

## Small states in the EU (JTM325)

Zoom link for the whole semester:

<https://cesnet.zoom.us/j/99309625495?pwd=aIN0Z3ZMTjNaeFV2UkRVV3E2TTM4UT09>

**Lecturer:** Dr Tomáš Weiss ([weiss@fsv.cuni.cz](mailto:weiss@fsv.cuni.cz))

**Office hours:** Mondays 9:00-11:00 over Zoom; only upon prior email arrangement

What are small states and how specific are they in international affairs? What challenges do small states face in the European Union? How do small states promote their interests and what makes them successful? This course will introduce the topic of small states in the EU and discuss why small states are specific and what consequences that bears.

The course will be a discussion over academic literature on small states, which is a relatively new but quickly developing area. Students will be expected to read the prescribed reading, present and discuss it in the class, and prepare their own paper on a selected aspect of small states' policy in the EU.

### Course obligations and grading

Students have the following obligations:

- Present and discuss selected reading in the class (10 minutes) (**30 pts**)
  - Each presentation should present and critically discuss on the following aspects of the paper:
    - identification and understanding of key concepts (max 5 pts),
    - identification of the research question and relation to the broader literature (max 5 pts),
    - explanation of the method used (max 5 pts),
    - presentation of the data (max 5 pts),
    - relevance of the answer and its limits (max 5 pts),
    - formal aspects of the presentation (clear structure, length, language) (max 5 pts).
  - Depending on the number of enrolled students, each student will present one or two articles during the semester.
- Submit a final paper (3,000 words) on an assigned topic (**60 pts**)
  - The topic of the final paper is to be consulted with the lecturer (see below in the syllabus). The selection needs to be confirmed to the lecturer via email *by 19 March*.
  - *Evaluation criteria:* see below in the syllabus.
  - *Deadline: 31 May* – send the paper in pdf format via Moodle
- Participate in the discussion in the seminar (**10 pts**)
  - All students will read all underlined texts (see the individual classes below) for each class to be able to participate in the discussion. The remaining texts expand the understanding of the topic and are recommended but not compulsory.

### Attendance policy

- Students can miss one class without prior justification and one additional class with relevant justification (illness, serious personal reasons, attendance of extraordinary event related to the study programme). A higher number of missed classes can be the reason for failing the course, lower grade or additional course work.

### Grading:

- A: 100-91 pts; B: 90-81 pts; C: 80-71 pts; D: 70-61 pts; E: 60-51 pts; F (failed): 50 pts or less

### Important dates

- Classes will take place from 15 February to 26 March.
- 19 March: inform the lecturer about the topic of the final paper
- 31 May: submit the final paper

### **General reading**

You can find most reading in this [shared folder](#).

**NOTE: All texts are for the use in the course only. They are protected by copyright and must not be further distributed.**

Selected books on small states that will help you gain an overview of the topics relevant for small state research.

- Archer, C., Bailes, A. J. K. and Wivel, A. (eds) (2014) *Small States and International Security: Europe and Beyond*, Abingdon: Routledge. (library of the IIR, Nerudova 3)
- Baldersheim, H. and Keating, M. (eds) (2015) *Small states in the modern world: vulnerabilities and opportunities*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. (library of the IIR, Nerudova 3)
- Cooper, A. F. and Shaw, T. M. (eds) (2009) *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goetschel, L. (ed.) (1998) *Small States Inside and Outside the European Union*, Boston, MA: Springer.
- Steinmetz, R. and Wivel, A. (eds) (2010) *Small states in Europe: challenges and opportunities*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Further recommended reading:

- de Carvalho, B. and Neumann, I. B. (eds) (2014) *Small States and Status Seeking: Norway's quest for international standing*, London: Routledge. (library of the IIR, Nerudova 3)
- Ingebritsen, C., Neumann, I., Gstöhl, S. and Beyer, J. (eds) (2006) *Small States in International Relations*, Seattle and Reykjavik: University of Washington Press and University of Iceland Press. (Jinonice library and library of the IIR, Nerudova 3)
- Weiss, T. (2017) *Promoting national priorities in EU foreign policy: the Czech Republic's foreign policy in the EU*, London and New York: Routledge.

### **Session 1: Introduction to the course**

16 February

Introduction to the course and to the reading. What are the obligations to pass the course? How will the course be evaluated?

