

## **Enlarging Europe: The European Union and its Applicants**

**Department of Political Science  
POL359H1  
Winter Term – 2026  
Tuesday – 1 – 3 PM**

**Instructor:**

**Robert C. Austin, Professor and Associate Director  
Centre for European and Eurasian Studies  
Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy  
Room 126N  
416.946.8942  
[robert.austin@utoronto.ca](mailto:robert.austin@utoronto.ca)**

**Teaching Assistant: Nicole Morar, PhD Candidate, Dept of Political Science**

[nicole.morar@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:nicole.morar@mail.utoronto.ca)

**Contact Hours: By appt and after class Tuesday!**

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

European integration remains one of the most important and successful political experiments in recent history and many states continue to seek membership in the European Union (EU). This course looks briefly at the historical impetus for European integration after the Second World War and to the recent trends in this process, as well as its future prospects as the Union's borders enlarge and it confronts new challenges in Ukraine and elsewhere. The emphasis is on the process of integration in candidate countries and potential candidates. Of particular significance is the role of the EU in re-building multiethnic societies, big picture rule of law issues and the impact of enlargement on democratization. It also examines the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) that works with states that are likely to remain outside the Union but seek enhanced cooperation made even more important by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In terms of geography, the course will cover the efforts related to South-Eastern Europe (the Balkans), as well as Turkey, Ukraine, Moldova and the Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia). Students will have the chance to work with original peace treaties alongside academic articles, documentaries and mainstream media.

### **On Academic Integrity:**

*“Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>”.*

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student’s individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto’s *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- " Using someone else’s ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- " Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- " Making up sources or facts.
- " Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

On tests and exams:

- " Using or possessing unauthorized aids.
- " Looking at someone else’s answers during an exam or test.
- " Misrepresenting your identity.

In academic work:

- " Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- " Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor’s notes.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources (see [http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesfor\\_students.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesfor_students.html)).

### **Generative Artificial Intelligence:**

- The use of generative artificial intelligence tools or apps for assignments in this course, including tools like ChatGPT and other AI writing or coding assistants, is prohibited.

- The knowing use of generative artificial intelligence tools, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the completion of, or to support the completion of, an examination, term test, assignment, or any other form of academic assessment, may be considered an academic offense in this course.
- Representing as one's own an idea, or expression of an idea, that was AI-generated may be considered an academic offense in this course.
- Students may not copy or paraphrase from any generative artificial intelligence applications, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the purpose of completing assignments in this course.
- The use of generative artificial intelligence tools and apps is strictly prohibited in all course assignments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor in this course. This includes ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants. Use of generative AI in this course may be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a form of cheating.
- This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to help you reach course learning outcomes.

### **On Accommodation:**

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs.

### **GRADING SCHEME**

There are four components to the grade for the course that combine participation and different styles of writing. One of the key objectives of the course is to develop different writing skills and the ability to write for different audiences. Country specific modules assume some knowledge of the main issues. That is why it is essential to stay informed on these issues.

- 1) Each week (starting with week 2), students will contribute their reflections, insights, experiences, and analysis to a discussion thread on Quercus about the week's readings. In addition, students may reply to others' contributions as the thread develops. Posts do not need to be long (2-3 paragraphs), but they should be thoughtful and demonstrate that you are deeply engaged with the ideas presented in the readings. These posts are not mere summaries of the readings. Instead, you should tell me what is interesting, meaningful, or compelling. Posts will be marked on the degree to which they engage the week's material in a clear, creative, and analytically productive fashion. There are 10 weeks for discussion - **15%**
- 2) OP-ED: (800 - 1000 words **MAXIMUM**) - **35%** - **Due 13 February 2026 – 1159 PM** – You will be expected to write an opinion piece on an issue of central importance **now** for the regions we are studying at this moment. We will discuss the format in detail in class. Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with this

style of essay by regularly reading similar pieces in the *New York Times*, *Financial Times* or other leading newspapers. Run your topics by me. **Submit papers via Quercus - no title page and word count on first page.**

- 3) Final Exam in April Exam Period. **40 per cent.**
- 4) Regular attendance – **10%.**

*The late penalty is 2% per day on all written assignments (including weekends).*

## READINGS

### Textbooks

#### Course Texts:

The weekly readings listed below are available through the U of T Library system. There is no reading package. Students are not expected to read every article, but this list should serve as guidance for your major research paper. I have marked any priority materials with an asterisk (\*) which are to be discussed in your responses. Additional readings from contemporary media and think tanks will be posted weekly on the course's Quercus site. Staying engaged with the news as it relates to the region of study is essential. It is worth noting that every week I will be posting what I think are interesting things to look at for our discussions.

