

Political Science 299D
The Politics of European Integration
Spring 2006

Mondays 2:50 - 5:20 pm
Gray Building, Room 319
course website at <http://courses.duke.edu>

Prof. Tim Büthe
Dept. of Political Science
Perkins Library, Room 309
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office hours: Mondays, 1:30-2:30 pm

Purpose

PS 299D is a research seminar focusing on the politics and institutions of the European Union (EU). Like an international organization, the EU was originally founded in the 1950s through a series of treaties between six West European nation states, represented by their governments. Member states retain the final say on many issues to this day, but much also has changed since the 1950s. Eight East European countries and two smaller Southern European states have joined the EU on May 1, 2004 in the most recent, fifth round of enlargement, bringing the total number of member states to twenty-five. Unlike most international organizations, the EU has a quasi-constitutional court, as well as a parliament organized mostly along party lines (rather than nationality). Moreover, meeting in the "European Council" or "Council of Ministers," national governments take binding decisions on an increasing number of issues by majority vote rather than unanimity, and they share executive powers with a supranational European institution, the European Commission. Is the EU thus a state in the making? How might we understand the current politics and policies of the European Union as well as the historical process that led to it?

In this seminar, we will examine a range of theoretical perspectives that might help us explain the EU and the process of European integration. We will read the classics of integration theory, but also examine the EU comparatively as an instance of more common political phenomena, drawing on general theories of international relations, state formation, and comparative (domestic) politics. Empirically, assigned readings focus on the history and current institutions of the EU in general and cover a few key policy areas; for the research papers, students should conduct empirical analyses of a particular aspect of the process of European integration or analyses of EU politics in a specific issue area.

PS 299D is research seminar for graduate students, open to qualified undergraduates (seniors and in exceptional circumstances juniors) with strong preparation for a research seminar and a willingness to take on a graduate-level reading load. There are no formal prerequisites, but undergraduates—for whom the course meets the CCI and R "modes of inquiry" requirements—must receive my permission.

Requirements

Course requirements are writing a research paper on a topic of your choosing (subject to my approval) and active participation in seminar discussion, based on the assigned readings.

Participation: Active and thoughtful class participation is crucial and must be based on having read (and thought about) the assigned chapters and articles. It allows you to probe your own understanding as well as benefit from your classmates' insights. I might ask students to circulate questions for discussion in advance and/or ask individual students or small groups to start off our discussion. In assigning a participation grade, I heavily weigh the quantity of participation by the *quality* of contributions.

Research Paper: The research paper should be 30-35 pages in length for graduate students (12,000 words $\pm 20\%$, including all notes and references); about 20 pages for undergraduates (7,000 words $\pm 20\%$, including all notes and references). I encourage you to see me early and often to discuss possible research paper topics. As part of the class, we will have an introduction to the EU Documents collections at Perkins library with Christof Galli, the international documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection at the end of our third class (Monday Jan.30, from 4:30 to

5:20). Looking through recent issues of EU-specific journals such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, the *Journal of European Integration*, or *European Union Politics*, as well as browsing EU-related sections in the library (e.g. shelves with Library of Congress call numbers starting with JN1 - JN50 and HC241.2 in the LC number section of the library), might also help you in selecting topics.

By Friday, Feb. 17, you must hand in a memo (to my mailbox or office), which states clearly (1) what your topic is, (2) why this is interesting to you and should be interesting to others, (3) what your key analytical questions are, and—very importantly—(4) how you will go about answering them. I will return the memo with comments in class on Mon, Feb. 20.

For all students, the final grade for the course will be based on:

- research paper: 60%
- research presentation: 10%
- class participation: 30%

Readings

Many of the required readings are available to you online via Duke's e-journal collections or similar sources; the syllabus on the course website links directly to those readings (marked "online" below) whenever possible (some bibliographic databases do not allow stable links). Some other readings have been placed on physical reserve at Perkins library and/or electronic reserve; those readings are marked "reserve" below (access may be restricted to students registered for the course). Most other required readings are contained in the following four books, which are available for purchase at the Duke Bookstore.

