



STUDY GUIDE

European Integration
Summer School 2026

ESTABLISHED IN 1990

UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND MANAGEMENT

KRISTIANSAND, NORWAY



forthem.

Fostering Outreach
within European Regions,
Transnational Higher Education
and Mobility

Kjære studenter, kjære gjester!

Dear students, dear guests!

We are excited to welcome you to Kristiansand for this year's edition of EISS!

This marks the third time our summer school is being offered as a course for both our long-standing and new partners, particularly those from the FORTHEM university alliance (<https://www.forthem-alliance.eu/>), of which UiA has been a member since 2021.

Fostering partnerships between cities, universities, and students has always been at the core of EISS. Established in the late 1980s, the summer school began as an ambitious initiative to strengthen ties between Kristiansand and its twin cities, Münster in Germany and Orléans in France. Since then, it has evolved into one of UiA's flagship programs. Furthermore, the Department of Political Science and Management at UiA's Faculty of Social Sciences has been recognized by the European Commission through the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (2020–2023) and, prior to that, a Jean Monnet Chair (2017–2020) for its contributions to research on European integration.

This summer, we will explore one of the most dynamic and complex political phenomena of our time: differentiation in European integration. The course takes an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on political economy, law, and political science. To some observers, European integration may appear to have lost momentum, reaching a critical juncture as it confronts numerous internal and external challenges. What does this mean for Europe's future political order, which is increasingly marked by differentiation and complexity? Is the EU's institutional framework resilient enough to adapt to these pressures? How has the European Union responded to Russia's war against Ukraine or the recent outbreak of violence in the Near East? Are we witnessing the emergence of an "ever more differentiated" or even an "ever looser" European Union, as suggested by Frank Schimmelfennig and Thomas Winzen (2020)?

We will also take a closer look at the EU's relationship with Ukraine, alongside foundational aspects of European integration, including its history, institutions, and core policies — all examined from an interdisciplinary perspective. You will gain insights into both historical and contemporary political processes shaping European integration, as well as the major challenges facing the EU and Europe today.

To help you prepare for the summer school, we will hold a kick-off meeting in early June 2026, where you will have the opportunity to meet your fellow participants. You will then also gain access to course materials via our online learning platform, Canvas. In the meantime, we encourage you to explore one of the following books:

- John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2025
- Michelle Cini & Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, *European Union Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2025

We look forward to seeing you in Kristiansand!

The EISS 2026 programme team

Stefan Gänzle

Professor and Academic Coordinator

Gunhild Stubseid

Study Advisor

Marco P. D'Attoma

Ph.D. Fellow

ST-419 Course Programme Overview

ST-419 Current Issues: Differentiated Integration and the European Union in Crisis

	Topics	EISS faculty
<i>Digital Campus</i>		
M 08/6	11-13 Introduction	Stefan Gänzle, Marco P. d'Attoma (UiA) & Iver B. Neumann (FNI/UiA) Digital
M 15/6 tbd	11-13, 14-16 The History of Differentiated Europe	Kiran Patel (LMU Munich) Digital
<i>Kristiansand Campus</i>		
Week 1		
M 6/7	Student arrival/ Welcome and evening reception	Stefan Gänzle, Marco P. d'Attoma, Gunhild Stubseid (UiA) and others
T 7/7	The Political System of the EU and Foundations of EU Law (12-16)	Michal Ovádek (LSE London)
W 8/7	The Political System of the EU and Foundations of EU Law (12-16)	Michal Ovádek (LSE London)
Th 9/7	EMU: Foundations and Principles	Michele Chang (College of Europe)
F 10/7	EMU: After Crisis?	Michele Chang (College of Europe)
S 11/7	Tour to Bragdøya Island/ Kunstsilo	Stefan Gänzle/ Marco P. d'Attoma (UiA)
Week 2		
M 13/7	Theorizing European Integration Today	Arne Niemann (University of Mainz, FORTHEM)
T 14/7	EU Foreign Policy	Arne Niemann (University of Mainz, FORTHEM)
W 15/7	Ukraine and the EU (I/II)	Maryna Rabinovych (UiT)
Th 16/7	Ukraine and the EU (II/II)	Maksym Yakovlyev (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)
F 17/7	EU Sanctions towards Russia and beyond	Clara Portela (University of Valencia, FORTHEM)
S 18/7	Tour to Preikestolen (day trip)	Marco P. d'Attoma (UiA)
Week 3		
M 20/7	Comparative Regionalism	Jens Uwe Wunderlich (Aston University)
T 21/7	Comparative Regionalism	Jens Uwe Wunderlich (Aston University)
W 22/7	Differentiation in the European Union & Differentiated (Dis)integration Beyond the EU	Tobias Hofelich (Aston University)/ Stefan Gänzle (UiA)
Th 23/7	Conclusion/info about the exam, 9-11, indep. study in the afternoon	Stefan Gänzle (UiA)/ Marco d'Attoma (UiA)
F 24/7	Final exam	Marco P. d'Attoma (UiA)
S 25/7	Student departure	

If not indicated otherwise, classes run from 9-11 and 12 to 2.

