

FONTI E STUDI SUL FEDERALISMO
E SULL'INTEGRAZIONE EUROPEA

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SENT
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The Scientific Committee of the Thematic Network of European Studies (SENT) was formed by:

Federiga Bindi (University of Rome Tor Vergata)
Ariane Landuyt (University of Siena)
Kjell A. Eliassen (BI Norwegian Business School)
Vita Fortunati (University of Bologna)
Stefania Baroncelli (Free University of Bozen)
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Juliet Lodge (University of Leeds)
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Alfred Tovias (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

ANALYZING EUROPEAN UNION
POLITICS

EDITED BY
FEDERIGA BINDI AND KJELL A. ELIASSEN

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FOREWORD

The speed and depth with which the European Communities/European Union has evolved is breathtaking and has radically shaped the life of the continent. Ever since the beginning of this ambitious economic and political project, scholars around the world have tried to explain the underlying logic behind it and the mechanisms of its functioning. Thus, a plethora of studies developed alongside the evolution of the EU.

SENT (*Network of European Studies*) is an innovative and ambitious project which brought together about 100 partners from the EU member states, candidate and associated countries, and other parts of the world. It was a far reaching project aimed to overcome disciplinary and geographical-linguistic boundaries in order to assess the state of EU studies today, as well as the idea of Europe as transmitted by schools, national politicians, the media, etc.

SENT's main goal was to map European studies, in order to get a comprehensive picture of the evolution of European studies over the last decades in different disciplines and countries. This approach permitted to achieve a better understanding of the direction these studies are now taking. Five disciplines were identified where EU studies have particularly evolved: law, politics, economics, history, and social and cultural studies. The mapping of EU studies thus includes a review of the most studied issues in EU studies today, the main academic schools, the most influential journals and books published, but it also shows how local realities and national identities affect the study and teaching of Europe around the world. In addition, an important work was done in mapping and discussing teaching methodologies in relation to European studies with the aim of introducing and diffusing the most up-to-date techniques.

The project was structured in various working groups, corresponding to their respective disciplines. These networks worked closely together to ensure a discussion across geographic boundaries. At the same time, the SENT network brought together scholars around the world in a direct and multidisciplinary dialogue in a General Assembly held in Rome in July 2010 to reflect on the state of the EU disciplines and their future.

We are very proud to present the results of this ambitious project in a series of volumes. The following are being published with Il Mulino:

1. *European Integration Process Between History and New Challenges*, edited by Ariane Landuyt;
2. *Analyzing European Union Politics*, edited by Federiga Bindi and Kjell A. Eliassen;
3. *Integration Through Legal Education. The Role of EU Legal Studies in Shaping the EU*, edited by Valentino Cattelan;
4. *Questioning the European Identity/ies: Deconstructing Old Stereotypes and Envisioning New Models of Representation*, edited by Vita Fortunati and Francesco Cattani;
5. *Ideas of Europe in National Political Discourse*, edited by Cláudia T. Ramos;
6. *Communication, Mediation and Culture in the Making of Europe*, edited by Juliet Lodge and Katharine Sarikakis.

Other two volumes are part of the SENT series and will be published elsewhere: *Mapping European Economic Integration*, edited by Amy Verdun and Alfred Tovias with Palgrave and *Teaching European Studies Curricula and Teaching Methods*, edited by Stefania Baroncelli, Roberto Farneti, Ioan Horga and Sophie Vanhoonacker with Springer.

The extensive work of this project was coordinated by Prof. Federiga Bindi, Director of the Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence of the University of Rome Tor Vergata and her valuable team, and benefited from the generous support of the European Commission.

The scientific organisation was assured by a core

coordinating committee formed by: Federiga Bindi, Ariane Landuyt, Kjell A. Eliassen, Vita Fortunati, Stefania Baroncelli, Ioan Horga, Sophie Vanhoonacker, Cláudia Toriz Ramos, Juliet Lodge, Amy Verdun and Alfred Tovias.

It is fair to say that these volumes show how the EU has uniquely affected not only the daily life on the 'old continent', but also its scholarly work. We hope that this project opens the path for further extended debates about these transformations providing food for thought and research tools for young researchers, practitioners and scholars of European affairs alike.

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FEDERIGA BINDI AND KJELL A. ELIASSEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:
AN INTRODUCTION

The rapid and profound transformations underwent by the European Communities (EC) /European Union (EU) have been closely followed by a growing specialized literature. This literature has taken many forms and approaches, focusing on a variety of topics, from the internal developments of the EU to the impact of the EU membership on the member states. Last but not least, the message of this literature has not only been conveyed in English, but in a variety of languages. However, there have been few efforts to provide an overview beyond specialized niches. The aim of this volume is to address this absence by providing an overview and carrying out a comparative analysis of major contributions to the study of European integration and European policies in most EU and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries. The use of the English language makes this endeavor accessible, and, with contributions from native speakers of the various countries covered, it provides a pool of information that would otherwise be inaccessible to most readers. In this sense, the readers will be presented with a basic introduction of European integration of every country covered – most of which the reader is unlikely to know well.

The emphasis of this volume is more on identifying the broad lines of development than on a detailed mapping of all the specialized publications in the different countries, an exercise that would go beyond the time and space provided for this endeavor. Given the different contexts of each country covered, the contributors of the volume have been given the liberty to approach their chapter in the best way they deemed appropriate. However, there have been three guiding questions for each of them to answer in their chapters: a. what the status is today regarding major con-

tributions and important institutions and scholars in this field in their country; b. where the study of this subject comes from in terms of scientific fields, traditions and important research institutions; and c. why the development of European integration studies has take the road indicated in the major contributions presented.

The volume covers the majority of the EU and EFTA member states, but also some non-European countries, including the United States. As mentioned before, it would be impossible to comprehensively include all the literature produced on EU integration studies seen from a political science perspective. The approach adopted instead was to put together a panel of country experts and rely on their expertise and in depth knowledge of the country studied in order to select the major contributions, centers and researchers for their country analysis. This approach entails the analysis of the experts' analysis of the different traditions, historical developments and national and European importance of the major contributions. Furthermore, some authors have chosen to also identify the most influential works on European integration translated, studied and quoted by national authors in their work. It is for this reason that the volume has selected only authors with a thorough understanding of the realities and mentalities of the countries analyzed.

1. Political science and the study of European integration

This volume focuses on the study of European integration, including EU policy-making and EU policies. The approach is that of a country-by-country analysis. The underlying question of this project is therefore: how have European integration and EU politics been analyzed, and what have been the major empirical and theoretical contributions in each country? The focus is then on the academic traditions of EU studies in the different member and non member states in an attempt to identify the most important contributions and publications within this field. This

would, in its turn, permit to single out a set of contributions to the literature on European integration that are, in a sense, transnational: they are studied and referred to, or even contested, across (European) boundaries.

The decision to adopt a country-by-country logic was justified by three reasons. First, in most cases research on the EC/EU grew out of the fields of domestic or international politics. Second, the existence of literature in different languages means that it is very difficult for most researchers to keep abreast of the literature in more than a handful of countries. Third, different national academic traditions have brought about a considerable variation in how political scientists have approached the study of the EU.

Both the time period and the number of publications relevant for such an endeavor of European integration studies in each country will differ considerably from chapter to chapter. Some new member states in the East hardly had any academic and scientific EU studies before the mid-1990s, whereas other countries, most notably some of the EU founding members, present a long history of EU integration studies. It is therefore impossible to develop a framework for analysis which fits all countries under investigation, but we will try instead to outline in this introduction some important dimensions which govern individual chapters.

The central units of observation for each chapter are individual academic journal articles, book chapters and books that contribute to our understanding of European integration published by political science scholars. In general, the scholars mentioned in the chapters are either nationals of the country in question or affiliated with an academic institution in that country.

Another obstacle encountered in the writing of the individual chapters was the difficulty to define the concept of European integration studies in political science. It is difficult in many countries to separate between political science, law and history because several writers from these fields are writing in the same interdisciplinary traditions

and to a large extent with the same concepts, as is the case, for example, in Portugal. An even greater problem is to differentiate between European integration studies, and EU policy studies. This was a challenge that had to be met in order to ensure a balance in the coverage of the two in the different chapters. The evaluations of the national experts were of vital importance here, because they were familiar with the disciplinary traditions and understandings in the respective countries.

Considering the large number of works produced in the field in the various countries studied and the limited space allotted to each individual chapter, a selection and a special strategy had to be adopted in deciding which works to include. First of all, “publications” were considered to be both books and articles in scientific journals. A “contribution” was defined as a publication which made a significant impact on the study of European integration in the country in question. In most cases only publications which represented major contributions were included in the study, especially those that are more policy-oriented. Major national research programs, institutions and initiatives will also be covered, analyzing their impact on the overall production of European integration studies. Furthermore, the individual chapters do not generally cover text books and other publications which mainly summarize previous national or European studies nationally. Exceptions have been made based on the context of each country or where, for example, it was useful to point out certain publications that would be part of the transnational literature mentioned in the beginning.

This strategy implies that the proportion of all relevant European integration and European policies studies covered and referred to in each chapter is limited and will vary considerably from country to country. Many of the users of this volume will also be interested in an overview of the relevant contributions from a country they would like to know more about. Thus, in an attempt to make this volume more user-friendly, we have chosen to include bibliographies after each chapter and not an integrated com-

prehensive bibliography at the end of the book.

In addition to the country chapters, and as a part of our strategy to make a comparative study of the contributions to European integration and European policy studies in different European countries, we have two introductory chapters: one by Jonathan Moses on EU studies in the first decades of European integration, and one by Matti Wiberg on contribution of scholars from different European countries in the three most relevant journals: *JCMS*, *European Union Politics* and *Journal of Common Market Studies*.

2. Dimensions of the study of European integration

As the chapters of this volume show, studies of EU politics and European integration may be classified in a two-by-three table (below). The first dimension distinguishes empirical from more normative studies: the relevant criterion here is the difference between analyses that are primarily designed to explain the phenomenon at hand (EU politics, European integration) and analyses that are primarily designed to provide policy advice or to shape the political debate (the normative level). Although much of the literature includes both elements, most of it can be classified as predominantly falling into one or another category.

Level of analysis	Empirical	Normative
Macro	EU integration	The goal of the EU
Meso	Political institutions	Institutional reform
Micro	Policy implementation	Policy reform

The second dimension distinguishes between three levels. At the macro level, the central research questions concern European integration: the dependent variable is the trajectory of European integration or its current level. More empirical elements of this research agenda includes for example the realists' and neo-functionalists' effort to

explain the dynamics and limits of European integration. Normative elements include the debates over what the goal of European integration ought to be, including for example the early debates between functionalists and federalists.

At the meso level, the central research questions concern the EU institutions: how they operate and how they can be improved. Empirical analyses include analysis of the operation of the Commission, Council etc.; normative studies include for example the vast debate on the democratic deficit or debates about regulatory design.

At the micro level, the central research focus is on the operation of the political system of the EU: the dependent variables tend to be policy output, for example policy implementation in any given sector. Here many articles and books cross the border between empirical studies and normative recommendations, inasmuch as they offer both positivist analysis and use this as the basis for policy recommendations. An important caveat here is that the present project is primarily concerned with case studies that have a direct bearing on European integration or offer relevant lessons; the field of policy studies *per se* is simply too wide to cover in this project. *The selection of scientific works relevant for the focus of this volume on European Integration compared to more general policy studies is, however, the most difficult task.* One type of analysis we would like to include is studies of the relevant country and the EU, like Italy and the EU or Norway and the EU even if they are mainly policy oriented.

Obviously the cells in this matrix are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. The aim is only to use this matrix as a way to identify and differentiate contributions to the study of European integration. The importance of these different “types” of studies will vary from country to country and over time. The matrix is not necessarily meant to be followed in each and every chapter but we find that it could add value to our comparative analysis.

3. *The geographical dimension of this volume*

As indicated, this volume covers most of the EU and EFTA countries, as well as countries and regions from around the world. In this sense, the present volume is highly ambitious and original. It offers a unique, and historical, perspective into how the EU has been seen and studied in various places of the world, some of them only indirectly affected by the European integration process.

Here we show the list of the different chapters and the countries they cover.

1. Introduction – Federiga Bindi (University of Rome Tor Vergata) and Kjell A. Eliassen (Norwegian School of Business - BI)
2. EU Studies until the 1990s – Jonathon Moses (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
3. Who Produces European Studies?: A Bibliometric Study – Matti Wiberg (University of Turku).
4. Austria – Gerda Falkner (University of Vienna)
5. The Baltics – Tatjana Muravska (University of Latvia)
6. Belgium – Arnout Justaert and Karoline Van Den Brande and Tom Delreux (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), Edith Driessens (Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael)
7. Bulgaria – Ivan Nachev (New Bulgarian University)
8. Denmark and Sweden – Salla Garski (University of Helsinki), Knud Erik Jorgensen (Aarhus University) and Ian Manners (Roskilde University)
9. Finland – Matti Wiberg (University of Turku)
10. France – Olivier Costa (University of Bordeaux)
11. Germany – Tanja Börzel and Torben Heinze (Free University of Berlin)
12. Greece – George Contogeorgis and Dimitris N. Chrysochoou (Panteion University of Athens)
13. Hungary – Edina Ocsko (Central European University)
14. Italy – Federiga Bindi (University of Rome Tor Vergata) and Serena Giusti (Università Cattolica in Milan)
15. The Netherlands – Hylke Dijkstra and Maarten Vink

- (Maastricht University)
16. Norway and Iceland – Kjell A. Eliassen and Marit Sjøvaag Marino (Norwegian School of Business - BI) and Erikur Bergmann (Bifrost University)
 17. Poland – Katarzyna Pisarska (Warsaw School of Economics)
 18. Portugal – Paulo Vila Maior and Claudia Ramos (University Fernando Pessoa, Porto, Portugal)
 19. Romania – Irina Angelescu (Graduate Institute of Geneva)
 20. Spain – Francesc Morata and Izea Ollora (Autonomous University of Barcelona)
 21. UK and Ireland – Nick Sitter (Central European University and Norwegian School of Business – BI)
 22. Canada – Sarah Dunphy and Finn Laursen (Dalhousie Arts and Social Sciences Faculty)
 23. Central and Latin America – Joaquim Roy (Miami University)
 24. Russia – Alexander Strelkov (Russian Academy of Sciences), Mark Entin and Oleg Barabanov (Moscow State University, MGIMO)
 25. US (East Coast) – Eleanor Zeff and Kelly B. Shaw (Drake University)
 26. US (West Coast) – Davis Andrews (Claremont Colleges in California)
 27. Conclusions – Federiga Bindi, Kjell A. Eliassen and Irina Angelescu

4. *The Structure of the chapters*

The volume begins with a historical chapter that presents the early history of European integration, up to the adoption of the Single European Act. The following chapters are the individual case studies, with each chapter providing an overall view of the literature on European integration and EU politics in the relevant EU and non-EU member states,. Each chapter will begin with a brief introduction of the history of the EU relations with the country

analyzed and how this interaction has affected the European integration studies.

Each chapter then includes an analysis of the perspective or perspectives that have shaped research on the EU in the relevant member states(s). The central disciplinary traditions or theoretical approaches (including research programs, institutions) are also covered.

A central point in the chapters is not merely to account for the development of EU studies and its various strands, but also to assess the quality of the research and its central findings. The impact of the literature can be assessed in two ways: in terms of the impact on broader academic debates as well as in terms of the impact on the policy debate in the state in question (or in the EU), or even directly on policy making.

The chapters take into account the time dimensions, though it is often more pertinent to think in terms of periods of time rather than chronologically. In some cases, as appropriate, it is important to distinguish between the period before membership, the early phase of membership, the debates surrounding the adoption of the Single European Act, the Treaty changes in the 1990s, enlargement, etc. In other cases, some of these periods coincide: candidate period and the early membership period coincide with the 1990s reforms and enlargement for states that recently joined the EU. Or, for countries outside Europe, it is significant to note how the state of the discipline has been affected by transformations taking place far away from the country analyzed. A final point in each chapter is a comparative assessment; the location of the research in the state(s) at hand in the broader literature.

We would like to extend a few words of gratitude to the people and institutions that have contributed to make this publication possible.

This publication is the result of almost four years of work in and around the University of Rome Tor Vergata. At the Jean Monnet European Center of Excellence of the University of Rome Tor Vergata we owe in particular to Marco Amici and Elena Cantiani for the precious adminis-

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JONATHON W. MOSES

EARLY APPROACHES TO EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION

According to Michael O'Neill, «no single theory of regional integration can expect to offer a definitive account of the immensely complex international process that is European integration» [O'Neill 1996, 49]. He is right. Since the end of World War II, much ink has been spilled in a futile attempt to secure «bragging rights» for the best approach to understand European integration. The result is a hodgepodge of overlapping analytical approaches that continually reinvent themselves in light of new developments on the ground, but too often fail to recognize the contribution and/or utility of competing approaches. While this analytical and conceptual overlap can be bewildering, it can also provide a useful key for interpreting contemporary discussions about European integration because many of these theories draw heavily from earlier approaches.

This chapter aims to provide that key. By examining the nature of early (pre-1990) integration debates, it aims to provide a common historical backdrop for the subsequent national approaches to understanding European integration¹. There are at least two reasons why this sort of historical introduction might prove useful.

First, much of today's discussion about European integration draws from the sort of contributions that dominated both political and academic discussions in the early post-war years. For this reason, many of the following chapters might present themselves against the background

¹ Given the real constraints offered by a book chapter, this contribution will be brief. More elaborate introductions to European integration theory can be found in [Wiener and Diez 2003; Rosamond 2000; O'Neill 1996; and Michelmann and Soldatos 1994].

provided here, using it as a point of departure for their own – nation-based – depictions of recent developments.

A second justification can be found in the nationalist approach that motivates our anthology. By mapping out and comparing diverse national approaches to European integration we assume that European academics have contributed to analytical discussions about the nature of European integration. This is a rather remarkable turn of events, as most of the early analysis of European integration was provided by American academics (whereas the European contribution was more often found among politicians and activists).

Karl Kaiser suggested that this early American influence was a result of the different ways in which Americans and Europeans learn political science. Writing in 1964, Kaiser believed that European political scientists did not have a systematic approach to the process of European political integration [Kaiser 1996, 157] and that:

Uninhibited by the Europeans' feeling of uncertainty about the «new Europe» or the imposing presence of traditional values, the American scholars (whose European origin, incidentally, is mostly not very remote) have felt more freely able to investigate and theorize about political and social changes in Europe that go «beyond the nation-state». To them, more than Europeans, Western Europe represents a huge laboratory of change that offers unique opportunities to the social scientist of searching into the nature of modern society by observing the process of change, experimenting with and testing a set of hypotheses that could help to explain it [Kaiser 1996, 158].

If Kaiser's depiction is true (and there is little reason to think it is not), then the anthology that follows should provide a map of the changing nature of European political science. To retrace early analytical contributions to European integration, the remainder of this chapter sketches four main approaches: federalism, functionalism, neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism. In staking out the terrain in this way, it is important to emphasize that these four approaches are not the only ones for understanding

European integration, nor are they entirely exclusive (i.e. there is a great deal of overlap among them)². Still, these approaches remain central to understanding contemporary discussions about the nature of European integration, and this four-part typology has become rather conventional.

Another caveat should be added before moving on. In presenting these four approaches, the reader might get the impression that the discussion about European integration has progressed in a linear or logical form over time. This impression of historical progression may have some heuristic value, but it is inaccurate. As we shall see, many of the most useful debates occurred amongst contemporaries across these disparate approaches. More importantly, each of these approaches still influence contemporary discussions about the nature of European integration. In short, it is important to bear in mind that both the typology and the order in which they are presented are analytical conveniences more than accurate descriptions of a fixed historical subject.

The chapter concludes with a short summary of the commonalities and differences of these four different approaches across four distinct points of comparison: authorship, agency, objectives, and the role of politics.

1. *Federalism*

While the dream of a united Europe is not new to the 20th century (consider, most impressively, Charlemagne), it was reborn in more republican garb in the aftermath of the two world wars. With the failures of the League of Nations and its component nation states now evident to all, new schemes were needed to build a lasting international peace. To do this, it was generally assumed that a new type of

² Other authors rely on different (albeit related) typologies. Consider, for example, Pentland's [1973] four-part distinction between federalism, pluralism, functionalism and neo-functionalism, and/or Mutimer's (1994) division into federalism, functionalism, neofunctionalism and communicative interactionism.

political authority was needed. The most commonly proposed form of workable government was an international federation of states.

In its most basic form, federalism refers to a political compromise in which power is divided and shared between institutions representing a central government authority (on the one hand) and those of the component (regional) units (on the other). The objective of this sort of institutional arrangement is to provide the central authority with power over policy areas where the component units are held to be ineffective, while maintaining as much sovereignty and power as possible at the lowest (component) level. In short, federalism is an institutional arrangement for limiting the power of the central government authority to those areas that are seen as necessary and common to the component political units. In the words of Brailsford:

In Europe, home to much of the bloodshed, this Federal Ideal was in great demand: What shall we have gained if we can realize anything resembling this project of Federation? Firstly and chiefly we shall abolish internecine war in Europe, the homeland of our civilization. That is a negative statement. In the positive sense we shall achieve vastly more: we shall rescue the priceless values of this civilization itself. It cannot survive the totalitarian corruption that assails all it prizes - truth and mercy, honest dealing and intellectual integrity. If the peoples of Europe can be led to erect this structure, it will be because they demand a political framework within which they may lead a social life governed by reason and humanity. If we abandon the old concept of the sovereign state, it will not be because we have changed our views about a legal theory. It will be because we have reached an ideal of human fraternity that embraces our neighbors, who in other languages think the same civilized thoughts. We can end war only by widening patriotism. If that is what we intend, the rest follows inevitably. Our Federation will organize the democratic discussion and decision of our common affairs. It will respect the rich variety of a Continent, that has preserved many stocks, many cultures, many tongues, through all the vicissitudes of its history. It will end the anarchy of our economic life by orderly planning for the common good. In so far as it still must arm, it will arm for the common safety alone [Brailsford 1940].

The attraction to federalism can be explained, in part, by its remarkable philosophical pedigree. While the tradition of federalist thought can be traced back to ancient Greece, and is evident in medieval European political thinking, there are two main modern sources of federalist thinking³. The first of these is the plethora of peace plans from the 17th and 18th century which aimed to eliminate war in Europe by introducing some form of pan-European political organization. While Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* [1795] is perhaps the best-known of these, he was not the only (or the first) to put forward this proposal⁴.

The second source of modern federalist thinking is derived from the American experience. This experience has two elements. First, the debates over the nature and scope of federalism, as evidenced in the *Federalist Papers*, provide much of the theoretical foundations for European discussions about federalism, the role of the state, and its relationship to constituent individuals. At the same time, America's use of a constituent assembly to produce a new constitution (and to generate the legitimacy needed for it to last) became a model plan of action for many European federalists.

Of course, drawing from the American experience is anything but straightforward, as the original model was not international in nature. Indeed, there are no successful cases of federations that have involved federating already-established and functioning sovereign states. Existing federations have been constructed by means of joining recently emancipated colonies, or in the case of Switzerland, small cantons with a very long history of political interaction. Consequently, there has always been disagreement

³ I am, rather unfairly, excluding the broad body of European thought concerning small communities – which can be dated back to the Middle Ages – but which is best exhibited in the work of Rousseau and Proudhon.

⁴ Similar views were held among several notable Frenchmen, including both diplomats — such as Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de Sully and Abbé Saint Pierre; and philosophers — most notably Saint-Simon and Proudhon.

about the appropriateness of the underlying (American) model, and the means by which a federal European state might be brought about.

In Europe, these differences might be depicted in terms of a split between bottom-up and top-down federalists. For the bottom-up federalists, a European federation needs to link political authority to the people. To do this, Europe needs an American-style constituent assembly, where a federal constitution can be drafted by a popularly-elected body, but then adopted and implemented by member states. Originally, many federalists hoped that the Council of Europe could bring about this type of constituent assembly. When this failed to happen, hope was transferred onto the European Parliament (which is at least elected by universal suffrage).

Top-down federalists, on the other hand, are less concerned about the institutional details of the eventual outcome (although they too envision a federal Europe, in due time). Instead, this approach seeks to bring about incremental institutional change in an effort to move Europe in the right direction. By realizing that much power lies in the hands of national officials, and that the creation of a federal state involves member states ceding sovereignty to a new federal government, top-down federalists embrace direct intergovernmental agreements as a means for integrating Europe. As a consequence, this group tends to hang their hopes on different agents of integration. While bottom-up federalists focus on the need to legitimate the new federation with a popularly-elected body or constituent assembly, top-down federalists focus on the integrative role of the European Commission and Council of Ministers.

While both groups agree about the necessity of creating new pan-European institutions to overcome the shortcomings of the nation state, the first group tends to focus on one-stop institutional reform, the latter on the process of achieving incremental gains in the right direction (rather than securing a particular end). As a consequence (and as we shall see) top-down federalists offer a bridge to the second group of integration approaches: the functionalist approach.

At the political level, a federalist approach to European integration can draw on a long political tradition that covers a remarkably broad spectrum of supporters. After all, interwar advocates of federalism found support among a disparate community of political groups that stretched from the German Social Democrats, on the one hand, to the conservative Hungarian Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, on the other. Because of this breadth of support, federalism offered a useful banner under which the Allied Resistance could gather⁵. Indeed, one of the earliest (and highest level) calls for a federal solution came in 1940, when Winston Churchill — advised by a group of British civil servants and French partisans in London that included Charles de Gaulle and Jean Monnet — called for a union of Britain and France⁶.

Many resistance fighters saw federalism as the only means for righting Europe's apparent incapacity to resist dictatorship or invasion⁷. This hope found a home in a number of different venues, most of which were directly influenced by: the remarkable Altiero Spinelli⁸ in the *Ventotene Manifesto* [Spinelli and Rossi 1941]; a wartime congress of European federalists (Switzerland, 1944); a post-war congress of European federalists (Paris, 1945); and the 1946 establishment of a transnational federalist movement, the Union of European Federalists (UEF). For many in the federalist movement, the 1949 creation of the Council of Europe promised an institutional foundation for a new

⁵ See Lipgens [Lipgens 1982, 44-58] for an account of the role of federalism in the Resistance.

⁶ Following the war (and his electoral defeat) Churchill returned to the theme of a European federal union, calling for the creation of a «United States of Europe» in a September 1946 speech in Zurich. Later, after returning to the Prime Ministership in 1951, he opposed Britain's inclusion in a federal plan for Europe.

⁷ The leading voices in this movement were Altiero Spinelli, Ernesto Rossi, Henri Brugmans [1969] and K.C. Wheare [1990].

⁸ Altiero Spinelli (1907-1986) was a long-time communist, an Italian representative to the European Commission (for six years, with responsibility for industrial policy), a member of the European Parliament (for ten years), and an influential actor on the European political scene through his activities in the so-called Crocodile Club [Menéndez 2007].

federal Europe. Indeed, Spinelli solicited the Council of Europe to call for a pan European Constituent Assembly.

But cracks in the European federalist façade were already evident in the 1946 founding of the UEF. The Union of European Federalists was anything but united — the group differed on tactics, about the nature of the federalist vision, and about the role of nation-states in bringing about a new, more integrated Europe. Worse, developments on the ground seem to be undermining federalist support, as national elites were repositioning themselves to offer more conventional, nation-based, approaches to reconstruction — approaches that built on the redistributive politics of the Left.

This split became even more evident in the subsequent publicity campaigns associated with the Montreux Congress of 1947, where “world federalist” and “integral federalist” factions differed over the appropriate scope of a European federalist design. In 1956, this apparent split became institutionalized as two distinct groups. The first group, the *Mouvement Fédéraliste Européen* (MFE) placed its faith in the European Parliament and hoped that it might act as a constituent assembly [Spinelli 1972]. Indeed, this hope almost came to fruition in 1984, when the Parliament adopted the Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union (a treaty drafted by Spinelli himself)—though this hope was eventually torpedoed by national interests. An alternative group of federalists formed the *Action Européenne Fédéraliste* (AEF) in 1956, in support of any and all developments that contributed to furthering supranational integration.

To summarize, the federalist approach to integration asks us to focus on particular institutions as a means to overcome the inherent shortcomings of individual nation states. Although the original federal vision was not limited to Europe — it was global in nature — Europe’s evident difficulties, after two world wars, made it the most likely recipient of federalist attention. This attention was focused on making formal changes to political institutions and procedures in order to bring about social harmony while pro-

tecting cultural/social diversity. For federalists, the driving force for change is implicit, but assumed to be a consequence of an underlying shift in the collective political imagination. As a consequence, federalists wanted to introduce institutions that can capture such a ground-level shift in perspectives, while avoiding intervening (and meddling) political elites at the national level.

2. *Functionalism*

In 1943 — with the end of WWII in sight, and against the backdrop of the federalist vision for a post-war world government — David Mitrany proposed a functionalist alternative for international integration. His *A Working Peace System* argued for the need to create a new system, a network of transnational organizations sharing a functional core, which could constraint states and prevent war. The foundations for this argument were laid in the interwar period, when Mitrany published *The Progress of International Government*, where he argued that civilized men «should renounce the pagan worship of political frontiers as the source of our public law and morals» [Mitrany 1933, 118]. In short, Mitrany believed that the nation state should be replaced by a system of international (function-based) agencies⁹.

Mitrany had been impressed by a number of earlier arrangements that had been developed along strictly functional lines (be them national, bilateral or international). What interested him was the fact that the process of introducing function-based institutions substantially altered what was traditionally understood to be the constitutional arrangements of states. More to the point, these sorts of changes were being secured without any formal constitutional bargains. Thus, in Roosevelt's New Deal:

⁹ See also Mitrany [1948].

The significant point in that emergency action was that each and every problem was tackled as a practical issue in itself. No attempt was made to relate it to a general theory or system of government. Every function was left to generate others gradually, like the functional subdivision of organic cells; and in every case the appropriate authority was left to grow and develop out of actual performance. Yet the new functions and the new organs, taken together, have revolutionized the American political system [Mitrany 1943, 21-22].

By avoiding the need to introduce formal constitutional changes, functionalist designs were able to overcome the sort of strong political resistance that Roosevelt's New Deal had met in the U.S. For many Europeans, Mitrany's functionalist alternative provides a means for securing the sort of integration that is seen to be necessary, but being resisted by national elites. Rather than gathering states together to draw up a blueprint for political action, as federalists would have it, functionalists encourage elites to build particular (functional) authorities to administer the provision of narrowly-defined services.

The utility of this approach lies in the transnational nature of international problems. For example, the integration of once national railway or airline transportation systems requires new organizations that can straddle national frontiers. At the same time, the spread of international exchange brings with it new types of transnational problems (e.g., the spread of disease, investment, cultural exchanges, etc.). In short, the increasingly transnational nature of human exchange creates a demand for increasingly transnational solutions. In recognizing this, functionalists aim to introduce function-based institutions with the authority to solve transnational problems. In so doing, they set the conditions for the spread of that authority in a way that can eventually undermine nation-based systems of regulation and authority: «states would, in other words, be tricked into ceding their sovereignty by having it emptied of meaning» [Mutimer 1994, 25].

For the functionalist, it is legitimate to undermine national sovereignty in this way, as functionalists understand

politics to be intrinsically corrupt (while administration is seen to be the key to human cooperation). Because of this, functionalists are remarkably optimistic about the administrative capabilities of elites who respond to a technocratic (rather than populist) logic. Indeed, for the functionalist, change is institutionalized and facilitated by the increased cooperation and exchange among technocratic elites.

The careful reader may have noticed that I have quietly slipped away from using references to Mitrany and referred instead to (more general) functionalists. The reason for this is that Mitrany was actually strongly opposed to regional integration (such as European integration) because he feared that it would undermine — rather than transcend — global efforts of the state-based model of which he was so critical [Mitrany 1966]. For Mitrany, international or regional federations would create as many problems as they solved.

In the same way that Spinelli can function as an advocate for early federalist approaches, the efforts of Jean Monnet can be used to illustrate the functionalist approach. The person of Monnet also functions as a useful bridge linking the federalist and functionalist approaches to European integration. For Monnet believed:

...in starting with limited achievements, establishing de facto solidarity, from which a federation would gradually emerge. I have never believed that one fine day Europe would be created by some grand political mutation... (that) the pragmatic method we had adopted would...lead to a federation validated by the people's vote; but that federation would be the culmination of an existing economic and political reality, already put to the test...it was a bringing together of men and practical realities...[Monnet 1978, 346-7]

Indeed, Monnet is often held up as exemplary of the functionalist approach, as he — unlike so many of his compatriots — deliberately stood outside the nationalist corridors of power in order to better persuade others of the higher ideals of supranationalism. His bridging function is evident in his advocacy for what he refers to as the

«new method of common action»:

This profound change is being made possible essentially by the new method of common action which is the core of the European Community. To establish this new method of common action, we adapted to our situation the methods which have allowed individuals to live together in society: common rules which each member is committed to respect, and common institutions to watch over the application of these rules. Nations have applied this method within their frontiers for centuries, but they have never yet been applied between them. After a period of trial and error, this method has become a permanent dialogue between a single European body, responsible for expressing the view of the general interest of the Community and the national governments expressing the national view [Monnet 1963].

By the late 1940s, it seemed as though functionalism held great practical promise for European integration. In the architecture of the Schuman Plan, which resulted in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), one can easily discern a functionalist logic: the Plan involved a limited surrender of national sovereignty over important areas in exchange for explicit economic and political advantages to member states. As the French Foreign Minister who gave his name to the plan, Robert Schuman, told the Council of Europe:

Certain participating states will be abandoning some degree of sovereignty in favor of the common Authority, and will be accepting a fusion or pooling of powers which are at present being exercised or capable of being exercised by the governments... Thus the participating nations will in advance accept the notion of submission to the Authority that they will have set up and within such limits as they themselves will have defined... The countries associated in these negotiations have indeed set their feet on a new road. They are convinced that, without indeed renouncing traditional formulas, the moment has come for us to attempt for the first time the experiment of a supra-national Authority which shall not be simply a combination or conciliation of national powers [Schuman 1950].

The apparent success of the Schuman plan seemed to

offer a means for integrating Europe under the radar — a way to bring about integration, while avoiding a direct confrontation with national interests, identity and influence. In hindsight, however, it is evident that this interpretation of events proved overly optimistic. The ECSC and its Authority never encroached on member state sovereignty to the extent that its founders anticipated. Indeed, when European functionalists tried to use the same trick to extend the community's authority in new areas (e.g. defense and foreign policy cooperation) they were stopped in their tracks¹⁰.

In short, the founding institutions of the European Union — the Coal and Steel Community (established in 1951) and the subsequent Common Market and Euratom (launched in 1958) — provide examples of the promise of functionalist approaches, but they also created the conditions that secured the rising popularity of neofunctionalist approaches in the late 1950s and 1960s.

3. *Neofunctionalism*

The neofunctionalist approach is most commonly associated with Ernst B. Haas' project on the European Coal and Steel Community — in his book, *The Uniting of Europe*, 1958 — and his subsequent work on the International Labor Organization — in his book, *Beyond the Nation-State* from 1964¹¹.

¹⁰ The Pleven Plan (named after the French Premier, René Pleven, presented to the French parliament in 1950) called for the creation of a European army, controlled by a European Council of Defense Ministers, a European Defense Minister, and a Supreme Allied Commander in time of conflict. The six ECSC member states responded favorably at first, signing another treaty in Paris in 1952, which was to pool their defense forces in a common security effort (rearming West Germany). But these efforts were repealed and the European Defense Community (EDC) treaty of 1952 could not be ratified by the French Parliament in 1954. Indeed, Mitrany resigned from the ECSC's High Authority in protest/frustration.

¹¹ This is, of course, a great simplification, as the work of his student,

Haas begins his work by rejecting two important parts of Mitrany's functionalist argument. First of all, Haas was willing to embrace regional processes of integration. This provided more legitimacy for the European (neo)functionalist project. Second, Haas doubted the utility (and reasonableness) of trying to separate the political from the functional. In the neofunctionalist approach that resulted, politics was to play a much more evident role. In *Beyond the Nation-State*, Haas noted that:

Power and welfare are far from separable. Indeed, commitment to welfare activities arises only within the confines of purely political decisions, which are made largely on the basis of power consideration. Specific functional contexts cannot be separated from general concerns. Overall economic decisions must be made before any one functional sector can be expected to show the kind of integrative evolution that the Functionalist describes...The distinction between the politician and the expert, simply does not hold because issues were made technical by a prior political decision [Haas 1964, 23].