N&S: Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb, eds. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

NN: Nugent, Neill. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

MH: Hösli, Madeleine. *The Euro: A Concise Introduction to Europe's Single Currency*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.

CP: Parsons, Craig. *A Certain Idea of Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Financial Times Subscription

The European Union is very much in flux. Negotiations about the next enlargements (Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, Croatia, maybe others) are underway; changes in the institutions, via a revised "Constitution" or a revision of the treaties, is under discussion. To keep up with the changes, students in PS299 should get a subscription to the print or electronic edition of the *Financial Times* (FT), which reports on these developments regularly and with greater accuracy and detail than any other English-language source available in the United States. **As part of the required readings for each week**, students are expected to have followed each prior week's developments in the EU to the extent that they were reported in the FT (print or full electronic edition, *not just ft.com*). 15-week student subscriptions of the FT are available at a greatly discounted price via a sign-up in the first class.

Finally, the following books have been ordered as "Recommended" at the bookstore since we read several selections from them:

MP: Pollack, Mark A. *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the EU*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

SH: Hix, Simon. *The Political System of the European Union*. 2nd edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

W&D: Wiener, Antje and Thomas Diez, eds. *European Integration Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

1. Introduction: European Integration & the EU – International or Domestic Politics?

(Wednesday, Jan. 11 in lieu of Monday, Jan. 16)

- reserves Rosamond, Ben. "Introduction." [and] "Integration Theory and Social Science." In *Theories of European Integration*. New York: Palgrave—St. Martin's Press, 2000: 1-19, 186-197.
- online Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.34 no.1 (March 1996): 53-80.
- reserves Mazezy, Sonia. "European Integration: Unfinished Journey or Journey without End?" In *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, edited by Jeremy Richardson. London: Routledge, 2001: 27-50.

Recommended (and to be re-visited in week 13)

- Cornett, Linda and James A. Caporaso. "And Still It Moves! State Interests and Social Forces in the European Community." In *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, edited by James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992: 219-249.
- Hix, Simon. "The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics." *West European Politics* vol.17 no.1 (January 1994): 1-30.
- Hurrell, Andrew and Anand Menon. "Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU." *West European Politics* vol.19 no.2 (April 1996): 386-402.
- Hix, Simon. "CP, IR, and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon." *West European Politics* vol.19 no.4 (October 1996): 802-804.
- Smith, Steve. "International Relations Theory and European Integration." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, edited by Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 2000: 33-56.
- Peterson, John and Elizabeth Bomberg. "Making Sense of EU Decision-Making." In *Decision-Making in the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999: 4-30.
- Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso. "Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* vol.2 (1999): 429-444.

2. The Early Years: From Grand Visions to Humble Reality (Mon, Jan. 23)

Une certaine idée de l'Europe ...

- reserve Rich, Paul. "Visionary Ideas of European Unity after World War I." In *Visions of European Unity*, edited by Philomena Murray and Paul Rich. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996: 21-34.
- N&S Mitrany, David. *A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1943. Reprinted in *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 99-119.
- N&S Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb, eds. Selections by Winston Churchill ("The Tragedy of Europe"), Robert Schuman ("Declaration"), Jean Monnet ("A Ferment of Change"), and Charles de Gaulle ("A Concert of European States"). In *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 7-11, 13f, 19-26, 27-44.

Recommended

- Lipgens, Walter. *Documents on the History of European Integration*. 3 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986-1988.
- Milward, Allen S., with George Brennan, and Federico Romero. "The Lives and Teachings of the European Saints." *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2000: 318-344.

The Early History: From the End of World War II to the Founding of the European Communities

- reserve Dinan, Desmond. "What Kind of Union?" [and] "Europe of the Communities." In *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004: 13-44, 45-82.
- reserve Gillingham, John R. "A German Solution to Europe's Problems? The Rise and Decline of Monnetism." [and] "More or Less Liberal Europe: The Institutional Origins of Integration." In *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 16-33, 34-52.

- CP Parsons, Craig. "The Battle Widens" and "The Choice for the Community." In *A Certain Idea of Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003: 67-89, 90-116.