ST-419 Course Programme and Compulsory Reading

I. The European Union: Foundations in History, Politics, and Law

Monday, July 6

Student arrival day

17:00 Welcome and reception (separate invitation by email)

Stefan Gänzle, Professor (UiA), Gunhild Stubseid, Study Adviser (UiA), Marco P. d'Attoma (UiA), NN, IT and SiA (UiA)

Tuesday, July 7

9:00 – 11:00 The Political System of the EU *Michal Ovádek*

Hix, S., & Høyland, B. (2026). Political Preferences, Policy Loss and Shifting Support for European Integration. *Comparative Political Studies* 0(0).

Baute, S., & Tober, T. (2024). European Institutional Integration and the Educational Divide in Support for the European Union. *British Journal of Political Science* 54(4), 1276–1295.

12:00 – 14:00 The Political System of the EU *Michal Ovádek*

Bickerton, C. J., Hodson, D., & Puetter, U. (2015). The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht era. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4), 703–722.

Kelemen, R. D. (2020). The European Union's Authoritarian Equilibrium. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(3), 481–499.

Wednesday, July 8

9:00 – 11:00 The Political System of the EU and Foundations of EU Law *Michal Ovádek*

Ovádek, M. (2025). Contested Competences in the European Union: The Law and Politics of Institutional Choice. Oxford University Press, chapter 9.

Kelemen, R. D., & Pavone, T. (2023). Where have the guardians gone? Law Enforcement and the Politics of Supranational Forbearance in the European Union. *World Politics* 75(4), 779–825.

12:00 – 14:00 The Political System of the EU and Foundations of EU Law *Michal Ovádek*

Ovádek, M. (2023). The Making of Landmark Rulings in the European Union: The Case of National Judicial Independence. *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(6), 1119–1141.

Golub, J., & Ovádek, M. (2025). Informal Procedures, Institutional Change, and EU Decision-making: Evaluating the Effects of the 1974 Paris Summit. *Journal of European Public Policy* 32(11), 2741–2767.

Thursday, July 9

9:00 – 11:00 Creating EMU Michele Chang

Pisani-Ferry, J. (2013). The Known Unknowns and Unknown Unknowns of European Monetary Union. *Journal of International Money and Finance* 34, 6–14.

12:00 – 14:00 EMU in Crisis Michele Chang

Frieden, J. & Walter, S. (2019). Analyzing Inter-state Negotiations in the Eurozone Crisis and Beyond. *European Union Politics* 20(1), 134–151.

Wenz-Temming, A. & Sonnicksen, J. (2020). The Double Bailout: Assessing New Intergovernmentalism in the Euro-crisis and the Implications for European Integration and Democracy. *Journal of European Integration* 42(7), 1–17.

Schmidt, V. A. (2021). European Emergency Politics and the Question of Legitimacy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(6), 1–15.

Friday, July 10

9:00 – 11:00 EMU after Crisis Michele Chang

De Grauwe, P. & Ji, Y. (2022). The Fragility of the Eurozone: Has it Disappeared? *Journal of International Money and Finance* 120.

Buti, M. & Fabbrini, S. (2023). Next Generation EU and the Future of Economic Governance: Towards a Paradigm Change or Just a Big One-off? *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(4), 676–695.

12:00 – 14:00 The Future of EMU Michele Chang

Eisl, A. (2026). The Reformed EU Fiscal Framework in Action: Providing sufficient space and incentives for public investment and the green transition? *Jacques Delors Institute Policy Paper*, January.

Simeonov, K. (2026). Bulgaria’s Adoption of the Euro in 2026: How will it shape the euro area? *Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies*, January.

II. The EU: Theories and Policies

Monday, July 13

9:00 – 11:00 Theorizing EU in Crisis Arne Niemann

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2009). A Post-functionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1), 1–23.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7), 1578–1594.

9:00 – 11:00 Integration, Equilibrium, or Disintegration Arne Niemann

Kleine, M. & Pollack, M.A. (2018). Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Its Critics. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1493–1509.

Moravcsik, A. (2018). Preferences, Power and Institutions in 21st-Century Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1648–1674.