As to texts, students can get my book on the Balkans which is available for free through the Library system or purchase through the U of T Bookstore.

Robert C Austin, *Making and Re-Making the Balkans – Nations and States since 1878*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

Link for e-copy:

[https://www.campusbookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller\\_id=96&Course=STG+ERE+1170HF+eBOOK+MAKING+AND+REMAKING+THE+BALKANS&frame=YES&t=permalink](https://www.campusbookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller_id=96&Course=STG+ERE+1170HF+eBOOK+MAKING+AND+REMAKING+THE+BALKANS&frame=YES&t=permalink)

#### Helpful Websites:

EU Enlargement Web-site: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index.htm>

EU Official Site: <http://www.europa.eu.int>

#### Newspapers and others:

Students will also benefit from following the mainstream media in Europe. The best source for European issues is the [\*Financial Times\*](#). Students will enjoy the course more if they read

the *Financial Times* Weekend Edition. An excellent and current on-line news source is for Europe [BBC News](#).

Another excellent web site with loads of great articles for your research is the European Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.ecfr.eu/>

Other sites of interest:

International Crisis Group - <https://www.crisisgroup.org/>

Balkan Insight – [www.balkansinsight.com](http://www.balkansinsight.com)

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace - <https://carnegieendowment.org/>

Open Democracy - <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/>

European Stability Initiative - <https://esiweb.org/>

Politico: <https://www.politico.eu/>

EU Observer: <https://euobserver.com/>

Deutsche Welle: [www.dw.com](http://www.dw.com)

## **COURSE OUTLINE:**

### **Module One: 1 class**

#### **European Integration: History and Theoretical Perspectives**

1. Introductory class – Why Integrate?

\*Olivier Costa, Nathalie Brack, “A Political System Forged By History,” in *How the EU Really Works* (London: Routledge, 2019), 18.

### **Module Two: 4 classes**

#### **The Balkans**

Big Question: What are the main challenges to the integration of the remaining Balkan states?

General: For Balkans and EU issues please use the following website for good media background and analysis:

<http://www.balkaninsight.com>

1. Where are we now in the Western Balkans?

\*Robert Austin, “Are We There Yet? The Quest for Stability and Democracy in the Balkans,” in J. L. Black, Michael Johns, and Alanda D. Theriault, Eds. *The New World Disorder: Challenges and Threats in an Uncertain World*. Rowman & Littlefield: 2019.

\*TRANSITION TO WHAT? Western Balkans democracies in a state of illiberal equilibrium.

<https://sbunker.net/uploads/sbunker.net/files/2020/December/04/Transition-to-what-Western-Balkans-democracies-in-a-state-of-iliberal-equilibrium1607078207.pdf>

\***Watch:** An Unfinished Project: EU Enlargement in the Balkans. A documentary film by the Bertelsmann Foundation.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gZ9X7s2-VK0>

## 2. Case Study – Bosnia

Read this first to get familiar with the issues:

[https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/115432/PB\\_04\\_10\\_Bosnia.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/115432/PB_04_10_Bosnia.pdf)

\*Chivvas, Christopher. "The Dayton Dilemma." *Survival* 52, no. 5 (October 2010): 47-74. [https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/00396338/v52i0005/47\\_tdd.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/00396338/v52i0005/47_tdd.xml).

\*Majda Ruge. *HOSTAGE STATE: HOW TO FREE BOSNIA FROM DAYTON'S PARALYSING GRIP*. European Council on Foreign Relations, 2022.

<https://ecfr.eu/publication/how-europe-and-the-us-can-take-bosnia-beyond-dayton-25-years-later/>

## 3. Case Study: Kosovo

\*Austin, R. C. (2018). A Word on Kosovo's First Ten Years. *Südost-Europa*, 66(2), 272–281. <https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2018-0019>

\***The Association of Serb Majority Municipalities: The crux of tensions in Northern Kosovo**

<https://www.epc.eu/en/Publications/The-Association-of-Serb-Majority-Municipalities-The-crux-of-tensions~517b60>

## 4. Case Study: North Macedonia

\* Koukoudakis, George. "The Macedonian Question: An Identity-Based Conflict." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 29 no. 4, 2018, pp. 3-18. *Project MUSE*, [muse.jhu.edu/article/717680](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/717680).