To fill the conceptual gap that seemed to separate technical and political integration, neofunctionalists have developed the concept of «spillovers». The spillover concept rests on an assumption that states and regions are interconnected in such a way so that problems in one area will raise problems (or require solutions) in another. At the outset, it is assumed that such spillovers will occur only among different functional tasks, but as the center grows, more politically salient areas will become affected.

Ultimately, the expectation is that as the tasks and powers of the central institutions are increased through the operation of the spillover process, integration will gradually encroach on that politically sensitive area where vital interests are at stake. So, an embryonic political community will emerge and grow [Harrison 1974, 77].

Leon Lindberg [1963], is also central. A similar sort of argument, though not directly applied to Europe, is Karl Deutsch's [1953] and Deutsch et al.'s [1957] notion of security communities.

Neofunctionalists explain regional integration in terms of particular societal and market patterns that are pushing elites into building common supranational institutions. Their focus is trained on the functional interconnectivity of policy areas (areas of so-called «low politics» where the potential of spillover effects is greatest). For this reason, neofunctionalists often burrow down on economic policy, where it is easier to find functional spillovers across policy areas. Functional spillovers lead to cultural spillovers, and the creation of a new European identity (overcoming narrow national identities). As Europeans redefine their loyalties and identities — now as Europeans — they will come to support further political integration.

To discuss their conception of integration, neofunctionalists often refer to the notion of «supranationality», or the pooling of state sovereignty (as opposed to its transfer). The sovereign authority of a state is extended to a supranational authority, where it is pooled with that of its fellow member states. The spillover process suggests that more and more of the states' sovereignty will be pooled in this manner, but the precise institutional form of the supranational authority is usually not defined.

At the time of the publication of the *Uniting of Europe* (1958), the prospects for a supranational Europe were perhaps better than ever. Haas had at least impeccable timing. He offered Europe a theory of social modernization, where the main agents of change were economic, political and social actors (not reluctant nation states). Integration was seen to be driven by technocratic imperatives, and the key actors were more open-minded, elites and supranational groups who were more amenable to transnational cooperation, and who were already involved in managing and directing a growing transnational political economy.

Here, in contrast to Mitrany, is a strong argument for regional integration, couched in social scientific terms, but explicitly engaged with politics. Clearly, neofunctionalism is imbued with a strong normative commitment to the integration of Europe. But this commitment was originally

steeped in the language of positive science. From the outset, Haas was quite clear that the strength of his approach lie in its commitment to empirical verification. Over time, however, this position became somewhat of a liability as real world developments came to undermine his claim that «the established nation state is in full retreat in Europe...» [Haas 1961, 366].

With the course of time, and the nature of developments in Europe, neofunctionalist approaches have followed Haas' lead in lowering their scientific sights. Much of the neofunctionalists' early determinism has been tempered by the faltering progress toward integration in the late 1960s. European integration appeared more as a probabilistic — rather than a deterministic — outcome. By the mid-1970s, it was becoming increasingly evident that states were still playing an important role in the furthering of European integration.

4. *Intergovernmentalism*

Even at the height of its popularity, neofunctionalism was dogged by the realization that nation states continued to play an important role in forming the new Europe. While neofunctionalists understood the dynamics of European integration in terms of a social process of modernization (the result, often, of technological developments), intergovernmentalists continued to focus on the role of national states in shaping and exploiting these developments.

At the outset, of course, the progress of European integration seemed to offer a frontal assault on the realist approach to international politics. Such an (realist) approach understands states as self-interested, power-seeking, and rational actors that prioritize actions that maximize their chances of survival. States such as these are unlikely to freely cede sovereignty to some amorphous international body of function-based bureaucrats. Indeed, the initial attraction of neo-functionalism may have been its

ability to explain such apparently odd behavior (odd from the perspective of the dominant, realist, approach)¹². Still, a state-centered approach to European integration was almost always available and became increasingly influential as developments on the ground revealed the important role still played by states.

As early as 1966, Hoffman was criticizing what he saw to be the naïveté of functionalist and federalist approaches¹³:

Europe cannot be what some of its nations have been: a people that creates its state; nor can it be what some of the oldest states are and many of the new ones aspire to be: a people created by the state. It has to wait until the separate states decide that their peoples are close enough to justify the setting up of a European state whose task will be the welding of the many into the one [Hoffmann 1966, 910].

The analytical leverage provided by an intergovernmentalist approach was already evident in the Luxembourg Compromise of 1966 (which ended the impasse created by Gaullist resistance to creeping supranationalism, secured a national veto for member states, and showed the reluctance of Europe's political elites to any project that would undermine their (nation-based) positions of power). The Council of Ministers had consolidated its hold on Community affairs by developing its presidency functions and by extending the involvement of COREPER (the members' permanent diplomatic corps in Brussels). In short, by the 1970s it would seem that there was a new balance of power, and that power was controlled mostly by member states.

While often referred to as the «doldrum years» of integration, or a period of «Eurosclerosis», by advocates of

¹² It is in this light that we can understand the utility of neo-functionalism-inspired approaches in tangential fields of research, such as Keohane and Nye's [1977] interdependence theory, Ruggie's [1975] regime theory, and Schmitter's [1974] neocorporatist approach.

¹³ Another influential, but subsequent, state-based approach is found in Milward [1984; 1992].

greater integration, researchers in Europe began to turn their attention to the way in which the new European institutions were actually working [Wallace et al. 1977]. This new policy-oriented perspective began to reveal a distinctly confederal approach to Europe [Wallace 1982], as evidenced by the introduction of tri- (later bi-) annual summit meetings of the European Council (which were aimed to curb the supranational ambitions of European officials, and where the Commission president was invited, but obviously played a subservient role to national elites).

By the late-1980s, intergovernmentalist approaches were in a position to take the offensive¹⁴. At the forefront of these was the liberal intergovernmentalist approach associated with Andrew Moravcsik. Moravcsik's aim was to show how the influence and power of national actors has been enhanced (not constrained) by Europe's new supranational institutions. In so doing, he provides a two-step, sequential, model of preference formation and international bargaining.

In the first step, Moravcsik employs liberal international relations (IR) and International Political Economy (IPE) theories to show how national chiefs of government aggregate the interests of their domestic constituencies, meld them with their own, and articulate a national preference with respect to European integration. In the second step (international bargaining) Moravcsik draws from bargaining theory and Putnam's two-level games to show how

¹⁴ First, in 1984, there was a sudden (and rather unexpected) end to the struggle over British budgetary contributions at the Fontainebleau European Council of 1984. At the same time, a new, more energetic, Commission was established (with Jacques Delors at the helm), and the rehabilitation of the Franco-German partnership proved a driving force for further integration. This new state-driven approach to integration seemed evident in the Milan Summit's (1985) trade-off between national and supranational interests and a decision to complete the Single Market (in the subsequent Single European Act of 1986). While the focus here is on the role of intergovernmental approaches, it is important to emphasize that others have noted the role of supranational and non-governmental actors, (e.g., the Commission, informal processes within the COREPER, and the role of the European Roundtable of Industrialists).

national governments transfer their preferences (from stage one) to the EU's intergovernmental bargaining table. Eventual outcomes are then seen to reflect the relative power of each member state. Supranational institutions, such as the European Commission, are shown to exert little influence.

The result is an approach to European integration which does not seek to minimize the role of supranational institutions, but rather hopes to show how these institutions are consistent with member-state national interests — and can actually strengthen those interests. In short, intergovernmentalists remind us to bring the state back into explanations of the integration process in Europe.

5. Conclusion

By retracing the steps of earlier integration theorists we are reminded of the spread of approaches that continue to influence contemporary discussions. It is my hope that this reminder will prove useful as we move into more recent discussions about European integration in distinct national contexts. In this concluding section I would like to briefly compare these four approaches along four important dimensions, as summarized in Table 1.

The first dimension concerns the nationality and background of the headlining-proponents associated with early European integration approaches. As has been frequently noted, most early analytical approaches to European integration were provided by American academics, while the different practices of integration have been led by influential Europeans on the ground, such as Spinelli, Monnet and Delors. This observation should be kept in mind as we canvass the more recent national literatures in the chapters that follow.

TAB. 1. *Comparative Summary of the Four Early Approaches*

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Headliners</i>	<i>Relevant Actors</i>	<i>Means or ends</i>	<i>Role of Politics</i>
Federalism	Spinelli/Churchill	We the people	Ends	Largely ignored
Functionalism	Mitrany/Monnet	Technical elites	Means	Downplayed
Neo-functionalism	Haas/Delors	Transnational elites	Means	Marginal
Intergovernmentalism	Hoffmann & Moravcsik	National elites	Means	Central

Source: Author's own.

The second comparative dimension concerns the relevant actors under study. Each approach focuses on a different type of actor for bringing about European integration. For federalists this actor is most amorphously linked to the notion of a public will, situated in the people at large (and institutionalized in the form of a Constituent Assembly). The other three approaches focus on the role of elites in bringing about integration, whether they are technical (functionalists), transnational (neofunctionalists) or national (intergovernmentalist) in origin. In light of this elite-bias in most integration approaches, it is perhaps not surprising that the European Union has such difficulty enticing public support for its more ambitious integration efforts.

The federalist approach also differs from the others in its focus on the institutional outcome of integration, as opposed to its process. Because of this, federalists are often characterized as being politically naïve — they tend to ignore the important ways in which technical development, international exchange and various incentives might be used to entice elites into bringing about greater integration.

This brings us to the last point for comparing the four approaches: the role of politics. Given their unwillingness to focus on political processes, it is perhaps not surprising that politics remains a mostly latent variable in most federalist approaches to European integration. This is particularly odd when one considers that the strongest thrust of

European federalism was provided by active politicians in Europe. Even more surprising, however, is the relatively low status of politics in the functionalist and neo-functional approaches. Among neo-functionalists in particular, the role of politics is largely confined to the art of deception. Indeed, for political scientists interested in European integration, it is rather revealing that only the inter-governmentalist approach provides a clear and explicit appreciation of the role and utility of politics in bringing about political bargains that can secure (or limit) future European integration.

It is because of their different interests, ambitions, and levels of analyses that each of these four approaches remains salient. Another reason for this continued salience may be the unique nature of the European project itself. As William Wallace noted, the European Union is a new political creature that largely defies traditional typologies and experiences [Wallace 1982]. For this reason, it is not very reasonable to expect a single analytical approach to explain all the changes in the pace, structures and extent of European integration. For better or for worse, we tend to draw on different approaches to highlight the various aspects of integration that interest us.

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MATTI WIBERG

WHO PRODUCES EUROPEAN STUDIES? A BIBLIOMETRIC STUDY

1. *Introduction*

This chapter presents a bibliometric¹ study of the articles published in three leading journals of European studies. We answer the following research question: «Which countries did the articles come from?». We have chosen «European Union Politics» (EUP), «Journal of Common Market Studies» (JCMS), «Journal of European Public Policy» (JEPP) as case studies². The analyses cover the years 1990-2009 for JCMS, 1994-2009 for JEPP, and 2000-2009 for EUP. The survey covers the whole period for the first and third journals and the latest 20 years for JCMS.

We will address the following questions: How many articles were published in these journals? How many different individuals published in them? Which countries did they represent? How large was the contribution of the different countries in producing the scientific output published in the three selected journals?

It is, of course, unrealistic to assume that countries in one way or another contributed to the cumulative scientific output. It was the individual researchers who produced the output, not the countries. The nationality of scientific output is, of course, absurd because science is communistic in the original Mertonian sense³.

¹ Bibliometrics is the application of statistics to texts. The term was coined by Alan Pritchard (1969) to replace «statistical bibliography».

² Others could have been chosen. It is open to debate whether some other journals represent European studies better.

³ The notion of national representation is problematic, to put it mildly, as a particular scholar who just happens to work in country X may not even necessarily *want* to represent that country. This paper stands in a certain sense in blatant contradiction to at least some of the

The chapter is organized as follows. First we set the scene. Second, we analyze the contribution of the article producer countries and answer our research question. Third, we end the chapter by taking a look forward and suggesting a few bibliometric research questions.

2. Preliminary remarks

This part will set the framework for analysis more clearly. A few words are in order on our subject field, basic unit of analysis, the dependent variable, categories of analysis, metrics of measurement, and sources for the data.

The notion of «European studies» is vague, to say the least. It could refer to a variety of entities and in the scientific literature many alternatives of this concept have been presented and discussed. We do not go into these considerations in this modest chapter. Here the concept of «European studies» is operationalized to represent any article published in the journals under study without paying any attention to the scholarly discipline the articles represent. Nor do we take any strong substantial stand on the crucial question of the true intellectual value of these articles to the

Mertonian norms of science, often referred to by the acronym CUDOS: communism, universalism, disinterestedness, originality (novelty in research contributions), and skepticism. (Merton did not refer to originality in the essay that introduced the norms). The set of ideals that are dictated by what Merton takes to be the goals and methods of science and are binding on scientists include:

communism: the common ownership of scientific discoveries, according to which scientists give up intellectual property rights in exchange for recognition and esteem;

universalism: claims to truth are evaluated in terms of universal or impersonal criteria, and not on the basis of race, class, gender, religion, or nationality or the like;

disinterestedness: which scientists are rewarded for acting in ways that outwardly appear to be selfless;

organized scepticism: all ideas must be tested and are subject to rigorous, structured community scrutiny.

field of European studies. For the purposes of this analysis, we simply make two (rather unrealistic) assumptions:

a. All articles contribute to European studies
and

b. All articles contribute to it equally.

Our unit of analysis is represented by the original scientific article published in the EUP, JCMS or JEPP. Only original articles are included. Notes, introductions to thematic issues, book reviews, discussion contributions and the like are excluded⁴. Our dependent variable is the number of articles coming from different countries. We are, in other words, interested in the country of origin of every article. This is operationalized by the institutional affiliation of the authors as given in the articles⁵. There are 32 countries included in our study: the 27 EU member states, as well as Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey. This follows simply from the fact that these countries are represented in the SENT-project. All other countries are grouped together as the 33th group and called, perhaps ironically, «the Others».

The metrics of measurement is very basic: every single article is given a value of 1. If authors from more than one country co-authored⁶ a particular article, its value is divided among them equally⁷. We use the following straight forward

⁴ Those pedants who are disturbed by this exclusion are gladly invited to do their own more comprehensive analyses. Good luck!

⁵ To reiterate (cf. note 3): this assumption is not without problems. It could be unfair to claim that author A coming from country X and staying abroad in country Y during the time of the publication of her article really contributes to the scientific output of Y rather than to the output of X. To control for the «real» origin of all authors would be a huge task for any detective and is surely beyond the competence and interest of the current author. Anyway, whose opinion should be the decisive here? Is a Briton that has lived in, say, Norway, more a Brit than a Norwegian? We could easily drown in the murky seas of identity politics, a field that is happily left to others.

⁶ Or, to be a bit more precise: at least *jointly published* as it is a well-known dirty secret that authors may contribute in different amounts.

⁷ An alternative way would be to give 1 point to all authors, i.e. to credit every author with 1 point. This would, however, lead to different values for different articles, which in itself would be unfair, without

formula: $1/N$ of authors. So, for instance, if one Greek, one Italian and one Latvian published together an article, the same score goes to Greece, Italy and Latvia: $1/3 = 0,33$.

Now we will offer a brief presentation of the three chosen academic journals. JCMS was launched in 1962 and it has established itself as one of the leading journals in the field of European studies. It is currently published in association with UACES, the University Association for Contemporary European Studies. According to the journal's website:

«Journal of Common Market Studies» is the leading journal in the field, publishing high quality, and accessible articles on the latest European Integration issues. For 40 years it has been the forum for the development and evaluation of theoretical and empirical issues in the politics and economics of European integration, focusing principally on developments within the EU. JCMS is committed to deepening the theoretical understanding of European integration and aims to achieve a disciplinary balance between political science, economics and international relations, including the various sub disciplines such as international political economy .

JEPP was launched in 1994 and it has also established itself as one of the leading journals in the field of European studies. It is currently published by Taylor & Francis. According to the journal's website:

The primary aim of the «Journal of European Public Policy» is to provide a comprehensive and definitive source of analytical, theoretical and methodological articles in the field of European public policy. Focusing on the dynamics of public policy in Europe, the journal encourages a wide range of social science ap-

really weighting every article's scientific weight. Here we assume in an ultra-naïve fashion that all articles are of equal value. It is open to anyone to allocate appropriate weights to all articles. As the current author does have neither a proper theory nor justified metrics, this challenging enterprise is not done here.

⁸ <http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0021-9886> (last visited on June 7, 2011).

proaches, both qualitative and quantitative⁹.

Finally, EUP was launched in February 2000 and in a short period of time it managed to establish itself as one of the leading journals in the field of European studies. It has always been published by SAGE. The journal's web site offers more information about its understanding of the mission of European studies:

«European Union Politics» is an exciting international journal that provides the forum for advanced research on all aspects of the processes of government, politics and policy in the European Union. Launched by a global editorial team and with a commitment to the highest scholarly standards, «European Union Politics» adopts a transnational approach to the challenges that the project of European integration faces in the 21st century¹⁰.

There are several ways for ranking, evaluating, categorizing, and comparing journals. The *impact factor* is one of these; it is a measure of the frequency with which the average article in a journal has been cited in a particular year or period. The annual impact factor is simply a ratio between citations and recent citable items published. Thus, the impact factor of a journal is calculated by dividing the number of current year citations to the source items published in that journal during the previous two years.

TAB. 1. *Ranking according to Impact Factors and Impact Factors of EUP, JCMS and JEPP for the year 2008 (latest available) according to Journal Citation Reports® (Thomson Reuters, ISI*

	EUP	JCMS	EPP
Ranking in political science	5 /99	8 /99	n.a.
Ranking in public administration	n.a.	n.a.	1/28
Ranking in international relations	n.a.	6 /55	n.a.
Ranking in economics	n.a.	22 /209	n.a.
Impact factor	2.064	1.837	1.806
5 year impact factor	2.378	1.693	1.943

Source: Author's own.

⁹ <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/routledge/13501763.html> (last visited on June 7, 2011).

¹⁰ <http://eup.sagepub.com/> (last visited on June 7, 2011).

3. Analysis

During our research period 181 articles¹¹ were published in EUP, 870 in JCMS and 674 in JEPP for a total of 1,725 articles in all three journals. Who was responsible for producing them? Altogether 239 different authors contributed for EUP alone or together with someone else, 910 for JCMS, and 927 for JEPP. Of these, 17 authors contributed to all three journals (Ben Crum, Gerda Falkner, Virginie Guiraudon, Henrik Enderlein, Simon Hix, Madeleine O. Hosli, Bjorn Hoyland, Christoph Knill, Tapio Raunio, Berthold Rittberger, Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen, Susanne K. Schmidt, Frank Schimmelfennig, Torsten J. Selck, Robert Thomson, Andreas Warntjen, Richard Whitman).

Which countries did these authors represent at the moment of the publication of these articles? Four SENT-countries, namely Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania did not contribute at all to this output. All remaining countries got at least one point.

The institutional affiliation of the author as expressed in the articles is taken as the information revealing the country the article comes from. It should be pointed out that this criterion is not unproblematic, for several reasons. People move around, now more than ever, and this could contribute to a bias in the data in an asymmetric way. Countries send and receive scholars in different magnitudes and proportions. A single prolific Briton working in country with a small population could easily impact the data in a large measure as the N's are so small. Also the supply of articles should not be thought of as a constant for every country as for certain reasons of *realpolitik* the production conditions were not constant, either. Incentives to publish are not evenly distributed [Gleditsch 2007].

The following analysis focuses on the output of only SENT-countries alone, i.e. excluding the output of the «Others».

¹¹ The raw data was collected by research assistant Jussi Kinnunen at the Political Science department of the University of Turku, Finland.

TAB. 2. *Number of articles in JCMS, JEPP and EUP by country (only SENT-countries)*

Country	EUP	JCMS	JEPP	Total	
AUT		1,5	13,5	7,3	22,3
BEL		4,5	49,7	16,3	70,5
BUL		0,5	0,0	0,0	0,5
CYP		0,0	1,5	0,0	1,5
CZE		0,0	1,7	1,0	2,7
DEN		2,5	20,0	31,0	53,5
EST		0,0	1,0	0,0	1,0
FIN		3,0	5,8	4,5	13,3
FRA		0,5	24,7	20,8	46,0
GER		26,2	66,4	112,9	205,5
GRE		0,0	4,2	2,0	6,2
HUN		0,5	3,2	6,5	10,2
ICE		0,0	0,7	0,0	0,7
IRE	4,9	17,5	13,7	36,0	
ISR	1,5	1,0	2,0	4,5	
ITA		5,5	36,0	24,3	65,8
LAT		0,0	0,3	0,0	0,3
LIE	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	
LIT	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	
LUX		1,2	3,7	0,3	5,2
MAL		0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
NET		28,3	42,8	31,7	102,8
NOR		2,0	17,4	17,8	37,2
POL		0,0	4,0	1,0	5,0
POR		0,0	5,0	0,0	5,0
ROM		0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
SLK		0,0	0,7	0,0	0,7
SLN		0,0	1,0	3,0	4,0
SPA		3,0	8,9	4,9	16,8
SWE		1,4	14,0	20,8	36,2
SWI		10,5	9,8	23,3	43,7
TUR		1,0	4,0	1,0	6,0
UK	26,4	371,3	203,5	601,2	

Source: Author's own

These are absolute figures. Does the picture change if we control for population size? One should obviously expect that large scientific communities produce more articles than small ones. We could take this into account by considering the size of the research community in all relevant countries. Due to lack of reliable data, this cannot be

done here. The easily available total population figures¹² are used instead as proxies for the respective size of the national scientific community. Although not absolutely certain, it is rather safe to assume that there is a strong positive correlation between the size of the population of a country and the size of the respective scientific community.

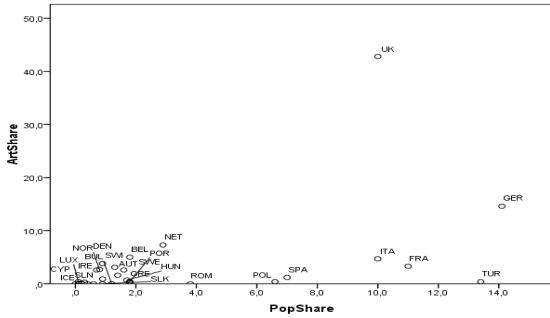


FIG. 1. Y = each country's share of articles (%) and X = share of population (%) of the SENT-countries.

Source: Author's own

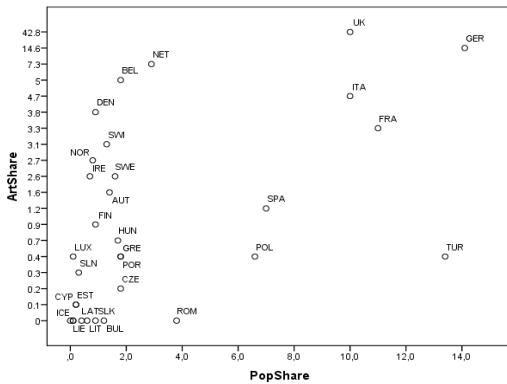


FIG. 2. Ordinal presentation: Y = each country's share of articles (%) and X = of population (%) of the SENT-countries.

Source: Author's own

¹² We use the *CIA World Factbook 2010* population data.

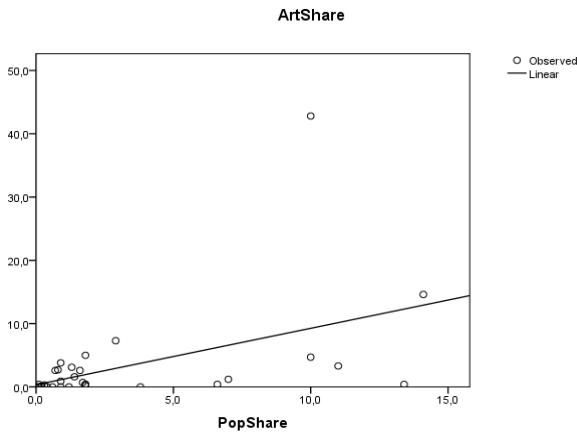


FIG. 3. Linear regression curve estimations of article share and population share.
Source: Author's own.

What do these figures tell us? European studies seem to mostly have a North-West European origin. Small countries do seem to be rather productive given their population size, but still the UK stands out. The East-European countries' small share is understandable as they have only small political science communities and they have had a very short time to orient themselves into European studies.

One should be careful in reading and interpreting these results. Very little can be claimed in terms of representativeness. We do not know how large of the total output of the European studies these particular articles represent. It is rather safe to assume that the articles in these journals represent only a small portion of the total cumulative output of European studies. But how small? We simply do not know. Neither do we know what the share of books compared to that of scientific journals is as part of the total volume of European Studies. There is no widely accepted formula for comparing books with articles. How many articles amount to the same contribution as a

monograph or anthology? Or how many books amount to the same information as an article?

To be able to answer these kinds of questions we should use as the basic unit of analysis an *intellectual contribution* instead of a scientific article. But this opens up a new research program and must thus be left here.

Nevertheless, the results of this paper may be of some interest. If the journals are as «leading» as they themselves claim to be, they might represent reliably, if not the *total* output, somehow, perhaps, still the *best* output in some particular sense. In order to know this, we need more analysis.

At least the trivial results of this modest paper generate new research questions of some interest. Here are some obvious ones:

- a. *Why* do country shares differ from each other?
- b. *What* explains the magnitude of these differences?

4. *Ways Forward*

Bibliometric studies of European studies could take many forms and they could proceed in many directions. If the «country variable» is important¹³, one could ask oneself for instance the following:

1. Are there any interesting geographical differences in the topics, themes, research questions, methods or data used, results covered in the relevant articles? This could easily be studied by either a keyword analysis of the articles or, say, a content analysis of the articles.

2. Is the amount of articles coming from member states somehow interestingly correlated to the number of years the countries have been members of the EU? Is output an interesting function of the time a country has been a member of the EU?

¹³ An assumption that certainly can be questioned on many grounds, indeed.

3. What kind of quotation patterns are there? For instance, which countries (read: scholars from different countries) are most quoted?

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GERDA FALKNER

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE STUDY OF
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN AUSTRIA

This chapter shows that during the initial years of Austrian membership in the European Union, academic research on EU topics largely focused on the special interests of the country. Researchers covered the impact of European integration on the federal, regional and local governance of the Austrian federal state; the impact of integration on agricultural and transport policy; and the changes in social policy and the specific Austrian system of corporatism. Somewhat later, the enlargement of the Union towards the central and east European countries shifted the attention to a new focal point of EU research (section 2).

Among the research institutes in Austria, there are only few with a focus on researching European integration from a political science lens. The Institute for European Integration Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences is entirely devoted to European integration and puts particular emphasis on various EU-level policies and their comparison. The political science unit of the Institute for Advanced Studies focuses on comparative European politics and multi-level politics, increasingly with a national-comparative focus. Both institutes will be briefly presented to highlight the status quo of EU studies in Austria (section 4), and so will be the Austrian universities covering European integration within their political science curricula (section 3).

This chapter will begin by taking a brief look at the history of Austria's relations with the European Union (section 1).

1. *The EU in the history of Austria*

In Austria, controversies regarding a potential membership in the European Communities (EC) have a long-standing history. When the process of European unification started in the early 1950s, the then occupied country of Austria faced a conflict between, on the one hand, its interest to participate in (Western) European co-operative organizations, and, on the other hand, a desire not to confront the Soviet Union and thereby endanger Austria's aspirations for the restoration of a sovereign state. Finally, following the Swiss model, Austria committed itself to permanent neutrality in the *Moscow Memorandum* and the Soviet Union agreed to the Austrian Independence Treaty (*Staatsvertrag*) on May 15, 1955. For a long time, neutrality and membership of the European Communities were generally seen as incompatible. Consequently, Austria decided to restrict itself to a tariffs agreement with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It stayed away from the negotiations of the Treaties of Rome despite the fact that Henri-Paul Spaak had invited all Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)-countries to participate. However, when the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) was established in 1960 for the seven OEEC countries that were not part of the European Economic Community (EEC), Austria became a founding member¹.

During the second half of the 1980s, the EEC's Internal Market Program revived Austrian debates on the country's relations with the European Communities². Full membership was first demanded by the (then liberal and pro-European) Freedom Party and by the Association of Industrialists in the spring of 1987. The major conservative party, ÖVP, followed suit in early 1988. The then Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, a social democrat, made a statement to

¹ Alongside Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland.

² For details on the Austrian path towards membership see Luif 1995.

that effect in summer 1988. Soon thereafter, the international law department of the Foreign Ministry advocated membership with a reservation on grounds of neutrality. A further crucial step was the government's report to Parliament of April 17, 1989 which recommended membership under the conditions of upholding neutrality, federalism, the Austrian social system, an offensive environmental protection policy, an area-wide peasant agriculture³ and, finally, of solving the problem of transit through the endangered Alpine regions. On July 17, 1989, the formal letter of application was submitted in Brussels.

However, negotiations on the European Economic Area (EEA) were already under way, and the forthcoming Maastricht Treaty also delayed any immediate follow-up to this request. Formal accession negotiations between the EC and Austria began only on February 1, 1993. Agriculture, real estate markets and transit proved to be the trickiest chapters. The negotiations were concluded after only 13 months, having been significantly eased by the fact that the EEA agreement had already transferred sizeable parts of the EC's economic *acquis* to the EFTA states. In the Austrian referendum on EU membership of June 22, 1994, 67 percent voted pro and turnout to the referendum measured 82 percent.

During the years preceding Austria's accession to the EU, studies on the likely effects of membership predicted manifold changes due to the significant differences between the political systems of the EU and of Austria [see Gerlich and Neisser 1994]. A focal point of these studies was the expectation that the government and the administration would gain in political weight to the detriment of the Parliament. A change in terms of the horizontal distribution of functions was expected since the government was to have its action capacity increased via privileged access to EU decision-making, at the dispense of a decisive say for political representatives who are directly legitimated.

³ This showed that an industrialisation of agriculture was not desired in Austria where small units and family management were still common.

To counteract these expected effects, the Austrian constitution was changed to give the directly elected first chamber of the Austrian Parliament powers to control the government in matters of EU affairs. These powers even exceed those of the Danish case [for an international comparison see Bergman 1997; Morass 1996]. In this sense, article 23 of the Federal Constitution states that the *Nationalrat* must be informed in due time with respect to all EU-related projects. The *Nationalrat* may issue an opinion which binds the Austrian members of government in EU-level negotiations and votes. This regards projects for mandatory law in areas which before would have needed national legislative scrutiny, e.g. when new EC Directives or Regulations are negotiated⁴. In practice, however, the Austrian parliament has not been able to control the government effectively in EU affairs [Pollak and Slominski 2003].

The same is true regarding the federal units. Austria is a federal state with nine provinces (*Länder*). Although the legislative powers of the *Länder* were already quite limited before 1994, EEA and the subsequent EU membership eroded them even more. The fact that the level of decision-making changed from the subnational to supranational level was not the only concern of Austrian *Länder* politicians and political scientists dealing with matters of federalism. Another issue was that the decision-makers at the supranational level would not be representatives of the *Länder*, since there is no co-decision power for the subnational regional entities at the EU level. In turn, a reform of the national distribution of competences between the central and the regional level was demanded to counter-

⁴ Exceptions exist for «compelling reasons of foreign or integration policy». It is important to note that the accession-related constitutional reforms stem from a period when the Austrian grand coalition government did not have the two-thirds majority needed to adopt laws of constitutional quality in parliament (1994–1996). The members of the minor Green and Liberal parties asked for far-reaching parliamentary participation and control. The latter were not a core feature of the Austrian political culture at all. That has certainly contributed to the very low number of binding opinions issued by the Austrian *Nationalrat*, only 34 by summer 2001 [Blümel and Neuhold 2001, 319].

balance losses of the *Länder* in the multi-level political system of the EU. The reform was never adopted [Dachs 1994]. The participation of the *Länder* (and, to some extent, even districts) in domestic EU-related decision-making has been regulated in Article 23.d of the Austrian Constitution and in a special state-*Länder* agreement. The procedure resembles the participation of the *Nationalrat*. In practice, however, unanimity is a big hurdle and binding opinions of the *Länder* are very rare [Steiner and Trattnigg 1998, 164]. Furthermore, the deadlines and time pressures of Euro-politics impinge on the *Länder* even more than on actors at the federal level.

All in all, the Austrian case shows how difficult, if not impossible, it is to counterbalance on domestic level the structural dynamics of the European integration process.

2. *Research topics in Austria*

This part of the chapter relies in part on previous empirical research with Irina Michalowitz and Eric Tajalli funded by the CONNEX consortium [Falkner et al. 2006]. These stock-taking activities covered research on «EU multilevel governance in Austria», as defined by the project guidelines, and were exercised in parallel in a large number of countries⁵. Intense efforts of the team and multiple requests to all known researchers in Austria resulted in 80 collected research projects. Nearly all of the research projects were funded, *inter alia*, by the European Commission, the Austrian Central Bank's Jubilee Fund, and the Federal Chancellery. Particularly during the *>node<* program (new orientations for democracy in Europe⁶), up to 2008, the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture also played a significant role. Because the definition of

⁵ See the website with searchable database of relevant projects and country reports at <http://www.connex-network.org/govdata/> (last visited on February 8, 2011).

⁶ <http://www.node-research.at/> (last visited on May 12, 2011).

EU multilevel governance under the CONNEX project was somewhat narrow, not all Austrian projects could be included⁷. Despite this limitation, I still refer to these data here since no other empirical study is available.

The projects collected indicate that both national Austrian and European questions entered the research agenda on EU multilevel governance in Austria. However, there was some shift over time with a strong focus on the special interests of the country to be replaced by particular emphasis on aspects of EU enlargement.

During the first 1.5 decades of EU membership, Austrian researchers covered mainly the impact of European integration on the Austrian state and its policies. The effects of accession on the Parliament, the provinces, and the social partners were vividly discussed. Aspects of the Austrian version of «neutrality» and its vulnerability to European integration and, particularly, EU membership, were also high on the agenda. Moreover, the implications of multilevel politics on national policies in the social, environmental or transport fields were analyzed in depth.

Another focus was on the effects of multilevel governance on democratic societies and democracy, at large, and on related aspects such as a European «public sphere», the transparency and accountability of European and national institutions, the discussion about a common European identity, etc.

Increasingly, however, the major topic of steadily growing salience became the enlargement of the European Union towards the central and east European countries. A relatively substantial amount of research concentrated on this development, especially focusing on Austria's neighboring countries (Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia). The implementation of EU legislation in those can-

⁷ But this hardly concerned our focus here, political science, which as a discipline leans comparatively more towards the «governance» perspective. An overwhelming majority of the projects collected in the database reported here were, in any case, carried out from a political science perspective (71 percent including PhD theses, 87 percent without doctoral projects). For details, see Falkner et al. 2006.

didate states, the evaluation of community programs to assist enlargement (PHARE), and the transformation of institutions, economics and civil society in the respective countries were the main research topics in this field.

Regarding the theoretical and methodological approaches used in the studies collected, they varied to a very large extent. The theoretical foundations of the Austrian research projects covered the most prominent political science approaches overall. The classic approaches to European integration theory were present, as well as other various theories of collective action, policy networks, political cleavages, principal-agent relationship, and many more.

A clearer picture could be seen on the level of methodological choices. Most of the research projects made use of qualitative methods and practiced expert interviews, group discussions, document analysis, and various forms of discourse analysis. Qualitative approaches were much more widely used than quantitative approaches. Most projects had a strong empirical orientation. Theoretical research – understood in the strict sense as analysis, interpretation and further development of scientific theory – was hardly presented in the collected projects. Within this overall diagnosis, it is worth mentioning that PhD-projects contributed more to theory formation than most funded research. Still, by far most projects could be subsumed as «basic research» orientation, as opposed to applied research geared towards direct usability in terms of political or economic practice. We related this to the fact that most research was carried out in academic institutions (the study did not include in-house research firms or consultancies) and funded by public or semi-public institutions.