Tuesday, July 14

9:00 – 11:00 EU Foreign Policy Arne Niemann

Friis, A. M. & Juncos, A. E. (2020). The European Union's Foreign, Security, and Defence Policies. In M. Cini & Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borraran (eds), *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 281–294.

Smith, Karen E. (2017). Enlargement, the Neighbourhood, and European Order. In C. Hill, M. Smith, & Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds), *International Relations and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 316–340.

12:00 – 14:00 EU Foreign Policy Arne Niemann

Young, A. R. (2020). Trade Policy: Making Policy in Turbulent Times. In H. Wallace, M. A. Pollack, C. Roederer-Rynning and A. R. Young (eds.), *Policymaking in the European Union* (pp. 363–387). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 363–387.

Wednesday, July 15

9:00 – 11:00 EU Responses to Russia's Aggression against Ukraine (2014-2026) Maryna Rabinovych

Maurer, H., Whitman, R. G., & Wright, N. (2023). The EU and the Invasion of Ukraine: A Collective Responsibility to Act? *International Affairs* 99(1), 219–238.

Rabinovych, M., & Pintsch, A. (2024). From the 2014 Annexation of Crimea to the 2022 Russian War on Ukraine: Path Dependence and Socialization in the EU–Ukraine Relations. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 62(5), 1239–1259.

12:00 – 14:00 Russia's War Against Ukraine: A Catalyst for Transforming EU Policies and Identity Maryna Rabinovych

Genini, D. (2025). How the war in Ukraine has transformed the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. *Yearbook of European Law*. Advance online publication. Available at online at <https://doi.org/10.1093/yel/yeaf003>.

Johansson-Nogués, E., & Leso, F. (2024). Geopolitical EU? The EU's Wartime Assistance to Ukraine. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Available at online at <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13613>

Herranz-Surrallés, A., Damro, C., & Eckert, S. (2024). The Geoeconomic Turn of the Single European Market? Conceptual Challenges and Empirical Trends. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Available at advance online publication at <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13591>.

Orenstein, M. A. (2025). Securitisation of EU Policy: How Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is changing Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*. Available at advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2025.2497350>.

Thursday, July 16

9:00 – 11:00 The Future of Transatlantic Solidary: EU - USA Relations after Russia’s Full-scale Invasion of Ukraine Maksym Yakovlyev

Anghel A. & Jones E. (2024). The Transatlantic Relationship and the Russia-Ukraine War, *Political Science Quarterly* 139(4), 509–527.

Cladi, L. (2025). Transatlantic Solidarity in the Shadow of the Russian-Ukrainian War: a Neo-realist Explanation. *Defence Studies* 25(4), 825–844.

12:00 – 14:00 Geopolitical Shifts: EU and the Non-Western World in the Aftermath of the Russian War against Ukraine Maksym Yakovlyev

Hennessy A. (2023). The Impact of Russia’s War against Ukraine on Sino-European Relations, *Journal of European Integration* 45(3), 559-575.

McNair, D. (2022). Putin’s War on Ukraine: Aftershocks in the Europe-Africa Partnership. *European Council on Foreign Relations*.

Rabel R. (2025), Global South and Western Divergence on Russia’s War in Ukraine: Implications for World Order, *International Affairs* 101(3), 1005–1021.

Friday, July 17

9:00 – 11:00 Do EU Sanctions Really Work? The case of EU sanctions against Russia and beyond Clara Portela

Portela, C., Pospieszna, P., Skrzypczyńska, J. & Walentek, D. (2021). Consensus Against All Odds: Explaining the Persistence of EU Sanctions on Russia, *Journal of European Integration* 43(6), 683–99.

Meissner, K. & Graziani, C. (2023). The Transformation and Design of EU Restrictive Measures Against Russia. *Journal of European Integration* 45(3), 377–394.

Portela, Clara (2023). The War over Ukraine and the Transformation of EU Governance. *European Papers* 8(3): 1125–30.

Portela, C. (2024). The Logic(s) of EU Sanctions Against Russia over Ukraine, *Politique Internationale*, forthcoming (optional).

12:00 – 14:00 EU Sanctions towards Russia Clara Portela

Simulation game

III. Comparative Regionalism - Differentiated Integration in the European Union and Beyond

Monday, July 20

9:00 – 11:00 Comparative Regionalism Jens-Uwe Wunderlich

Lenz, T. & Söderbaum, F. (2025). Comparative Regionalism beyond Europe Versus the Rest. *Review of International Studies* 51(5), 889–905.

Börzel, T. & Risse, T. (2019). Grand Theories of Integration and the Challenges of Comparative Regionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8), 1231–52.