Recommended

- Milward, Alan S., with George Brennan, and Federico Romero. "The Treaties of Rome." In *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2000: 196-223.

3. European Integration as Interstate Politics? (Mon, Jan.30)

NOTE: At the end of today's seminar (from about 4:30 to 5:20 in the Bostock Training Room), we will get an introduction to the resources for research on the EU and European integration from Christof Galli, the international documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection.

Intergovernmentalism, Realist and Liberal Variants

- reserve Milward, Alan S., with George Brennan, and Federico Romero. "The Post-War Nation State." In *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2000: 21-45.
- reserve Grieco, Joseph M. "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neorealist Research Program." *Review of International Studies* vol.21 no.1 (January 1995): 21-41.
- online Moravcsik, Andrew. "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.31 no.4 (December 1993): 473-524, esp. 480-516.

Eurosclerosis, Re-launch, and the Intergovernmental Institutions

- NN Nugent, Neill. "The Council of Ministers." [and] "The European Council." In *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 150-177, 178-196.
- reserve Gillingham, John R. "All or Nothing? The Founding of the EEC and the End of an Era, 1958-1966." In *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 53-72.
- reserve Pedersen, Thomas. "Introduction." "Europe's Cooperative Hegemony." [and] "Tactical Differentiation: The Single European Act." In *Germany, France, and the Integration of Europe: A Realist Reinterpretation*. New York: Pinter, 1998: 1-12, 196-208, 88-119.
- online Moravcsik, Andrew. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." *International Organization* vol.45 no.1 (Winter 1991): 19-56.
- CP Parsons, Craig. "Relaunching the Community." In *A Certain Idea of Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003: 177-201.

Recommended [more intergovernmentalism]:

- Hoffmann, Stanley. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* vol.95 no.3 (Summer 1966): 862-915.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. "Reflections on the Nation-State in Western Europe Today." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.21 no.1/2 (Special Anniversary Issue, Sep/Dec 1982): 21-37.
- Wallace, Helen. "National Politics and Supranational Integration." In *Regionalism and Supranationalism: Challenges and Alternatives to the Nation-State in Canada and Europe*, edited by David M. Cameron. Montreal, Quebec: Institute for Research on Public Policy and Policy Studies Institute, 1981: 111-126.
- Bulmer, Simon. "Domestic Politics and European Community Policy Making." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.21 no.4 (June 1983): 349-363.
- Baun, Michael. "The Maastricht Treaty as High Politics: Germany, France, and European Integration." *Political Science Quarterly* vol.110 no.4 (Winter 1995-96): 605-624.
- Garrett, Geoffrey and George Tsebelis. "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism." *International Organization* vol.50 no.2 (Spring 1996): 269-299.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. "Theorizing European Integration." In *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998: 18-85.

Recommended [more on integration re-launch]:

Sandholtz, Wayne and John Zysman. "1992: Recasting the European Bargain." *World Politics* vol.42 no.1 (October 1989): 95-128.

4. New Places to Pursue One's Interests: Politics Beyond the Nation State (Mon, Feb. 6)

Neofunctionalism: Changing Identities? Shifting Loyalties?

- reserve Haas, Ernst B. "Preface 1958;" [selections from:] "Chapter 1: Community and Integration;" [selections from:] "Chapter 2: The Nature of Supranationality;" [selections from:] "Chapter 3: The Common Market in Operation;" [and] "Chapter 8: The Expansive Logic of Sector Integration." In *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. (First published Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958.) Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004: xxxi-xxxvii; 3-19; 32-38; 60-63, 75-83, 103-110; 283-317.
- N&S Stone Sweet, Alec and Wayne Sandholtz. "Integration, Supranational Governance and the Institutionalization of the European Polity." In *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, edited by Sandholtz and Stone Sweet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998: 1-26. Reprinted in *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 215-238.
- W&D Schmitter, Philippe. "Neo-Neofunctionalism: Déjà Vu, or All Over Again?" In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004: 45-74.