### **Session 2: Concept of size – how small is a small state?**

17 February

What is a small state and how does it differ from a large state?

- Keohane, R. O. (1969) 'Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics', *International Organization* 23(2): 291–310.
- Thorhallsson, B. (2006) 'The Size of States in the European Union: Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives', *Journal of European Integration* 28(1): 7–31.

- Thorhallsson, B. and Wivel, A. (2006) 'Small States in the European Union: What Do We Know and What Would We Like to Know?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 19(4): 651–668.
- Sutton, P. (2011) 'The Concept of Small States in the International Political Economy', *The Round Table* 100(413): 141–153.

### **Session 3: Small states and IR theory**

23 February

How have small states been addressed in IR theory? How relevant are small states for our understanding of international affairs?

- Maass, M. (2016) 'Small enough to fail: the structural irrelevance of the small state as cause of its elimination and proliferation since Westphalia', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29(4): 1303–1323. (Anežka)
- Long, T. (2017) 'Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence Through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power', *International Studies Review* 19(2): 185–205. (Jana)
- Gvalia, G., Siroky, D., Lebanidze, B. and Iashvili, Z. (2013) 'Thinking Outside the Bloc: Explaining the Foreign Policies of Small States', *Security Studies* 22(1): 98–131.
- Veenendaal, W. P. and Corbett, J. (2015) 'Why Small States Offer Important Answers to Large Questions', *Comparative Political Studies* 48(4): 527–549.
- Cooper, D. A. (2013) 'Somewhere Between Great and Small: Disentangling the Conceptual Jumble of Middle, Regional, and "Niche" Powers', *Journal of Diplomacy & International Relations* 14(2): 23–35.
- Lee, D. and Smith, N. J. (2010) 'Small State Discourses in the International Political Economy', *Third World Quarterly* 31(7): 1091–1105.
- Thorhallsson, B. (2018) 'Studying small states: a review'. *Small States & Territories* 1(1): 17–34.

### **Session 4: Small states and sovereignty**

24 February

Does small mean less sovereign? Are small states different than other states in the international system?

- Sharman, J. (2017) 'Sovereignty at the Extremes: Micro-States in World Politics', *Political Studies* 65(3): 559–575. (Paul)
- Haugevik, K. and Rieker, P. (2017) 'Autonomy or integration? Small-state responses to a changing European security landscape', *Global Affairs* 3(3): 211–221. (.)

### **Session 5: Small states at international organisations**

2 March

How do small states relate to international organisations? Do international organisations threaten or strengthen small states? Are international organisations designed to reflect the needs of small states?

- Panke, D. (2012) 'Small states in multilateral negotiations. What have we learned?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25(3): 387–398. (Jan)

- Bailes, A. J. K. and Thorhallsson, B. (2013) 'Instrumentalizing the European Union in Small State Strategies', *Journal of European Integration* 35(2): 99–115. ()

### **Session 6: Small states in the EU – institutions, procedures**

3 March

How are small states represented in EU institutions and procedures? How does the EU system protect interests of small states?

- Geurts, C.-M. (1998) 'The European Commission: A Natural Ally of Small States in the EU Institutional Framework?', in L. Goetschel (ed.). *Small States Inside and Outside the European Union*. Boston, MA: Springer, pp. 49–64. (in the shared folder available as the whole book) (Jana)
- Bátora, J. (2017) 'Reinvigorating the rotating presidency: Slovakia and agenda-setting in the EU's external relations', *Global Affairs* 3(3): 251–263. (Lucie)

### **Session 7: Small states in the EU – politics and coalitions**

9 March

How do small states design policies at international level? Why do they opt for some and resign on others?

- Smed, U. T. and Wivel, A. (2017) 'Vulnerability without capabilities? Small state strategy and the international counter-piracy agenda', *European Security* 26(1): 79–98. (Tsolmon)
- Panke, D. (2012) 'Being small in a big union: punching above their weights? How small states prevailed in the vodka and the pesticides cases', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25(3): 329–344. (Anežka)
- Kronsell, A. (2002) 'Can Small States Influence EU Norms?: Insights From Sweden's Participation in the Field of Environmental Politics', *Scandinavian Studies* 74(3): 287–304.

