

## **Session 8: The idea of Europe and a European identity**

**Topic:** The European Union is neither a state nor an international institution. However, in some ways the EU tries to have characteristics that are usually associated with a state as these may also be viewed as conferring legitimacy on the Union. For example, the EU has a flag, motto, anthem, passport and citizenship. But, are these symbols sufficient to "create" an identity? What elements are necessary for a common identity in the European Union?

### **Literature/Media:**

- Ulrike Liebert and Jonathan White (2021) "Can there be a Common European Identity?" Chapter 5 in Key Controversies

- Mafalda Dâmaso, Luke John Davies, Kuba Jablongowski, Seamus Montgomery (2019) "Acting European: Identity, Belonging and the EU of Tomorrow" Policy Paper prepared by the Europeaness and Identity Working Group FEPS Yong Academics Network. Available at: <https://www.feps-europe.eu/attachments/publications/damaso%20davies%20jablonowski%20montgomery%20acting%20european%20-%20identity%20belonging%20and%20the%20eu%20of%20tomorrow.pdf>
- "Theories of Nationalism and National Identity: An Introduction" from Then and Now available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uwv9XjTZh2c> (approximately 11 mins)
- "European Identity & National Identity: Constructing a 'We'" from Then and Now available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9hhXLho\\_94](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9hhXLho_94) (approximately 8 mins)

### **Session 9: The Europeanization of Civil Society and Social Movements**

**Topic:** We will look into the Europeanization or transnationalization of social movements and civil society. Eva Heidbreder discusses the possibilities of civil society to participate in EU governance. Can civil society effectively participate in EU politics?

Caiani and Graziano provide a case study of a social movement coalition that challenges EU policies. TTIP (the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) is a promising case study to analyze social movements' Europeanization – that is, their capacity to mobilize referring to European issues, targets and identities. Furthermore, the TTIP is a crucial test case because it concerns a policy area (foreign trade) which falls under the exclusive competence of the EU. In addition, political opportunities for civil society actors are 'closed' in that negotiations are kept 'secret' and discussed mainly within the European Council, and it is difficult to mobilize a large public on such a technical issue.

#### **Literature/Media:**

Caiani, Manuela, and Paolo Graziano. 2018. "Europeanisation and Social Movements: The Case of the Stop TTIP Campaign." *European Journal of Political Research* 57 (4): 1031–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12265>.  
[https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL\\_YOR/sqt9v/cdi\\_crossref\\_primary\\_10\\_1111\\_1475\\_6765\\_12265](https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_YOR/sqt9v/cdi_crossref_primary_10_1111_1475_6765_12265)  
 Heidbreder, Eva G. "Civil Society Participation in EU Governance." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 7, no. 2 (2012).

### **Session 10: Migration and Citizenship in Europe**

**Topic:** The European citizenship and the mobility of people within the EU is often seen as one of the main achievements of European integration. Workers and students move more or less freely within the EU. Tighter borders to non-EU countries and restrictive asylum policies accompanied the free mobility within the EU. The summer of migration 2015 (also labelled the 'refugee crisis') fuelled the public debate about the freedom of movement, asylum regulation and it triggered solidarity movements but also xenophobic movements.

2015 seems to be one of the years that – unexpectedly – was decisive for the future development of the EU.

In 2015-2016 an unprecedented number of people made their way to Europe to apply for asylum. This challenge showed the cracks in the European Union as different states responded to it in different ways. The member states did not agree on the course of action or on the fundamental values that could underpin that action. This week, we will look at what happened in the crisis of European leadership during the summer of migration and how this challenges the fundamental values of the EU. We will also try and understand how the crisis fits into some of the bigger challenges facing the European Union.

#### **Literature/Media:**

- della Porta, Donatella, ed. *Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis.'* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71752-4>. Chap 1.
- Laurie Buonanno (2017) "The European Migration Crisis" in *The European Union in Crisis* Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent and William Paterson (eds). pp. 100-130.

### ***Session 11: The rise of new populism as a sign of disintegration?***

**Topic:** Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union declares that the Union is founded "on the values of...democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights". But, what happens when the democratic choices of citizens leads to illiberal outcomes that challenge the rule of law? How can the EU respond when democracy is illiberal? This week we will look at populism as a social movement, and at the rise of illiberal governments in the member states. We will consider whether these are real challenges to the project of integration and how the EU should respond.

#### **Literature:**

- Bojan Bugarcic and Alenka Kuhelj (2018) "Varieties of Populism in Europe: Is the Rule of Law in Danger?" *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 10: 21-33. [https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL\\_YOR/j50f41/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_2019197273](https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_YOR/j50f41/cdi_proquest_journals_2019197273)
- Cas Mudde (2021) "Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism" (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture 2019). *Government and Opposition*, pp. 1-21. [https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL\\_YOR/j50f41/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_2569556717](https://ocul-yor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_YOR/j50f41/cdi_proquest_journals_2569556717)

\*\* Mudde, Cas. "Populism in Europe: A Primer." *openDemocracy*, May 12, 2015.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/populism-in-europe-primer/>.

\*\* DW Documentary (2019) "Right-Wing populism and the EU" available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uo0dFWOMaDM>

### ***Session 12: The future of Europe /Wrap up***

**Topic:** Reflection on the course. We can use this session to debate the 'future of Europe'.