Recommended

- Deutsch, Karl W. *et al.* [Selections from:] *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. Reprinted in *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 121-143.
- Tranholm-Mikkelsen. "Neo-Functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* vol.20 no.1 (Spring 1991): 1-22.
- Pierson, Paul. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* vol.29 no.2 (April 1996): 123-163.
- Niemann, Arne. "The PHARE Programme and the Concept of Spillover: Neofunctionalism in the Making." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.5 no.3 (September 1998): 428-446.
- Corbey, Dorette. 1995. Dialectical Functionalism: Stagnation as a Booster of European Integration? *International Organization* vol.49 no.2 (Spring 1995): 253-284.
- Haas, Ernst B. "Does Constructivism Subsume Neo-Functionalism?" In *The Social Construction of Europe*, edited by Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Antje Wiener. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001: 22-31. [OR] "Introduction: Institutionalism or Constructivism?" In *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004: xiii-lvi.

Supranational Institutions: The European Commission and the Courts

- NN Nugent, Neill. "The Commission." [and] "European Union Law and the Courts." In *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 111-149; 235-258.
- online Burley, Anne-Marie and Walter Mattli. "Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration." *International Organization* vol.47 no.1 (Winter 1993): 41-76.
- reserve Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier-Aitshalia. "Judicial Politics in the European Community: European Integration and the Pathbreaking *Cassis de Dijon* Decision." *Comparative Political Studies* vol.26 no.4 (January 1994): 535-561.

Recommended

- Stein, Eric. "Lawyers, Judges, and the Making of a Transnational Constitution." *American Journal of International Law* vol.75 no.1 (January 1981): 1-27.
- Alter, Karen J. *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law: The Making of an International Rule of Law in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Peterson, John and Elizabeth Bomberg. "Institutions, Rules, Norms." In *Decision-Making in the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999: 31-59.

5. Social Science Research and Writing & the Study of European Integration (Mon, Feb. 13)

- reserve King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. [Selections from:] *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: 3, 6f, 9-12, 12-19, 23, 25f, 32f, 46, 55-57, 63, 75-95, 128-135.
- reserve Munck, Gerardo L. "Tools for Qualitative Research." In *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by Henry E. Brady and David Collier. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005: 105-121.
- reserve Van Evera, Stephen. "What Are Case Studies?" In *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997: 49-88.
- online Fearon, James D. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science." *World Politics* vol.43 no.2 (January 1991): 169-195.

The following very basic introductions to quantitative reasoning and statistical hypothesis testing can be skimmed by students familiar with quantitative methods, but are required of all others; they are all on reserve:

Gleason, Andrew *et al.* [Section 1.4 ("Summary Statistics") from:] *Quantitative Reasoning Requirement: Data Text*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Core Curriculum, 1991: 17-22.

Hoover, Kenneth and Todd Donovan. "Measuring Variables and Relationships." In *The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking*. 8th edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2004: 93-136.

Gleason, Andrew *et al.* [Sections 2.1 - 2.4 from chapter 2 ("Uncertainty") from:] *Quantitative Reasoning Requirement: Data Text*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Core Curriculum, 1991: 26-39.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S. "Bivariate Regression: Fitting a Straight Line." In *Applied Regression: An Introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1980: 9-19.

Methodological Debates in Application to the Study of European Integration

- W&D Wæver, Ole. "Discursive Approaches." In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004: 197-215.
- reserve Diez, Thomas. "Riding the AM-track through Europe; or, The Pitfalls of a Rationalist Journey through European Integration." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* vol.28 no.2 (1999): 355-369.
- reserve Moravcsik, Andrew. "The Future of European Integration: Social Science or Social Theory?" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* vol.28 no.2 (1999): 371-391.

Recommended:

Hall, Peter A., with adaptations by Tim Büthe. "Writing an Analytical Paper in Political Science." Mimeo.

Sbragia, Alberta M. "Thinking about the European Future: The Uses of Comparison." In *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community*, edited by Alterta M. Sbragia. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1992: 257-291.

Schmidt, Vivien A. and Claudio M. Radaelli. "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Policy Change and Discourse in Europe." *West European Politics* vol.27 no.2 (March 2004, special issue 'Policy Change and Discourse in Europe'): 183-210.