Already between 1995 and 2005, most Austrian research was carried out in English (more than 65 percent of the research projects, excluding PhD-projects). The rest was in German except for one single project using French. Dissertations, however, were to an overwhelming extent still written in German back then (82 percent) [Falkner et al. 2006]. It is worth mentioning, though, that a switch to English appears to have taken place in very recent years.

In terms of publication output, the study noted that more than half of the Austrian projects in multilevel governance did not result in any publication. A change has been taking place since then. The comparatively larger number of younger and international scholars active in Austria has led to more of a «publish or perish» attitude.

3. Austrian universities focusing on European integration issues

While in most countries, the majority of research projects is carried out at universities [Edler-Wollstein and Falkner 2009], Austria's European integration research – as opposed to teaching – clusters in two political science units for basic research: the Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Department of Political Science at the Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS). Additionally, a few members of the three political science departments of the Universities of Innsbruck, Salzburg, and Vienna are also active in the field. Other research and teaching units have at times also been involved in EU-related research⁸, but their overall focus is not in that field and hence they won't be discussed here.

Austrian universities are so-called «mass universities» without any access requirements apart from an A-levels accomplishment and without entrance exams for most schools and disciplines, including political science. This brings about massive teaching loads in disciplines with a wide appeal to students, such as political science, and it means that in practice, there is often a lack of both material

⁸ For example, the Austrian Institute for International Politics (OIIP) studies international aspects of Austrian EU politics (see www.oip.ac.at). Further institutes that devote at least a part of their research to European multi-level governance include the Institute of Conflict Research, the Europaforum Wien, the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR) or the Demokratiezentrum Wien.

and time resources for research, in particular for demanding basic research. At the level of teaching, most explicit focuses on European integration take place at the Universities of Innsbruck and Salzburg.

The Innsbruck School of Political Science and Sociology offers a full curriculum in European Politics and Society with a particular concentration at the Master's level⁹. One out of nine research areas mentioned on the website of the unit for political science at Innsbruck University is politics of the European Union¹⁰. The sub-topics mentioned focus on the processes of widening and deepening the EU, with particular emphasis on the practical capacities of both the EU to accept, and of additional countries to become members. The list of ongoing funded research projects at present shows none in the field of European integration¹¹, but important earlier projects were directed by the now retired professor Heinrich Neisser. In any case, the recent professorial appointment of Simona Piattoni to teach European integration issues promises to bring about more activity in this field again very soon.

The University of Salzburg is also very dedicated to teaching European integration issues¹². The core of its relevant curriculum is the interdisciplinary Master's degree (MA EUS) operating since 2005. There is also an EU-funded interdisciplinary Jean Monnet specialization module in European Union Studies open to all Salzburg students regardless of their chosen subject of studies, for basic education in matters of European integration. In addition, the Vice President of the University, the political scientist Sonja Puntscher Riekmann, successfully managed to establish an interdisciplinary doctoral program funded by a pri-

⁹ http://www.uibk.ac.at/fakultaeten/politikwissenschaft_und_soziologie/forschung/index.html.en (last visited on February 8, 2011).

¹⁰ <http://www.uibk.ac.at/politikwissenschaft/forschung/> (last visited on February 8, 2011).

¹¹ <http://www.uibk.ac.at/politikwissenschaft/forschung/forschungsprojekte.html.de> (last accessed on February 8, 2011).

¹² http://www.uni-salzburg.at/portal/page?_pageid=465,164185&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL (last accessed on February 7, 2011).

vate source¹³. In existence since 2008, SCEUS funds eight doctoral students in economics, history, law and political science. Under the heading of «European social model»¹⁴ they research issues of European integration as well as of national politics.

Finally, political science in Austria can also be studied at the University of Vienna, where this discipline is jointly represented by two departments, the Department of Political Science and the Department of Government. Heinrich Schneider deserves mentioning here in particular, as the «doyen» of European integration research in Austria¹⁵. European integration studies in Austria essentially began when the German citizen Heinrich Schneider was appointed the first political science professor at the University of Vienna. By the end of the 1960s, a first debate about Austrian accession to the EU had been conducted and quickly concluded again – without practical effect. Schneider consequently focused his teaching on political theory. European integration only became a popular topic in political science curricula at the beginning of the 1990s. The Department of Government at the University of Vienna was very active in political science research on European integration already during the 1990s. Some of its members

¹³ Franz Humer, member of Salzburg University's Council, and CEO of the multinational Roche, reportedly was convinced to create the private Humer-Stiftung to fund this. See *Basler Zeitung*, reprinted in <http://www.swissbiotech.org/news/index.php?1=1&id=7732> (last accessed on February 7, 2011).

¹⁴ The definition offered on the internet is: «We understand a social model to structure and at the same time reflect the relationship between individual life worlds and political/legal systems shaping the socio-economic activities in a community. A social model provides the framework within which individuals can interact as citizens in the public sphere. Basic components of any social model are responses to socio-economic challenges in terms of specific concepts of social justice, forms of organization of public spaces as well as of the protection of private sphere and individual freedom in relation to concepts of security. In this sense, a social model reflects concepts of “humanity” and “the good life”. It is part and parcel of any modern concept of democracy».

¹⁵ See the bibliography of Schneider's work until 2000 [Thiemer 2010].

co-edited major volumes on Austria's EU adhesion [Tálos and Falkner 1996; Gerlich and Neisser 1994; Falkner and Müller 1998]. The late Krzysztof Glass and Peter Gerlich co-edited a number of books on Central and Eastern Europe and its transition [Gerlich et al. 1995; Gerlich and Glass 1998].

4. *Austrian research units focusing on European integration issues*

Non-university research centers have developed into a stronghold of Austria's research on European integration and on multilevel governance in Austria during the last decade.

The Department of Political Science at the Institute for Advanced Studies in has been a training institution of outmost importance for Austrian political science since the early 1960s because the universities developed political science curricula only much later. The IHS has traditionally offered a postgraduate degree in political science, later reformed to be a tailor-made PhD training program, for eight students (currently)¹⁶. Recent groups focus on European integration issues.

In addition, the Department's three assistant professors have been doing research in the field of European integration since the turn of the millennium. Since 2008, the focus has shifted towards «contemporary politics in Europe» and lately towards «multilevel politics in Europe» with an increasingly national-comparative focus. The latest projects include topics such as the citizens' weight of vote in selected federal systems, political radicalization using the internet in Europe and the United States, and the nationalization of political parties and party systems in post-communist Eastern Europe.

¹⁶ See <http://ihs.ac.at/vienna/IHS-Departments-2/Political-Science-1/Team-2/Team-3/staffType:Student.htm> (last accessed on February 11, 2011).

The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) is fully dedicated to basic research in the field of European integration¹⁷. It had existed under various names and orientations at the Austrian Academy of Sciences since 1998¹⁸. In 2007, the Austrian Academy of Sciences initiated a reform of the EIF and the 2008 research program now focuses on European integration issues exclusively. Within that, the theory-driven empirical analysis and comparison of the EU's policies is central. The fact that there are significant differences between individual EU-level policies is an integral characteristic of European integration. In-depth systematic as well as comparative analysis of various activities of the EU is hence employed to better understand the European integration process overall, and to further development of theories of political steering and problem-solving in multilevel systems. Additional focuses are the direct and indirect effects of EU policies on both the national and global levels, as well as aspects of EU policy implementation and adjudication.

With its approximately 15 staff members, the Institute for European Integration Research in Vienna is the only research institute in Austria dedicated to political science basic research in the field of European integration. Its working language is English and it cooperates with researchers and networks worldwide.

¹⁷ See <http://www.eif.oeaw.ac.at/institute> (last accessed on February 11, 2011).

¹⁸ Over time, the focus had included various themes of institutional change, migration, and aspects of technological development, next to European integration issues. Within that, issues of democratic governance as well as the emerging European public sphere and citizenship were initially stressed.

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¹⁹ Since it is impossible to include all of the writings of all Austrian political scientists touching the field of European integration, I tried to select (in addition to entries cited in the text) two items from my own Endnote database related to the Austrian EU-membership for each author with EU focus. Full and up-to-date lists of references for most Austrian political scientists can be found on the internet.

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TATJANA MURAVSKA

EUROPEAN STUDIES AS AN EXAMPLE OF A
MULTI- AND INTER-DISCIPLINARY EDUCATION
MODEL IN THE BALTIC STATES

1. *International background for the development of
European studies in the Baltic States*

In recent years the world economy is becoming ever more integrated - more global- and interaction of political, economic, social and other dimensions in these processes strengthens mutual ties between national, regional and international communities. In addition, during the past years qualitative changes in regional integration arrangements have taken place. Developments in the European Union (EU) are the most significant ones compared to the other regional schemes, especially after the last EU enlargement rounds in 2004 and 2007, and the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. Changes in European political, economic and social environment imply a growing demand for knowledge of EU economic, political, social and legal matters. Higher education and research must respond to the challenges and effects of international and European integration and, consequently, to the increased demand for skills and knowledge relevant to today's environment.

This is specifically important for all the new member states since these countries have undergone serious political and socio-economic changes both before the accession to the EU and during the post-accession period. These changes embrace virtually all aspects of daily life and will have long-term results.

Among the countries of the last enlargement are the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. They had to integrate their higher education systems into the European

Higher Education Area, which required reforms in higher education to comply with the so-called «Bologna process»¹. During the current period particular attention is given to the three cycles of curriculum development, workload-based credits as units to be accumulated within a given program, curricular design that takes into account qualification descriptors, level descriptors, skills and learning outcomes and promotion of mobility in Europe. To meet challenges of the above-mentioned themes, a number of European studies courses and programs have been launched in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The development of multi- and inter-disciplinary programs in higher education system to which European studies programs belong was an obvious strategy for the higher education institutions (HEI). This trend offered an opportunity to students and young researchers to acquire a solid knowledge about Europe and the European Union. Implementation of such programs also contributed to creation of a stimulating research environment. Development of analytical skills of graduate students and specialist knowledge promoted by European studies is an asset in areas where profound knowledge of contemporary European Union matters is required. In other words, European studies prepared academically educated qualified specialists in the fields of vital importance for the EU and their home countries. Graduates are able to perform in public sector and non-governmental institutions at the EU and national levels and they can make an objective analysis of the ongoing processes of European integration. European studies programs also contribute to civil society development by combating, for example, such issues as corruption and suggesting anti-corruption initiatives, safety and justice mechanisms.

¹ The Bologna Declaration of June 19, 1999: <http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf>

2. Organization of the European studies

European studies programs in the HEI have been developed up to the second cycle level. Programs lead to master's degree in European studies in most cases. Principal cores disciplines in these programs are history, economics, law and political science/public administration as well as regional science. The inter-disciplinary European studies master's programs were envisaged as a continuation of the first level programs mainly in economics, political science and law. However, the growing importance of providing information through all the media about EU matters, influence strongly the demand for translators and journalists, especially in the post-accession period. Development of advanced skills and knowledge for these groups of students resulted in recent years in admission of students who had previously majored in foreign languages or communication studies. The basic knowledge acquired during those studies is deepened by theoretical and practical studies, as well as complemented by studies in the related fields.

The design and implementation of the European studies courses and programs in the Baltic States are consistent with European studies programs in other HEI in the EU countries. However, as the experience shows, the dynamic developments of the EU imply that such multi- and inter-disciplinary studies need to be regularly reviewed, upgraded and refined.

The European studies programs are therefore characterized by the specific methodology used both in teaching specific courses and in research. The common feature of all European studies programs is the focus on the European integration process and more generally, the development of the European Union. Relevance for the European Union and applicability for decision-makers especially in public administration are important features for these programs. According to the common knowledge, the development of the European Union is only understandable through a

combination of various disciplines in social science and humanities (see Figure 1)².

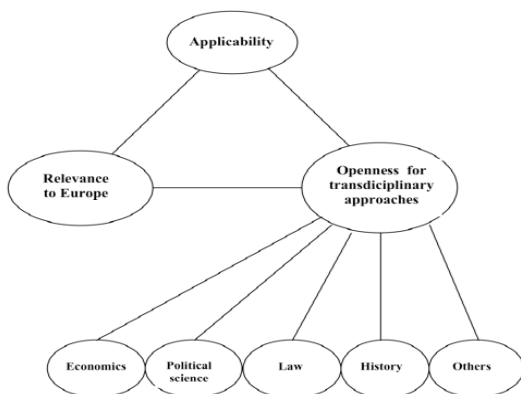


FIG. 1. Key features of European studies Program programs.

This trend reveals that European studies courses and programs are both multi- and inter-disciplinary. The multi-disciplinary trend represents a combination of disciplines relevant to European studies that are studied in parallel. At the same time, when the disciplines studied are aimed, for example, at problem-solving that requires knowledge of different disciplines, this references the inter-disciplinary approach in studies. The move from multi-disciplinary to inter-disciplinary teaching and learning is a core element in the development of the curriculum of European studies at the HEI in the Baltic States.

² D. Hansen and T. Muravska, *European Studies Master Programs Development in the Baltics*, EuroFaculty, Riga, 2003.

3. Demand and supply of European studies programs

After more than 10 years of existence, European studies programs show in practice that establishment of this type of programs and courses at various universities in the Baltic States is a result of demand and supply. Demand for programs is caused by the need for in-depth knowledge about the European Union and the need for academic research with results about the integration process in Europe, which deeply influences the society in Europe at all levels. This education is especially important for future civil servants, as they require a profound knowledge of policies in the European Union and the role of decision-making in a governance system where the EU, national governments and local government are the main players. Knowledge about the EU is also valuable in non-governmental organizations, as well as for social partners and the business world.

Entrance exams at the universities might limit supply of students in the European studies programs. Institutional barriers should be lifted if the governmental bodies at the universities are reluctant to allow multi-disciplinary activities to be developed. It might require willingness to establish centers with some competences to organize teaching and research if such barriers are to be removed. Natural barriers exist in the form of «scale economies» i.e. efficiency of specific programs increase more than proportionate with the resources devoted to the program. Core program disciplines such as history, economics, political science and law should be represented if the program is to provide students with relevant and up to date information on the «state of art» in this area. When all relevant courses are to be offered at the given university the cost per student might be too high. To mitigate this economy of scale problem, cooperation with other universities might help by, for example, establishing mobility schemes for student and staff.

These will in many cases only be possible if teaching and research activities are offered in English language as a

tool that is commonly exempted. Most teachers and researchers involved in European studies programs accept the considerations above. At the same time, there are more diverging views when it comes to the specific outline of the programs and especially the balance between specific EU-courses and methodological courses at the master's level program. There are also differences in the structure, content and approach to teaching/learning both according to national traditions and departments in which the program are implemented. However there are also similarities in the objectives of the degrees and competences³. European studies courses and programs have been developed in the Baltic states predominantly as the graduate level or at the second cycle (graduate) level.

There are several academic and professional bodies in the area of European studies, such as, for example, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian European Community Studies associations (ECSAs). Representatives from these associations meet regularly at the national levels and at periodic ECSA World Conferences. The Jean Monnet Program of the European Commission supports multi- and interdisciplinary education and research in European Union integration. European Commission representations in each of the Baltic states interact with academics to provide information and assistance on this subject matter. Stakeholders in the public and private sector and NGOs interested in cooperating with European studies students, researchers and faculty members have been growing in recent years.

4. *European studies at the University of Latvia*

The European Studies master program at the University of Latvia was launched in 1996 in the frame of the Tempus project JEP-11389-96 (completed in 1999) in cooperation with *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (Belgium),

³ J. Gonzales and R. Wagenaar, *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe*, Bilbao, *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto*, 2005, pp.93-98.

University of Hull (UK), *Università degli studi di Genova* (Italy), *Université de Droit, d'Economie et des Sciences d'Aix-Marseille* (France), *Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa* (Portugal). The main objective of the project was to create a two-year master's program in political science with a minor in European studies at the Department of Political Science the University of Latvia. The project was focused on curriculum development, advanced studies and research at the master and doctoral levels, student and staff mobility, as well as library upgrading.

When Latvia expressed its wish to become a member of the European Union, the Jean Monnet Program, supported by the European Commission, was of unique value. It allowed Latvian scholars to continue education focused on European dimension in social sciences and to begin dialogue with their counterparts in different countries on common and fundamental issues for integration before accession to the EU.

During the pre-accession period different Jean Monnet grant schemes have been launched in the country. This was a starting point for an inter-disciplinary approach to education, and to theoretical and applied research on the themes related to European integration. The Jean Monnet program was helpful in the development of human capital in Latvia and other Baltic States.

Since 2000 the Center for European and Transition Studies (CETS) and European studies master's program, successfully function at the University of Latvia. The master's program is incorporated at present within the Faculty of Economics and Management. The aim of CETS and the master's program is to promote and support interdisciplinary studies, academic and applied research on European issues involving master and doctoral students from both European Union member states and third countries. The main focus of CETS encompasses research in economics, political science, law, public administration and regional policy issues. The CETS hosts Jean Monnet and Marie Curie projects and provides advice to public institutions on economic and social development in the context of Euro-

pean integration. When CETS was founded 10 years ago, its mission was to support education and research in the area of European and transition studies and well as to be a forum for interdisciplinary education and research linked to developments in the European Union and associated countries.

Today, the Center is recognized internationally as an innovative institution in inter-disciplinary studies in the Baltic States. CETS represents a forum of debate for academics, postgraduates and practitioners on current trends concerning European development as analyzed from the perspective of a new member state.

European Commission Jean Monnet program and the Marie Curie project give additional strength to the Center and to the European studies master's program. Furthermore, the Center has regular Canadian interns within the framework of the cooperation with the Canadian universities network for European Studies and European Union Canadian Study Tour and Internship program.

The European Studies master's program, as was mentioned above, provides an interdisciplinary approach to an all-round high-level understanding of the evolution of modern Europe and of the European Union. The principal constituent disciplines are economics, law and political science and public administration with components from history, international relations, regional science and other relevant disciplines. Particular stress is laid to the deepening of integration process from the perspective of the new member states. Students from Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, France, Cyprus, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, as well as from third countries such as Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and the U.S. have graduated from this European studies master's degree program. Some of these students received support from the European Commission DG Education and Culture project «Master Courses in European Integration Studies – Scholarships for ENP Countries and Russia», and from the Faculty of Economics and Management.

To ensure a combination of theoretical knowledge

gained with practical applications related to the issues discussed in classes about the functioning of the EU institutions a possibility is offered to students to participate in a practical seminar week in Brussels and Luxemburg. This practical seminar covers visits to EU key institutions and NATO in Brussels, and provides an opportunity to contribute to discussions on current topics with experts. Briefings at the Court of Justice of the European Communities, EUROSTAT and DG for Translation in Luxemburg are also included in the study visit.

European studies master's program at the University of Latvia is an example of successful implementation of the multi- and inter-disciplinary dimension on the European matters. More than 500 graduates of the program work in the EU, as well as in national public and private institutions. They serve as political economic and legal advisors and they work in diplomatic services, in the area of communication and international journalism.

5. Third level cycle in European studies

Many of the graduates continue their studies at the third cycle (doctoral) level to embark on a career in academia. As was pointed out in European SAG documents⁴, a European studies doctorate is desirable because in general there is no PhD cycle in European studies and students have to study for doctorates in other subjects. The discussion should take place in academia at European level in general, and at the national level in particular, about the desirability of introducing European studies PhD programs. However, there are many doctorates on topics within the field of European integration, drawing on more than one discipline. It is recommended by SAG to work on es-

⁴ *Reference Points for the Design and Delivery of Degree Programs in European Studies*, in *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe*, edited by J. Gonzales and R. Wagenaar, Bilbao, *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto*, 2008, pp.43-44.

establishing a joint program with two universities from different countries. Another requirement asks doctorate students to have a first or second level degree in European studies.

Preliminary discussions to have a joint doctoral program in European studies, for example, have taken place between Kaunas University of Technology European Institute and University of Latvia European studies masters program.

Recently a doctoral school, the European Integration and Baltic Sea Region Studies (EIBSRS), was launched at the University of Latvia to support young scholars during their research training⁵. Most doctoral students here get «real» research experience by contributing to research projects implemented at the Center for European and Transition Studies. However, doctoral programs retain the responsibility for the academic admission of a PhD proposal, regular doctoral studies and preparation of the PhD thesis for its defense. The school carries out activities related to the international dimension of the doctoral degree and helps enhance their value on the labor market, in society and in the researcher's personal career. Research training at the school is associated with processes of deepening and widening of European integration. Special attention is given to the integration of the Baltic States in the EU, as well as regional cooperation and development in the Baltic Sea area. Participation in the school activities helps to improve skills in interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research. The school cooperates with different research structures at the University of Latvia, other educational and research establishments in the country, partners from the EU and non-EU countries. This cooperation provides a solid platform for advanced studies that offer added value within and outside the discipline of a young researcher. Doctoral

⁵ University of Latvia, Doctoral School «European Integration and Baltic Sea Region Studies» (EIBSRS) <http://www.lu.lv/eng/target-audiences/istudents/doctoral/doctoral-schools/balticsearion/>

as well as master's students from different subject areas and study programs such as economics, law, politics, communication, management, culture, geography, European studies and Baltic Sea Region studies are involved in the activities of the School. .

The doctoral school organizes guest lectures, seminars, regular discussions and Jean Monnet doctoral colloquia, as a part of the European Commission project Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Latvia, and doctoral students' working groups aimed at facilitating research-related activities. The School arranges information sessions, promotional events and interaction with industry, keeping abreast of the pulse of external stakeholders.

6. Tuning methodology as a platform for further development

The European studies program at the University of Latvia together with similar programs in Lithuania has been involved in the European studies subject area group (SAG) in the European Commission project: Tuning Educational Structures in Europe⁶. The project aims to offer additional strength in expertise for successful teaching of European studies students at all three cycle levels, in line with the methodological approach of implementation of Bologna reforms. Since European studies program are usually organized according to the main subjects of the faculty departments in which the program is based, students should gain the core competences in any European studies program.

The common methodology developed by the European Studies SAG in relation to subject specific competences and the core competences is helping to establish an effective network among institutions providing European studies programs based on agreement on the core compe-

⁶ J. Gonzales and R. Wagenaar (eds.), *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe*, Bilbao, *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto*, 2005, pp.93-98.

tences. One of the advantages of being aware of the core competences would maximize students' ability to move to another European university, approaching the subject area from a particular specialization they wish to pursue. They would be able to do this in confidence that a period spent abroad would both achieve full recognition towards the degree award from their home university and that this degree would also enable them to move to another country to study at a higher level. Successful mobility will positively influence the individual competitiveness of students and will impact on the competitiveness of the higher education at the national and EU levels.

The SAG came to the conclusion that European studies graduates gain in employability, since they are able to work in many different tasks, agencies and productive structures. European studies' graduates are by definition multi-disciplinary, mobile, flexible and highly competent human resources, adaptable to the new structures of employment and economy in a constantly changing and challenging international socio-economic context. In addition, their linguistic competencies strengthen their ability to work in a multicultural context.

7. Conclusion

The Baltic States have undergone ambitious reforms based on the European Higher Educational Area objectives. One of the new dimensions in higher education and research is related to the focus on multi- and inter-disciplinary programs. The Universities in the Baltic States have implemented European studies courses and programs that have common characteristics, but still reflect the national socio-economic and legal environments.

Developments in the European political, economic and social environment imply a growing demand for knowledge of EU matters. The establishment of European studies programs at a university level is an obvious strategy for higher education institutions as this will give students an

opportunity to acquire a solid knowledge about Europe and the European Union. Implementation of European studies programs contributes to building a stimulating research environment and therefore developing third cycle level in European studies is highly recommended. The analytical skills developed by graduate students and the specific knowledge promoted by European studies is an asset in areas, where profound knowledge of contemporary European Union matters is needed.

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ARNOUT JUSTAERT, EDITH DRIESKENS,
KAROLINE VAN DEN BRANDE AND TOM DELREUX

THE GOVERNANCE TURNS IN EU STUDIES IN
BELGIUM

In line with the purpose of the volume, this chapter analyses the focus of Belgian scholars to what constitutes the object of European integration studies. Because of the federal structure of the Belgian state, Belgian scholars seem to have had an almost natural interest in multilevel governance research. In the very beginning most scholars focused on domestic multilevel governance within the Belgian state. However, since the early 1990s, a growing group has been applying those insights to the study of the EU. Moreover, in the past ten years, scholars have broadened their focus to include the global level.

Setting the scene, the second part of this chapter looks into the Belgian state structure, which is federal in nature. Building upon the academic literature on governance, the third part suggests that two governance dimensions have been dominating EU studies in Belgium: multilevel and global governance. Supporting the conclusions on the multilevel and global governance turns in Belgian EU studies, the fourth part provides empirical data of the research conducted at Belgian universities in the past two decades.

The chapter builds upon data that was gathered by the authors within the framework of the European Network of Excellence CONNEX (Connecting Excellence on European Governance) [Kerremans et al. 2006]. Additional empirical research was done as to evaluate the more recent research activities of Belgian EU scholars.

1. *Belgium in the EU*

1.1. *Pro-European consensus*

Belgium is traditionally seen as one of the most «pro-EU» member states, to such degree that it has been identified as «the best student in the European class» [Delreux 2006, 326], being even «more European than the European Union itself» [Beyers and Kerremans 2001, 126]. That European orthodoxy can be explained by practical factors like the omnipresence of European and international institutions in Brussels, but also by economic and political factors. Belgium's open, export-oriented economy and its federal state structure have made it a front-runner in the process of European integration. Being a founding member state, it also played an important role in the establishment of the European construction. In fact, Belgian politicians, such as Paul-Henri Spaak, Leo Tindemans, Etienne Davignon, Jean-Luc Dehaene and Guy Verhofstadt all played key roles at crucial moments of the European history, trying to deepen integration.

All Belgian political parties tend to prefer a more supranational, even federal EU, including a more clear-cut division of competences between the EU and the member states, as well as an enforcement of the communitarian elements. Advocating those principles, Belgium played, and still plays, a front-runner role, including during the negotiations leading to the Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty [Bursens 2005; Delreux 2006]. Those pro-European preferences are shared among all Belgian political parties, except for the Flemish extreme-right party *Vlaams Belang*, which did never assume government responsibility and is not likely to do so in the near future. Even if the large political families (christian-democrats, liberals, social-democrats and greens) may have different rationales for their «pro-Europeanness» [Beyers and Kerremans 2001] and the new big Flemish nationalist party (*N-VA*) prefers to present itself as Euro-realist rather than pro-European, they agree that a strong EU is in the

country's interest. The absence of hard eurosceptic political parties supports that image [Kopecky and Mudde 2002]. The political pro-European consensus also manifests itself by the lack of parliamentary debate on European issues, including when it comes to high politics issues like treaty amendments.

Importantly, the pro-European consensus can also be found in the public opinion. Whereas there is no general mobilisation around EU issues, the public opinion in Belgium is one of the most pro-European ones [Beyers and Bursens 2006a]. Even if some signs of erosion can be detected, the «permissive consensus» [Beyers 1998] is still robust. That positive attitude may be explained by the Belgian state structure [Delmartino and Pattyn 2007]. Indeed, being multilevel polities, Belgium and the EU share a number of characteristics [Swenden 2005], making the EU structure look rather familiar. That brings us to the second characteristic of EU politics in Belgium: the Belgian federal state structure.

1.2. *Cooperative federalism*

In 1993, Belgium became a federal state divided in Regions (the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels-Capital Region) and Communities (the Flemish Community, the French-speaking Community, German-speaking Community). Following the *in foro interno, in foro externo* principle, the Belgian subnational entities have become active players on the European scene. Following that principle, they can develop their own external relations for those policy issues for which they are domestically responsible. That not only has an impact on the implementation of European legislation and on the ratification of constitutional and accession treaties, but also on the representation of Belgium in the Council of Ministers.

The Belgian state structure and its representation in the Council of Ministers in practice take the form of

«cooperative federalism» [Swenden 2006]: unlike in many domestic political processes, the European integration process «forces» the various governments to cooperate [Beyers and Bursens 2006b]. The 1994 Cooperation Agreement governs the representation of Belgium in the Council of Ministers. Following this Agreement and based on principles like coordination and consensus, no single government (federal or subnational) dominates in Belgium. The different entities have to reach consensus on the Belgian position for the Council of Ministers and coordinate that position within the Directorate-General for European affairs (DGE) of the Foreign Affairs Ministry [Kerremans 2000]. Only when consensus is reached internally, a position can be expressed in the Council. Importantly, following internal agreement, Belgium can also be represented in the Council by ministers of the subnational entities, who can express the Belgian position in the Council. Importantly, whosoever occupies the Belgian seat in the Council and expresses the Belgian position, he/she represents a single position. In fact, the outcome binds the entire country, because the Council of Ministers comprises member states. For the same reason, it is Belgium (and not the Regions or the Communities) that is legally liable for violation of the *acquis communautaire*.

The Belgian representation in the Council is organised on the basis of the internal division of competences [Beyers et al. 2004]. When competences are shared between the federal and the subnational level (such as the environmental, industrial and education policy), a six-monthly rotation system is followed for the representation by the subnational entities. Moreover, subnational ministers can also chair the meetings of the Council of Ministers when Belgium is holding the EU Presidency. By contrast, for issue areas covering exclusive federal competences, the federal government represents Belgium. That is the case for the ECOFIN, the Justice and Home Affairs, the External Relations and General Affairs Council configurations.

Subnational ministers cannot represent the Belgian

state in the European Council or at intergovernmental conferences (IGCs). The federal government predominates in those settings. Yet, there is a clear impact possible for the subnational entities, for example because they have to ratify treaty amendments. Whereas the above-mentioned Cooperation Agreement does not explicitly refer to IGCs (or the European Convention), it does inspire the internal Belgian cooperation at IGCs [Beyers and Bursens 2006b]: the subnational entities participate in the Belgian delegation when subnational competences are discussed or subnational interests are at stake.

Unsurprisingly, the Belgian subnational entities have been trying to enhance their domestic status at the level of the EU on various occasions [Kerremans and Drieskens 2002; Kerremans and Drieskens 2003]. For instance, the 2001 Belgian Presidency was the first one in which subnational entities played an active role on behalf of a member state. In addition, the stint provided a unique opportunity to put the role of constitutional regions on the European agenda. Also during the 2010 Belgian Presidency, those entities played a prominent role. In fact, their involvement was one of the reasons explaining the fact that Belgium assumed the Presidency with a caretaker federal government for the complete duration of its term did not prohibit success [Drieskens et al. 2011; Drieskens 2012].

2. *EU studies in Belgium*

2.1. *Governance turns*

A stock-taking exercise of research reveals that Belgian scholars are studying the EU as a multilevel system of governance in a global world. Introducing their volume on *European Multi-Level Governance*, Kohler-Koch and Larat write that the governance concept is well established in political science in Germany and the UK, where it originated, and that it has been incorporated in the «north-

western belt», which is characterized by a strong social science tradition [Kohler-Koch and Larat 2009, xxv].

We found that also in Belgium the study of the EU has followed the «governance turn» [Kerremans et al. 2006]. Since the mid-1980s, scholars no longer take the European polity as their «dependent variable», but accept it as a given, looking into its impact on national and European politics and policies [Kohler-Koch and Rittberger 2006; Diez and Wiener 2010]. They no longer look into «integration», but focus on «the ways and means of governing the EU» and on «the interdependence of EU and national systems of governance» [Kohler-Koch and Larat 2009, xxiii]. In particular, we found that the «multilevel governance» perspective has been the dominant angle for studying the EU in the last two decades, stressing that policy-making and policy-implementation are multilevel activities, involving not only national governments, but also subnational ones. In their contribution to the volume by Kohler-Koch and Larat, Edler-Wollstein and Falkner explain that focus by referring to issues that are «closely related to internal affairs», in the Belgian case its federal structure [Edler-Wollstein and Falkner 2009, 118]. Yet they are also concerned that EU governance research in smaller countries like Belgium is «absorbed» by the international research agenda.

We found that the agenda of Belgian EU scholars has broadened, but that those changes can mainly be explained by external factors. Indeed, in the past five years, the group of scholars focusing on the EU as an international actor in global governance, especially in multilateral settings, has steadily expanded, complementing the multilevel governance focus with a «global governance» one. That turn does not only reflect the conviction that the EU is crucial for Belgium having an impact on global politics, but also the EU's growing external competences and relations. Indeed, without saying that the EU is (perceived as) a full-fledged actor on the international stage, its role in foreign, security, defence and external economic policy has grown over time, reinforced by treaty amendments and external developments.

In consequence, the evolution of academic thinking about the EU in Belgium can – at least to a large extent – be explained by «pull factors» [Wessel 2006, 236-237] or «external drivers» [Rosamond 2007a, 23]. Such reading emphasizes external elements and explains the change in focus by referring to developments in European integration and governance, like the enlargement process. The field of EU studies is pulled into a particular direction by changes in the EU system. By contrast, a reading explaining the evolution of EU studies by internal elements stresses the impact of disciplinary factors, i.e. of concepts, methods and epistemologies in political sciences, social sciences and EU studies (so-called «push factors» or «internal drivers»).

As discussed below, the pull factors or external drivers defining EU studies in Belgium are the intersection of the EU «with the member state system» and «with the international system» respectively [Rosamond 2007b, 238]. Explaining the initial focus on multilevel governance, the first intersection refers to the domestic adaptation to EU inputs, to member state involvement in EU politics, and to the domestic politics of European integration. Explaining the recent global governance turn, the second intersection points to the importance of ramifications of EU external action and to the influence of global factors upon the conduct of European integration and politics.

2.2. Multilevel and global governance

Reflecting Belgium's multilevel nature, research has not only focused on the involvement of Belgium within the multilevel setting of the EU, but also on the specific role of the Belgian subnational entities. Taking a predominantly institutional focus, scholars looked into their representation and participation at multiple levels, reaching the conclusion that they enjoy the status of «second-level players» [Kerremans and Beyers 1997], enjoying member state privileges, especially in terms of direct access to the Council of Ministers. Scholars enriched the conceptual

debate on multilevel governance with insights from comparative federalism. Their work has been influenced by federalism research and literature, with scholars comparing the Belgian case with other federal(ized) member states. More recently, those insights also proved a useful starting point for studying the constitutionalisation process of the EU. Also, throughout the 1990s Belgium's poor implementation of European legislation, especially as regards the transposition of directives, has been explained through a multilevel perspective, which showed the role of the subnational entities.

Towards the turn of the century, the governance dimension became more important for Belgian scholars, as they moved from a mainly «vertical» definition of multilevel governance, emphasizing the multilevel component, towards a more «horizontal» one, stressing the governance dimension. While initially concentrating on the increased interdependence of governments operating at different territorial levels, they started to look into the growing interdependence between governmental and non-governmental actors at those levels. In addition, the low popular identification with the EU integration process put the question of «legitimacy» more prominently on their agendas.

Many of the Belgian scholars who have been exploring the EU in international relations have been looking into the institutional aspects of those relations, focussing on questions of representation and coordination. Small wonder then that the impact of the Lisbon Treaty has become a popular topic. Their interest cannot only be explained by the modifications introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, but also by the facilitating role that the Belgian Presidency played, ensuring full implementation by the end of the term. Other scholars have concentrated on specific policy areas, such as trade policy or external environmental and climate change policies. Those areas have taken a very prominent and visible place on the international agenda. Scholars have also evaluated the EU's performance in various negotiations, exploring its effectiveness in and

impact on various formal and informal settings, including the WTO, the UN and the G20. Importantly, whereas the initial focus was on the EU – with scholars defining the EU as a «structural power» [Keukeleire 1998; Keukeleire and MacNaughton 2008; Telò 2005] and a «positive power» [Biscop 2006], awareness has been growing that the EU is also a «structured power», i.e. a power structured by the external context in which it(s) (representatives) operate(s) [Drieskens 2009; Delreux et al. 2011]. Finally, the EU's relation with Russia remains an important research focus, but EU scholars in Belgium also have jumped onto the (even more) eastern train, looking into the EU's relations with the Asian continent, and with China in particular. Within that context, scholars have also looked into the BRIC (Brasil, Russia, India and China) reality and what the (re)emergence of those powers means for the EU's foreign policy.