12:00 – 14:00 Comparing Regionalisms – Lessons from Europe and East Asia Jens-Uwe Wunderlich

Murray, P. (2010). Comparative Regional Integration in the EU and East Asia: Moving Beyond Integration Snobbery. *International Politics* 47, 308–323.

Wunderlich, U. & Gänzle, S. (2020). ASEAN and the EU in Times of Crises: Critical Junctures from the Perspective of Comparative Regionalism. In N. Brack & S. Gurkan (eds.) *Theorizing the Crises of the European Union*. Oxon: Routledge.

Tuesday, July 21

9:00 – 11:00 Comparative Regionalism and Global Governance – Regional Organisations as International Actors Jens-Uwe Wunderlich

Rauh, C. (2025). International Recognition of the European Union ‘Actorness’: Language-based Evidence from United Nations General Debate Speeches 1970–2020. *International Interactions* 51(5), 729–821

Wunderlich, J.-U. & Mattheis, F. (2017). Regional Actorness and Interregional Relations: ASEAN, the EU and Mercosur. *Journal of European Integration* 39(6), 723–38.

12:00 – 14:00 Differentiation in the European Union (I/II) Tobias C. Hofelich

Schimmelfennig, F., Leuffen, D., & Rittberger, B. (2015). The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization and Differentiation. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(6), 764–782.

Telle, S., Chiocchetti, P., & Laffan, B. (2025). External Differentiated Integration: Between Stability and Change. *West European Politics* 48(5), 977–1001.

Wednesday, July 22

9:00 – 11:00 Differentiation in the European Union (II/II) Tobias C. Hofelich

Hofelich, T. C. (2022). De Facto Differentiation in the EU’s Economic and Monetary Union - A rationalist explanation. *Journal of European Integration* 44(8), 1113–1129.

Eriksen, E. O. (2023). Three Modes of Administrative Behavior: Differentiated Policy Implementation and the Problem of Legal Certainty. *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(12), 2623–2642.

12:00 – 14:00 Differentiated Disintegration Beyond the EU *Stefan Gänzle, Jens-Uwe Wunderlich and Tobias Hofelich*

Warleigh-Lack, A. (2015). Differentiated Integration in the European Union: Towards a Comparative Regionalism Perspective. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(6), 871–887.

Gänzle, S. Wunderlich, J.-U. & Hofelich, T. C. (2024). Differentiated Disintegration in the Economic Community of West African States, the Eurasian Economic Community and the European Union: A Comparative Regionalism Approach. *Journal of European Integration* 46(6), 881–901.

Thursday, July 23

Conclusion, Info & Independent Study

9:00 – 11:00 Conclusion and info about the exam *Stefan Gänzle and Marco P. d’Attoma*

Friday, July 24

Final Exam (9:00-14:00)

Building H, room to be confirmed during the course *Marco P. d’Attoma*

Saturday, July 25

Student departure day

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The EISS 2026 Faculty



Kiran Klaus Patel holds the Chair of Modern History at Ludwig Maximilians University Munich. Before joining LMU, he held professorships at Maastricht University (2011-2019) and the European University Institute in Florence, Italy (2007-2011), and an assistant professorship at Humboldt University in Berlin (2002-2007). He has been a visiting fellow/professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, the Free University of Berlin, Freiburg University, Harvard University, the London School of Economics, Sciences Po in Paris and the University of Oxford. His latest publications include: *Project Europe. A History* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), *The New Deal: A Global History* (Princeton University Press, 2016).



Michal Ovádek Michal Ovádek is a Lecturer in European Institutions, Politics and Policy in the UCL Department of Political Science. His research focuses on European integration, judicial politics and Central and Eastern Europe. A consistent theme in his work is the functioning of legal institutions, especially courts, and their impact on politics and society. Previously, Michal worked as a researcher at universities in Sweden and Belgium. He also worked as a political advisor in the European Parliament between 2019 and 2021.



Arne Niemann is Professor of International Politics and Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration Studies at the Department of Political Science of the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany. His research focuses on the European integration process, European Union politics, and particularly the external relations of the EU. His most recent work concentrates on European Culture and Science diplomacy, the role of the EU as a mediator in international peace negotiations and theorising the euro crisis. He co-edited *Changing Perceptions of the EU at times of Brexit: Global Perspectives* (Routledge, 2020).



Clara Portela teaches Political Science at the Law School of the University of Valencia, having previously served as a professor at Singapore Management University and as a research fellow with the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) in Paris. Clara is a member of the FORTHM Experiencing Europe Lab. Her research focuses on multilateral sanctions, arms control and EU foreign policy. She holds a PhD from the European University Institute in Florence and an MA from the Free University of Berlin. Previously, she was a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe, the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Sciences Po Grenoble, Sciences Po Lyon, Sciences Po Paris, Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo, the University of Innsbruck and the School of Transnational Governance in Florence.