Special Session with Guest, Dr. Erhard Busek (Mon, Feb. 13, 4:30 - 5:20pm)

We will discuss recent developments, focusing on the EU in world politics, with the Special Coordinator of the EU Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Dr. Erhard Busek. In the 1990s, Dr. Busek was Vice Chancellor of Austria in the government that negotiated the treaty through which Austria became a member of the EU after its voters approved EU in a referendum.

RESEARCH PAPER MEMO DUE FRIDAY 2/17 BY 5PM!

6. Marxist, Feminist, and Constructivist/Sociological Perspectives (Mon, Feb. 20)

- online Cocks, Peter. "Toward a Marxist Theory of European Integration." *International Organization* vol.34 no.1 (Winter 1980): 1-40.
- reserve Hansen, Lene. "Gendered Communities: The Ambiguous Attraction of Europe." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, edited by Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 2000: 131-148.
- W&D Hoskyns, Catherine. "Gender Perspectives." In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004: 217-236.
- reserve Kronsell, Annica. "Gender, Power and European Integration Theory." In *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.12 no.6 (December 2005): 1022-1040.
- online Checkel, Jeffrey T. "Social Construction and Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.6 no.4 (December 1999): 545-560, esp. 545-554.
- CP Parsons, Craig. "Introduction: The Institutional Construction of Interests." [and] "Conclusion: Ideas into Interests." In *A Certain Idea of Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003: 1-33, 231-242.
- online Checkel, Jeffrey T. "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework." *International Organization* vol.59 no.4 (Fall 2005): 801-826, esp. 808-816.
- online Lewis, Jeffrey. "The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union." *International Organization* vol.59 no.4 (Fall 2005): 937-971.
- reserve Kohler-Koch, Beate. "Beyond Amsterdam: Regional Integration as a Social Process." In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, edited by Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000: 68-92.

Recommended

- Grahl, John and Paul Teague. "The Cost of Neo-Liberal Europe." *New Left Review* no.174 (March/April 1989): 33-50.
- Bieler, Andreas. "European Integration and the Transnational Restructuring of Social Relations: The Emergence of Labour as a Regional Actor?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.43 no.3 (September 2005): 461-484.
- Peterson, John and Elizabeth Bomberg. "Institutions, Rules, Norms." In *Decision-Making in the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999: 31-59.
- Biester, Elke *et al.*, eds. *Das unsichtbare Geschlecht der Europa: Der europäische Einigungsprozeß aus feministischer Sicht*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1994.
- Shaw, Jo. "Importing Gender: The Challenge of Feminism and the Analysis of the EU Legal Order." In *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.7 no.3 (Special Issue: Women, Power and Public Policy in Europe, September 2000): 406-431.
- Ross, George. *Jacques Delors and European Integration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

7. Generalizing Beyond Europe: Regional Integration and State Formation Perspectives

(Mon, Feb.27)

- reserve Hintze, Otto. "Military Organization and the Organization of the State." In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, edited by Felix Gilbert. (First presented as a lecture at the Gehe Stiftung, Dresden in 1906). New York: Oxford University Press, 1975: 178-215.
- reserve Spruyt, Hendrik. "Introduction." [and] "Organizational Variation and Selection in the International System." *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: 3-7, 22-33.
- reserve Mattli, Walter. "Introduction." [+ Table 2.1 and] "Explaining Regional Integration." In *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 1-18, 20, 41-67.
- reserve Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle Over European Integration." In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt, *et al.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 70-97.
- online Scharpf, Fritz W. "The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration." *Public Administration* (London) vol.66 no.3 (Autumn 1988): 239-278.
- online Alesina, Alberto and Romain Wacziarg. "Is Europe Going Too Far?" *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy* vol.51 (December 1999): 1-42.

Recommended

Lake, David A. and Angela O'Mahony. "The Incredible Shrinking State: Explaining the Territorial Size of Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol.48 no.5 (October 2004): 699-722.

The European Parliament: A(n Extra)Ordinary Legislature?