### **Session 8: Small states in the EU – strategies and channels of influence**

10 March

What are the strategies of small states to influence EU politics and policies? Which channels and means can small states use to make their voice heard?

- Crandall, M. and Varov, I. (2016) 'Developing status as a small state: Estonia's foreign aid strategy', *East European Politics* 32(4): 405–425. ()
- Björkdahl, A. (2008) 'Norm advocacy: a small state strategy to influence the EU', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(1): 135–154. (Lucie)
- Panke, D. (2010) 'Small states in the European Union: structural disadvantages in EU policy-making and counter-strategies', *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(6): 799–817.
- Jakobsen, P. V. (2009) 'Small States, Big Influence: The Overlooked Nordic Influence on the Civilian ESDP', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(1): 81–102.

## Session 9: Small states in the EU – domestic/European nexus

16 March

How does domestic politics shape small states' behaviour in the EU?

- Doeser, F. (2011) 'Domestic politics and foreign policy change in small states: The fall of the Danish "footnote policy"', *Cooperation and Conflict* 46(2): 222–241. ( )
- Noreen, E., Sjöstedt, R. and Ångström, J. (2017) 'Why small states join big wars: the case of Sweden in Afghanistan 2002–2014', *International Relations* 31(2): 145–168. (Jazz)

## Session 10: Perceptions and identities

17 March

How do perceptions, self-perceptions and identities shape small states and their position in the system?

- Browning, C. S. (2006) 'Small, Smart and Salient? Rethinking Identity in the Small States Literature', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 19(4): 669–684. (Jan)
- Tiilikainen, T. (2006) 'Finland — An EU Member with a Small State Identity', *Journal of European Integration* 28(1): 73–87. (Tsolmon)
- Campbell, J. L. and Hall, J. A. (2009) 'National identity and the political economy of small states', *Review of International Political Economy* 16(4): 547–572.
- Baxter, P., Jordan, J. and Rubin, L. (2018) 'How small states acquire status: A social network analysis', *International Area Studies Review* 21(3): 191–213.

## Session 11: Small states outside the EU

23 March

How does the position of small states outside the EU differs from small states in the EU?

- Vickers, B. (2011) 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Small States in the EU–SADC EPA Negotiations', *The Round Table* 100(413): 183-197. (Paul)
- Malatesta, S. (2018) 'International actors as policymakers? Discussing the influence of international actors on the environmental policies of small island states', *Small States & Territories* 1(1): 95-110. (Jazz)
- Lindsay, C. (2019) 'Norm rejection: Why small states fail to secure special treatment in global trade politics', *Small States & Territories* 2(1): 105-124.

## Session 11: Wrap-up

24 March

What are the main lessons from the course? What are the specificities of small states in general and small states in the EU in particular? What is there left to study about the small states in the EU?

## Final papers

All papers should have a clear question, which is then answered in the conclusions. Keep the questions detailed and limited so that you manage to answer it within the short paper you are writing.

Pay attention to the argumentation and the sources you use to substantiate your answer. Illustrate your arguments with concrete data and cases. You are expected to use academic sources for your paper; newspaper articles can serve as primary sources for politicians' statements or to illustrate timely reaction to an event or initiative, but cannot serve as the source of ideas, concepts, and analytical data. Do not forget to include a list of references.

Please note that the papers must adhere to proper academic ethics and quoting used sources, including ideas and data. Plagiarism, including self-plagiarism, is unacceptable, results in failing the course and may lead to the disciplinary procedure and even expulsion according to the valid regulation.

Consult the topic with the lecturer in advance. Narrow questions that build on the academic literature are preferred. Think ahead of a potential topic while reading the literature assigned in the course. Case studies may be used to answer the question connecting the literature on small states with a small state you know well or are interested in.

Evaluation criteria:

- factual correctness (max 5 pts)
- identification of the paper's objectives (max 5 pts)
- explanation of the method used (max 5 pts)
- clear thought process and flow of ideas (max 5 pts)
- presentation of the empirical data (max 10 pts)
- clear answer to the research question (max 5 pts)
- link to the existing academic literature in introduction and conclusions (max 5 pts)
- clear structure of the paper (max 5 pts)
- adherence to academic standards (quotations, sources, references, citation style) (max 5 pts)
- clear language without major grammatical mistakes (max 5 pts)
- length according to the instructions (+/- 15%) (max 5 pts)