3. Mapping and quality assessment

3.1. The research context

Because research and education are strongly intertwined, most research in Belgium on European integration and European policies is university-based [Kerremans et al. 2006]. EU studies are conducted at the Dutch-speaking universities of Antwerp (*Universiteit Antwerpen*, UA), Brussels (*Vrije Universiteit Brussel*, VUB), Ghent (*Universiteit Gent*, UGent) and Leuven (*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, K.U.Leuven) and at the French-speaking universities of Brussels (*Université libre de Bruxelles*, ULB), and the *Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis à Bruxelles*, FUSL), Liège (*Université de Liège*, ULg), Louvain-La-Neuve (*Université catholique de Louvain*, UCL), and Namur (*Facultés universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix*, FUNDP). In addition, the United Nations University in Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), the Royal Institute for International Relations (EGMONT)

and the College of Europe in Bruges provide a significant contribution to Belgian EU studies, especially with regard to studies on the EU in global governance.

Like in most EU member states, EU research in Belgium has been supported by the Jean Monnet Lifelong Learning (LLL) Action. Several Belgian universities host a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, a Jean Monnet Chair or participate in a Jean Monnet Research Network, dealing with the multilevel governance nature of the EU or with the EU's external activities in global governance. At the Institute for International and European Policy and the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies of the K.U.Leuven, for instance, the Jean Monnet program of the European Commission supports research that concentrates on the EU, foreign policy and global governance. That research is conducted within the framework of an interdisciplinary Center of Excellence, a multinational Research Network and various Chairs. Other Jean Monnet Centers of Excellence were recognised at the Institute for European Studies (UCL), the *Institut d'études européennes* (ULB), the *Europacentrum* Jean Monnet (UA), the UGent Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (UG) and the Institute for European Studies (VUB). Those Belgian universities also hold several (*ad personam*) chairs in European integration studies, in foreign policy or in teaching methods. Moreover, the Bruges/Natolin-based College of Europe is supported by the Jean Monnet Action because of its «specific contribution» to the EU integration process through education and training. At the College of Europe, eleven Jean Monnet Chairs have been assigned, of which five in European law, three in European political integration, two in European history and one in European economics.

Most scholars aim to valorise their research activities to the largest extent possible by publishing their findings in internationally refereed journals, often after having them first discussed at international conferences and workshops. Examples of more general journals are the «Journal of Common Market Studies», the «Journal of European

Public Policy», the «Journal of European Integration» and «Regional and Federal Studies». Furthermore, researchers have published in journals that are law-oriented (e.g. «European Journal of Law Reform»); environment-oriented (e.g. «Environmental Policy and Governance»); security-oriented (e.g. «European Security») or have a geographic area focus (e.g. «Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans»). Belgian researchers also regularly contribute to international edited volumes.

At the same time, they publish their preliminary findings in national language (refereed) journals, such as *Res Publica* (the Flemish-Dutch Journal of Political Science), or in their university's proper (working paper) series. Especially for researchers focussing on Belgian aspects of multilevel governance, those are relatively fast and attainable publication venues. Whereas those Belgian journals welcome contributions on EU policy- and decision-making, their main focus is Belgian politics. *Studia Diplomatica* being an exception, the Belgian publication venues for EU research are in fact rather limited.

The publication language of particularly the younger generation of Belgian EU researchers, and especially the Flemish ones, is English [Keading 2005]. Although that language has also been winning ground in the French Community, a balance has been kept there between native (French) and foreign (English) language publications. For the French-speaking researchers, *Annuaire français des relations internationales* remains the most important Francophone journal on the EU, its foreign policy, and international relations in general.

In Belgium, EU information resources are closely linked to the teaching and education structure. Most of the institutions mentioned above host library collections that are based on investments in reference works on EU institutions and policies, especially in function of the topics researched at the institution. Practically speaking, Belgian researchers have the advantage of conducting their research within a stone's throw of the Brussels-based European institutions. That not only simplifies the

organisation of interviews with EU officials, but also the extensive library collections of those institutions, including databases, which are literally within reach.

The information for the research mapping in this fourth section is based on empirical research conducted in the framework of the CONNEX report (cf. supra) and an analysis of the information on research activities currently provided by the different university websites. As most of the institutions make the academic bibliography of their researchers (including the research topic and publications) available through the internet, it has become relatively easy to get an idea of the research being conducted. The second part of the section briefly discusses the research that has been conducted on EU studies in Belgium, following the turns and focuses unfolded in the previous section.

3.2. Multilevel governance in Belgian EU Studies

EU scholars in Belgium have applied multilevel governance insights to the study of the EU since the mid-1990s, focusing not only on institutions and policies, but also on interdependency, participatory governance, and more normative questions.

3.2.1. Institutions

Within this first focus, researchers deal with the institutional architecture of the multilevel setting of the EU. They pay attention to the representation and participation of subnational entities in EU policy- and decision-making, and especially to the involvement of those entities in the determination of the Belgian position for the Council of Ministers. An important research focus is the practice of coordination, especially the domestic coordination mechanisms in policy domains like environment, agriculture and social policy. In particular, subnational involvement in EU policy-making on

environmental issues became a popular case to study, attracting attention from political scientists at the universities of Antwerp (UA), Ghent (UG) and Leuven (K.U.Leuven). Research started with rather descriptive work on the formal characteristics of subnational involvement and evolved into analytical research paying attention to the differences in the involvement of Belgian subnational entities in EU decision-making across different policy sectors. In later years, research also looked at the Belgian case from a broader perspective by comparing it with the experiences of other federal(ized) EU member states, drawing on the examples of Germany, and, to a lesser extent, Austria and Spain. Also, researchers examined Belgium as a level within the EU, concentrating on the Belgian civil servants in the EU and on the Belgian Presidencies of 2001 and 2010 (cf supra).

3.2.2. *Policies*

We already indicated that Belgium is everything but at the top of the class when it comes to the implementation of EU legislation into national law [Bursens and Helsen 2005]. According to Bursens and Helsen, not only a low degree of Europeanization of the Belgian political actors, but particularly the complex political and administrative structure of the Belgian state explains the implementation deficit. Indeed, the Belgian government has often been condemned because the Regions and Communities did not implement EU legislation properly. As a result, during the 1990s, the focus on the involvement of Belgian subnational governments in (Belgian) EU policy-making has been extended to include multilevel governance ramifications for Belgium's implementation record, and research on Europeanisation and its consequences for the subnational entities. Research on the topic also developed from a mere observation and description of the problem to theory-driven analysis from a comparative perspective.

In addition, the research has been characterized by a

marked policy-oriented approach. Both the research carried out on the involvement of the Belgian subnational entities in EU decision-making and the research on the Belgian transposition deficit are usually part of large research projects funded by the federal or subnational governments. The Flemish government, for example, provides 5-yearly funds for research carried out by consortiums of Flemish universities, working on topics such as Flemish foreign policy, environment and sustainable development. Those centres show that research funding by the government has been an important incentive to provide a bridge between fundamental and policy-oriented research.

It is worth stating that the Belgian implementation deficit aroused interest in both Flanders and Wallonia. That clearly differs from the research on the role of the subnational entities in Belgian EU policy-making mentioned above, which is more prominent in Flanders. Equally important is the fact that on the implementation question, research cooperation between legal scholars and political scientists has been quite intensive. That is also the case for research on the involvement of the Belgian Communities and Regions in Belgian EU policy-making in general. Indeed, the challenge of determining a European policy in a multilevel setting and the capacity of the Belgian intergovernmental system to play a role in the EU raised questions about both legal competence and the political costs of not reaching an agreement.

3.2.3. Interdependency and participatory governance

Towards the turn of the century, scholars also started to focus on the horizontal dimension of multilevel governance, looking no longer only into the increased interdependence of governments operating at different territorial levels, but also into the growing interdependence between governmental and non-governmental actors at those levels. An important focus became the involvement

of civil society in European governance, including the question how public and private actors try to impact upon policy-making in the EU as a multilevel governance system [Beyers 2000]. The decreasing trust in the European institutions, the declining attendance of the European elections, the difficult ratification procedures of the Maastricht and Nice Treaties and a rising amount of protest generated by EU policies and politics, also put the legitimacy problem on the Belgian research agenda [De Jonge and Bursens 2003]. Likewise, the Convention for the Future of Europe and the subsequent Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe not only resulted in various Belgian politicians taking an active role, but also in a lively academic debate on the questions of participation and legitimacy. That being said, when seeing subnational involvement as a means for enhancing the democratic character of European governance, one could also argue that the topic has been on the Belgian research agenda since the beginning of the 1990s.

3.2.4. *Normative dimensions*

A final focus within the first wave of multilevel governance is the normative dimension in contemporary academic research on the EU. Even if EU policy-making has been evolving down-wards, integrating subnational entities and citizen's initiatives in its policy process, citizens have become more critical towards the European project. Debates on the political finality of the European project, its legitimacy, and the European identity have not only become more public, but also more stringent – as crystallized by the discussions surrounding the Constitutional Treaty and the subsequent referenda. Research concentrated on the existence (or absence) of a European identity and the political finality of the European project. The «European public space» has been the object of numerous research projects, focusing on specific policy domains or on shared values, beliefs and norms.

3.3. *Global governance in Belgian EU studies*

Since the beginning of the 21st century the governance focus in Belgian EU studies has been expanding, with the second wave of research shifting the attention upwards, i.e. towards the EU in global governance.

3.3.1. *Institutions*

Many studies on the EU in global governance focus on the institutional dimension or architecture of the EU as a player in global governance. Belgian scholars have concentrated on coordination, preference formation, policy networks and the way in which the EU is externally represented in international institutions and global governance, including in the WTO and UN contexts. With the EU having developed its own security and defense policy, researchers have been analyzing the EU in international security organizations like NATO or the OSCE. Doing conceptual research on policy networks and core groups, they also looked into the involvement and contributions of EU member states to (military or civilian) coalitions.

3.3.2. *Policies*

When levels of governance become more interdependent and interconnected, also policies become increasingly intertwined. A consequence is then the exteriorization of traditional «internal» policies. Scholars have been exploring policy areas such as EU migration policy, EU trade policy, EU security and defense policy, EU development policy (focusing on Africa, human rights and gender), EU neighborhood policy (towards both Central- and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean) and EU international environmental policy. They also looked into the horizontal policy integration of environment and climate issues in the other EU policy areas.

What characterizes those policy studies is their focus on the interconnectedness of policies and specific policy instruments at the European level. For that reason, they are not only closely related to the previous focus, but also to the following one, which clusters studies conceptualizing the EU as an actor or power in international relations.

3.3.3. The EU in global governance

Partially overlapping with the previous two research foci, the role and impact of the EU in global governance is also examined by Belgian scholars of EU affairs. Those scholars have been looking into various international negotiations, agreements, regimes and policies. Conceptualizing the EU as a normative, civilian, economic, positive, structural and structured power, many of them have contributed to the academic debate.

Examples of research topics are the role of the EU in global climate negotiations and the EU as a promoter of democracy in the world. The EU's role in international financial and economic institutions has also gained significant attention. Unsurprisingly, the weight and the possible impact of the EU in the G7/G8 and the G20 has also become a more prominent research focus.

3.3.4. Area focus: EU-Asia relations

Finally, Belgian studies are increasingly concerned with the relations between the EU and Asia, with China in particular. Not only economically but also politically, China constitutes a (relatively new) power centre in world politics, which is reflected in contemporary Belgian research on the EU in global governance. The EU-Asia and EU-China relations are investigated in both general and specific terms. In general research projects, the focus lays on the EU and China in global governance, the relations between them and the place of the EU in a world order where China

takes a more prominent place, including as part of the BRIC format. More specific topics include the EU and China in environmental politics and global climate governance, the question of cross-strait relations between China and Taiwan, the human rights issue in China, and the Chinese development and trade politics in Africa and its relations with and impact on the EU's policies therein.

A remarkable increased cooperation between Belgian universities and Asian – especially Chinese – universities, can be noticed in that regard, leading to common research projects, such as the EU and China in the Congo, or the EU, China and Vietnam in global climate politics. In addition, two Belgian universities (K.U.Leuven and UCL) as well as the College of Europe hold an EU-China Chair, supported by the company Inbev. The latter also supports research on the EU's relations with Russia, sponsoring the Chair Inbev-Baillet Latour Europe and Russia, which is jointly hold by K.U.Leuven and UCL.

4. Conclusion

This chapter looked into the perspectives that Belgian scholars have used for studying the EU and its integration process, concluding that EU studies have followed the governance turn happening in Belgium. Reflecting Belgium's federal state structure, most scholars have researched the EU as a multilevel system of governance. More recently, scholars looked into the global context in which the EU acts, adding thus an extra layer of analysis to their work. Their research agenda has not only *widened*, but also *deepened*, and research is now conducted in a more systematic and analytical way. Theoretical approaches, concepts and insights are part of mainstream EU research. With various scholars taking prominent places in the academic debates on multilevel and global governance, the evolution of the current state of the art of Belgian research into the EU is not only positive, but also promising.

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IVAN NACHEV

ANALYZING EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS
IN BULGARIA

The first part of the present text briefly outlines the Bulgarian political science literature in the area of European integration. The second part outlines Bulgarian history in the context of European integration. Bulgaria established diplomatic relations with the EU after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. After a long period of associated membership it became a full member in 2007. The third part outlines the academic traditions with respect to European topics in Bulgaria.

Section four makes a qualitative assessment of the Bulgarian literature using a conceptual tool that distinguishes empirical from normative contributions, on the one hand, and between macro, meso and micro levels, on the other. A different source of qualitative assessment emerges in section five. Major inputs to political science literature on European integration are examined in the context of the impact on EU policy at the national level. Section six focuses on a temporal dimension. The literature is analyzed through three periods: the first, from the Maastricht Treaty to 1999, when Bulgaria signed EUROPE agreement establishing an association between Bulgaria and European Communities by 1993; the second, when Bulgaria started accession negotiations, and the third period, after Bulgaria became a full member state.

Finally, section seven provides a comparative assessment, trying to capture whether Bulgarian political sciences literature in European integration goes hand in hand with the literature abroad.

1. Overview of Bulgarian-EU relations and of EU studies

Bulgaria establishes diplomatic relations with the EU in 1990. Initially, the efforts were directed toward signing an association agreement. As a result, publications about European Union and its functioning started to be translated into Bulgarian. This trend continues to this day. For the entire period from 1999 until today, literature in Bulgarian from Bulgarian authors does not exceed more than 100 titles. However, the selected texts are the most significant and popular ones and they are the most used in practice, in teaching university disciplines related to European integration. In this sense one of the aims of this chapter is to represent not only the main directions of the texts, but also the possibilities for developing this literature in view of the country's joining of the EU.

In the beginning, the editions focused on two types of approaches: on the one hand, general information about the history of European integration, the EU institutions, the common market, the freedoms of movement and the common policies, and, on the other hand, the legal system of the Union. In this sense the beginning is inaugurated by Dzhagarov [1992], Marinov [1993], and Bakardzhieva [1994] who tried to introduce an overview on the *problematique*. For the scientific circles the EU still appears as something too distant and incomprehensible as far as its structure, institutions and procedures for decision-making are concerned. In the following years texts appeared which introduced a detailed review of supranational institutions, the common policies and the community law. After the signing of the European Association Agreement and its enactment in 1995, students needed to be taught about the various domains of integration processes. The books by Borisov [1996, 1999], Borisov and Lekov [1997], Dimitrova [1998], Ivanova [1998], Karaivanova [1998], Panushev and Genov [1999] analyzed the institutional development of the EU through the established institutional dialogue between Bulgarian and European institutions. At the same time, the internal debates and the Union's development

presented an interest related not only with its enlargement, but also with its place and role in the 21st century.

Nachev [1999] systematically presented the relations between Bulgaria and the EU. He identified the main political problems Bulgaria had to resolve before beginning membership negotiations. The relations between the two actors and their consequences in the domains of politics, economics, human rights protection, the condition of different types of minorities in the country, and the necessity of constitutional change were all analyzed.

After the accession negotiations began in 2000, Labreva and Dobichina [2000] paid special attention to the political parties' agenda in the process of European integration. The process of identification of main political subjects with western parties and party families had finished, which gradually imposed the notion that political parties' activities should be conformed not only with the agenda of the society, but also with that of the various party families. These notions affect the working of European institutions and, more especially, of the European Parliament, as well as that of the Bulgarian Parliament and of the various political forces represented in it.

Popova [2001] focused on the EU law as a basis for the functioning of institutions in common policies. The memory of Bulgaria's participation in the so-called «communist camp» under the dictate of the Soviet Union (USSR) makes a strong case for explaining the distinction between imposing EU rules and Soviet Union rules respectively, on Bulgaria.

Dinkov [2002] and Nedelchev [2002] proposed a new approach directed at the necessity for institutional change in Bulgaria and at developing political institutions in the country in the context of conducting negotiations, preparing for full membership and functioning after the country's accession in the EU.

Todorov [2003] and Zacharieva [2003] made an attempt to systematize a number of texts directed at the political debates after the Treaty of Nice and the possible agreement for a European Constitution. The texts pre-

sented in their volumes are the result of discussions conducted in different universities throughout the country on the future of the EU.

After the conclusion of Bulgaria's accession negotiations in 2004, Simeonov [2004] presented research on the price Bulgaria would pay as a full member and the benefits of this membership in the context of the four freedoms. Baykov [2004] asked the question of national identity in the condition of transition and its future in an ever more multi-faceted Union, and Nachev [2004] researched Bulgarian political elites through the lens of Europeanization and globalization.

After Bulgaria's accession to the EU a new set of literature developed, including that of Zacharieva and Nikolov [2007] that discussed the necessity of constitutional and institutional change. Their aim was to better the work of political institutions and the development of debates and processes for a new EU Agreement.

It is just in the following years that texts appeared which were oriented towards different kinds of policies. However, they did not encompass all common European policies, or all the new sector policies of the Union. Much of the texts were concerned with the main issues to be solved by Bulgaria in the first years of accession. For example, Mateeva [2007] dealt with the recourse management of EU funds and programs. Georgieva and Simeonov [2008] looked at the rapid integration and the issues that the country could bump into. Hadzhinikolov [2008] analyzed the place of Bulgaria in the market inside and outside the Union in the country's process of transformation into a global market actor. Nikolov [2008] analyzed the possibility of furthering the economic and political role of Bulgaria at the external border of the Union and the country's place in the Black Sea cooperation.

Borisov, Hubenova and Kostova [2009] put an emphasis on the freedom of movement in the EU and the opportunities for the Bulgarian citizens in the process of integration and full membership. In this way the various aspects of freedom of movement of Bulgarian citizens and its

political consequences were analyzed.

Kolarova [2009] and Tomova [2010] paid attention to the political system of the EU and of European organization. Kolarova made an analysis of the governance systems in the EU member states without going into the issue of managerial processes in the Union. Tomova concentrated her attention on the increasing role of governments in the management process when it came to policies where the community law is not involved. In this way she also treated the relationships between European institutions and national governments in the context of the deepening integration and horizontal methods of interaction in the process of policy-making.

In *We in the European Union* [2010], Shivergeva made an integral attempt to present the main challenges for European and Bulgarian citizens. This publication reviews all the theories and views that have dominated European debates from the Union's creation to the present, the political issues challenging the Union, the development of political institutions and the main policies of the EU.

2. Bulgarian-EU relations from a historical perspective

Bulgaria became a EU member state on January 1, 2007. The relations of Bulgaria with the European Union have a short but dynamic history. Bulgaria established diplomatic relations with the European Community (EC) on August 9, 1988. By then the European Community was ready to immediately begin negotiations with Bulgaria for signing an Agreement for trade and trade-economic cooperation. The development of the relationships was halted due to the political situation in the country. After the fall of communist and the coming to power of the Todor Zhivkov government, the relations intensified very fast. Negotiations were conducted and on May 8, 1990 an Agreement for trade and trade-economic cooperation was signed between Bulgaria and the European Community. Although of limited impact, this step created the framework to further

the development of relations between Bulgaria and the EC. On the September 17, 1990 Bulgaria was included in the PHARE Program and it began to receive annual help from the EU in for the reforms and the preparations the country had to undergo for full membership.

Despite this intensification of relations, the signed agreement exhausted its potentialities very fast. In the autumn of 1991 a decision was made to begin negotiations with Bulgaria for an association agreement with the EC. The agreement was signed on the March 8, 1993 and was enacted after being ratified by the National Assembly of Bulgaria, the European Parliament and the Parliaments of the member states on the February 1, 1995. The implementation of the agreement led to the increase of stock exchanges between Bulgaria and the EU member states and to more intensified contacts and cooperation in a number of economic, cultural and financial areas.

In contrast to other eastern European countries, the state largely maintained its control over the economy until the second half of the 1990s. Privatization was limited and affected by corruption, which led to the so called «grey» or «shadow economy». The first symptoms of reviving appeared in 1994, when the country's gross domestic product (GDP) increased and the inflation slumped. The biggest downfall came at the end of 1996 and the beginning of 1997, during the socialist government of Jean Videnov. The economy contracted again by up to half, because of the hyperinflation and the collapse of the financial system and banking.

The next phase of the development of relations was Bulgaria's official application for membership in the EU in December 1995. In the spring of 1996 the European Commission presented a special questionnaire to the Bulgarian government. It served as the basis for preparing the Commission opinion concerning the future prospects of Bulgaria's application for accession and the beginning of negotiations. The questions posed encompassed all areas of economic and social life in the country.

The new Bulgarian government, which took office in

the spring of 1997, introduced a package of economical reforms supported by the International Monetary Fund Board and the World Bank, including a currency board regimen; after this the economy began to stabilize. Bulgaria has been on its way to economic stability ever since: the GDP increased by 4-6 percent per year, and macroeconomic stability was maintained. The direction taken by the government towards EU and NATO membership brought about an increase in investors' trust in the Bulgarian economy. The national currency, *lev* (BGN), was successfully pegged to the German currency and later to the Euro.

The European Commission's opinion on Bulgaria's membership application was ready in July 1997. It concluded that Bulgaria was on its way to implementing the political criteria for membership. However, the country still did not have a functioning market economy and so it would not be able to deal with the competition inside the EU in the mid-term.

A national strategy for Bulgaria's preparation for full EU membership was prepared. The strategy was based on the understanding that Bulgaria's joining the family of European democracies was a matter of national interest. In November 1998 the first regular report of the European Commission for the progress of applicant states was presented. The report noted that Bulgaria had made significant progress but still did not meet the Copenhagen criteria and was not ready to begin negotiations.

The official start of negotiations for EU membership was set for February 15, 2000 at the first meeting of the inter-governmental conference for Bulgaria's accession to the EU by the government of Ivan Kostov.

The government elected in 2001 pursued – albeit with less energy – the economic reforms path set by its predecessor. Market economy was eventually achieved, closely linked to that of the EU countries. The government still faced problems related to high unemployment, mismatch of skills, low living standards and corruption within the state administration. The EU remained heavily critical of the inefficiency of the legal and law-enforcement system.

In December 2002 the European Union supported the efforts of Bulgaria and Romania for membership. In 2007 it voted for «road maps» for their accession. In 2004, during the rule of Simeon Sax-Coburg-Gottha, Bulgaria managed to close all of the 31 negotiation chapters for joining the EU. On the April 25, 2005 Bulgaria signed the Agreement for joining the European Union, and on May 11, 2005 the Bulgarian National Assembly ratified the Agreement for joining the European Union. Bulgaria received the right to participate in the works of the European Parliament, and as of January 2007 Bulgaria participates as a full member to the works of all European institutions.

Bulgaria is the only European ex-Warsaw Pact country that failed to make the transition in one leap. It went through two economic collapses, caused by the governments of ex-communists. It consequently carried out two political revolutions – first in 1989-1990 and then in 1996-7. Only then did Bulgaria turn seriously to the business of reform, in a situation of virtually zero resources and complete economic exhaustion.

Unfortunately, the government still faces problems related to high unemployment, mismatch of skills, low living standards and corruption within the state administration. The EU has been heavily critical of the inefficiency of the legal and law-enforcement system.

3. Traditions

Bulgaria's accession process in the EU set the beginning of the interest in integration processes among Bulgarian academic circles. Unfortunately, serious political debates did not take place here before the country's accession to the EU.

A great deal of the literature related to European integration was directed towards the presentation of three main areas of integration processes – the community law, institutions and common policies. It was just after 2007 that a literature directed towards the search for national

specifics in the conditions of full membership appeared.

A big part of the texts are published either by publishing houses unrelated to academic circles or by print houses, where the print costs' funding is at the expense of the author. The reason for this circumstance is based on two factors: on the one hand, the absence for a long period of time of EU studies academic programs at bachelor and master's level, and, on the other hand, the financial crisis of many higher education institutions which led to diminishing their publishing activity. Publishing concentrates mainly on textbooks or referential literature and translations.

The interest towards European issues was concentrated for a long time on post-graduate specializations devised for jurists, economists or public administration civil servants. Initially, the topic was included as separate courses in the programs of different discipline. Only with the beginning of the negotiation process were bachelor programs in European studies established (at Sofia University, Ruse University and New Bulgarian University), and master programs were related mainly with European economic and political integration. Only one master program (at NBU), created after 2007, is oriented towards the processes of European governance. To this day, there is no PhD program in this area, there is only one Jean Monet Center of European politics and only one Jean Monet professor in the whole country.

As a result, a great deal of studies in European integration did not come from circles related to political science. Lawyers provided the first input, although incorporating a methodology that owed much to political science. Therefore, the EC was not assessed through a genuinely political science lens. The explanation lies in the fact that political science has been seen as a second-order social science in the Bulgarian academy until present. Lawyers and economists dominated political analysis for a long period, and that was particularly noticeable in European integration analysis. A considerable amount of political science output on European integration was influenced by other social sciences.

During this early stage, the dominant school of political science received a mixed French and German influence. The French tradition fed legal-institutional analysis. Political analysis was permeated by the German tradition of political science focusing the theorization of the state. The reason for this situation is that many Bulgarian scholars have specialized in French or German universities.

A new generation of scholars went abroad to carry out their research projects. These scholars took their doctoral degrees or postdoctoral specializations mainly in British and U.S. universities. They were educated according to political science paradigm inspired by political philosophy, reflecting a concern to produce political empirically based political analyses. Thus, the new generation of scholars introduced new insights, promoting interdisciplinarity.

This circumstance determines the interdisciplinary character of both bachelor and master's programs, dominated by the educational body and its views. The programs could be found mainly in faculties related to political science and economics. In reality these programs created for the first time specialists in the area of European integration and integration processes.

4. *Theories*

The first operational criterion used to map Bulgarian political science literature on European integration distinguishes empirical from normative studies. Empirical studies provide an explanation of European integration while normative studies seek to influence policy-making or at least to contribute to the political debate on European integration. The literature sample shows a slight dominance of empirical over normative studies. The second level of classification engages on a threefold categorization: macro studies emphasizes European integration as the independent variable; meso studies look at EU institutions; and micro studies pay attention to the political system of the EU, with a particular emphasis on policy implementation.

The intersection of both levels brings interesting results. The goal now is to give additional consistency to literature mapping. In other words, the combination of the normative/empirical with the macro/meso/micro levels provides a detailed account of how political sciences literature on European integration evolved in Bulgaria.

TAB. 1. *The distribution of references within the working categories*

	Empirical	Normative
Macro	Baykov [2004], Bakardzhieva [1994], Borisov and Lekov [1997], Georgieva and Simeonov [2008], Dinkov [2002], Ivanova [1998], Nachev [1999], Karaivanova [1998], Panushev and Genov [1999]	Simeonov [2004], Hadzhinikolov [2008]
Meso	Dzhagarov [1992], Kolarova [2009], Nedelchev [2002], Todorov [2003], Shikova, Zaharieva and Nikolov [2003], Zacharieva [2003]	Dimitrova [1998], Nachev [2006]
Micro	Marinov [1993], Borisov, Hubeanova and Kostova [2009], Shivergeva and Nachev [2010], Tomova [2010]	Borisov [1996], Karaivanova [1998], Labreva and Dobichina [2000], Mateeva [2007], Nachev [2004], Nikolov [2008], Popova [2001], Veleva [2006], Zacharieva and Nikolov [2007]

Source: Author's calculations

Macro empirical studies tended to emphasize explanations of European integration examining the historical sources of European integration. Bakardjieva [1994], Georgieva and Simeonov [2008], Ivanova [1998] and Karaivanova [1998] looked at the origins and characteristics of the EU, but took a political-economic approach. Borisov and Lekov [1997] looked at the basic European Union treaties, but took a juridical approach. The few academics who engaged with theories of European integration tried to provide a systematic overview of the state of the art of the previous fruitful debate, but among them, Nachev [1999]

looked at political theory debate after the 1990s, and Dinkov [2002] analyzed the economic theory debate. Also at the macro level, there is a considerable amount of normative literature. On the one hand, scholars reflected about European integration. On the other hand, macro studies paid attention to the EU treaties.

At the meso level the majority of literature concentrated on empirical studies. This category covers the following aspects: present an overview of EU institutions; how these institutions interact and their competencies; who has a say in the institutions. Only Kolarova [2009] explained the institutional architecture of the member states on the one hand, and of the EU, on the other. The specific context of constitutional and institutional changes dominates normative literature on meso level (Dimitrova [1998] on the base of the Treaties and Nachev [2006] in the context of Constitutional Treaty).

On micro level, normative texts dominate the literature, as they are predominantly oriented towards the policies, the political elites, citizens and identities [Labreva and Dobichina 2000; Nachev 2004; Zacharieva and Nikolov 2007]. A small part of these studies, such as Nikolov [2008] and Karaivanova [1998] pay attention to the common policies, including the possibility of Bulgaria being included among them, their advantages and disadvantages. Only Mateeva [2007] focuses attention on the practical benefit from the usage of structural EU funds and the possibilities for development of various policies. At the expense of this, there are not many texts on the micro level that are empirical

5. *Quality assessment*

This section aims to find out whether scholars influenced national decision-making related to European integration. It is intriguing to note that some of the scholars exert influence on the country's politics such as scholars of political science (Dinkov, Ivanova, Nachev, Karaivanova,

Kolarova, Todorov, Shikova, Nikolov, Shivergeva, Tomova, Labreva, Dobichina, Mateeva, Veleva), economics (Georgieva, Simeonov, Panushev, Genov and Hadzhinikolov) and law (Borisov, Lekov, Hubenova, Kostovaq Zacharieva and Popova).

The greater part of publications are written by people who have or continue to participate in European projects, various research and academic networks or who have worked or work in non-governmental organizations.

Unfortunately, none of them has managed to become a politician or to participate in the decision-making process. None of them has been member of the Bulgarian Parliament, in the executive or local administration, or in any of the European institutions.

Only Shikova had the position of director of the information center of the Delegation of the European Commission in Bulgaria before ultimately engaging in academic work. Consequently, all publications belong to university teachers in disciplines such as law, economics, political science, European integration and cultural studies. In terms of academic hierarchy, Margarita Shivergeva became the only Jean Monet professor in the country and founded a Jean Monet Center of Excellent in European policies.

6. *Timeline*

After Bulgaria's signing of the European agreement in 1993, there was a big growth in political texts analyzing the European Union. After the beginning of negotiations in 2000 the interest in the integration processes intensified. However, it is only after the full membership in 2007 that the search began to determine the influence of integration processes over Bulgarian political reality, political actors and political institutions as well as the development of policies in the context of the community law's restrictions and the possibilities with respect to participation in the various sector policies. This is the time when publications researching not only the vertical, but also the horizontal integration

in the EU appeared.

TAB. 2. *Empirical and normative studies of the EU*

	Empirical	Normative	
Macro			1987-1992
	Bakardzhieva [1994], Borisov and Lekov [1997], Ivanova [1998], Nachev [1999], Karaiva- nova [1998], Panushev and Genov [1999]		1993-2000
	Baykov [2004], Dinkov [2002]	Simeonov [2004]	2000-2007
	Georgieva and Simeonov [2008]	Hadzhinikolov [2008]	2007-2010
Meso	Dzhagarov [1992]		1987-1992
		Dimitrova [1998]	1993-2000
	Nedelchev [2002], Todorov [2003], Shiko- va, Zaharieva and Niko- lov [2003], Zacharieva [2003]	Nachev [2006]	2000-2007
	Kolarova [2009]		2007-2010
Micro			1987-1992
	Marinov [1993]	Borisov [1996], Karaivanova [1998]	1993-2000
		Labreva and Dobichina [2000], Mateeva [2007], Nachev [2004], Popova [2001], Veleva [2006], Zacharieva and Nikolov [2007]	2000-2007
	Borisov, Hubenova and Kostova [2009], Shiver- geva and Nachev [2010], Tomova [2010]	Nikolov [2008]	2007-2010

Source: Author's calculations.

Table 2 organizes the literature according to the aforementioned criteria. There is a regular pattern across all categories and throughout the periods under examination. In all cases the majority of literature concentrates on

the second period (2000-2007).

In the period 1993-2000 the dominating literature dealt with empirical studies on the macro level. The following period (2000-2007) was dominated by studies on the meso-empirical and micro-normative levels. The last period (after 2007) has so far been dominated by studies on macro-empirical level. This outlines the trend towards the increasing of interest and studies in the area of practical application of policies in the EU member states in particular and in the EU in general.

In the context of all of these years, the normative studies dominate the process of writing and distribution of political literature in the area of European studies. This is the result of the fact that the integration processes were not known in Bulgaria for a long time, and its European and Euro-Atlantic orientation after the fall of the communist regime in the country in 1989 predetermines also the interest in the history, institutions and policies of EU.

After the beginning of the negotiations in 2000 the literature is dominated by texts dealing with the main agreements and the contractual basis of the common policies. Only after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU in 2007 are they dominated by processes of policy-making and the interest in the system for European management and the participation in national institutions in this process, as well as possibilities for participation in various sector policies.

7. Conclusion: a comparative perspective

A small part of the literature deals with the relation between the leading political theories and debates in European integration. For example, the debate on what the Union should be like – more federal, more inter-governmental or more functional – is dealt with on various levels in the texts of Nachev and Shivergeva.

A majority of the texts are related with the legal or historical sides of the European processes' development. Economic debates remain in the background, presenting the

common economic policies, the economic and monetary union, the common market and the four freedoms of movement. Today Bulgarian scholars pay more attention to policies and proposals to the government in the context of the world economic crisis, the full membership challenges, the impossibility to adopt European funds and the misgivings from intensification of populism and Euroskepticism in the country.

The literature in the pre-accession period in most of the cases is dominated by Euro-optimism while political or economic issues arising after the membership are rarely discussed. After all, the country's problems in the first few years of membership led to increasing interest in various management strategies and tactics inside the EU, towards the decision-making system and towards the changing role of national institutions in a situation of community restrictions, common policies and monetary board in the country. The debates for the place and the role of the EU in the changing world remain in the background.

Finally, the discussion about joining the Euro-zone is hardly incorporated in scientific literature. Unfortunately, most debates take place in the pages of the press or on television and radio stations and do not leave a lasting track in Bulgarian society. At the same time in the scientific circles various kinds of conferences, round tables and other events are organized, but this does not lead to systematized scientific products.

Probably this is one of the adaptation issues of Bulgarian society in general and of the scientific circles in particular. Bulgaria's accession to the EU, however, and the possibilities that have emerged for the young people, professors, researchers and Bulgarian experts not only in Bulgaria but also in the EU, will lead to a gradual specialization of the literature and the appearance of scientific texts mostly on the micro level of the literature researched.

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SALLA GASKY, KNUD EIRK JØRGENSEN
AND IAN MANNERS¹

EU STUDIES IN DENMARK AND SWEDEN

In this brief chapter we take stock of Danish and Swedish scholarship on the European Union (EU). We intend to analyze and evaluate Danish and Swedish scholarship on EU issues, using a mixed methodology integrated into the analysis of this chapter. The method integrates a secondary analysis of leading literature by Garský; an extensive comparative bibliometric survey building on Manners [2007]; and the comparative assessments of EU studies by Jørgensen and Manners based on their professional experiences of EU studies across Europe. The chapter points out controversies on research perspectives, and suggests new EU research questions that collaborative projects could address.

Viewed from the outside, the idea of Scandinavian commonality and community is undoubtedly powerful. During the Cold War, the impact of Scandinavian scholarship and membership in the European Union (EU), as represented by Denmark, was limited. With the 1995 enlargement of the EU and the entry of Sweden and Finland, there was much expectation of a more powerful role for Nordic policy ideas and analysts. This chapter attempts to take stock of this scholarship by undertaking the particularly difficult task of analyzing and evaluating Danish and Swedish political science research on European integration and governance. This task is demanding because the challenges of critical self-evaluation and reflection have remained strongly present over several decades of Danish and Swedish EU membership, like in most member states.