- NN Nugent, Neill. "The European Parliament." *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 197-234.
- reserve Hix, Simon. "Legislative Politics." *The Political System of the European Union*. 2nd edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005: 72-110.

8. Interests & Power in the EU: National Prerogatives or European-Level Domestic Politics?

(Mon, March 6)

- MP Pollack, Mark A. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union." In *The Engines of European Integration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 19-72.
- reserve Ciavarini Azzi, Giuseppe. "The Slow March of European Integration: The Implementation of Directives." In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, edited by Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000: 52-67.
- reserve Börzel, Tanja A. "Guarding the Treaty: The Compliance Strategies of the European Commission." In *The State of the European Union, Volume 6: Law, Politics, and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 197-220.
- reserve Mastenbroek, Ellen. "EU Compliance: Still a 'Black Hole'?" *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.12 no.6 (December 2005): 1103-1120.
- N&S Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. [Selections from:] *Multi-Level Governance in the European Union*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001. Reprinted in *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 281-311.
- N&S Jachtenfuchs, Markus. "The Governance Approach to European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.39 no.2 (2001): 245-264. Reprinted in *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 335-348.

Recommended

- Pollack, Mark A. "Conclusions." In *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 377-414.
- Tallberg, Jonas. "The Anatomy of Autonomy: An Institutional Account of Variation in Supranational Influence." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.38 no.5 (December 2000): 843-864.
- Greenwood, Justin. *Interest Representation in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, esp. chs. 1&2.
- Neunreither, Karlheinz. "Political Representation in the European Union: A Common Whole, Various Wholes, or Just a Hole?" In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, edited by Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000: 129-149.

9. A Different Variety of Democratic Capitalism? Redistribution and Regulation in the EU

(Mon, March 20)

- NN Nugent, Neill. "The Budget." *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 366-384.
- reserve Hall, Peter A. "The Evolution of Economic Policy-Making in the European Union." In *From the Nation State to Europe: Essays in Honor of Jack Hayward*, edited by Anand Menon and Vincent Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001: 214-245.
- online Majone, Giandomenico. "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe." *West European Politics* vol.17 no.3 (July 1994): 77-101.

- reserve Hix, Simon. "Regulation of the Single Market." In *The Political System of the European Union*. 2nd edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005: 235-270.
- online Bütthe, Tim and Gabriel Swank. *The Politics of Antitrust and Merger Review in the European Union: Institutional Change and Decisions from Messina to 2004*. Mimeo, Duke and Stanford Universities, December 2005.
- MP Pollack, Mark A. "Regulating Europe: The Commission, the Court, and the Regulation of the European Market." In *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 323-374.

Recommended:

- Eberlein, Burkard and Edgar Grande. "Beyond Delegation: Transnational Regulatory Regimes and the EU Regulatory State." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.12 no.1 (February 2005): 89-112.
- Cappelen, Aadne, Fulvio Castellacci, Jan Fagerberg, and Bart Verspagen. "The Impact of EU Regional Support on Growth and Convergence in the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.41 no.4 (November 2003): 621-644.
- Egan, Michelle. *Constructing a European Market: Standards, Regulation, and Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Pollack, Mark A. "A Blairite Treaty: Neo-Liberalism and Regulated Capitalism in the Treaty of Amsterdam." In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, edited by Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000: 266-289.
- Nicolaides, Phedon. "The Political Economy of Multi-tiered Regulation in Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.42 no.3 (September 2004): 599-618.

The Common Agricultural Policy: Essential Glue, Exemplary Waste, or Exceptional Failure?

- NN Nugent, Neill. "Agricultural Policy and Policy Processes." *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 385-406.
- reserves Gillingham, John R. [Subsection "A Most Imperfect Union: Structure and Policy Process at the EC" from] "Better Than Muddling Through." In *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 120-130.
- online Patterson, Lee Ann. "Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community: A Three-Level Game Analysis." *International Organization* vol.51 no.1 (Winter 1997): 135-165.

Recommended:

- Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* vol.42 no.3 (Summer 1988): 427-460.