\*Nimetz, M. (2020). The Macedonian “Name” Dispute: The Macedonian Question-Resolved? *Nationalities Papers*, 48(2), 205–214.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.10>

\*Trajanovski, Naum. “Bulgarian-North Macedonia’s History-dispute: Whose “Shared History” in the Name of Which “European values”?” *Heinrich Böll Stiftung Sarajevo*. November 16, 2020. <https://ba.boell.org/en/2020/11/16/bulgarian-north-macedonias-history-dispute-whose-shared-history-name-which-european>  
<https://ba.boell.org/en/2020/11/16/bulgarian-north-macedonias-history-dispute-whose-shared-history-name-which-european>

### **Module Three – 4 classes**

#### **European Neighborhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership – Ukraine, the Caucasus, Moldova and the EU**

#### **BIG QUESTION; HOW EFFECTIVE HAS THE EU BEEN IN TRANSFORMING THESE STATES.**

##### 1. Ukraine

European Commission’s “Eastern Partnership Policy Beyond 2020”.  
[https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/1\\_en\\_act\\_part1\\_v6.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/1_en_act_part1_v6.pdf)

Kuzio, T. (2010). Nationalism, identity and civil society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 43(3), 285–296.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2010.07.001>

\*Kuzio, Taras. “Why Russia Invaded Ukraine.” *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 21 (2022): 40–51.

\*Hale, H. E. (2016). 25 Years After The USSR: What’s Gone Wrong? *Journal of Democracy*, 27(3), 24–35. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2016.0035>

##### 2. European Neighborhood Policy and the Caucasus – Case study of Georgia’s EU Hopes.

\* Panchulidze, Elene, and Richard Youngs. “The Source of Georgia’s Democratic Resilience.” *Journal of Democracy* 36, no. 1 (2025): 123–34.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2025.a947888>.

Listen: [Can Georgia Stay on Its European Path? | Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#)

### 3. Case Study of Armenia and Azerbaijan

Vasilyan, S. (2017). "Swinging on a Pendulum": Armenia in the Eurasian Economic Union and With the European Union. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 64(1), 32–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1163230>

\*Van Gils, E. (2018). Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy Strategies and the European Union: Successful Resistance and Pursued Influence. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70(5), 738–758. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1479733>

**\*Marie Dumoulin, Russia's indecision: Armenia and Azerbaijan return to violence, ECFR, 22 September 2022**  
<https://ecfr.eu/article/russias-indecision-armenia-and-azerbaijan-return-to-violence/>

### 4. Case Study of Moldova.

\*Baar, Vladimir and Daniel Jakubek, "Divided National Identity in Moldova," *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, Vol. 11, Issue 1, (2017) 58-92. - <https://login.library.utoronto.ca/index.php?url=http://www.cceol.com/search/journal-detail?id=1938>

\*"Moldova Faces 'Existential' Population Crisis," Tim Judah - Jan. 16, 2020. BIRN - <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/01/16/moldova-faces-existential-population-crisis/>

## Module Four - 2 classes

### Turkey: A permanent applicant?

BIG QUESTION: WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF TURKEY'S 20 YEAR AKP RULE ON EU MEMBERSHIP AND TURKISH DEMOCRACY?

#### 1. History and Internal Politics

\*Mathew Davies (2013) The legacy of Atatürk: the limits of conditionality in Turkish European Union membership negotiations, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67:4,511-525, DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2013.806027 To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2013.806027>

\*Candar, C. (2000). Atatürk's Ambiguous Legacy. *The Wilson Quarterly (Washington)*, 24(4), 88–96.

#### 2. Turkey after the Coup - Turkey's New Constitution and the EU.

\*Aslan Amani, “Turkey’s Growing Constitutional Conundrum” in Open Democracy.  
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/aslan-amani/turkeys-growing-constitutional-conundrum>

\*Rogenhofer, J. M. (2018). Antidemocratic Populism in Turkey after the July 2016 Coup Attempt. *Populism (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 1(2), 116–145.  
<https://doi.org/10.1163/25888072-00001010>

**Week 12 - Final Class:**

The last class will examine in detail an issue of central importance to the EU in 2025.  
Readings TBA.