¹ Network for European Studies, University of Helsinki; Department of Political Science, Aarhus University; Roskilde University.

Literature reviews on the EU of Nordic scholarship in general, and Danish and Swedish scholarship in particular, are limited in many respects. First, the number of such surveys is restricted, and the most relevant include the work of Jørgensen [1995], Miles and Mörth [2002], Angström, Hedenström, and Ström [2003], Ruin [2003], Breitenbauch and Wivel [2004], Friedrichs [2006], Kinnvall [2005], and Manners [2007]. Second, these surveys are somewhat limited by the embeddedness of the authors, i.e. the inherent difficulties in being objective about one's own research community. A good example is the review of Nordic political science by Lee Miles and Ulrika Mörth. They identify six areas of Nordic strength in the study of European integration – the relationship between the «nation-state» and European integration; «Europeanization»; non-alignment; small states; council presidencies; and Nordic cooperation. However, the survey is limited by the lack of identified weaknesses in Nordic scholarship on the EU [Miles and Mörth 2002].

In general it is possible to identify two different general trends in Danish and in Swedish research on the EU. Danish EU research is characterized by being an older and more internationalized body of work from a relatively large number of scholars working in a smaller member state and, moreover, working predominantly in English. In contrast, Swedish EU research is characterized by being a younger and less internationalized body of work, stemming from a relatively smaller number of scholars working in a larger member state.

1. The EU history of Denmark and Sweden

Among the Nordic countries, Denmark was the first to join the European Community (EC), in 1973. Given the country's dependence on export, in particular of agricultural products to the UK, accession made economic sense. A referendum in 1972 showed a fairly comfortable majority in favor of Danish membership. However, the referendum

also showed the Danes and their politicians were split into two groups on political and cultural matters. In fact, Denmark is widely perceived as belonging among the most skeptical of further deepening of the EC/EU [Egeberg 2003]. A number of features exemplify this complex attitude towards Danish EC/EU membership. Nordic cooperation, for example continued to be perceived as a potential alternative for multilateral engagement, and within the EC, successive Danish governments pursued a strict intergovernmental mode of cooperation. Four political parties – social democrats, liberals, social liberals and conservatives – entered into a consistent alignment, thus securing a parliamentary majority in favor of but not necessarily enthusiastic about Danish membership.

The Danish parliament was largely opposed to the 1986 Single European Act (SEA). An informative referendum overruled the majority of parliamentarians and Denmark ratified the treaty. The Danish approach to EU politics is to go for minimalist cooperative schemes and subsequently comply with commitments. This position is preferred to maximalist strategies no one complies with. The 1992 referendum on the Treaty on the European Union (TEU), where Denmark rejected the treaty, made it an «exceptionalist» member state, an informal status that was somewhat toned down after the subsequent referenda in France, the Netherlands and Ireland in 2005 and 2008 respectively. However, the four opt-outs, hammered out in Edinburgh in 1993 secure that charges of exceptionalism have not entirely disappeared.

Finally, since 2001, the Danish government has been dependent on a very outspoken nationalist party in the parliament. Rhetoric is strong, yet the party votes in favor of more than 80 per cent of laws having a European origin.

Sweden's relationship to the rest of Europe and the European integration process has been ambivalent over time. Before and partially after the EU-accession, Sweden balanced between, on the one hand, its long self-perception of neutrality, the desire to protect the Swedish welfare state, and disinclination to supranationalism, and, on the

other hand, the economic necessities of its export-oriented economy and growing globalization. Subsequently, until the 1990s Sweden preferred to develop bilateral and multi-lateral (EFTA, EEA) trade agreements with the EC and stay outside the political or military commitments of the EC and NATO.

Without underestimating the impact of the changed security situation of the 1990s, it was nevertheless mostly for economic reasons – and the pressure from the powerful business community and labor unions – that Sweden became an EU member state in 1995 [Klasson 2004; Ingebritsen 1998; Miles 2005]. Sweden has often been portrayed as euroskeptic [Lubbers and Scheepers 2005], federal-skeptic [Miles 2005], or a reluctant European [Gstöhl 2002]. However, its participation in Schengen, the European police cooperation, and other internal and external issues, not to speak of its active role in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) tells a different story [Lee-Ohlson 2008; Miles 2005].

Sweden has been particularly active and successful in supporting integration in the areas of transparency, environmental and social issues, the Baltic Sea region, as well as the development of crisis management and peace keeping [Langdal and Sydow 2009; Johansson 1999; Miles 2005]. However, while Swedish law, central government and political bureaucracy are Europeanized, popular opinion has remained mixed towards the EU [Silander, Wallin and Bryder 2004; Pettersson 2000]. Popular opinion has also resisted European monetary integration; in the Swedish Euro referendum of 2003, 55.9 percent voted against and 42.0 percent for Swedish participation in EMU [Valmyndigheten 2003].

In general, Swedish EU-scholars do not seem to share the Euro-skepticism or anti-Europeanism of popular opinion. However, there are other factors such as Sweden's geographical location at the periphery of the EU, its relatively small population size, and its tradition of consensus-seeking politics, which may have shaped European integration studies in Sweden. It is therefore not surprising that

early studies by Swedish scholars tended to treat EU membership in ways similar to Swedish membership of other international organizations [Tallberg 2003; Elgström and Jönsson 2004].

2. Traditions

In general, while the universities of Gothenburg and Lund have led the way in establishing centers for EU research, European studies have evolved in a much broader way across Sweden. European integration research is conducted in nearly all Swedish universities, including Uppsala, Stockholm, Malmö, Linköping, Örebro and Umeå, and there seems to be a particular interest in eastern Europe, the Baltic countries and Russia all over the country [Hydén et al. 2002]. The first international degree program in English was created in 2003 with the international program for European studies (IPES) at Malmö University. This program is part of the research environment at the School for Global Political Studies at Malmö which has a particular focus on the Öresund region, in the context of the EU.

Both Gothenburg and Lund universities have the status of Jean Monnet Centers of Excellence, with the Gothenburg Center for European Research (CERGU) and the Lund Center for European Studies (CFE). The political science departments have been important entrepreneurs of these centers, even though CERGU and CFE both have multidisciplinary scopes; the CFE comprising social sciences, humanities, and law and the CERGU economics, business, law, social sciences, arts, and education. As both centers cover a wide range of topics, CERGU has focused on the eastern expansion of the EU, the study of the politics and economics of the Baltic states, and the Swedish opinion on the EU, while CFE's main emphases are negotiations, informal networks, and formal institutions².

² <http://www.cfe.lu.se/> and <http://www.cergu.gu.se/> (last visited on May 13, 2011).

Since 1998 Swedish universities cooperate within the Swedish Networks for European Research in political science (SNES), economics (SNEE) and law (NEF), which have helped to create a critical mass of international policy research for wider public and democratic debates. In particular, the Swedish Network for European Studies in Political Science (SNES) organizes Swedish seminars, conferences and post-graduate education³. The disadvantage of these well-funded networks is their tendency to focus EU research inwards in Sweden, rather than encourage outward-reaching international networks.

In addition to the universities, two policy research institutes are of importance for EU studies in Sweden. The Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI) is a politically-independent public service institution and its Europe program covers policy-relevant topics related to the European integration from the EU institutions and specific policy areas to EU foreign and security policy⁴. The Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS) was established by the Swedish government in 2002 to conduct and promote research and analysis of European policy affairs. Its research covers economic issues, the external dimension of the EU, and institutional and legal developments in the EU. The SIEPS publishes semi-annual papers on the EU presidencies and it regularly provides the Swedish parliament and government with briefs on issues concerning EU institutions, law and economics⁵.

While it is challenging to evaluate the influence of EU-research on Swedish society, it is easier to assess its impact on the policy makers. Swedish scholarship has close ties to the political society not only because the universities and research institutions are publicly funded, but also because of the relatively small size of the country. The establishment of the SIEPS and its assignment to provide policy analysis for the government and other political actors

³ www.snes.se/ (last visited on May 13, 2011).

⁴ www.ui.se/ (last visited on May 13, 2011).

⁵ www.sieps.se/ (last visited on May 13, 2011).

shows that Swedish political actors are particularly interested to involve scholars in EU-related decision-making.

In terms of wider publications, Swedish scholarship can be characterized by two trends: a smaller body of research in English intended for reading by the international academic community and a larger body of publications in Swedish intended for teaching and for stimulating the domestic public debate. The first body of literature is dominated by Lee Miles' numerous works, which have made a major contribution to Anglophone research on Swedish EU politics. By advancing the framework of Wessel's fusion perspective, Miles sheds light on the Swedish adaptation to the EU in his latest book, *Fusing with Europe*. According to Miles, the Swedish state apparatus, balancing between European integration and a federal-skeptic public opinion, is the defender of the EU. Thus, the Swedish political elite has adopted the fusion perspective. However, due to national necessities, Swedish EU politics remains conditional and often favors national interests over further integration [Miles 2005, 307].

The second body of Swedish literature is more diverse, in general led by the teaching books of Karl Magnus Johansson and the annual EU reviews of the SNES. Johansson's edited volume on *Sverige i EU* («Sweden in the EU») declared in 1999 that it is the nation-state logic that characterizes Sweden's membership and relationship to the EU [Johansson 1999]. Five years later, *Svensk politik och den Europeiska Unionen* («Swedish politics and the European Union») [Bryder et al. 2004] explored how Europeanization has influenced the organization and contents of Swedish politics. Both edited books approach Sweden's relationship to the EU through different policy areas, such as environmental, social, monetary, or foreign policy. However, Johansson's book also addresses cooperation problems as well as formal and informal institutions. The SNES annual volumes attempt to capture the Swedish-EU discussions from a variety of perspectives with, for example, the most recent volume edited by Oxelheim, Pehrson and Persson (2010) on *EU och den globala krisen* («The EU and the Global Crisis»).

3. *Theories*

Denmark and Sweden both have theoretical diversity and strength in EU studies, although there are differences which reflect their particular engagements with the rest of the EU. In general, the traditional importance given to theoretical insights in political science has a parallel in EU studies, reflected by the relatively strong influence of international social theories in the region. Six theoretical areas can be identified where Danish and Swedish EU-scholarship is important, if not leading in the field: systems theory, Euro-skepticism and non-participation, negotiation theory, social constructivism, post-structural theory, and the study of EU foreign policy.

Following in the footsteps of David Easton and Leon Lindberg, systems theory analysis was led by Morten Kelstrup's work on the EC as a political system [Kelstrup 1990; 1993]. While the political system approach was subsequently taken up again by scholars outside the region in the mid-1990s, the work of Jonas Tallberg and Daniel Naurin on executive implementation and the Council of Ministers broadly continues in this tradition of treating the EU as a political system with clear-cut executive, legislative and judicial branches of government [Tallberg 2003; Naurin and Wallace 2010].

The historically contested relations of Denmark and Sweden with the EU/EC have provided the foundation for the second area of theoretical strength on the study of Euro-skepticism and non-participation of member states. While the 1992 Danish referendum on the Maastricht Treaty provides the starting point for this theoretical strength, the much longer history of Danish and Swedish suspicion and reservation towards the rest of Europe should not be underestimated. This perspective can be found particularly in the work of Danish scholars working on Euro-skepticism [Sørensen 2007], EMU [Marcussen 2000], and the Danish «opt-outs» [Adler-Nissen 2009; Manners et al. 2008].

Theories of negotiation, cooperation and bargaining

are particularly strong in Swedish EU studies, with the work of scholars at Lund and Stockholm universities examining the roles of the Swedish 2002 EU presidency and European Council meetings in general. Especially Tallberg has contributed to the understanding of the politics, power relationships and the influence of institutions and actors participating to the decision-making of the EU [Elgström 2003; Elgström and Jönsson 2004; Tallberg 2006].

Social constructivist theory has an intellectual home in Denmark and Sweden, with the edited volumes by Knud Erik Jørgensen [Jørgensen 1997; Christiansen, Jørgensen and Wiener 1999] playing an important role in introducing social theory into EU studies. Social theory and interpretive approaches more generally can also be found in EU scholarship at Copenhagen University (Marlene Wind, Martin Marcussen, Rebecca Adler-Nissen, Ben Rosamond), Lund University (Ole Elgström, Annika Björkdahl), Stockholm University (Kjell Engelbrekt, Niklas Bremberg) and Swedish National Defense College (Magnus Ekengren).

Based on critical social theory, Ian Manners' concept of the EU's normative power has significantly shaped the discourse on the EU's role in world politics. Building on the power of ideas, «normative power» introduces an alternative source of power: the ability of the EU to shape the conceptions of «normal» of third states through legitimate opinions and normative justification [Manners 2002]. The social theory approach deepens the relevance of EU normative power for the study of European integration, as it offers an explanation for European identity construction [Diez and Manners 2007]. Norms as tools of influence have also been applied by Ingebritsen and Björkdahl in their analyses of Scandinavian countries' policies in the EU. They argue that Scandinavian countries act as norm entrepreneurs in the EU [Björkdahl 2008] and in world politics [Ingebritsen 2002]⁶.

The area of post-structural theory is one area in which

⁶ We are well aware that Ingebritsen is Seattle-based and of Norwegian origin, yet her work fits thematically.

Danish EU scholars can genuinely claim to lead international scholarship. The impact of scholars such as Ole Wæver, Lene Hansen, Pertti Joenniemi, and Henrik Larsen, in leading post-structural scholarship in EU studies is significant. Here the role of the Copenhagen securitization school has encouraged post-structural insights into the EU in a way found nowhere else in the Europe. Originally located in the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), the Copenhagen school has subsequently diversified with Wæver's move to establish the Center for Advanced Security Studies (CAST) at Copenhagen University. Examples of post-structuralist approaches would include Kelstrup and Williams [2000], Wæver [2003], Joenniemi [2007], as well as non-COPRI/CAST work by Larsen [2005] and Haahr [Walters and Haahr 2006].

4. *Quality assessment*

In terms of quality assessment, it appears that Danish and Swedish EU scholarship has been particularly strong in at least three areas, namely sustainable development, gender issues, and aspects of foreign policy. These are tentative observations that remain difficult to disaggregate from wider processes that pre-date the 1995 EU enlargement, but we still feel the Nordic impact important.

As regards the first area, i.e. sustainable development, its principles were introduced to the EC/EU already back in 1987 (*Brundtland*) towards the 1992 Rio Conference. Nevertheless, the 1995 enlargement appears to have swiftly enhanced the process and overall focus of the clause [Jordan and Liefferink 2004]. The immediate impact of Nordic activism appears to have been the mainstreaming of the sustainable development clause in the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam, together with a much greater emphasis on sustainable development in EU literature and Framework Funding programs. The area of gender empowerment accelerated in a similar manner in the later 1990, although by far pre-dating the 1995 enlargement. In particular, the practic-

es of gender mainstreaming in the EU institutions and the activities of gender scholars and campaigners contributed to this process [Kronsell 2005; Lenscow 2006]. The final area(s) of immediate impact appear to be in EU external relations in the aspects of the «northern dimension» and civil-military intervention. The relative emphasis given to the «northern dimension» of EU external relations clearly reflects the concerns of Nordic and Baltic states regarding the EU's emerging asymmetrical interdependence with Russia [Ojanen 2001; Browning 2005]. Similarly, the impetus given to civil-military humanitarian interventions by the Finnish and Swedish EU Presidencies is reflected and reflects similar academic and policy-relevant activism [Hjelm-Wallén and Halonen 1996; Duke and Ojanen 2006; Lindstrom 2007].

In terms of bibliometric and peer assessments of Danish and Swedish EU studies, it appears that two patterns emerge (Manners 2007 provides bibliometric foundation, updated for this chapter)⁷. Danish scholarship is primarily focused on four centers of research, including Aarhus University, Copenhagen University, Roskilde University and Copenhagen Business School (CBS). At Aarhus University the work of Palle Svensson, Carsten Daugberg, Jens Blom-Hansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, Adrian Favell, Gert Tinggaard Svendsen, and Derek Beach has been important, while at Copenhagen University newly arrived Ben Rosamond, together with Martin Marcussen, Lykke Friis, Marlene Wind, Henrik Larsen, and Dorte Martinsen are important. At Roskilde University, work on the EU and the world by Ian Manners and Gorm Rye Olsen is leading their respective fields, while at CBS Susanna Borrás and Ove Kaj Pedersen do the same. In total, approximately two-dozen Danish-based EU scholars are having an international impact in their work.

⁷ The bibliometric assessment draws on both monograph and article-based metrics, using Amazon, Google Scholar, and the US Social Science Citation Index. None of these bibliometric means are able to capture peer assessment and reputation.

Compared to Denmark, Swedish scholarship is more evenly spread around a larger number of universities and research institutes. In this respect, leading Swedish EU researchers are to be found at Stockholm University (Jonas Tallberg and Ulrika Mörth), Lund University (Ole Elgström and Rikard Bengtsson), Södertörn University (Karl Magnus Johansson and Nick Aylott), Umeå University (Torbjörn Bergman), the Swedish Foreign Policy Institute (Mark Rhinard), and Gothenburg University (Daniel Naurin). In total, approximately a dozen Swedish-based EU scholars are having an international impact.

As briefly discussed here, there are some areas of strengths and weaknesses of Danish and Swedish EU studies which can be discussed in terms of quality assessment by drawing briefly on the four previous discussions. First, as the previous discussion illustrated, the two areas of theory and external actions appear to be subfields of study where there is genuine international impact. In terms of external relations, a 2010 Nordic Council project bid led by Walter Carlsnaes (Uppsala University) illustrated the strengths of Nordic scholarship. To illustrate, the project included from Sweden and Denmark Mark Rhinard and Hanna Ojanen (both the Swedish Foreign Policy Institute), Kjell Engelbrekt (Stockholm University), Magnus Ekengren (SNDC), Annika Björkdahl (Lund University) with Annika Bergman-Rosamond (DIIS) and Ian Manners (Roskilde University).

Second, there seem to be a number of areas of Danish and Swedish EU studies where scholarship is not at the level one might expect for a variety of reasons. With a few exceptions, Danish and Swedish studies on social models and welfare policy in an EU context seem almost entirely absent (see Dorte Martinsen's work for an exception). Similarly, studies of the Eurozone are hard to find, which seems odd given the presence of two non-Euro members (Martin Marcussen's work is an exception). Despite the previous comments, Danish and Swedish scholarship on the EU, environment and global warming is an area where we might expect to find more work (exceptions include

Annica Kronsell and Karin Bäckstrand's work). Again, despite the strengths discussed in the previous sections, Danish and Swedish EU work on gender mainstreaming is not as broad as one might expect (although see Annica Kronsell's recent work on Nordic militaries). Strangely, the area of external relations where we might expect Danish and Swedish EU scholarship to be very well developed – development policy – also appears to be relatively weak (see Gorm Rye Olsen and Ole Elgström for exceptions). Given the Nordic region's attachment to democracy, this fact seems particularly weak in the EU context (exceptions include the work of Sverker Gustavsson and Morten Kelstrup). Finally, and most worryingly of all, one major gap in Danish and Swedish EU studies appears to be work on Nordic cooperation within the EU itself (see Pertti Joenniemi for an exception).

What this quality assessment seems to be suggesting is that there are many areas of international excellence in EU studies, such as in social and critical theory, as well as external actions/foreign affairs across Denmark and Sweden. It can also be said that there is excellence in certain specific areas such as sustainable development, gender issues, and agricultural policy, but the first two of these do not have a high impact as might be expected, given Denmark and Sweden's historical attachment to them. Of course, the literature review and bibliometric methodology drawn on here can easily be challenged for its English-language bias, but it does illustrate the dilemma of indigenous versus international (English) publication. Similarly the quality assessment does suggest that further research could further track the dense interrelationships between the EU academic, policy and diplomatic communities which is characteristic of Danish and Swedish societies.

5. Comparative and Temporal Dimensions

Combining the history of EC/EU integration with the scholarly focus stemming from the two respective countries

reveals the ever present influence of the social reality on the research agenda. As documented by Jørgensen [1995] and Egeberg [2003], Nordic EC/EU discussions have traditionally been confined to the somewhat self-centric enquiry of what is considered to be in the country's best interest. A natural consequence of this has been a strong domestic focus of the research agenda, «quite logical for scholars in a small country surrounded by a very big outside world» [Jørgensen 1995]. Nevertheless, a more outward-looking, international research agenda can be said to have emerged, by and large, after the Maastricht Treaty, in parallel with the more traditional, domestic agenda. This development should be seen as both reflecting Danish and Swedish political realities, while at the same time mirroring broader theoretical trends within the fields of social and political sciences.

In Denmark, EC/EU scholarship can roughly (and somewhat imprecisely) be separated in two phases, the first stretching from the Danish EC membership in 1972 until the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The pre-Maastricht phase was marked by research targeting first and foremost institutional matters (hereunder reforms), Denmark's co-ordinates on Europe's political and economic map (i.e. «Denmark and the EC» and the sometimes troubled relation between Denmark and the EC), and finally, EC external relations [Jørgensen 1995]. The Danish pre-Maastricht theoretical approach was closely confined to neo-functionalism, with a limited appreciation for alternative theories such as neo-institutionalism, realism and rational choice theory [Jørgensen 1995].

The emergence of a strong constructivist presence in the Danish political science community can be seen as *the* most important factor that contributed to the enhanced focus on norms and identities in the study of the EU. The introduction of social theory into EU studies can thus be said to have introduced a second phase in Danish EU scholarship, increasingly present in the post-Maastricht years. Gradually, as already mentioned, broader issue areas such as gender-mainstreaming and sustainable development won

terrain, which can be coupled to the belief in Scandinavian norm-entrepreneurship and actorness *within* the EU. The same argument can be applied to Swedish gender and environmental research.

The EC/EU research agenda in Sweden can, however, hardly be divided along the same lines as the Danish, first and foremost due to the limited scholarly focus before the Swedish EU entry in 1995. Rather than speaking about distinct phases in Swedish EU scholarship, it makes more sense to speak about a gradual development towards a set of core competences, mirroring both theory developments, as mentioned above, as well as political realities. With regards to the latter, the focus on negotiation and bargaining, as well as on the civilian dimension of defense cooperation, has crystallized in areas where Swedish EU scholarships have flourished, in particular after 2000. As argued by Lee-Ohlson, «the civilian dimension became a means of shaping and influencing the ESDP in a way conducive to traditional Swedish foreign and security policy thinking» [Lee-Ohlson 2008]. This, however, was a process that matured over time, and became first recognizable in the period between 2001 and 2003.

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MATTI WIBERG

LITTLE ADO ABOUT LITTLE: EUROPEAN STUDIES IN FINLAND

The purpose of the chapter is to provide a broad overview of European studies in political science in Finland for the last two decades. The chapter presents the EU-history of Finland, gives a short overall mapping of the relevant academic literature, shows which disciplinary traditions and theoretical approaches and theories have been applied and which scientific research results have been achieved. Finally, it ends with a quality assessment of the contributions and a comparative evaluation of the location of Finnish research in the broader literature.

All in all, Finland represents roughly a «two percent country» of the EU, with a population of 1,1 % of that of the EU, one commissioner out of 27 (ie. 3,7%), 2,2 % votes in the Council of Ministers, 13 members of the European Parliament's 736 members (i.e. 1,8 %). Even in terms of *a priori* voting power in the Council, Finland is a weak player: its Shapley-Shubik voting strength has been in the neighbourhood of two percent, reflecting adequately the country's share of EU-population [Raunio and Wiberg 1998; Wiberg 2005a; 2005b].

As Finland joined the EU only in 1995, there has not been much time even for researchers to focus upon the various aspects of European integration. Everyone in the field had to start from scratch because no research traditions existed in the country in mid-1990s.

1. *Finnish integration history: Pragmatic adaptation*

After World War II Finland found itself in a delicate situation. With a strong eastern neighbor, the country's room for maneuver was limited. The country did its best to

achieve functional relations with all immediate neighbors, to the east and west – and to a large extent succeeded in defending her economic, political and military interests. Finland's foreign policy of small-state political realism involved balancing between close – but not too close – relations with the Soviet Union, and good access for her industries to Western markets through the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) treaty arrangements. The name of the game was neutrality. As trade increased, the country started to orientate itself more and more towards the west.

Finland joined the EU in 1995, together with Austria and Sweden. Finland's readiness to implement her membership obligations turned out to be good. The new legislation preparing the country for membership was passed quickly, and the Grand Committee of Parliament assumed the role of a European affairs committee. In the government, the Cabinet for the European Union Committee and a number of other special bodies were also set up. Revenue payments from Finland to the Budget of the European Communities was provided for, as expenditures paid conversely from that Budget to the Finnish government budget started flowing. The Finnish government decided to assume the guise of a model pupil with meticulous adherence to the Maastricht convergence criteria. This led to cutbacks – in some respects very deep – in public finances. Although several member states which really fell short of the convergence criteria were nevertheless admitted into the European Monetary Union (EMU), Finland continued to fulfil each and every criterion. In 1999 Finland joined the third stage of the EMU and the country joined the Eurozone. On January 1, 2002 Finland became the only Nordic member state to move to the Euro regime.

Since Finland's EU membership started, there has been a majority public opinion for its continuation. Finns have indicated in national polls that they are nowadays much less interested in EU affairs than they were prior to membership and that they find increasingly that everybody has available reliable information on those affairs. At the

same time, they rate their own information about the EU as increasingly deficient. According to the Finns, the most positive aspects of membership involve benefits to exports and foreign trade arising from the unified market, as well as an improved international image for Finland, and low rates of interest. The most negative aspects of EU membership for Finland were thought to include the position of the agricultural population, bureaucracy, and diminished national self-determination. In most respects, the Finns can be categorized as Euro skeptics, just like the British, the Swedes and the Danes.

The country's attitude towards EU-membership has been rather pragmatic. The political elite and state administration adjusted to the EU rules and institutions without making specific demands or seeking reform of the established procedures of the Union. This was evident, first, in the membership negotiations, where the government accepted the Maastricht Treaty without reservation. In the case of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) Finland sought no exemptions from existing policies. Second, already in the advent of the European Economic Area (EEA) the core of the Finnish political system – parties, parliament and government bureaucracy – adjusted to challenges brought about by the membership. Since membership, no Finnish party has demanded Finland's withdrawal from the Union, which is contrary to the case in Sweden. Nor does any party demand any special exemptions for Finland from the *acquis*. Third, Finland's national European policy has sought to consolidate her position in the inner core of the Union.

Regarding the domestic political balance of power in Finland, foreign policy decision-making has undergone a significant transformation, as the dominant position of the president has been reduced towards a ceremonial role, and foreign policy has received a stronger parliamentary emphasis. The country got a new constitution effective since March 2000. The government now dictates the orientation of the national integration policy, with the president intervening mainly only when certain Common Foreign and

Security Policy (CFSP) questions are on the EU agenda. According to the Finnish constitution, all decisions of the president are formally tied to the decision-making of the government. While decision-making on routine European legislation is rather markedly decentralised with much ministerial autonomy, the overall direction of national EU policy and key policy choices are co-ordinated within the Cabinet and between the political parties, including the opposition in the parliament. This domestic consensus-building is partially driven by the need to achieve consistency and cohesion when negotiating with other member states and the EU institutions. The multi-party coalition governments, together with the role accorded to the opposition in the Parliament's Grand Committee, facilitate the broad backing for governmental action at the European level.

Before membership one of the most repeated claims was that Finland can best protect her interests by participating in European integration and by learning and adapting to the rules of the game. During most of her membership Finland has been a net payer to the EU budget. However, more general – and at the same time, more relevant – economic indicators testify that the Finnish economy has definitely benefited and continues to benefit from membership. It also appears that there have been no serious instances in which Finnish positions have been overruled in the EU decision-making. It remains to be seen whether the chosen strategies are beneficial or if they include detrimental or risky elements.

As noted above, in most respects the Finns can be categorized as Euro skeptics together with the British, the Swedes and the Danes. Finnish public opinion has been rather stable during the whole membership period. (see figures 1 and 2).

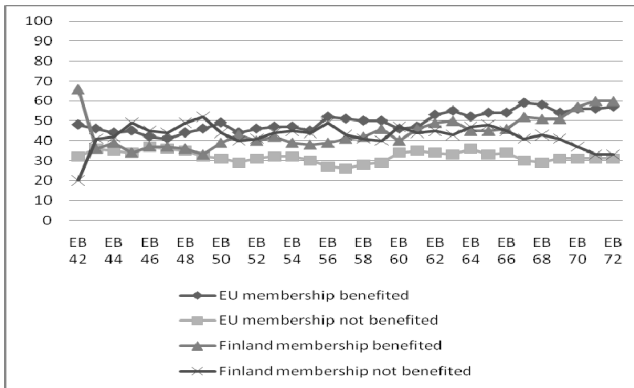


FIG. 1. Opinions of all and Finnish Eurobarometer-respondents on whether or not the own country has benefitted from membership in the EU.
 Source: Eurobarometer

Taken together, the Eurobarometer and the Finnish national EU poll findings indicate that public opinion in Finland remains cautiously positive – but to a remarkable degree also skeptical – about the benefits of membership. *Eurobarometers* also show that Finns are less supportive than the average EU citizens of further transfers of policy competencies to the European level. On this item the views of the Finnish political parties and the Finnish public are largely *congruent*. However, according to a survey carried out in 1995, Finnish MPs are considerably *more* pro-integrationist than the country’s citizens [Raunio and Wi-berg 2000]. However, the largely pro-integrationist political elite have not been successful in convincing the ordinary citizens about the virtues of integration. Thus EU membership has added a new significant cleavage to the Finnish political system. It is noteworthy that the cleavage exists rather within parties than between them: there are Euro skeptics in all larger parties.

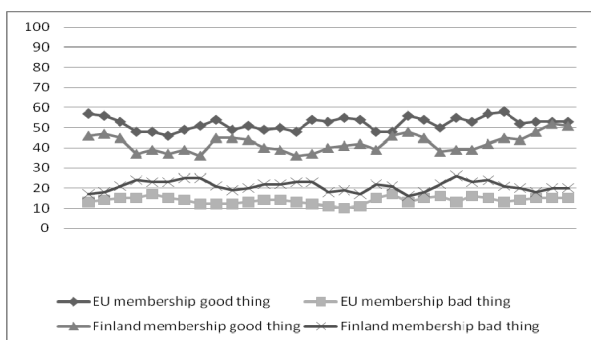


FIG. 2. Opinions of all and Finnish Eurobarometer-respondents on whether the own country's membership is a good or bad thing.

Source: Eurobarometer

On the European level, the Finnish government was willing to make concessions in EU decision-making in order to better protect core national issues, and it particularly refrained from causing complications in negotiations by seeking exemptions from common rules. By showing flexibility and readiness to compromise, the government appears to expect similar behavior from other member states when nationally important issues are on the EU agenda. Until 2000 Finns did not make any trouble in the Council, but, as Mattila showed, this has somewhat changed during 2004-2006 when Finland positioned itself as the sixth country among the members states measured by the frequency of negative votes or abstentions in the Council [Mattila 2009]. It is probably the alteration in cabinet composition that explains this change. The new cabinet needed to be able to demonstrate that Finland is not willing to accept everything. It is safe to assume that these demonstrations are mostly for domestic consumption.

Finnish integration history has been analysed by several scholars [Ahonen, Wiberg and Raunio 2004; Wiberg and Ahonen 2005; Väyrynen 1993; Paavonen 1989, 2001 and 2004; Raunio and Tiilikainen 2003; Jenssen et al.1998].

3. Little and of variable quality: Overall mapping of Finnish European studies literature

With a population of only 5.3 million people, Finland has a relatively small political science community – by any reasonable measure, the smallest in the Nordic countries, bar tiny Iceland. Finnish European studies more or less started in the mid-1990s, when the country joined the EU. There were some semi-academic publications even before that, but they were of very little if any academic value even at the point of their publication. Academic quality requirements satisfying Finnish European studies (ES) literature is, consequently, scarce and, on average, not of particularly high quality compared to the strictest professional standards. However, from a European perspective, Finnish scholars of European integration do not have to be ashamed of their work. The bulk of Finnish ES-publications have been published in other refereed journals. There are some few qualitatively high exceptions from this dismal situation, but on the whole, the Finnish political science community has not been able to produce much top-level research on this topic. It should however be added, that the best ES publications are simultaneously among the best quality publications of Finnish political science in general. In a way all this is what we should expect given the small amount of intellectual and other resources devoted to the field. There is rather much elementary, pedagogically useful material, but first class research projects and thus research outputs have been rare. The scholarly community is and has always been small, comprising roughly 20 people, using a very wide criterion for who is an academic scholar in this field. It should be strongly emphasized that the Finnish contributions and their results are by and large the output of individual researchers and not that of academic research teams or well-established or well-funded projects. Given the small amount of economic resources that have been devoted to the field, Finnish European studies are of remarkably high quality: the academic community in Europe has quite many Finnish scientific contribu-

tions with very small or non-existent direct costs to the Finnish taxpayers.

The Finnish Political Science Association (FPSA) is one of the oldest in the world. Founded in 1935 the FPSA comprises almost all professional political scientists. There has not been any particular EU-orientation in the activities of the FPSA in general, but EU-themes have regularly been dealt with in the workshops at the annual conferences of the association, at least since mid-1990s. Politics and International Relations are taught at seven universities: Helsinki, Turku and Åbo Akademi (the latter of which is the Swedish speaking University in Turku; Åbo is the Swedish name of Turku), Tampere, Jyväskylä, Rovaniemi, and Vaasa. All these units have provided courses in European Studies since the mid-1990s.

The Europe Institute at the University of Turku existed in a few different versions during the 1980s and 1990s. It moved and was redesigned into the Pan-European Institute (PEI) at the Turku Business School. During recent years it has not been known for producing academic research in the field and even its educational functions have been modest. It would be fair to bluntly categorize the activities of these institutions as strong pro-EU propaganda than as academic research environments.

The Network for European Studies was founded late 2002 with the purpose of reinforcing and coordinating the study of European issues within all faculties and disciplines of the University of Helsinki. Its impact has been, by any reasonable measure, very modest, especially in terms of research outputs.

4. EU research in Finland: institutional settings

In the course of the accession negotiations and after membership, EU issues have become an integral, but minor, part of scholarly interest in Finland. In political science this has manifested in several ways. The institutions providing teaching/research in European Studies in Finland are:

University of Helsinki: Department of Political and Economic Studies

University of Helsinki: interdisciplinary Network for European Studies (NES)

University of Helsinki: Centre for European Studies (CESUH)

University of Turku: Department of Political Science

University of Turku: Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (2003-2007, 1996-2003 JM chair)

University of Turku: Turku School of Economics, Pan-European Institute

University of Tampere: Department of Political Science

University of Tampere: Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

University of Tampere: Department of Law, International and European Law

University of Lapland: Political Science

The Finnish Institute for International Affairs (FIIA): Europe research program (started in 2008) Special European Studies programs have been established in three universities since mid-1990s, in Helsinki, Turku and Tampere. Already before that many courses were delivered at most of the larger and older universities in the country.