Michele Chang is Director of the Transatlantic Affairs programme and Professor in European Political and Governance Studies at the College of Europe in Bruges. Her research interests concern euro area governance, particularly fiscal policy coordination and the European Central Bank. Recent publications include *The Political Economy of Adjustment Throughout and Beyond the Euro Crisis: What Have We Learned?* (Routledge, 2019, co-edited with Federico Steinberg and Francisco Torres). She previously served on the Board of the Trans European Policy Studies Association and the Executive Committee of the European Union Studies Association.



Maryna Rabinovych is a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Social Sciences at the Arctic University of Norway (UiT). Before joining UiT, Maryna worked as a postdoctoral fellow at UiA. Her research currently focuses on differentiated integration in EU external relations, the law of EU external relations and local governance in the Arctic and the ways it has been influenced by Russia's war against Ukraine and related sanctions against Russia. Maryna also researches the EU, its foreign policy and EU-Ukraine relations.



Maksym Yakovlyev is Associate Professor of International Relations, Head of the Department of International Relations, and Director of the School for Policy Analysis at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA). His research interests include political methodology, post-Soviet transformations, institutional change, and global perceptions of Ukraine. He teaches research methods and political analysis. He is also an OSUN/Institute for Advanced Study (CEU) Fellow (2025/26), working on international perceptions of Ukraine.



Iver B. Neumann is the director of the Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI). He holds doctorates from the University of Oxford (political science, 1992) and the University of Oslo (social anthropology, 2009). Previous affiliations include the Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs (NUPI), NOVA at OsloMet, the University of Oslo, the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU), and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Neumann also served as a senior adviser at both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense.



Tobias Hofelich is a Research Associate at Aston University. He holds a PhD from the University of Agder (UiA), where he completed his doctoral dissertation titled "De facto Differentiation in the European Union – Circumventing Rules, Law, and Rule of Law." His research is situated in the field of European integration, with a focus on differentiated integration and disintegration in the EU and, most recently, the reconfiguration of bilateral relations with the UK after Brexit. He has taught courses on the domestic impact of the EU, European foreign affairs, and, more generally, international public policy and administration as well as the foundations of International Relations.



Uwe Wunderlich is a Lecturer in International Relations at Aston University at the Aston Centre for Europe. His research focuses on comparative regionalism, with a particular emphasis on regional institution-building in Europe and East Asia, the impact of crises on regional governance, and the role of regional actors in global governance. He teaches undergraduate and postgraduate courses in International Relations, including theories of international politics, international political economy, and the politics of East Asia and Europe. His research contributes to a deeper understanding of how regional organisations evolve, interact with global governance structures, and respond to structural and normative challenges.



Stefan Gänzle is Professor of Political Science and Head of the Department of Political Science and Management, University of Agder. Previous affiliations include the German Development Institute in Bonn, the University of British Columbia in Vancouver and the University of Jena. He is the co-editor of *Routledge Handbook on Differentiation in the European Union* (Routledge, 2022) and co-author of *Exiting Regional Organisations: Differentiated Disintegration in Comparative Perspective* (DeGruyter, 2026).



Marco D'Attoma has been a PhD candidate at the University of Agder (UiA) since 2024. His PhD research focuses on territorial cooperation and governance dynamics in the Adriatic–Ionian region. He holds a master's degree in international relations from LUISS Guido Carli University in Rome, specialising in the functioning of international organisations. He worked as a research intern at the United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), where he co-authored “UNdefined Regions: Toward a New Typology of Regions in the UN.”

Important dates and some more information

Reading

Please make sure to cover the **entire** “reading of the day” before that day at the latest.

Exams

The exam will take place on July 24th from 9-14 o'clock. The in-class exam will address the content of the entire course and will consist of three parts: (1) multiple-choice and short identifications, (2) short answer questions and (3) essay-style questions. The use of bilingual dictionaries is allowed.

Active participation in the simulation exercise is a prerequisite for taking part in the exam.

Venues

Classes normally start at the full hour and include a 15-minute break. Please confirm this policy with each of your instructor to be on the safe side. If there is no other indication or announcement (made via e.g., canvas), classes will take place in room HU 062 of the building names after Eilert Sundt, one of Norway's most famous scholars of the social sciences, who lived from 1817 to 1875.

Canvas

That is the name of our web-based communication tool which will be up and running by early June. Through Canvas, you will be granted access to the EISS 2026 study material. However, we suggest that you try to cover it before that time – if possible.