10. EMU & the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) (Mon, March 27)

European Monetary Union (EMU) and Common Currency

- online McNamara, Kathleen. "Consensus and Constraints: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.37 no.3 (September 1999): 455-476.
- MH Hösli, Madeleine. *The Euro: A Concise Introduction to European Monetary Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.
- online Cohen, Benjamin J. "Are Monetary Unions Inevitable?" *International Studies Perspectives* vol.4 no.3 (August 2003): 275-292.

The EU as an Actor in World Politics?

- reserve Peterson, John and Michael E. Smith. "The EU as a Global Actor." In *The European Union: How Does It Work?*, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 195-215.
- online Frieden, Jeffrey. "One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations." *European Union Politics* vol.5 no.2 (June 2004): 261-276.
- online Meunier, Sophie. "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations." *International Organization* vol.54 no.1 (Winter 2000): 103-135.

- online Kelley, Judith. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* vol.58 no.3 (Summer 2004): 425-457.
- reserve Wæver, Ole. "The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, edited by Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 2000: 250-294.

Recommended

Smith, Michael E. "Conforming to Europe: The Domestic Impact of EU Foreign Policy Co-operation." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.7 no.4 (October 2000): 613-631.

11. Public Opinion & EU Enlargement (Mon, April 3)

Public Opinion

- reserve Gabel, Matthew J. and Harvey D. Palmer. "Understanding Variation in Public Support for European Integration." *European Journal of Political Research* vol.27 no.1 (January 1995): 3-19.
- online Bütthe, Tim. "The Domestic Politics of European Integration: Public Opinion, Referenda, and EU Membership." Mimeo.
- reserve Brinegar, Adam P. and Seth K. Jolly. "Location, Location, Location: National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* vol.6 no.2 (June 2005): 155-180.

+ Additional Readings on the "Constitutional" Referenda of 2004/05.

EU Enlargement

- NN Nugent, Neill. "Enlargement." *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 5th edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 494-509.
- reserves Mattli, Walter. "Integration in Europe: The European Union." In *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 68-108.
- + Special section of the *Financial Times* on EU Enlargement.

Recommended

Jones, Erik and Niels van der Bijl. "Public Opinion and Enlargement: A Gravity Approach." *European Union Politics* vol.5 no.3 (September 2004): 331-351.

Caplanova, Anetta, Marta Orviska, and John Hudson. "Eastern European Attitudes toward Integration with Western Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.42 no.2 (June 2004): 271-288.

12. Research Presentations (Monday, April 10)

During the April 10 session, each student will give a 10 minute focused presentation on his/her research paper, followed by about 5-10 minutes of comments from the class. The research may at this point be work-in-progress, but the presentation should be polished and gives students an opportunity to practice oral presentation skills.

13. Explaining and Understanding European Integration

(Mon, April 17; exact time TBA, at Prof. Bütthe's house)

The EU between International Relations and Comparative Politics

- reserves Cornett, Linda and James A. Caporaso. "'And Still It Moves!' State Interests and Social Forces in the European Community." In *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, edited by James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992: 219-249.

- reserves Hix, Simon. "The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics." *West European Politics* vol.17 no.1 (January 1994): 1-30.
- reserves Hurrell, Andrew and Anand Menon. "Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU." *West European Politics* vol.19 no.2 (April 1996): 386-402.
- reserves Hix, Simon. "CP, IR, and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon." *West European Politics* vol.19 no.4 (October 1996): 802-804.
- online Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.34 no.1 (March 1996): 53-80.
- reserve Smith, Steve. "International Relations Theory and European Integration." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, edited by Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 2000: 33-56.

Looking Forward: Further Institutional Development? ... and the Study of the EU

- online Skach, Cindy. "We, the Peoples? Constitutionalizing the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.43 no.1 (March 2005): 149-170.

+ Additional Readings on Recent/Current Developments in the EU, TBA

Recommended

- Wessels, Wolfgang. "The Constitutional Treaty: Three Readings from a Fusion Perspective." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.43, Annual Review (September 2005): 11-36.
- Keeler, John T. S. "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field, 1960-2001." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.43 no.3 (September 2005): 551-582.

Monday, May 1 at noon: RESEARCH PAPER DUE