5. Disciplinary traditions and theoretical approaches in Finnish European studies

Out of a various myriad of ways in categorizing European studies we have divided here the scholarly output into four distinct groups based on their overall academic merit to political science (some prolific authors are listed, see the references for bibliographical details):

a. Institutional analysis (Nurmi, Mattila, Raunio, Wiberg, Widgren).

b. Voting power studies (Nurmi, Meskanen, Pajala, Wiberg, Widgren).

c. Public opinion and electoral studies (Raunio, Mattila,

Wiberg).

d. International relations (Ojanen, Tiilikainen)

Institutional analysis has concentrated especially on the constitutional and organizational issues of the political system of the EU and in particular on the decision-making rules and actual voting behavior within the Council of Ministers. Theories and methods of analytical political theory and of comparative politics have been used as well as theories of institutional design together with tools from economics (game theory in particular). These studies have demonstrated that the Council of Ministers is by far the most important decision-making body in the EU-setting. It has also been shown that a culture of consensus exists: voting in the Council is rather rare and when it does occur it is typically one member state that is contesting the proposal. Mattila's results show that the Council's political space is comprised of two main dimensions [Mattila 2009]. The first dimension reflects the north-south cleavage found in the Council even before the 2004 enlargement, while the second one is related to enlargement and indicates a cleavage between the new and old member states. Thus, in the enlarged Union, the north-south dimension is replaced by a north-south-east pattern. It is noteworthy that the Council political space is different from the European Parliament's political space, in which the left-right dimension dominates voting [Mattila 2004, 2008; Mattila and Lane 2001]. One of the most prolific Finnish researchers in this field is Tapio Raunio, who has published extensively on how representative democracy works in the context of the EU. In his research on national parliaments, Raunio has showed how domestic legislatures in general subject their governments to tighter scrutiny than before [O'Brennan and Raunio 2007; Raunio 2009]. Variation in the level of scrutiny is in turn primarily explained by two factors – the powers of the parliament independent of integration and party or public positions on Europe, with higher levels of Euro skepticism facilitating tighter parliamentary scrutiny [Raunio 2005]. While there is no shortage of research on national parliaments and European integration, we lack empirical studies

on the impact of EU on domestic legislatures [Wiberg 1997; Raunio and Wiberg 2008]. According to the «decline of parliaments» thesis that dominates the literature, the executive branch has increased its powers vis-à-vis the legislature. At the same time most studies indicate that the parliaments in the Nordic region are on average stronger than their counterparts in central and southern European countries. Raunio and Wiberg [2008] have examined the validity of the «decline of parliaments» thesis in the context of Finland, a country where recent constitutional reforms have strengthened parliamentarism by reducing the powers of the president and empowering the government and the parliament. Analyzing the constitutional balance of power between state organs, the interaction between the government and the opposition, and the ability of the parliament to hold the cabinet accountable, this article argues that despite its stronger constitutional position, the *Eduskunta* faces considerable difficulties in controlling the government. The results show that the parliamentarisation of the political system also means that the *Eduskunta* faces the same difficulties as its counterparts in other European parliamentary democracies. The division between the government and opposition is the most important cleavage. As the party groups of the government parties need to support the government and its program, the parliament as an institution is rather weak or unwilling to use even those control mechanisms vested in it. Considering that the opposition has been both numerically weak and ideologically fragmented, the government does not have to be very responsive to the parliament as long as it can guarantee continued support from its own party groups. To summarize, Finnish politics is nowadays almost completely government-driven. The parliament sets some outer constraints for the executive, but the bulk of parliamentary business consists of reacting to initiatives from the government [Raunio and Wiberg 2008]. Raunio and Wiberg contribute to the literature by discussing the challenges involved in measuring the Europeanization of national parliaments. They also suggested several hypotheses and indicators – EU-related na-

tional laws, the use of control instruments (confidence votes and parliamentary questions) in EU matters, and the share of committee, plenary and party group meeting, time spent on European matters – that can be used in subsequent comparative research. Evidence from Finland shows the differentiated impact of Europe: while the share of domestic laws related to EU is smaller than often argued, particularly committees are burdened to a much larger extent by European matters [Raunio and Wiberg 2010].

Turning to political parties, Raunio has shown how the positions of Finnish parties on Europe are explained by both ideology and party strategy on elections and government formation [Raunio 1999; Johansson and Raunio 2001]. At least theoretically, European integration also empowers party leaders and party groups at the expense of other party actors [Raunio 2002].

In terms of the European Parliament (EP), Raunio has analyzed both the internal politics of the EP and the links between Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and their national parties. Concerning the former, research has shown EP groups to be relatively cohesive, with coalition formation in the Parliament mainly organized along the left-right dimension [Raunio 1997]. Together with Virginie Mamadouh, Raunio has examined the distribution of committee seats and rapporteurships, showing that the most expensive reports, such as those on the EU budget or on important pieces of co-decision legislation, are largely controlled by the large party groups [Mamadouh and Raunio 2003]. Concerning links between MEPs and their parties back in the member states, Raunio has shown that while there is more policy coordination, the former are subjected to very little actual control by their domestic parties [Raunio 2000; 2007]. By using a principal-agent framework, he argued that the level of contacts or control between parties and their MEPs depends on the costs and benefits of such control for national parties [Raunio 2007]. Based on interviews of party officials carried out in 2004 – 2005, he shows how in Finland the electoral system impacts on relations between parties and MEPs. The open-

list system works against active control of MEPs, as the party leadership has – despite centralized candidate selection procedures – fairly limited incentives to influence the MEPs’ work. The findings clearly show that Finnish MEPs act relatively independently of their parties. This does not mean that MEPs would be divorced from their national parties or constituencies. On the contrary, MEPs throughout the EU remain firmly connected to national politics through a variety of channels – with most of them holding simultaneously various offices in their parties (either at the local, district or national level) and maintaining active links with their party organizations and voters. Second, the choice of the electoral system clearly impacts the MEPs’ behavior. The open-list system used in Finland works against active control of MEPs, as the party leadership has fairly limited possibilities to influence MEPs’ work.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion to emerge from these studies is the gap that still exists between national party organizations and the European Parliament. The standard argument in the literature has been that as the EP gains new powers, national parties will start investing more resources in holding their MEPs accountable. There is evidence that supports these arguments – MEPs’ voting behavior is influenced by candidate selection mechanisms, some parties (such as the British Labor Party) have established new instruments for controlling their MEPs, and in general parties seem to pay more attention to the Parliament. Nonetheless, we are still far from a situation where national parties would actively control their MEPs. There are a number of reasons for this. First, for most parties the costs of active control outweigh the benefits, particularly when considering that the majority of the approximately 200 parties that win seats in the Parliament are quite small. It thus makes little sense for parties to invest valuable resources in oversight of MEPs when their EP delegations have marginal chances of influencing parliamentary decisions. Related to this is the fact that national parties are normally not punished in elections for their MEPs’ actions. Moreover, most votes in the Parliament are

not salient enough for parties or they produce diffuse benefits as opposed to clearly identifiable winners and losers. After all, the main decisions concerning redistributive policies, such as the size of the EU's budget or allocations of agricultural and regional funds, are taken by the other EU institutions. Hence parties probably want to establish oversight mechanisms of the «fire alarm» type that keep them informed of events in Brussels without putting too much strain on their resources. Second, inflexible control from the national level, such as issuing voting instructions, might prove to be counter-productive, preventing MEPs from reaching bargains favorable to the parties. And third, agency behavior may be guided by the preferences of the principal even without any use of formal sanctions. MEPs may respond to and anticipate the preferences of their national parties and constituents without actually consulting them. The available evidence indicates that national parties do pay more attention to European issues, and that they also keep a closer eye on what their MEPs do. But, this change should not be exaggerated. For European parties, not to mention European voters, the national level continues to be the most important level of decision-making, and as a result politics in the European Parliament will remain a secondary concern for them [Raunio 2007]. In the field of inter-institutional power relations many techniques have been used, not least the framework of a priori power indices [Banzhaf and Shapley-Shubik], but also bargaining analysis and game theory in general [Widgren, Nurmi, Wiberg, Pajala]. A rich variety of sophisticated research methods as well as many types of empirical data has been used. Probabilistic measures of *a priori* voting power are useful tools to evaluate actors influence on collective decision-making either for the purpose of designing a voting organ or to model particular policy cases. Several Finnish attempts have been made to reduce a dynamic voting process into a cooperative voting game. The EU has been used as an example. With power indices one is able to quantify, for instance, to what extent the development of the decision-making procedures of the EU has changed the division of

power among its main organs. Studies in the distribution of *a priori* voting power especially within the Council of Ministers and in the European Parliament have been carried out with some quite distinctive results. These calculations have concentrated on distribution of voting power among the member states – see Nurmi, Pajala, Napel and Widgren – and among the parliamentary party groupings within the European Parliament [Raunio and Wiberg 1998; Faas, Raunio and Wiberg 2004; Wiberg 2005]. Nurmi, for instance, has shown the narrow relevance of power indices in the study of use of power within EU-institutions [Nurmi 2009]. Agenda control is far more important than the distribution of *a priori* voting power among the relevant players within the EU institutions. From the perspectives of game theory, public choice theory and theory of collective decision-making in general and *a priori* voting power studies in particular many aspects have been analyzed, some perhaps even overanalyzed in the sense that quite many publications contain very similar substantive argumentation lines and even identical results. It would not be wrong to claim that some of the publications in this sub-field are more or less redundant with already existing publications in academic journals and anthologies, domestic and abroad. The publications in the first two sub-fields are typically of rather abstract and of a theoretical nature, but, exceptionally, even empirical considerations have been presented. Some of the publications in this sub-field have been purely normative speculations, technically sophisticated, though. Applying bargaining theory to predict inter-institutional agreements in the Conciliation Committee, it turns out that although institutionally the Council and the Parliament are seemingly in a symmetric position, CM has significantly greater influence on EU legislation.

An economist, Mika Widgren, in particular with his German colleague Stefan Napel, have made important contributions to the understanding of the political decision-making mechanisms within the EU. By using various game theoretical tools and a new framework for power measurement, which can explicitly account for decision

procedures and strategic interaction, they have investigated the distribution of power within and between the legislative institutions of the EU [Napel and Widgrén 2004]. They show that seemingly very balanced institutional rules give significantly more influence on outcomes of the co-decision procedure (nowadays the EU's ordinary legislative procedure) to the Council of Ministers than to the European Parliament [Napel and Widgrén 2006]. The same holds for the investiture procedure, by which Council and Parliament jointly appoint a new Commission every five years [Napel and Widgrén 2008]. They also show that the move from the very restrictive qualified majority requirements in the Treaty of Nice to the somewhat more relaxed ones of the Treaty of Lisbon will shift some power from the Council to the Commission and Parliament, as well as from smaller to larger member states [Napel and Widgrén 2009].

Next we will focus upon studies on public opinion in Finland. Public opinion polls, especially the *Eurobarometer*, as well as domestically organized polls, have been used to shed some light on the integration attitudes of Finns on the individual level [starting with Raunio and Wiberg 1996; 1997 and Wiberg 1998], but these rich polls are clearly underused in Finland as only a few publications even mention them [Wiberg 2000]. These data would give us much information on the general populations' attitudes on European integration in general and towards various aspects of integration in particular. The polls show that Finns, like the most EU-citizens think of themselves foremost as citizens of their own state. There is an important generation difference as the younger people feel themselves to be both Finns and Europeans. Some fruitful cross-fertilization with election studies is to be found as integration issues have been tackled in this sub-field, too. Elections to the European Parliament have been studied: the 1996 and 1999 elections [Raunio and Pesonen 2000; Mattila 2000], the 2004 election [Tiilikainen and Wass 2004; Mattila and Raunio 2005; Nurmi, Helin and Raunio 2007; Raunio 2009].

Mattila analyzed the turnout for the European Par-

liamentary elections and came to the result that turnout is affected partly by the same factors that affect turnout in normal national elections and partly by factors related to the EU [Mattila 2003]. He showed that most of the cross-country variation in turnout can be explained by the same variables in national elections. Compulsory voting, weekend voting and having other elections simultaneously with EP elections increase turnout. Also some EU specific factors affect turnout, but their effect is smaller. Voters in countries benefiting from the EU subsidies vote more actively than voters in the countries that pay these subsidies. Furthermore, turnout is higher in countries with strong support for EU membership. Holding elections during weekends and having multiple constituencies in all countries could increase the turnout by approximately 10 percentage points [Mattila 2003].

It has been convincingly demonstrated that the cleavages from the consultative referendum still prevail in the general public. Integration attitudes follow to a remarkable degree the same pattern that demonstrated itself already in the referendum 1994, where the main question in the minds of the voters was a choice between «Yes» or «Njyet», the security-political dimension was the most salient. The southern voters voted mostly «Yes», the northern, mainly agricultural citizens, voted «No» [Jenssen et. al 1998].

A Finnish think tank, Finnish Business and Policy Forum (*Elinkeinoelämän Valtuuskunta*, EVA), has been regularly publishing a public opinion poll on Finns attitudes since 1984, and integration attitudes since 1992, but these have been used very little in scholarly works [Pesonen and Riihinen 2002]. These polls show that Finns attitudes toward EU membership are rather lukewarm and have remained more or less unchanged since 1995. Throughout this period roughly one third of Finns have taken a neutral stance toward EU membership while some 40 percent have had a positive and the remaining 30 percent a negative attitude toward membership. Finns believe that EU developments in recent years have been marked by growth in the

influence of large member countries and an increased tendency of member countries to «protect their own turf» in decision-making. Moreover, Finland's influence in the EU is deemed to have decreased. Despite all this criticism, the majority see the new EU-level approaches incorporated in the EU's common foreign policy or climate policy in a positive light. On the other hand, Finns are not enthusiastic about the enlargement of the EU, and a majority would see, for example, Turkey's membership in the EU as a bad thing.

Together with Mikko Mattila, Raunio has analysed party-voter congruence over EU and party competition at the EU level [Mattila and Raunio 2006, 2009]. Regarding the former, they show that parties are more supportive of European integration than their voters, government parties are less responsive than opposition parties, and that opinion congruence was higher in smaller parties. Turning to party competition, Mattila and Raunio suggest that government size impacts party positions and contestation on integration, with large coalition governments hindering party competition on the EU dimension.

Let us now turn to the fourth sub-field: Finnish ES-research in the field of international politics. The various aspects of the foreign policy capacity and practical challenges as well as actual behavior of the EU in international relations has been studied to some degree by Finnish scholars in international relations (particularly by Ojanen and Tiilikainen). These publications focus mainly on theories of European integration, Nordic cooperation, Finland in the EU and on the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).

Through an analysis of integration theories and through the construction of alternative versions of two case studies, Ojanen shows how seemingly contradictory theories are all equally valid, their validity depending on the basic assumptions made on what the state is and on the nature of the integration process [Ojanen 1998]. Her research [Ojanen 2005] of Nordic cooperation shows the distance between official description through politically

correct terminology, and what has been going on in practice, contributing to the research on the claimed specificity of Nordic and of European integration processes. Her research into a member states' first years in the Union [Ojanen 1999; 2000] shows how a new member states may «customize» the Union (in particular, its external relations) to increase consistency between how the country's own profile and that of the Union are being perceived, both internationally and domestically. In the field of ESDP Ojanen illustrates the limited relevance of explanations of the ESDP that stem from security policy proper (events, threat perceptions) [Ojanen 2006a; 2006b]. Instead, this particular field of the EU evolves because of other reasons, including internal dynamics, other actors' involvement, national interests often aimed at something else than ESDP development, thus, unintentional consequences, and also of the need felt by politicians of availing themselves of trends in public opinion [Ojanen 2006]. In the field of on inter-organizational relations Ojanen argues that this is an emerging new field in search of a theory that enables conceptualizing what actually happens in the interaction of international organizations, particularly in the field of security policy [Ojanen 2006, 2007]. She observes different kinds of interaction, from imitation and innovation-spreading to cooperation and competition.

Tiilikainen's study of the EU's self-understanding shows that the traditional elements of state identity (sovereignty, territoriality) have taken an all the more dominant position in the formulation of the Union's policies since the late 1980s [Tiilikainen 2010]. Her earlier study [Tiilikainen 2001] shows how decisions with a much more limited content (internal market, the legal personalities of the communities) have played a key role in the political process into this direction. Studies on the EU's institutional development concerning the field of its external relations [Tiilikainen 2005] prove that the institutional solutions of policy-preparation and policy-making that achieve the highest justification are solutions copied from the state model.

These publications have mostly been rather descrip-

tive and/or normative if not purely speculative with very little true scientific innovation with respect to a) research questions, b) theoretical viewpoints, c) testable hypotheses, d) empirical data, e) proper methods or research techniques and, indeed, f) research results. Relatively many, if not almost all, publications in this field lack at least one of the mentioned necessary elements of any scientific publication. Quite commonly no clear hypotheses are neither formulated nor tested. The research question these publications address are, to put it mildly, unclear more often than not. Theoretically this sub-field is clearly underdeveloped. Theories are typically only rather mentioned than applied or used for any scholarly purpose. The used data is, for the most part, only anecdotal at best, but typically lacking altogether. Given the lack of proper systematic empirical data and precisely formulated, theoretically determined research hypotheses, it is moreover the case that the scholars in international relations typically do not apply any particular research technique known to the community of western social scientists. As a logical and consequence of this, typically no clear research results are to be found in the numerous publications. Even their practical relevance to the domestic foreign policy community is of meager nature: it is not known whether the Finnish foreign policy practitioners even read these publications, but it is sure that even if they do, they do not impact practical policy formulation in any measurable way. In some sense this is rather odd as the researchers in this field seem to see the national decision-makers as their primary audience. A typical publication in this sub-field starts with a very broad general question or perhaps only with a loose theme, then quickly gets into day-to-day details and finally presents few rather sweeping semi-practical conclusions.

There are very few if any major, internationally acclaimed contributions made by Finns in the field of European studies. No foreign scientific prizes seem to have been given to any Finnish integration scholars. Some mainstream scholars (notably Raunio and Mattila) have published regularly in high prestige academic journals. The Finnish politi-

cal science community or rather its scholarly active core has rather closely followed the ongoing international discussions in European studies and distributed the main findings in their scholarly work both as authors and teachers. The traffic seems to be very asymmetric: almost totally from abroad to Finland. To use the vocabulary of network analysis: the in-degree is hugely larger than the out-degree. This is not surprising given the smallness of Finnish resources.

It feels rather safe to claim that the scholarly activities have had only a negligent impact on EU policy at the national political level. Some scholars, and in particular those whose academic merit is of questionable quality, are regularly interviewed in the mainstream mass media, and some have been working in various ways in the corridors of powers, quite many think of themselves as some kind of self-recruited grey eminences – as experts both for the government and parliament as well as for various ministries. There are no clear indications whether the best scholars have been helping Finnish national party headquarters in their formulation of their integration policies, but there are some known cases of intellectual *ad hoc* contributions to some of the main parties and state bureaucracies. For the most part Finnish scholars in the field of European studies, at least the scientifically more competent ones, have enjoyed their professional life within the ivory towers of the universities.

On a more general level semi-scholars and propagandists in academic disguise have also written extensively in the newspapers and have given interviews to the media on various topics of actuality, not least in the context of European elections and other events of key importance for decision making and policy formulation and implementation and evaluation within the EU. There is, unfortunately, no systematic study of the volume, intensity or impact of these contributions. It is a safe bet, though, to claim that even when many Finns perhaps recognize these activists, they pay very little or no attention to what is being said. This is, paradoxically, perhaps only for the good as what is being claimed is typically not grounded in serious academic re-

search, but only reflects the visionary hopes and wishes of those talking.

As is common in the academic EU-publication production in most of the EU member states, even Finns started with presenting quite a few institutional descriptions on the formal decision making structures in the EU, often in an elementary, naïve and popular fashion. Some solid textbooks were published, though [Raunio and Wi-berg 1998, 2000]. These were used widely in EU-studies at the elementary level in Finnish universities. The more mature and creative academic scholarship followed with a series of articles and analytic works on the operation of the EU and its institutional innovations, which have been evaluated according to a variety of criteria. The readership of these masterpieces is, unfortunately, rather limited and its impact probably even much smaller.

Some former MEPs have in their memoirs and current affair books presented anecdotal evidence on the real use of power in the EU architecture (among others Satu Hassi, Reino Paasilinna, Pertti Paasio, Mikko Pesälä, Esko Seppänen, Alexander Stubb), but these accounts do by no means contribute to the scientific EU-literature, in some cases they even contradict the scientific findings as they tend to suggest a rather rosy picture of the political processes within the EU institutions.

Some pedagogic innovations have been established. For instance the decision-making modeling and simulations have been taught at the universities of Tampere and Turku in courses and seminars run by the author of this chapter in the 1990s and early 2000s.

6. Summary of main findings

Proper academic ES have been published by Finnish scholars only during the last 15 years or so. Focusing mainly on the decision-making aspects of the operation of the EU, this academic output has contributed to a more realistic understanding of how the EU actually works and how it

should function given certain normative goals and criteria. The best outputs have been published in the best academic mainstream political science journals. There is still very much to be researched.

Mainstream Finnish political scientists have contributed to the understanding of the institutional structure of the EU and the division of power within these institutions. Theoretically sophisticated analyses with important research results have been published.

In the field of international relations the situation is much worse. Their theoretical value is questionable as no theories are used nor contributed to. Quite often the eventual reader is left without any demonstration as to how the presented conclusions follow from their discussion. It is more often the case than not that the premises on which the presentation is based have not been stated at all. Empirical evidence is seldom collected in a systematic way. The analysis typically does not convince the eventual reader in the sense that empirical research techniques would have been used. There is typically very little proper scientific application of any known research method or technique - which, by the way, seems to be the case in the sub-field of international relations in general, not only with respect to European studies. It is practically impossible to find any systematic analysis with any theoretical or empirical depth in this sub-field. The texts might be interesting in their own right, but as they are not based on the professional application of systematic research techniques to important data, their scientific value is questionable. The publications in this field present more French *écriture* or so called slow-journalism than academic analysis with proper data and systematic application of modern research tools. No wonder that the results seem to be of rather modest type, with little or no academic or other merit. The bulk of these publications seem too outdated already upon arrival, i.e. when they are published.

It is easy to point to several serious omissions and gaps in the Finnish cumulative academic knowledge on European integration. Let me conclude by mentioning a

few of them. All things considered: What drives integration and what impact does it have on the national political system of Finland? How has Finland as a nation and its various demographic segments been treated in the EU? What are the main consequences of EU-membership for Finland and its institutions and population? Who are the domestic winners and losers of integration? Which are the main drawbacks and misjudgments? Which results have been achieved? Which of these achievements have been the results of wise policies of the Finnish political elite and which portion has just occurred for other reasons? What explains the still intense and frequent Euro skepticism not only in the public opinion, but in practical everyday choices of both the establishment and individual citizens? We do know all too little on elite recruitment to and in the EU, too? One of the remaining central tasks for further research is to explain the low level of saliency of EU-issues in Finnish national politics.

To use the metaphor of Gabriel Almond (1990), one could perhaps summarize the Finnish contribution to European studies by claiming that true believers (for or against European integration) and sober scholars have been at separate tables with very little interest in each other and practically no impact on each other.

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OLIVIER COSTA

THE STATE OF EU STUDIES IN FRANCE

France is one of the founding members of the European Communities. It has played an active role in the definition of the Community method. French lawyers have soon devoted much attention to European integration, since some were closely involved in the drafting of the treaties. Economists have also taken this phenomenon seriously at an early stage. On the contrary, for a long time, French political scientists paid little attention to Europe. In the 1980s, European studies were less developed in France than in the French speaking parts of Belgium, Switzerland or even Canada. Since the end of the 1990s, things have evolved significantly: today many French political scientists are working on EU matters and a significant number of them are defining themselves as EU specialists. However, the involvement of French scholars in the international debates remains quite limited and the landscape of French EU studies keeps its originality.

It may seem artificial to underline this French specificity since some of the most prominent EU researchers in France appear to be Austrian (Sabine Saurugger), Belgian (Renaud Dehousse), English (Andy Smith), German/Argentinean (Emiliano Grossman) or Finish (Niilo Kauppi). Also, many French scholars have made their academic education outside France, like Virginie Guiraudon (Harvard) or Nicolas Jabko (Berkeley), or are still holding positions outside France, in EUI Florence (Yves Mény, Pascal Vénesson), the LSE (Michael Bruter), Princeton (Sophie Meunier), *Université libre de Bruxelles/ULB* (François Forêt, Jean-Marc Ferry, Amandine Crespy) or Copenhagen Business School (Magali Gravier). Some others are neither French nor in France, while being very active in France, like Paul Maignette (ULB), Vivien Schmidt (Boston University), Frédéric Mérand (University of

Montréal) or Alistair Cole (Cardiff University).

It however makes sense to deal with the situation of EU studies in France, since it offers much contrast with countries like Germany, the U.K. or Italy. We will thus consider as “French” all the scholars, whatever their nationality may be, who belong to a French teaching or research institution. The main tools, theories and objects chosen by French EU scholars are quite specific, as well as the main debates. At the international level, the central cleavages are still the ones between international relations (IR) and comparative politics and between rational choice and constructivism. Both are quite irrelevant in the French context: there are few IR scholars involved in EU studies and not many specialists of comparative politics either. Rational choice is very limited in France and if many French scholars call themselves «constructivists», they have a quite specific conception of what constructivism is or should be. Neo-institutionalism is not very popular in France, since many scholars close from constitutional law never stopped studying institutions, and since most researchers coming from sociology consider that «institution» is not a relevant category to study political phenomena.

This chapter is divided in three main parts. The first will explain why the French political scientists were late-comers on EU studies. The second will present the reasons why things have changed so much in the 1990s and 2000s. The last part will give an overview of French EU studies today, using a specific database of articles published by French scholars about EU matters in 42 peer-reviewed journals between 2007 and 2010.

1. *Why did French political scientists discover the EU so late?*

Even if political science is a dynamic research area in France, its scholars did not pay much attention to European integration until the 1990s.

The teaching of political science is quite developed in

France thanks to the system of *Instituts d'Etudes Politiques* (nine since 1991); contrary to universities, those *Grandes Ecoles* are selecting a limited number of students who enjoy good working conditions compared to the average French university students. The situation of research in political science is favorable as well – in contrast with other social and human sciences – because of the central role played by the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques* (FNSP). The discipline also benefits from the dynamism of the *Association Française de Science Politique*, which counts 540 full members and 14 standing groups, organizes a two-yearly congress and supports, since 1951, the *Revue Française de Science Politique*.

However, until the 1990s, very few French political scientists were involved in the study of the EU, and the ones who did were not very active at the international level. This situation results from three factors, developed below.

1.1. *The specificities of political science in France*

In France, political science was born from public law, with authors like M. Duverger, G. Burdeau and J.L. Quermonne. It gained its independence from law only in 1971, when the first examination of *agrégation de science politique* established political science as an autonomous discipline at the university level. The first professors of political science selected through this new process were still close to constitutional law. In the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a strong reaction of sociologists against that connection. Academics and PhD students, inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and by structuralism, called for the development of a «political sociology» against the old «political science» supposed to be positivist, legitimist and too focused on law and institutions. This trend of political science, which is mainstream today in France, is centered on the study of actors (citizens, social movements and mobilizations, politicians, other elites) with qualitative methods (interviews, participating observations, archive analy-

sis) borrowed from sociology, anthropology, ethnology and history. Political sociologists are also calling for a systematic deconstruction of institutions, constitutional models and ideas. Thus, they have abandoned to a large extent the study of institutions to lawyers and historians and rejected as irrelevant what they call «the Anglo-Saxon mainstream», symbolized by rational choice and quantitative methods.

Aside from this powerful sociological trend, mainly focused on France (as a field and as a scientific space), the rest of the discipline is quite fragmented. International relations (IR) and political theory are not very developed in France. The same goes for comparative politics, which are often limited to area studies and not really using comparative tools. In general, one can also notice a weakness of quantitative methods – with the exception of electoral studies – and very few connections between French political scientists and other fields such as economy, statistics and mathematics.

Because of the structure of the discipline, French political scientists were not inclined to pay attention to EU institutions and policies. Most of the public law oriented scholars shared the idea that there could be no political activity beyond the nation-state: what was happening in Brussels was to be studied by lawyers and economists. Sociology-oriented political scientists did not pay more attention to European integration, due to their reluctance to consider institutions, to their focus on national and local actors, and to their disregard for the «Anglo-Saxon mainstream». In France, EU studies were thus dominated by lawyers and, to a lesser extent, economists and historians.

1.2. *The difficult relationship of France with European integration*

Another explanation for the lack of interest of French political scientists in EU matters is the difficult relationship of France with European integration. France is one of the founding members of the Communities, but its leaders

have always cultivated a specific link to Europe. If some of them may be qualified as «true Europeans», like Robert Schuman, Georges Pompidou, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing or even François Mitterrand (in the late 1980s), they have all shared the idea that France should have a leading role in Europe, and was not a member state like any other. Those leaders were never more enthusiastic about European integration than when it was considered as a contribution to the French *grandeur*. But France has also counted numerous leaders that showed some reluctance towards the federalist dimension of the European integration experience, starting with Charles De Gaulle, as early as 1958. De Gaulle contributed – with the Fouchet plans (1961 and 1962) and the crisis of the «empty chair» (1965-1966) – to promote a more intergovernmental conception of European integration, one still vivid in France.

Today, Euroskepticism is a strong trend in French politics. The right wing (RPR, FN) and left wing (PC) «sovereignist» parties have been rejoined in the 2000s by all kinds of opponents to neo-liberalism and globalization and by various defenders of the «French socio-economical model» – whatever that may mean. This movement has led to the rejection of the European Constitutional Treaty by referendum in May 2005. More generally, if French leaders and citizens are, in majority, favorable to the project of European integration, they are quite critical of EU institutions, actors and policies, and also very prone to denounce its negative impact on national politics. They also tend to consider the process of integration as something technical, on the one hand, and intergovernmental, on the other hand. According to a majority of both academics and politicians, «the Nation» was to be the only frame for politics and democracy. As said, this conception encouraged political scientists to perceive European integration as a process with no political dimension, involving only administrative elites and diplomats, to be studied by lawyers and economists.

It is only at the occasion of the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht by referendum (1992) that leaders and

citizens discovered (or pretended to) that European integration was a political process limiting French sovereignty. The creation of the European Union has deepened the political nature of European integration and highlighted its impact on member states at every level (administration, lawmaking, economy, citizenship). It has also created a strong reaction in public opinion with the rise and expression of Euroskepticism. In that context, French political scientists started to pay more attention to European matters.

1.3. *The limited internationalization of French political scientists*

The third main factor that explains the very limited involvement of French political scientists in EU studies in the 1980s is their weak internationalization. At that time, French political science was not very much connected to the international level for several reasons. The first one is the epistemological specificities of French political science: as said, «political sociologists» were mainly focused on the French case and found little interest in the international production. The branch of political science derived from constitutional law was also not very much internationalized – just as French lawyers have never been. A second reason is the lack of language skills: French scholars and students were not good at reading, speaking and writing in English in the 1980s. There were few international references in political science textbooks (or books and papers translated in French) and the teaching of English was not very well developed in French universities. It was thus easier for French scholars to concentrate on domestic debates and on publishing in French. A third element is the fact that it was possible for French social scientists to publish exclusively in their native language, since there are several peer reviewed journals in French and some serious publishers. The *francophonie* offers quite a large audience for political scientists writing in French. At that time, there were also

few incentives for scholars to make the effort to publish in English. In many cases, it was even risky. Until the end of the 1990s, French scholars or researchers could be sanctioned in their career because they were publishing too much in English, and not enough in the main French journals.

2. *The development of EU studies in the 1990s and 2000s*

A complex set of phenomena, initiatives and decisions led to an important development of EU studies in France in the 1990s and 2000s. Four main developments can be identified.

First, research on EU institutions and policies has been encouraged by funding opportunities. The central one was the program set up by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) on the issue of *l'identité européenne en question* («European identity in question»), that has funded more than 40 research projects between 1998 and 2000.

Second, some institutions (universities, FNSP, CNRS) have decided to hire EU specialists to encourage the development of teaching and research on that topic. The creation of the peer reviewed journal *Politique européenne* («European politics/polity») in 2000 was a third key event. It resulted from the initiative of a new generation of EU specialists (young scholars and PhD students) willing to encourage the development of EU studies in France in connection with the international debates. This journal publishes articles in both French (majority) and English, mainly around special issues. It has helped many young French researchers to present their work and favored the emergence of a debate with foreign EU specialists. France is today one of the few countries where there is a scientific journal devoted only to European issues.

A last element worth mentioning is the creation in 2000 of a European studies standing group within the AFSP by Christian Lequesne and Paul Magnette. In 2005,

this group was upgraded to the *Section d'études européennes/SEE* (by Olivier Costa and Paul Magnette) in order to improve the visibility of EU studies in French political science and to encourage the internationalization of French scholarship both in terms of publishing and participation in international research networks. The SEE is organizing thematic workshops and an annual congress. It is also running a bilingual website and publishing a seasonal bilingual newsletter gathering exhaustive information about EU studies (publications, calls for papers, conferences, jobs...).

More general trends of French political science have also played a role in the development of EU studies. We can mention, first, the internationalization in the 1990s of a new generation of scholars that studied or got positions abroad, were able to work in English and willing to participate in international conferences and to publish in international peer reviewed journals. Second, we must underline the involvement of new sub-disciplines in the study of EU politics, policies and actors, and of Europeanization. This started with a strong mobilization of public policies specialists in the 1990s; at the same time, some political-anthropologists got interested in the European microcosm. Finally, in the middle of the 1990s, some young scholars coming from political sociology and historical sociology started to study the actors and institutions of European integration.

The changes in the evaluation criteria of research centers and researchers were also a strong incentive for French scholars to publish in international peer reviewed journals and to get involved in international debates, like the ones on EU institutions and policies. In the 2000s, internationalization became a request to compete for large national or European research grants. The participation of the main French research centers in European or international networks, such as FP collaborative projects or networks of excellence has also dramatically increased the desire of French researchers to publish in English.

A last factor to mention is the constant reflection over

the strength and weaknesses of French political science in the last decade. Several articles and books were devoted to the state of EU studies in France [Hassenteufel and Surel 2000; Smith 2000; 2004a; Irondelle 2006; Belot et al. 2008; Saurugger and Mérand 2010]. Moreover, several conferences, workshops and seminars were organized to make an appraisal of the French situation of EU studies and identify priorities for the future¹.

3. EU studies in French political science today: an overview

After a long process of EU studies empowerment, there are around 50 researchers or academics that can be considered as specialists of the EU in France today. A minority of them (20) may be qualified as true EU specialists, who devoted their PhD to EU policies, institutions or actors, are teaching EU matters and are mainly publishing on this topic. The other ones are scholars for whom EU was not a primary subject, but who are dealing with this topic among others. Since the end of the 1990s, there is also a constant flow of PhD students working on EU matters or questions related to EU – notably on Europeanization of policies, institutions, organs, groups of actors, etc., and bottom-up Europeanization.

In his article, Bastien Irondelle [2006] has proposed an overview of the production of French scholars in EU studies by looking at the five main French journals of political science (all published mainly in French). In order to get a more comprehensive view, we took another approach and searched for all the papers published by French academics in 42 French and international journals dealing, partially or exclusively, with EU matters from January 2007

¹ There have been several SEE workshops devoted to this question on the occasion of the AFSP congress as well as an AFSP panel at APSA congress of 2007. Recently, a conference addressed this topic again: «*European Power Elites*»: *Où va la sociologie politique de l'Europe?*, Université Paris 1, June 10-11, 2010.

to December 2010². This wider approach seemed necessary to overcome the tendency of French EU scholars to overestimate their influence in the international scientific debate.

To give a full picture of EU studies in France, we will successively present the topics covered by French EU scholars, the research centers where they work and the situation of EU teaching in France. We will finally propose a global assessment of French EU studies.

3.1. *The main sectors of EU studies in France*

Historically, EU studies started in France with research that can be related to neo-institutionalism, focused on EU institutions and policy-making [Mény et al. 1995; Costa et al. 2003; Rozenberg and Surel 2003, Lequesne and Surel 2004; Smith 2004a; Woll and Jacquot 2010] and on the political challenges of European integration [Quermonne 1990; Soulier 1994; Duprat 1996; Leca 1997]. Today, there are French internationally renowned specialists of each EU institution: the Commission [Smith 2004b], the European Court of Justice [Dehousse 1998; Cohen and Vauchez 2008], the European Parliament [Costa 2001; Beauvallet et al. 2009; Navarro 2009], the Council and the European Council [Mangenot 2006]. Many French scholars are also working on European parties [Dakowska 2002; Seiler 2007; Sauger 2008; Roger 2009] and civil society organizations at the EU level [Balme and Chabanet 2002; 2008; Strudel 2002]. Some original initiatives, like the «European Institution Observatory» (directed by Renaud Dehousse) or the project «EU Policy Agendas» (directed by Emiliano Grossman) are following that trend.

In the 1990, French anthropologists started to look at

² This was done by summing up the content of the 17 issues of i-SEE, the info-letter of the *Section d'études européennes* which is providing 4 times a year exhaustive information on EU related publications. This letter is edited by O. Costa, C. Dri, J. Navarro and N. Brack (<http://see-afsp.webou.net>). I would like to thank Caroline Sagat, librarian at *Sciences Po Bordeaux*, for helping me gather the data.

EU institutions and actors from another angle – as «tribes» – producing original researches [Abélès 1992]. However, this approach has remained marginal, with few exceptions [Foret 2008], at a time were the DG research finally acknowledges its importance.

A massive contribution of French political science to the study of EU came from the specialists of public policies analysis. Most of them were not EU specialists, but started to work in the 1990s on EU policies and, especially, on Europeanization [Mény et al. 1995; Surel 2000; Hassenteufel and Surel 2000; Le Galès 2003]. A new generation of «true» EU specialists came in the 2000s [Guiraudon 2000; Irondelle 2003; Grossman 2004; Smith 2004a; Jabko 2006; Jacquot 2010]. Those scholars have explored the question of Europeanization in many ways, by focusing on political and social institutions at national [Lequesne 1993; Emery-Douzans 2002; Foret and Itçaina 2008] and regional levels [Pasquier and Weisbein 2004] and on specific policies [Bigo 1996; Deloye 1998; Fouilleux 2000; Lequesne 2001; Guiraudon 2003; Woll 2006; de Maillard and Smith 2007; Muller and Ravinet 2008; Halpern 2010; Jabko 2010; Jacquot 2010; Palier 2010].

Many scientists involved in the study of elections [Deloye 2005; Duchesne and Frogner 2008; Boy and Rozenberg 2009; Cautrès and Sauger 2010], public opinion and citizens [Grunberg and Perrineau 2000; Sauger, Brouard and Grossman 2006; Brouard and Tiberj 2006; Leconte 2008; Neumayer 2008; Grunberg 2009] and political parties at local and national levels [Roger 2001; Belot and Cautrès 2005; Belot 2010] have started to look at the EU level in the 1990s.

Several French scholars coming from IR are dealing today with the EU. They do not necessarily propose an intergovernmentalist analysis of it, like many Anglo-Saxon IR researchers do, but instead consider the EU as an actor of IR and focus on its external policies and action [Irondelle 2003; Laïdi 2005; Petiteville and Terpan 2008].

The most prominent and debated contribution of French political science to EU studies is the one of political

sociologists [Georgakakis 2002; Guiraudon 2006; Saurugger 2009; Mangenot and Rowell 2009; Favell and Guiraudon 2010; Saurugger and Mérand 2010; Mérand and Weisbein 2011]. It is often presented in a monolithic way but, beyond a common interest for actors and qualitative methods, there is a wide spectrum of approaches and objects, such as EU elites [Beauvallet 2003; Kauppi 2005; Georgakakis and de Lasalle 2007; Navarro 2009; Georgakakis and Weisbein 2010], media [Baisnée 2000], lobbyists and civil society [Balme and Chabanet 2002; Grossman 2004; Michel 2005; Saurugger 2005; Dakowska 2009].

3.2. *Research centers active in EU studies*

There are many French research centers working on EU matters, but not a single one of them is focusing exclusively on that. In fact, nearly all the main political science research structures in France are taking this dimension into account. Here is a tentative list in alphabetical order:

- Center Emile Durkheim (formerly SPIRIT) at *IEP de Bordeaux*
- CEE (Centre d'études européennes) at Sciences Po Paris
- CERAPS (Centre d'études et de recherches administratives, politiques et sociales) at University of Lille 2
- CERI (Centre d'études et de recherches internationales) at Sciences Po Paris
- CRAPE (Centre de recherche sur l'action publique en Europe) at IEP de Rennes
- CSPE (Centre de sociologie politique européenne) at Université Paris I
- CURRAP (Centre universitaire de recherches administratives et politiques de Picardie) at University of Amiens
- GSPE (Groupe de sociologie européenne) at IEP de Strasbourg
- LASSP (Laboratoire des sciences sociales du poli-

tique) at IEP de Toulouse

- o PACTE (Politiques publiques, action politiques, territoires) at IEP de Grenoble

This dispersion is problematic, since none of those centers has the critical mass to compete or collaborate in a balanced way with the main European research centers involved in EU studies³.

3.3. Teaching EU and «normalizing» EU studies in France

With the ongoing process of «masterization» (Bologna system L-M-D), we have also witnessed the development of many masters in EU affairs, mainly in the nine *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* (Institutes of political science). However, at the same time, the situation of political science is declining in many law departments, where EU questions are more and more addressed only by lawyers.

During the last 10 years, many French scholars have filled the gap of French edition on EU. There are today several textbooks devoted to EU institutions and policies [Doutriaux and Lequesne 2007; Magnette 2009; Dehousse 2009; Bertoncini and Chopin 2010; Quermonne 2010; Costa and Brack 2011; Mérand and Weisbein 2011]. There are also some important books or journal special issues trying to clear the state of EU studies, at both international and French levels [Belot, Magnette and Saurugger 2008] or discussing the ways to teach EU matters [Smith, Belot and Georgakakis 2004]. Those initiatives are, however, seldom accessible to the English speaking political scientists, with a few exceptions [Deloye and Bruter 2008; Mangenot and Rowell 2009; Saurugger and Mérand 2009].

³ The CEE is no exception: it used to be completely focused on EU studies, but with a limited number of researchers. The situation has changed, due to organizational reform at *Sciences Po* Paris: the CEE is today a large research center, but some of its members are not EU specialists. It is, however, the largest French research center on EU matters.

3.4. *French EU studies in context*

The most positive point about EU studies in France is that they are quite well integrated into general political science, in terms of publication, teaching and recruitment. This situation is linked to two main factors. First, many French scholars are not working exclusively on the EU, but on other topics as well. They do not define themselves as EU specialists but as researchers belonging to all kinds of sub-disciplines (public policy analysis, neo-institutionalism, actors-centered political sociology, IR, party politics, political theory) interested in EU among other objects. Also, as previously mentioned, French EU studies, like French political science, are not structured along the cleavages that dominate EU studies at the international level (IR vs. comparative politics; rational choice vs. constructivism). They are thus escaping the trap of self-reference and are not dominated by EU specific debates but are much more engaged in general discussions about politics, policies and polity.

The situation of French EU studies is more problematic at the international level. When looking at international publications, the picture is less than flattering. Things are getting better, with a new generation of French academics that publish both in English and French. Some important foreign scholars are also quite positive about the efforts made by French researcher [Ross 2007]. However, the proportion of papers written by French academics in international peer reviewed journals is still limited. Taking into account the EU related articles of international journals of our database, we see that the global level of papers published by French authors in the main EU journals is lower than expected, if we consider the number of French political scientists. On a total of 1,776 articles dealing with EU matters, only 63 implied one or several French authors (3.5 percent). Matti Wiberg comes to the same conclusion, with a sample of 1,725 articles published in «European Union Politics» (EUP) (181), the «Journal of Common Market Studies» (JCMS) (870) and the «Journal of Euro-

pean Public Policy» (JEPP) (674). Of a total of 46 articles, the French contribution is the following: 0.5 in EUP (article co-authored with a non-French author), 24.7 in JCMS and 20.8 in JEPP. French authors contribute thus to less than 2.7 percent in the three main international journals specialized in European integration.

There is a clear discrepancy between the appraisal made by the advocates of the «French touch» in EU studies and the actual level of publication of French EU scholars. The impact of the French sociology of EU elites is not really impressive in terms of papers published in international peer reviewed journals. Two explanations can account for this. First, it remains difficult for French scholars to get an article published in those journals, since their papers do not fit the common criteria used by the reviewers; this is especially the case with the journals that expect quantitative data. But many French scholars are also not really willing to diffuse their results at the international level and are – sometimes – not producing articles solid enough for that. There is some doubt about the author's effective knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon mainstream that they often caricature [Saurugger 2009].

There is no common diagnosis of the current state of EU studies in France among French scholars today. Some are underlying the originality and qualities of French approaches to EU studies that are enriching the picture and are more connected to the social reality and political science in general than the average EU studies. The focus on actors and practices, proposed by political sociology, is highlighting the EU political system from another point of view, less formal, abstract and normative. It opposes to the average top-down approach a bottom-up perspective. Those researches are also described as less self-referential than international ones, and more connected to the general paradigms, questions and methods of political science – at least in a French context.

Other observers are less convinced by the added-value of the «French touch». They are underlying the «Astérix syndrome» of French scholars being persuaded to be right

against an «international mainstream» which they do not really know, and often reduce to rational-choice and normative institutionalism. They are thus unable to participate in the scientific debate at the international level, and end to be themselves self-referential.

If some skeptics nevertheless consider that there is a contribution of French political science to EU studies, they also suggest that its originality should not be exaggerated [Favell 2007] and that its concrete impact is still limited in terms of research results, publications and visibility.

4. Conclusion: strengths and limits of French EU studies

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the situation of French EU studies has evolved significantly. At first, there has been an important increase in the number of scholars involved in the study of EU politics and policies. In the 2000s, there has been a process of partial internationalization of those researchers thanks to several factors: more incentives to publish in international peer reviewed journals, the rise of a logic of contract-funded research, a better internationalization of the new generation of EU specialists, the development of international networks involving French institutions, the (relative) expansion of quantitative methods in France, the search for more dialogue with foreign scholars. Today, French political scientists specialized in EU matters are more internationalized than their French peers.

However, French EU studies still suffer from four main problems. The first one is the limited presence of French scholars in international journals and conferences, due to language abilities, lack of incentives, or selection criteria. The second problem is the absence of a major research centre on EU matters, comparable to the LSE, ARENA or MZES: it makes it difficult for French scholars to table research projects to the EU or to lead international networks. It is not surprising that few French scientists have been leaders of EU funded projects in political

science, especially those dealing with the EU. Finally, in France there is no Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence involving a significant number of political scientists, because of the limited number of political scientists teaching exclusively on EU matters and of their geographic spreading. Instead, there is a relative domination of lawyers, economists and historians in French EU studies.

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TANJA BÖRZEL AND TORBEN HEINZE

GERMAN EU STUDIES *ODER* EU STUDIES IN
GERMANY?

Post-World War II (West) Germany's history has been as interwoven with the process of European integration as (West) German political science with EU Studies. While binding West Germany by supranational institutions was a major rationale for establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), West Germany employed European integration as a means to regain its sovereignty. Likewise, some of the fathers of European integration theories were German social scientists who had emigrated to the U.S. and whose experience of Germany's role in two World Wars profoundly shaped their views of regional integration as a means to move beyond the nation state. Karl Deutsch's and Ernst Haas' thinking about regional integration did not only lay the foundations for (neo)functionalist approaches. It also inspired the political program of Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet to foster the transfer of national sovereignty rights by functional cooperation in areas of «low politics».

Konrad Adenauer, Walter Hallstein and other West German statesmen played a crucial role in driving European integration forward. The theorizing of the process, however, was mostly done on the other side of the Atlantic. Although the European Communities never really fit the classical image of an international organization, American International Relations (IR) scholars treated it as an instance of international cooperation. Consequently, the European Community (EC) became subject of the various theoretical fights between the different schools of International Relations. When European integration seemed to fall into Eurosclerosis in the 1970s, Ernst Haas declared his neofunctionalism and regional integration theories as such as obsolete [Haas 1975]. He left the field to realist thinkers

like Stanley Hoffmann, on the one hand, who insisted on the resilience of national interests and state sovereignty [Hoffmann 1966] and neoliberal institutionalists, on the other, who focused on the role of European institutions helping the member states to realize absolute gains [Keohane and Hoffman 1991]. Neofunctionalist theory had a major comeback when IR scholars tried to come to terms with the Single European Act (SEA) [Sandholtz and Zysman 1989]. At the same time, Andrew Moravcsik developed his liberal intergovernmentalism as an alternative explanation for why the member states decided to propel European integration forward, while historical institutionalists emphasized the importance of path dependency [Pierson 1996]. Finally, law and politics approaches shed light on the role of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) as the engine of European integration [Burley and Mattli 1993; Stone Sweet and Brunnell 1998; Stone Sweet and Sandholtz 1998].

It was only with the Maastricht Treaty and the subsequent eastern Enlargement that German scholars made noticeable contributions to the theoretical debate on why states yielded their sovereignty to supranational institutions, such as the EU. Thomas Risse, Frank Schimmelfennig Markus Jachtenfuchs, Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener pioneered the “constructivist turn” in EU studies introducing norms and identity as key explanatory variables [Diez 1999; Risse et al. 1999; Schimmelfennig 2001; Jachtenfuchs 2002; Christiansen, Jørgensen and Wiener 2001]. Less noted but equally important is the endeavor of Hans-Jürgen Bieling and others to apply critical (Marxist) approaches to European integration [Bieling and Steinhilber 2000].

However, German scholars left their deepest and most discernible mark on two other bodies of the EU studies literature. The first relates to the debate about «the nature of the beast» [Risse-Kappen 1996], i.e. the question of how do describe and explain the outcomes of European integration. The second concerns the more recent research on Europeanization and domestic change, within the EU

countries as well as in would-be and want-to-be-member states.

This chapter focuses on the contributions of German scholars to two of the three main research questions that have defined EU studies. Leaving aside the debate on the drivers of European integration, i.e. European integration theory, we will discuss the «governance turn» Fritz Scharpf, Beate Kohler-Koch, Arthur Benz, Ingeborg Tömmel and others promoted in studying EU institutions as well as the more policy-oriented approaches by Adrienne Héritier and again Fritz Scharpf and their students. We will then address the ever-growing literature on Europeanization on how EU policies, institutions and political processes have been affecting the domestic structures of member states, membership candidates, as well as neighborhood and third countries. In this context, German scholars also contributed to EU studies in what could be coined in methodological rather than substantial terms. Whereas Thomas König, Gerald Schneider, and others promoted the application of quantitative approaches, scientists like Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Markus Haverland dealt with general questions on research designs like case selection and causal inference. Finally, we will also discuss German contributions to diffusion research. The European Union as a most likely case for the diffusion of policies has attracted considerable attention by scholars dealing with the question of when and how policies spread across time and space. So it comes as no surprise that EU studies as well as diffusion research mutually benefitted from each other. In this regard, German scientists like Katharina Holzinger, Christoph Knill, Tanja Börzel, Thomas Plümper, Thomas Risse and others played a prominent role, too.

There is no way that one chapter can do justice to all the existing works by German scholars. We have to be selective. Hence, we will focus on German research that we consider to have left a major impact on EU studies reflecting a genuine German approach. While there is no German debate on the EU proper, neither in German nor among German scholars, there are studies inspired by a particular

way of «German» thinking, e.g. about governance or multi-level policy-making, which have informed and enriched the debates on how to describe and explain the EU and its domestic impact.

1. *The quest for the beast: EU and EU policy-making*

Theorizing the outcomes of European integration has been a constant challenge for EU scholars. Already in 1972, Donald Puchala complained that «more than fifteen years of defining, redefining, refining, modeling and theorizing have failed to generate satisfactory conceptualizations of (...) “international integration” » [Puchala 1972, 267] About fifteen years later, students of the EU had still not come to terms with the «nature of the beast» [Risse-Kappen 1996] Most scholars agreed that the EU presented a unique system of multilevel governance that could not be compared to any other form of political order we were familiar with at the national or international level [Wallace 1983; Caporaso 1996]. Other than that, political scientists – many Germans among them – have shown a remarkable creativity in developing new concepts to capture the *sui generis* nature of the EU, describing it as a *funktionaler Zweckverband* [Ipsen 1972]; «a new, post-Hobbsian order» [Schmitter 1991]; «a post-modern state» [Ruggie 1993; Caporaso 1996], *post-nationale politische Herrschaft* [Neyer 2004], «deliberative supranationalism» [Joerges 2000; 2001] or «network governance» [Eising and Kohler-Koch 1999; Schout and Jordan 2005].

Each of these concepts highlights a distinctive feature of the beast, but none seems to capture the «whole elephant». The European Union has developed far beyond an international regime or organization. It constitutes a political system, a structure of governance [Schmitter 1992; Caporaso 1996; Marks, Hooghe and Blank 1995], which may be less than a state but which is definitely more than an arena for intergovernmental cooperation.

IR theories and their European integration off-springs

have great difficulties coming to terms with a system of multilevel governance, where sovereignty rights are shared and divided between supranational, national, and subnational institutions. The constitutional language of federalism, by contrast, appears to be more helpful analyzing and discussing the ways in which the division of power is organized among the different levels of government in the EU.

2. *Introducing German federalism: The joint-decision trap and asymmetric integration*

It was Fritz Scharpf, Germany's most eminent student of (comparative) federalism, who introduced the federal perspective to EU studies in the 1980s. Unlike proponents of federalism as a European integration theory, who often advocate the transformation of the EU into a federal state [Spinelli and Rossi 2006], Scharpf took federalism as a principle of organizing political authority and power – which is not necessarily wedded to statehood. By conceptualizing the EU as a system of «vertical joint-decision making» [Scharpf 1985; Scharpf 1988], Scharpf highlighted the similarities with German cooperative federalism, which still hold more than 25 years later [Börzel 2005c]. Both the EU and the Federal Republic of Germany present forms of cooperative federalism in which competencies are shared – rather than divided – between the two levels of government.

Like the German federal government, the EU does not have an autonomous sphere of competencies in the sense of holding both legislative and executive responsibilities in selected policy sectors. Moreover, even in the areas of its «exclusive competencies», the EU cannot legislate without the consent of the member states (as represented in the Council of the EU). While the vast majority of legislative competencies in the EU are currently at least *de facto* shared or concurrent, responsibilities for policy execution mostly rest with the member states. The EU has an administrative machinery that is too small in size to implement and

enforce EU policies. This functional division of competencies and the sharing of legislative powers grant member state governments a strong role in European institutions. Accordingly, the Council of the European Union (formerly, the Council of Ministers) resembles a *Bundesrat*-type second chamber of the European legislature: in the Council of the EU, member states are represented by their executives, and their voting power is weighed according to population size.

Conceptualizing the EU as system of cooperative federalism yields important lessons with regard to the distribution of competencies as well as the effectiveness and legitimacy of EU policy-making. The interlocking of policy competencies and the unanimity requirement among the member states for any reallocation renders a disentanglement or re-nationalization next to impossible. Like in Germany, the «joint decision-trap», in which the EU has been increasingly caught, causes significant problems for both output and input legitimacy [Scharpf 1992; 1999; 2006].

The interlocking policy competencies, the functional division of labor, and a *Bundesrat*-type second chamber all work in favor of a certain asymmetry in political representation, where territorial interests dominate over functional interests. The dominance of territorially defined executive interests represented in the Council is even more pronounced than in the German cooperative federalism, where some countervailing remedies usually exist. The *Länder* enjoy strong representation in central level decision-making through the *Bundesrat*, the second chamber of the federal legislation. But the federation represented by the directly elected *Bundestag* (first chamber) and the federal government is a powerful counterweight to this, based not least on the political identity and legitimacy the federation generates, on its dominance in the legislature, and its spending power. By comparison, neither the European Commission nor the European Parliament is able to counterbalance the dominance of the Council. Moreover, political interest representation in Germany is based on a well-established system of vertical party integration in both

chambers of the federal legislature. Finally, neo-corporatist forms of interest intermediation grant German economic interests privileged access to the policy process. The EU, by comparison, still lacks an effective system of vertical party integration. There is no central arena of party competition – neither within the legislature nor within the executive. Nor do European top industrial associations and trade union federations, such as UNICE or ETUC, effectively aggregate and represent the interests of European employers and employees in the European policy process.

The executive dominance in the Council results in intense inter-administrative coordination and deliberation among national bureaucrats. Such inter-administrative networks are highly exclusive and tend to blur political responsibilities. These problems of input legitimacy are largely justified by the achievement of efficient policy outcomes [Scharpf 1999].

The efficiency of European policy-making has been indeed quite extensive in some policy areas, given the increasing diversity of interests among the member states. Yet, the problem-solving capacity of the EU is increasingly at stake since it does not have the power to perform important federal policy tasks such as macroeconomic stabilization and redistribution. At the same time, the EU increasingly inhibits member states from maintaining such functions [Scharpf 1996]: the single market and the Euro largely deprive member states of the capacity for national macroeconomic stabilization, whereas the EU as a whole does not possess these instruments (yet). What Scharpf aptly called the asymmetry between negative (market making) and positive (market correcting) integration results in considerable legitimacy problems of the EU, also on the input side, since the democratic deficit of EU institutions can no longer be compensated on the output side but, on the contrary, tends to be exacerbated by the decreasing problem-solving capacity of the EU [Scharpf 2010].

Fritz Scharpf has not been the only one who applied federalism to study the EU [Sbragia 1993; Burgess 2000; Egeberg 2001; Nicolaidis and Howse 2011; Koslowski

2001]. However, his concepts of the joint decision-trap and the asymmetry between negative and positive integration, which he derived from his studies on German federalism [Scharpf, Reissert and Schnabel 1976; Mayntz and Scharpf 1975], provide an original approach that has inspired many (German) studies of the EU polity and EU policy-making [Benz 1998; 2000; Börzel 2005; see the contributions to the «Journal of European Public Policy» Vol. 4, n. 4, 1997].

In a similar vein, (German) scholars delivered additional insights on EU decision-making processes by advancing econometrical techniques like statistics and formal modeling [Schneider and Lars-Erik 1994; Schneider 1995; Zimmer, Schneider and Dobbins 2005; Schulz and König 2000; König 2007; 2009; Junge and König 2007; König, Luetgert and Dannwolf 2006]. Rather than focusing on the macro-institutional configurations, these studies helped to develop an understanding of the decision-making processes within the institutions of the EU. They do not only refer to the importance of institutional contexts at EU level, but highlighted the impact of member states' preferences and domestic constraints when it comes to determining the outcome of the legislative processes at the EU level. Furthermore, recent work pinpoints to the complexity of European decision-making due to logrolling [König and Junge 2009].

Although the application of methodological tools and techniques usually cuts across issues in political science, these scholars – among others – made a significant contribution to the methodological development of the field, especially as quantitative approaches to EU studies remain the exception than the rule [Nyikos and Pollack 2003; Haverland 2007]. The application of sophisticated analytical techniques to the study of the European Union allowed the spatial, temporal and issue-specific evaluation of competing approaches on EU policy-making.

3. The Governance turn: Networks and their embeddedness

In the 1990s, students of the EU discovered network

governance. The concept seemed to capture best the nature of the EU as «a unique set of multi-level, non-hierarchical and regulatory institutions, and a hybrid mix of state and non-state actors» [Hix 1998, 39]. Networks had been used before by several scholars to analyze EU policy-making, particularly in the field of structural policy [Marks 1992; Tömmel 1994; Rhodes, Bache and George 1996; Hooghe 1996; Heinelt 1996; Ansell 2000; Schout and Jordan 2005]. But Beate Kohler-Koch was one of the first to call the EU network governance [Kohler-Koch 1994; 1999]. She drew on the governance literature that emerged in the 1970s, when German social scientists working with Renate Mayntz and Fritz Scharpf at the Max-Planck-Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne identified network governance as constitutive for governing modern societies [Mayntz and Scharpf 1995]. Inspired by Luhman's system theory, they argued that territorial and functional differentiation had resulted in a dispersion of resources and competencies necessary to make effective policies among a multitude of public and private actors [Kenis and Schneider 1991; Mayntz 1993]: «Instead of emanating from a central authority, be this government or the legislature, policy today is in fact made in a process involving a plurality of both public and private organizations» [Mayntz 1993, 5].

Network governance became not only the paradigm of the «negotiating state» in Germany [Hanf and Scharpf 1978; Benz 1994; Voigt 1995; Mayntz 1993] it also initiated the «governance turn» in EU studies [Kohler-Koch and Jachtenfuchs 1996; Jachtenfuchs 1997a; 1997b; Kohler-Koch and Rittberg 2006; Kohler-Koch and Larat 2009]. While early works on EU governance focused on the nature of the beast as a whole [Tömmel 2003], the more recent literature on what is often referred to as «new modes of governance» [Eberlein and Kerwer 2004; Héritier and Rhodes forthcoming] explores to what extent the EU has made use of networks to govern its affairs. The governance turn in EU studies is also reflected by the call of the *White*

*Paper on Governance*¹ published by the European Commission in 2001 for more «modern forms of governance» based on networks as the most appropriate way of dealing with the challenges the EU is facing in the 21st century [Joerges, Mény and Weiler 2001].

Yet, a systematic analysis of EU policy-making reveals that the EU features far less network governance than the literature would make us believe. EU policies are largely formulated and implemented in multiple overlapping negotiation systems that can be described as multilevel policy networks. However, network relations that span across sectors and levels of government are not a *sui generis* character of the EU but constitute a core feature of the modern state [Scharpf 1991; Benz 2001]. More importantly, like its member states, the EU can rely on a strong shadow of hierarchy cast by supranational institutions in adopting and implementing its policies [Héritier and Lehmkuhl 2008; Héritier and Rhodes forthcoming; Scharpf 1997]. The key difference between the EU and the modern state lies in the *subordinate* role of private and public interest groups in the EU negotiation systems, which are largely dominated by governmental actors. While forms of private self-regulation or public-private co-regulation abound in the member states, we hardly find such forms of network governance at the EU-level [Börzel 2005a; 2007]. This does not imply that informal relationships between public and private actors should be discarded as irrelevant to EU policy-making [Christiansen and Piattoni 2003; Kaiser 2009]. However, these forms of informal politics are better described as governance *in* networks than governance *by* networks or network governance.

Rather than presenting a particular form of governance, the EU features various combinations that cover the entire range between market and hierarchy. Again, the German governance literature provides a conceptual tool

¹ The *White Paper on Governance* can be found at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf (accessed February 18, 2009).

box to capture these governance arrangements [Benz 2004] or governance mixes [Börzel 2010a]. Fritz Scharpf has not only developed a governance typology [Scharpf 1997; 1999; 2001; 2003]. He also points to the embeddedness of governance forms by making one subordinate to the other. Inter- and transgovernmental networks often govern in the shadow of supranational hierarchy or the political competition induced by the logic of the single market [Börzel 2010a]. German scholars have done extensive mappings of the governance structures in the EU exploring their effectiveness and legitimacy, which may vary significantly across policy areas [Scharpf 2001; Héri-tier 1999; Grande and Jachtenfuchs 2000; Knill and Lenschow 2005; Kohler-Koch, Conzelmann and Knodt 2004; Tömmel 2008].

4. Policy matters!: Regulatory competition and implementation

Much of the German governance literature originated in detailed policy studies at the domestic and the EU level. With European integration taking up speed in the late 1980s, students of comparative politics and public policy could no longer ignore the importance of Brussels. Being used to multilevel policy-making in cooperative federalism, German political scientists had no difficulties accommodating the EU in their research. Adrienne Héri-tier and her collaborators were among the first to explore how the EU, the central state and the regional level interacted in three different member states. Using environmental policy as a case study, they demonstrated how German, French and British policy-makers sought to upload domestic policies to the EU level and shape EU policies accordingly [Héri-tier et al. 1994; Héri-tier, Knill and Mingers 1996]. By systematically linking the ascending (formulation and decision-making) and descending (implementation) states of the EU policy circle, Héri-tier convincingly argued that member states have a strong incentive to shape EU policies, because it reduces the need for legal and administrative adaptation in taking or «downloading» EU policies. The more a Euro-

pean policy fits the domestic context, the lower the costs of adaptation in the implementation process. Second, shaping EU policies prevents competitive disadvantages for domestic industry. While high-regulating member states seek to impose their strict standards on low-regulating countries, the latter oppose any attempts of European harmonization that may increase their production costs [Héritier 1994]. This regulatory contest among member states, which also takes place in other policy areas, accounts for the absence of an EU model; rather, EU legislation resembles a «regulatory patchwork» [Héritier et al. 1996].

Adrienne Héritier and her team were among the first German scholars to conduct comprehensive studies on the implementation of EU policies in the second half of the 1990s [Héritier et al. 1996; Héritier et al. 1994; Siedentopf and Ziller 1988]. Such implementation studies have given way to and have been refined into research on compliance with EU law [Haverland 1999; Knill and Lenschow 2000; Falkner et al. 2005; Zürn and Joerges 2005; Kaeding 2007; Börzel, Hofmann and Sprungk 2003; Börzel et al. 2011]. Their findings have significantly influenced the Europeanization literature since the effective implementation of EU policies is a major cause of domestic change in case of policy misfit.

Together with the work of Fritz Scharpf on negative and positive integration, Adrienne Héritier's approach inspired many German EU scholars to do similar policy studies [Grande 1993; Schmidt 1998; Eising 2000; Genschel 2002]. Moreover, by introducing implementation research into EU studies, she pioneered the Europeanization and domestic change literature.

5. The transformation of the state? Europeanization and domestic change

The (German) governance and policy literature on the EU converge in their focus on what EU institutions and policies have done to the member states. For decades, re-

search in EU studies had adopted what later became called a «bottom-up» perspective seeking to conceptualize and explain the effect of member states on processes and outcomes of European integration. Theoretical debates were dominated by two competing paradigms of European integration that significantly disagreed on the role that member states played at the European level (for the intellectual history of the debate see Caporaso and Keeler 1993). Intergovernmentalist approaches take member states and their governments as the principal agents driving European integration and policy-making to protect their geopolitical interests and the economic concerns of their constituencies [Hoffmann 1982; Taylor 1991; Moravcsik 1991; Moravcsik 1998]. Neofunctionalism and multilevel governance approaches, by contrast, privilege domestic interests (such as business associations, trade unions, and regions) that press for further integration to promote their economic or political interests, as well as supranational actors (particularly the European Commission and the ECJ) that seek to increase the power of European institutions over the member states [Haas 1958; Sandholtz and Stone Sweet 1998; Hooghe and Marks 2001].

German EU scholars took either side of the debate or simply decided to ignore the paradigmatic turf wars. Theoretical arguments they developed on their own, like the *Fusionsthese* of Wolfgang Wessels [Wessels 1997; Wessels 1998], have not made much headway outside Germany.

6. *When Europe hits home: The Europeanization of the member states*

Things started to change in the 1990s, when students of European integration became increasingly interested in how the member states responded to the impact of European policies, processes and institutions. The first generation of such «top-down» studies focused on the consequences of European integration for the autonomy and authority of the member states. In order to theorize the

domestic impact of Europe, the explanatory logics of the two major paradigms of European integration were essentially turned around. If intergovernmentalist approaches were correct in assuming that member states' governments controlled European integration while supranational institutions themselves exercised little independent effect, the power of the member states would not be challenged. Rather, European integration should enhance the control of national governments over domestic affairs since it removed issues from domestic controversy into the arena of executive control at the European level [Milward 1992; Moravcsik 1994]. Proponents of neofunctionalist or supranationalist approaches suggested exactly the opposite, namely that European integration provided domestic actors such as regions and interest groups with independent channels of political access and influence at the European level enabling them to circumvent or by-pass their member states in the EU policy process [Marks 1993; Marks, Hooghe and Blank 1996].

One of the first Germans to enter the debate was Beate Kohler-Koch. She rejected the zero-sum game conception of the relationship between the EU and its member states, in which one level was to be empowered at the expense of the other. She argued that the different levels of government would become increasingly dependent on each other in EU policy-making. As a result, European integration would neither strengthen nor weaken but transform the member states by fostering the emergence of cooperative relationships between state and non-state actors at the various levels of government [Kohler-Koch 1996; 1998; Kohler-Koch and Eising 1999; Rometsch and Wessels 1996].

Adrienne Héritier and her collaborators had arrived at similar conclusions but refrained from making sweeping generalizations based on a single policy study [Héritier 1994; Héritier et al. 1996]. Their empirical findings, first in the field of environment, and later in transport policy, clearly demonstrated that the domestic impact of Europe was differential [Héritier 2001; Knill 1995; 2001;

Lehmkuhl 1999; Kerwer 2001]. Consequently, Europeanization research started to focus on «mediating factors» and different causal mechanisms that could account for why some member states underwent deeper changes than others. Policy and institutional misfit, domestic veto players, norm entrepreneurs, institutional culture, differential empowerment, socialization, regulatory competition, and framing are theoretical concepts advanced by German scholars [Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999; Börzel 1999; Héritier 2001; Börzel and Risse 2000; 2003; Knill and Lenschow 2005].

Moreover, in their attempts to integrate the various factors and mechanisms into coherent causal models, (German) scholars did not only draw on rational choice institutionalism but also took on the «constructivist turn» in EU studies [Jørgensen 2001; Christiansen et al. 2001]. Thomas Risse was key in introducing identity, and later public sphere, as dependent and independent variables of Europeanization [Risse 2001; 2004; 2010]². Risse also emphasized the importance of norm-guided and communicative action in how the EU has impacted the domestic structures of its member states [Risse, Cowles and Caporaso 2001; Börzel and Risse 2002; 2007].

Rational choice institutionalism argues that the EU facilitates domestic change through changing opportunity structures for domestic actors. In a first step, misfit between the EU and domestic norms creates demands for domestic adaptation. It takes agency, however, to translate misfit into domestic change. In a second step, the downloading of EU policies and institutions by the member states are shaped by cost/benefit calculations of strategic actors, whose interests are at stake. Institutions constrain or enable certain actions of rational actors by rendering some

² For German studies on Europeanized public spheres see also [Eder and Kantner 2002; Adam 2007; Eder 2000; Eder, Hellmann and Trenz 1998; Eder and Kantner 2000; Kantner 2004; Kantner 2006; Kantner 2009; Koopmans 2007; Koopmans and Statham 2010; Pfetsch 2004; Pfetsch 2008; Pfetsch, Adam and Eschner 2008; Trenz 2002; Trenz and Eder 2004; Trenz 2006].

options more costly than others. From this perspective, Europeanization is largely conceived as an emerging political opportunity structure that offers some actors additional resources to exert influence, while severely constraining the ability of others to pursue their goals. Domestic change is facilitated, if the institutions of the member states do not allow domestic actors to block adaptation to EU requirements through veto points or if, on the contrary, they empower domestic reform coalitions by providing them with additional resources to exploit the opportunities offered by Europeanization.

Sociological institutionalist approaches, by contrast, conceive of actors as guided by collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper, socially accepted behavior. These collective understandings and intersubjective meaning structures strongly influence the way actors define their goals and what they perceive as rational action. Rather than maximizing their egoistic self-interest, actors seek to meet social expectations in a given situation. From this perspective, Europeanization is understood as the emergence of new rules, norms, practices, and structures of meaning to which member states are exposed and which they have to incorporate into their domestic structures. If there is such a misfit, it also takes agency for bringing about domestic change. But the ways in which domestic actors facilitate reforms are different. Norm entrepreneurs, such as epistemic communities or advocacy networks, socialize domestic actors into new norms and rules of appropriateness through persuasion and social learning who redefine their interests and identities accordingly. The more active norm entrepreneurs are and the more they succeed in making EU policies resonate with domestic norms and beliefs, the more successful they will be in bringing about domestic change. Moreover, collective understandings of appropriate behavior strongly influence the ways in which domestic actors download EU requirements. First, a consensus-oriented or cooperative decision-making culture helps to overcome multiple veto points by rendering their use for actors inappropriate. Second, a consensus-oriented

political culture allows for a sharing of adaptation costs which facilitates the accommodation of pressure for adaptation. Rather than shifting adaptation costs upon a social or political minority, the «winners» of domestic change compensate the «losers».

An alternative typology of mechanisms through which Europeanization can affect the member states was advanced by Christoph Knill and Dirk Lehmkuhl [Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999; 2000]. They distinguish between institutional compliance, where the EU prescribes a particular model which is «imposed» on the member states and which dominates areas of positive integration. The domestic impact of negative integration is more indirect since the EU does not require any specific policy or institutional changes. Rather, the mandated removal of national barriers to foreign competition works through the changing domestic opportunity structures, which leads to a redistribution of resources between domestic actors. Finally, in areas where the EU has no or only weak decision-making power, it can still impact domestic structures by way of policy framing, which alters the beliefs of domestic actors.

Beside the focus on different causal mechanisms driving Europeanization processes, German scholars have also tried to disentangle conditional factors accounting for the differential impact of Europe³. Broadly speaking, the literature found evidence for the significance of rule-specific as well as country and policy-specific variables [Börzel et al. 2011; Haverland and Romeijn 2007; Thomson, Torenvlied and Arregui 2007; Steunenberg and Kaeding 2009]. Whereas rule-specific factors refer to difference in the adaption requirements and characteristics of EU norms (e.g. the level of discretion), country- and policy-specific related factor refer to domestic configurations like administrative capacities or policy-preferences of national decision-makers.

Probably the strongest (and most controversial) impact on Europeanization research to the conceptual con-

³ For an overview see [Mastenbroek 2005] or [Treib 2006].

certo inspired by (some) German thinking is the notion of «match or mismatch» [Héritier et al. 1996], «misfit» [Börzel 1999; Börzel and Risse 2003] or «goodness of fit» [Risse et al. 2001]. It refers to the assumption that the European impact on the policies, politics and polity of member states depends on the compatibility between European policies and institutions and their domestic counterparts. This can be due to adaption costs related to changing existing institutional arrangements [Knill and Lenschow 1998; Börzel 2005b]. Another causal logic refers to the need to internalize and develop new norms, ideas and understandings [Héritier 2001; Knill 2001; Börzel and Risse 2003]. In cases of socialization and persuasion processes a successful incorporation of European norms into existing domestic institutions seem more likely if European and national ideas, structures, and meanings are more similar to each other.

Misfit between European and domestic constitutes a necessary condition for Europeanization effects [Risse et al. 2001; Börzel and Risse 2003]. Why should a domestic policy change happen when European and domestic arrangement are in perfect sync? Perhaps due to its clear predictions on the effects of Europeanization, the misfit hypothesis significantly coined the study of Europeanization [Mastenbroek and Kaeding 2006; Treib 2006]. It also triggered strong theoretical, methodological and empirical controversies. Some scholars contended that misfit was a special case of Europeanization rather than an explanatory concept [Radaelli 2003; Knill and Lehmkuhl 2000]. Without a specific European model to be implemented it seemed problematic to identify some kind of misfit. Different conceptions and measurements of both the misfit as well as the dependent variable developed in the literature made it difficult to systematically compare levels of misfit and adjudicate their explanatory power [Radaelli 2004; Falkner et al. 2005]. Moreover, misfit was also criticized for its deterministic approach and Europeanization [Radaelli 2003]. Rather than resisting adaptation, domestic decision-makers often want to change domestic arrangement. Final-

ly, the empirical record of the misfit hypothesis was questioned [Mastenbroek 2005; Mastenbroek and Kaeding 2006]. Thus, the study by Gerda Falkner and her team on the implementation of six EU social policy directives in the member states pointed to the limits of misfit as a driver of Europeanization [Falkner, Hartlapp and Treib 2007; Falkner et al. 2005]⁴.

The debate on the misfit provoked new thinking on alternative theoretical frameworks for analyzing the differential impact of Europeanization processes focusing on policy-specific explanations based on actor-centered variables like domestic preferences and beliefs, especially of national governments [Mastenbroek and Kaeding 2006; Panke 2010], and cultural factors [Falkner and Treib 2008; Falkner et al. 2005]. The compliance study by Falkner argues that different families of nations could be distinguished among EU member states denoting a «specific national culture of digesting adaption requirements» [Falkner et al. 2005, 319]. The first family called the «World of Law Observance» is characterized by cultural conventions leading to a complete and rapid implementation of European requirements, regardless of opposing domestic politics like contradictory interest constellations. This is different from countries belonging to the «World of Domestic Politics» where Europeanization outcomes are a function of domestic interest constellation of national governments and of the most important pressure groups. The «World of Neglect» then has been described as heavily dependent on domestic problems and interests as they are considered to have higher priority and legitimacy than European norms and rules⁵.

⁴ Interestingly, the misfit hypothesis gained steam again by more recent quantitative studies showing results consistent with the assumption that different level of policy misfit between European directives and national legislation can have a significant impact on the compliance record of Member States [Thomson 2007; 2009; Thomson et al. 2007].

⁵ Falkner and Treib were reconsidering the families of nations [Falkner and Treib 2008]. Extended their sample to the new CEE member states, they also identified the «World of Dead Letters».

Last but not least, methodological discussions in EU studies benefitted from the misfit debate too. Again, although methodological questions usually cut across all areas of political science, a specific methodological problem in EU studies has also been put on the agenda by (German) scholars: the question if domestic policy change is really EU-driven or if there are alternative explanations for policy change like globalization [Levi-Faur 2004; Hix and Goetz 2000; Goetz 2000; Eising 2003; Haverland 2006; Olsen 2002]. German scholars argued in favor of increasing variance by incorporating cases into the analysis that are not (or less) subject to EU impacts or by using qualitative approaches, such as process tracing or counterfactuals, to strengthen the theoretical argument of a significant EU impact [Haverland 2006; see also Ebbinghaus 1998]. Still, methodological discussions in Europeanization research are rather rare as a recent mapping of the field according to different methodological approaches used has shown [Exadaktylos and Radaelli 2009].

7. *When Europe hits across its borders: External Europeanization*

Eastern enlargement created a unique opportunity for the next generation of Europeanization research to test the approaches that had emerged to account for the conditions and causal mechanisms through which the EU triggers domestic change. Two German scholars have been key in extending the research to the Central and Eastern European (CEE) accession countries. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier took the two logics of Europeanization – rationalist and sociological institutionalist – and adapted them to the context of «accession Europeanization» [Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005; Sedelmeier 2006; Schimmelfennig 2007]. Their empirical findings corroborated the differential impact of Europe, which they largely explained with the varying success of their «external incentive model» – «reinforcement through rewards» only

worked if the misfit between EU and domestic policies and institutions was not too big, domestic veto players were not too powerful and the rewards the EU promised proved to be sufficiently credible and speedy.

Overall, Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier convincingly showed that Europeanization approaches were well equipped to explain the (differential) impact of pre-accession or enlargement Europeanization in the CEE candidate countries. While domestic mediating factors played a less prominent role than in membership Europeanization, they did mitigate the domestic impact of accession, particularly beyond the legal implementation of EU policies. The dominance of differential empowerment through conditionality has given rise to concerns about «shallow Europeanization» [Goetz 2005, 262] since sustainable compliance with (costly) EU policies ultimately requires internalization. The CEE countries formally adopted a massive amount of EU legislation, which, however, has often not been properly applied and enforced and thus, has not changed actors' behavior [Falkner et al. 2008; Börzel 2009].

With Europeanization research moving east, implementation and compliance studies followed suit (see above). The CEE countries provided a valuable testing ground. First findings concur on the importance of administrative capacity for the effective implementation and enforcement of EU policies [Knill and Tosun 2010; Bauer, Knill and Pitschel 2007; Falkner, Treib and Holzleitner 2008; Börzel 2009; see also Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2006]. They, thus, put the external incentive model based on membership conditionality into context, since a rational choice on the basis of cost-benefit calculations presupposes sufficient resources to act upon the choice made. This is all the more relevant when studying the European Neighborhood Countries (ENC), which do not even have an accession perspective.

The EU can influence both the willingness and capacity necessary for domestic change by providing additional incentives and resources. It successfully did so in the case of the CEE accession countries. Yet, the ENC are in a

completely different situation. Not only do they lack a membership perspective, the ENC also score much lower on democracy and state capacity than the CEE. Again, German EU scholars were at the forefront of those exploring «neighborhood Europeanization» [Gawrich, Melnykovska and Schweickert 2009; Lavenex, Lehmkuhl and Wichmann 2007; Lavenex 2008; Schimmelfennig and Scholtz 2009; Mattli and Plümpert 2004; Börzel 2010b]. They show how limited state capacity and defect democracy have mitigated and constrained the domestic impact of the EU when it seeks to hit beyond its borders with its European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). High misfit imposing prohibitive costs to incumbent governments, weak to non-existent EU conditionality and the absence of domestic reform coalitions render domestic change induced by Europeanization extremely unlikely in the ENC. Their unwillingness to engage in substantive reforms is reinforced by their limited capacities.

These findings are corroborated by the literature on the EU's Mediterranean neighborhood. Its Southern neighbors are consolidated states with authoritarian regimes (the exception being Israel). Since the establishment of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in 1995, the EU has sought to export security, stability and prosperity to the Mediterranean. Human rights, democracy, the rule of law and good governance have been mainstreamed into the Barcelona Process [Jünemann and Knodt 2007; Van Hüllen and Stahn 2009]. Yet, the Mediterranean countries have experienced a kind of «authoritarian stability» and rising income levels, which are higher than those of the ENC [Noutcheva and Emerson 2007, 87]. Unlike in Eastern Europe, political elites hardly pretend to be democracies and do not lean on the European project to legitimize their domestic agenda. Being increasingly under pressure from Islamist forces, the Southern Arab regimes are far less receptive to the norms and values promoted by the EU, which does not consider them to be eligible for membership in the European club either. Not being able to call on common values, the EU has been reluctant to push good

governance emphasizing economic reforms and offering market access as an incentive [Youngs 2001]. The EU's economic leverage, however, is weakened by the more symmetric relations with some Mediterranean states for their importance for its energy supplies (Algeria) and the trade concessions already granted (Tunisia). While the EU has employed democracy assistance and political dialogue, it «has sought a “depressurizing” liberalization of Middle Eastern regimes that helps to stabilize governments rather than the kind of short-term systemic political change that may bring to power Islamist parties» (Youngs 2009, 911). Closer relations with the EU have done next to nothing so far to improve the democratic quality of Mediterranean regimes [Sedelmeier 2007; Schimmelfennig and Scholtz 2009].

German scholars have done a lot to advance research on Europeanization and domestic change, within and across the borders of the EU. But rather than engaging within the boundaries of EU Studies, German scholars were trying to intersect Europeanization and related concepts like policy diffusion. By utilizing and enhancing theoretical and methodological knowledge on common research questions they were turning from EU studies to more general concepts of policy change.

8. Broadening the debate: The role of German EU studies in the diffusion of public policy

The concept of policy diffusion mainly refers to processes leading to the transfer and adaptation of policies through national governments. Whereas Europeanization research adopts a specific regional and causal focus, the concept of diffusion refers to «any process where prior adoption of a trait or practice in a population alters the probability of adoption for remaining non-adopters» [Strang 1991, 325]. Despite theoretical, methodological, and empirical overlaps [Jordan 2005], the concept of policy diffusion has been largely absent from the debates on

Europeanization and vice-versa. Its explicit application to the study of the EU remains the exception rather than the rule [Radaelli 2005]. The same holds true for diffusion research. While studying the political system of the EU provides important insights on the complex interplay between vertical and horizontal diffusion mechanisms [Bulmer and Radaelli 2005; Radaelli 2003], the diffusion literature tends to neglect the EU. The EU has been conceptualized as explanatory factor for analyzing (regional) patterns of diffusion. Yet, the institutional structure of the EU is a most-likely case for policy diffusion and a «valuable laboratory» [Bulmer and Padgett 2004, 104] for gaining theoretical and empirical insights to refine the concept of policy diffusion. Providing a shared set of relevant research questions, common methodological standards, cumulative theoretical and empirical findings should enhance analytical leverage and avoid redundancy [Graham, Volden and Shipan 2008]. Starting from research on Europeanization, several (German) scholars have engaged in providing the missing link between both strands of research.

9. Unlocking the field of policy diffusion: mechanism-based thinking

The study of policy diffusion has become popular among political scientists [Bennett 1991, 2, Holzinger and Knill 2005, 775; Rogers 2003; Tews 2005, 2]. The research agenda on policy diffusion is fed by diverse array of its sub-disciplines [Graham et al. 2008]. Consequently, diffusion research covers a wide range of theoretical and empirical questions: What processes lead to patterns of policy adoption? Why do dissimilar countries adopt similar policies? What internal and external factors determine the adoption of different policies? How do processes leading to policy transfer develop, how do they operate? Which policies diffuse? What are the effects and the outcome of these processes? And, more specifically, what factors determine the functioning and efficiency of diffusion mechanisms?

Here a first German contribution referred to the systematic mapping of the existing literature on policy diffusion (see the contributions to JEPP 2005 Vol. 12, n. 5 and PVS special issue 28 from 2007). Similar to Europeanization research, German scholars were able to contribute to streamlining the field according to the underlying causal mechanisms driving diffusion processes.

Advocates of policy diffusion usually provide responses to models of policy change merely focusing on internal determinants for explaining policy change [Berry and Berry 2007; Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2008b]. They highlight interdependent decision-making asking to cope with the «consequences of diffusion processes», or «Galton's problem» [Jahn 2006, 401]. This notion that is already inherent in the very meaning of concepts describing the political system of the EU, like network- and multilevel governance. Students of diffusion identify several causal mechanisms leading to the diffusion and transfer of policies, such as coercion, learning, imitation, and competition [Braun and Gilardi 2006; Elkins and Simmons 2005; Meseguer 2005; Shipan and Volden 2008; Weyland 2005]. Yet, much research still tests specific diffusion models such as leader-laggards models [Berry and Berry 2007] or investigates a single causal mechanism underlying social action (e.g. socialization) [Zürn and Checkel 2005]. The comparative analyses of different diffusion processes and mechanisms only emerged recently [Boehmke and Witmer 2004; Daley and Garand 2005; Karch 2007; Shipan and Volden 2008; Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2008a; Simmons and Elkins 2004]. Consequently, diffusion research has ended up in a diverse and mostly unconnected array of theoretical assumptions that rely both on rational as well as constructivist reasoning [Braun and Gilardi 2006; Braun et al. 2007]. German scholars have therefore called for mapping and streamlining theoretical arguments. Following the Europeanization approach, they identified different mechanisms disentangling constructivist and rationalist logics

[Braun and Gilardi 2006; Braun et al. 2007; Börzel and Risse 2009]⁶. Thus, Börzel and Risse have identified five categories of diffusion mechanisms in the current literature on diffusion: coercion, manipulation of utility calculations, socialization, persuasion, and emulation [Börzel and Risse 2009].

Despite theoretical clarifications on the causes and functioning of diffusion processes and their underlying causal mechanisms, studies on diffusion seem to be unsure about the actual effects of diffusion processes.

10. *Measuring the effects of diffusion processes: Convergence and the dyadic approach*

Most diffusion studies follow a process-orientated understanding of diffusion [Elkins and Simmons 2005, 36]. They assume that diffusion processes increase the probability for policy adoption and transfer in such a way that in times of globalization and growing interdependence more policy change is to be expected [Dobbin, Simmons and Garrett 2007]. Other authors emphasize the ambivalence and complexity of diffusion processes and their impacts [Mooney 2001] and/or the stickiness of national institutions [Börzel 2005b]. The question remains to what degree we can expect policy change and what the direction of change is, i.e. which policies are usually adopted? German scholars have provided different conceptualization and tools to examine the scope, degree and direction of policy change.

For considering the effects of diffusion processes in terms of policy change, (some) German scholars were utilizing the notion of convergence as one potential outcome of diffusion processes [Heichel, Pape and Sommerer 2005;

⁶ For a mechanism-based approach drawing on different strands of research see e.g. [Holzinger, Jörgens and Knill 2007; Holzinger and Knill 2005].

Holzinger 2006; Plümper and Schneider 2009; Jahn 2006]. Cross-national policy convergence can be defined as «the tendency of societies to grow more alike, to develop similarities in structures, processes and performances» [Kerr 1983, 3]. This definition encompasses different conceptualizations of convergence, such as sigma-, beta-, delta- or gamma- Convergence or (un-)conditional convergence [Heichel et al. 2005; Plümper and Schneider 2009; Holzinger et al. 2007]. However, to grasp the domestic impact of diffusion processes and their underlying mechanisms two types of policy convergence seem especially important: sigma and delta convergence. Sigma convergence refers to the understanding of convergence as the decrease in variation of domestic policies over time. A decreasing coefficient of variation describes an increase in policy transfer. Although this indicates the strength of diffusion impacts, the analysis of sigma convergence alone does not necessarily tell us whether growing policy similarity also means a closer proximity to a certain policy model to be adopted⁷. Or to put it differently, it cannot tell us if a specific policy has been transferred. This can be a policy regarded as successful or a model promoted by an international organization like the EU. The concept of delta convergence therefore focuses on the adoption of specific policies. By measuring the minimization of the distance to a reference model, i.e. the specific policy to be adopted, over time one can examine the direction of policy change.

Furthermore, when it comes to measuring and/or estimating diffusion effects in terms of convergence and policy adoption (German) scholar were also advocating dyadic approaches [Holzinger 2006, Verschuren and Art 2004; Volden 2006; Gilardi and Füglister 2008; Neumayer and Plümper 2010]. The so-called Method of Paired Comparison (MPC) offers several advantages over analyzing single country units [Holzinger 2006, Verschuren and Art 2004]. It allows using both categorical and metrical data (e.g. in

⁷ The so-called «policy innovation» [Rogers 2003].

contrast to the analysis of the variation coefficient). Furthermore, both types of variables (and various policy dimensions respectively) can be integrated into one quantitative model with the degree of policy similarity as dependent variable. This is different than traditional approaches. Whereas aggregated data only describe complete samples (or subgroups), for instance, by analyzing the variation coefficient, MPC relies on information incorporating every country pair. Correspondingly, MPC is less sensitive to outliers as it involves any policy change between all pairs of countries. Also, as the unit of analysis is country dyads, it enables researchers to increase the number of cases available for statistical processing [Holzinger 2006, 280f]. Last but not least, rather than measuring diffusion effects in terms of variance, dyadic approaches can help to avoid using aggregates and estimate diffusion effects instead [Plümper and Schneider 2009; Neumayer and Plümper 2010].

11. *Conclusion*

In this chapter, we focused on major contributions German scholars have been making to the field of EU studies. These relate to three broad fields in literature. First, German scholars advanced what became the «governance turn» in EU studies. Whereas research on the EU used to study the development of the European Union, governance approaches provide a different perspective that is arguably more appropriate to capture the nature of the beast since it is not wedded to statehood. Moreover, the European polity becomes exogenous shifting the theoretical and empirical focus towards the impact of the EU's institutional structure on both European policies and politics as well as on the politics of the member states themselves. Second, German scholars pioneered research on Europeanization and domestic change exploring the impact of the EU on its member states, more recently expanding the research agenda to the external dimension of Europeanization, i.e. member-

ship candidates, as well as neighborhood and third countries. Third, German scholars helped broaden the debate on Europeanization by combining insights from EU studies and the diffusion of public policies identifying different causal mechanisms by which ideas and policies diffuse within the EU and from the inside out.

There is no way that one chapter can do justice to all the contributions German scholars have made to the field of EU studies. Although being selective, our chapter shows that there is no genuine *German* debate on the EU. Rather, drawing on specific approaches dominant in German political science, German scholars have helped advance the field, both theoretically and methodologically and pushed it into new directions.

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GEORGE CONTOGEOORGIS AND DIMITRIS N.
CHRYSSOCHOU

GREEK POLITICAL SCIENCE ON EUROPE: A
SCHOLARLY OUTLINE¹

This chapter is a reflection on the current state of European integration studies in Greece. It is thus neither extensive, nor perhaps representative of the many different scholarly efforts by Greek political scientists to capture the reality of the «polity» that is currently emerging in Europe. Accordingly, what follows sketches a general outline of Greek academic interest in the nature of the evolutionary «EU order» which has managed to combine high levels of segmental autonomy which are non-threatening to national identities, traditions and ways of life, with a sense of unity for the whole. The idea of the essay is to focus less on the microcosm of policy specific analyses and more on some theoretical projections that aim to capture the totality of what has been achieved so far – i.e. the general picture of integration at the turn of the first decade of the 21st century.

Eclectic and, by extension, limited as it may be in its scope, the chapter also makes the point that Greek scholarship on Europe is a fast-growing intellectual field which, judging by the amount of work produced over the last decade, has little to be jealous of other, more established academic communities. There is no need to invent here, as some easily do, yet another instance of Greek «exceptionalism». But what is still in question is the extent to which future Greek-based research on the EU will be investing more on the theoretical front, especially through collective

¹ This paper is also being published in a collective volume by *L' Harmattan Publications* in Paris.

synergies, rather than on the – no less exciting or, for that matter, less crucial – common working arrangements, including both the institutional dynamics and the various policy aspects of the collectivity. The essay does not proceed with any value-based judgments on the merits and weaknesses of Greek scholarly writings on Europe, but aims at sketching a broader picture – a panoramic, but by no means exhaustive, portrait – of the themes to which Greek scholars direct their analytical foci and, more broadly, their research interests.

1. *Some theory projections*

Greek EU scholarship has been steadily focusing for the last thirty years on the field of policy analysis and sector-based empirical studies, rather than on theory-producing accounts of the integration process. In other words, it focused more on how the EU «actually» operates and how best to study its various policy aspects, than on its ontological and epistemological foundations. Put differently, Greek political scientists have been mainly preoccupied with the micro-level – the various parts of the elephant, to recall Puchala's [1972] colorful metaphor – rather than with the systemic or structural conditions of European polity-building, constitution-making or *demos* formation. Admittedly, there is nothing wrong with such research preferences, nor can theory be taken as a panacea for good social science. It is equally true, however, that greater emphasis on the theory of European integration – on various combinations of social and political theory, whether normative, reflexive or analytical – would have opened up new and promising horizons for the study of an essentially contested (polycemous), uniquely observed (*sui generis*) and, by its composite nature, interdisciplinary (multi-perspective) object of social science enquiry.

More than that, a theoretical projection of the EU as a general system – i.e., a polity, a political system or a (quasi)constitutional system – offers the possibility to think

about the social and political constitution of a novel form of collectivity or even of a postnational polity *in statu nascendi*. This polity is called upon to reconcile the ever present quest for the autonomy of the parts with a shared sense of identity for the whole [Athanasopoulou 2008]. Such endeavors chime well with the idea of extending the organization of political authority in new areas of collective symbiosis, although such an idea should not be taken as a means for regional state-building. This view accords with Tsatsos's [2007] account of the EU as «a sympolity of states and peoples» and is indicative of the kind of conceptual synergies normative theory allows in postnational or post-statist directions. Likewise, the concept of «synarchy» advocates a collective system of shared rule based on the idea that the component parts, as co-sovereign units, are capable of co-constituting the general system and co-determining its constitutional nature and dynamics [Chrysochoou 2009].

Such an approach is also linked to the ability of the EU *qua* general system to organize, project and perform political functions that can sustain and promote the extensive sharing of state sovereignty, without either invalidating the constituent sovereignties or threatening their legitimizing role within the national subsystems. The concept of synarchy refers to a novel form of co-determination that does not presuppose the end of the (European) nation-state or for that matter any substantive, let alone irreversible, loss of its capacity to steer the political community to which its demos – the civic body as a politically self-conscious collectivity – refers. It also brings to the fore a shared perception of states as constituent units with the capacity (and the political will, expressed through national channels of legitimation) to co-exercise sovereign authority, to invest in a commonly formulated law, and to determine the conditions of their collective symbiosis in a convergent and mutually beneficial manner. The whole idea of synarchy thus refers to an organized multiplicity of autonomous units, directing us to a form of governance which accords with a post-state-centric reality of the «EU order»,

linking together the praxis of co-determination with the idea of «organized co-sovereignty». Resting on the ascent of a co-operative culture among the subunits based on mutually reinforcing perceptions about the organization of collective life, it allows them to acknowledge the idea of synarchy as the basic principle around which a new form of unity is being built: an expression of an advanced sense of political co-ownership.

The notion of a post-statist analogy has attracted the interest of Greek scholars, albeit to a lesser extent as compared with their European counterparts. EU studies in Greece, at least as reflected in – mostly edited – academic textbooks and articles in refereed journals have also experienced the effects of the «normative turn» in EU studies which has been evident in integration scholarship since the mid-1990s. It reached its peak with the insertion of normative social and political theory (and philosophy), as represented in the likes of cosmopolitanism, constructivism, constitutionalism, and (neo)republicanism [Eleftheriadis 2003; Antoniadis 2001; Tsinisizelis 2001; Galariotis 2009; Gofas and Hey 2008; Lavdas and Chrysochoou 2004]. This has sparked a lively debate on the transmutations of sovereign statehood, and the development of new understandings on the nature of political authority exercised within a multilevel and multilogical system [Kazakos 2009].

This kind of discourse, however, represents a rather small portion of Greek scholarly writings on Europe and focuses on the changing views of state sovereignty, which can now be interpreted as the right of the member polities to be involved in the joint exercise of competences, while retaining ultimate responsibility in critical decision-making. Hence a new quality in sovereignty relations, evident in Europe's composite polity [Manitakis 2007; Taylor 2008]: even though sovereignty is still being made by the subsystems, the latter are constituted by the general system to which they also belong: their sovereignty becomes an expression of their participation in a larger unit [Taylor 2003]. As a synarchy of entangled sovereignties, the EU

directs the dialectics of sovereignty towards a philosophy of governing that reconciles Europe's political tradition as the cradle of Westphalian sovereignty with the transcendence of sovereign statehood itself. This new dialectic rests on a common learning process, making the EU the most advanced application of the principle of political co-determination.

2. *Rethinking political Europe*

A distinctive approach to the study of the EU introduced from early on the concept of the «sympolity» [Contogeorgis 1998; 2000; 2004; 2010] to define political Europe. It distinguishes its relevance to the structure and evolution of ancient Greek *sympolities*, referring to the environment of the city-state. This correlation allows for a more profound conceptual understanding of the EU and, furthermore, distinguishes it from federal forms of polity, whose origins can be traced to an earlier evolutionary stage, when anthropocentric stato-centrism was not yet solidified. Central to this line of thinking is the assumption that the present-day EU represents a «stateless sympolity».

It is obviously not the EU's essential structure as a sympolity which inhibits the deepening of its political system and, with it, its internal or systemic cohesion, but the still incomplete anthropocentric condition of our era in general [Contogeorgis 2007]. At this stage, the political system is confined to and is identified by the concept of the state, which dissociates itself from the society of citizens and downgrades its role to a private one. The question here is not that a unified European demos is lacking, but that the very idea of the «demos» does not exist today. This view is harsh criticism of contemporary political science, which calls political systems as democracies simply on the grounds that their political personnel has popular legitimacy, although in every other sense it completely possesses the qualities of both mandator and mandate [Contogeorgis 2005].

This concept of the political system, transplanted into political Europe, also falls short in terms of popular legitimization of its political personnel. This is reasonable, since today's European sympolity depends largely upon the nature of the political systems of its member states, i.e. upon their leaders who possess political authority and naturally have no intention of relinquishing it to the society of citizens.

From this perspective, the weak structure of the EU polity is due to the emerging stato-centrism which demands that the leadership of the member states define the European political landscape and determine their political personnel. Moreover, political Europe's persistence in giving priority to one purpose of politics by focusing almost exclusively on the economic market results in the imbalance in the relationship between society of citizens, the state and the market, in favor of the latter. This imbalance must be attributed to the total exclusion of the society of citizens from the political system. Put a different way, rendering the purpose of the market the primary political purpose of the state – and particularly of the EU – conceals not the existence of a weak European identity, but the non-democratic or even representative structure of their political systems, referring back to the early anthropocentric stage of the modern cosmo-system.

From another point of view, this rendering of the interests of the market as the ultimate goal of political Europe is consistent with the EU member states' choice of approaching politics through the prism of *power or rather of force*, and not as a *sphere for the realization of freedom*. It is precisely because the construction of the member states is based on the strict dichotomy between society and politics that the *sympoliteian* character of the EU becomes an instrument in the hands of their leaders to manage the European public space, putting their individual interests before the common European interest. This becomes all the more evident in the way in which European citizenship is perceived. In the EU political system, the citizen is just an incomplete political subject – as in the case of the state –

and indeed whose status depends on his quality of citizen of the member state. It is incomplete not because the concept of the European demos is lacking. The modern citizen is considered to be a private individual, a subject of the state, who is merely called upon to legitimize the power of the political personnel. In modernity in general it is inconceivable that the citizen should participate in the political system. Nevertheless, the European citizen possesses limited legitimizing capability, since in this case the state retains the relative authority.

On the question of the fundamental features that form the concept of European identity, this line of thinking ascribes them to the concept of «politeian» patriotism [Contogeorgis 2003; 2004]. «Politeian» patriotism defines the set of parameters which comprise the nature of anthropocentric life, i.e. of societies living in freedom. These parameters refer back to the weighty Hellenic-Roman tradition and, therefore, to the consciousness of a common cultural heritage. This heritage developed essentially in Europe, and, in fact, was the backdrop of the modern European socio-economic and political condition. The distinguishing feature of European «politeian» patriotism is founded in the cultural pluriformity. In this sense, it is neither contrary to nor does it negate the fundamental properties of collective national identity. Therefore, it is not meant to reproduce the fundamentals mark of the nation and to lead to the creation of a new super-nation, nor will it be post-national.

The separate identities, such as those that refer to the nation or those that are the result of various cultural differentiations (ethnicity, religion, geography, etc.) will be part and parcel of the overall European collective identity. In these differentiations, it will reserve a considerable degree of political autonomy, fulfilling its homologous freedom. Therefore, according to this line of reasoning, it is not the lack of a European identity or its *sympoliteian* structure that inhibits the deepening of political Europe, but its classification in the stage of emerging stato-centrism that characterizes the modern anthropocentric cosmo-system and,

in this context, its strictly pre-democratic and, as a matter of fact, pre-representative character. It stands to reason, then, that the concept of *politeian* patriotism is clearly broader than Habermas's «constitutional patriotism». It is, in any case, capable of conveying a more holistic understanding of identity, instead of the restrictive reference to the simple political system [Contogeorgis 2003; 2004; 2007]. Therefore, political Europe is neither post-stato-centric nor post-national, but a component of the stato-centric period that refers back to the particular conditions being experienced by societies of a significant historical space, Europe. The post-stato-centric stage is ascribed to the next, *ecumenical* stage in the development process of the anthropocentric cosmo-system, which the modern world is a far cry from. The state of the ecumenical period, the «cosmopolis», a cosmo-state, is meant to host the heritage (state, nation, etc.) of the stato-centric period, including the sympolity, not negating it. Nevertheless, the sympoliteian phenomenon is different in the stato-centric stage from that in the ecumenical period, as seen in the Greek paradigm [Contogeorgis 2006].

All of the above lead to the conclusion that the deepening of political Europe and the reorientation of its political purpose – from the interests of the «market» to the common interest of its constituent peoples – can be achieved through a new equilibrium in the relationship between society, politics and the market, which will be reflected in a shared European identity. This requires the reconstitution of the society of citizens as a *demos*, i.e. as an institutional and particularly component factor component of the polity. This is the evolution of the political system, from the present pre-representative period to the representative phase. Even if this occurs only within the context of the nation-state, the issues and purpose of the politics of the European Union will have changed radically.

The evolution of political Europe away from being the subject of the world system toward a political system in its own right will transfer it from the scope of international relations to that of political science. This will heat up and

especially reorient interest in studying its new example. However, the main core of the scientific community will continue to focus on research into the institutional environment, functions and policies of the EU, although the study of its character as a political system will begin gradually. The Greek scientific community is also focusing on the study of Greece's position in the common European destiny and also as a policy-building exercise. Nevertheless, the study of this question has inevitably noticeably shifted due to the changes in Europe and developments in the broader cosmo-systemic environment. This is supported further by a widespread recognition on the part of Greek public opinion that political Europe is an integral, if not an organic, component of Greece.

3. Lisbon's scholarly effect

The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by France and the Netherlands in May and June 2005 respectively, represented a major blow to the cause of EU constitutionalism. More than that, it heralded a profound and prolonged, yet not entirely unexpected, political crisis of the integration process, which was conveniently termed, if not camouflaged by EU officials as a «reflection period». The Constitutional Treaty was eventually replaced by a Reform Treaty, widely known as the Lisbon Treaty because it was signed in the Portuguese capital by EU leaders on December 13, 2007. It was viewed as a relatively modest step toward the constitutionalization of the formal treaty framework. It was also asserted, however, that the new Treaty, which came into force on December 1, 2009 – after a rather controversial process due to the Polish and Czech Presidents' initial reservations, and mainly thanks to a second Irish referendum on June 12, 2008 – is expected to contribute to a more balanced form of decision-making in the enlarged EU of 27, coupled by a strengthening of the EU's institutional capacity to act in a more coherent manner in its external relations (although the initial provision for an

EU Foreign Affairs Minister was not included with the final text).

In general, there were a series of primarily nationally-driven causes for rejecting the Constitutional Treaty. It produced an ideologically incoherent but discernible voting bloc against the constitutional project, whose core institutional reforms were eventually to survive in the Lisbon Accords. This is not to imply that greater democracy in the general system can only be an outcome of substantive constitutional revisions, but rather that the road to a more demo-centric union rests largely upon the extent to which the political preferences and expectations of the national governing elites are convergent or divergent. At the same time, it needs to be stressed that the French and Dutch voters exercised their equally democratic right to oppose the coming into force of a major treaty reform, to which they – much like their fellow EU citizens – had little democratic input because the Constitutional Treaty was ultimately determined by Europe's political leaders, rather than by a genuine European constituent power. Be that as it may, had the Treaty been ratified, the fact remains that the EU would have still rested (more) on a dynamic set of international treaty-based rules, albeit of an integrative nature and orientation, rather than on an elaborate system of constitutional checks and balances designed to organize political authority within a non-state polity. With the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, a quasi-constitutional ordering had emerged, albeit of a (much) less federalist kind as compared to a conventional (or state-like) constitutional settlement. In a word, the new Treaty was not in the end meant to take the EU political system toward a genuinely post-national state of play [Habermas 2001].

In many respects, the Lisbon Treaty represented the long-awaited response of the EU to a protracted political crisis. Most prominently perhaps, it classified EU competences into exclusive, shared and supporting. Other pro-integrationist measures, including those relating to the EU's democratic life and the abolition of the three-pillar structure, include: an extension of Qualified Majority Vot-

ing (QMV) in many areas (including the area police and judicial co-operation in criminal matters, with Britain and Ireland having secured the right to pick and choose whether to participate therein, and with the EU Court extending its judicial oversight); a single legal personality for the EU; a full-time standing President of the European Council (elected for a 2.5 year term, renewable once); a lesser and more flexible Commission based on a new rotation system; a strengthening of the EP's co-legislative rights; an enhanced role for national parliaments in their dealings with Brussels – in particular, with the Commission – with reference to the application of subsidiarity. But there was no mention of an EU Foreign Affairs Minister (instead, the Treaty merged the post of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, CFSP High Representative with the Commissioner for External Relations), neither was an integrated treaty text replacing all earlier treaties. Moreover, all reference to EU symbols, including the term «constitution» were dropped. The Reform Treaty made a legal binding reference to the Charter of Fundamental Rights but without including it in the formal treaty framework, as had the aborted Constitutional Treaty. These are just a few instances of constitutional regression.

The prospect of a Reform Treaty to replace the still-born Constitution, combined with the effects of the EU's massive enlargement, was meant to renew the interest of Greek academia in the EU project [Tsatsos 2007; Maravegias and Tsinisizelis 2007; Ioakimidis 2005; 2008; Stephanou 2006; Tsinisizelis, Fatouros and Christodoulidis 2006; Xenakis and Tsinisizelis 2006; Chryssochoou, Tsinisizelis, Ifantis, Stavridis and Xenakis 2009; Pelagidis and Xenakis 2009]. The general assessment to be drawn from such scholarly writings (also with regard to the political nature of the Reform Treaty) is that recent reforms represented a compromised structure among divergent and conflicting national interests, accommodating the demands of the more skeptical actors. Too many reservations, opt-outs, references to states' prerogatives in relation to competences and reform practices, along with a postponement of the double

majority system of the Constitutional Treaty, deprived the EU from consolidating its political identity and failed to signal a shift in the basis of legitimation. The dominant view of the Lisbon Treaty offered by Greek scholars has been that such reforms were driven by a rather moderate, pragmatic and, at the level of political symbolism, less enthusiastic revisionary strategy, largely at the expense of a democratic visionary project to re-ignite the public's interest in EU affairs.

At a time when the EU retains its character as a *via media* between different forms of polity, governance and representation – an assumption that is commonly shared among many Greek political scientists and constitutional lawyers – the initial prospects for endowing Europe's politically fragmented demos with a common civic identity that would nurture a sense of European «civic sense» or «demos-hood» – along the lines of Viroli's [2000] «republican patriotism» writ large – did not in the end prove realistic enough or, from a different angle, desirable enough. Instead, the rather unceremonious outcome of the Lisbon reforms was greeted by many Greek analysts as an indication, if not a conviction, that the exclusion of citizens from the drafting stages – i.e., the absence of a participatory and deliberative method of EU constitution-making or, at least, of constitutional engineering – has been at the expense of elevating their status to a system-steering agency: to become, in other words, the decisive agents of civic change by means of enhancing their horizontal integration within a larger pluralist order composed of entangled arenas for social and political action.

The revival of scholarly interest in EU studies by Greek academics, at least as far as the larger picture of integration is concerned – i.e., either in terms of exploring the normative qualities of the enlarged EU polity or in terms of attempting an assessment of the defining or constitutive features of the general system as an organized plurality of states and demoi – was linked with an attempt to explore the new dialectic [Taylor 2003] between sovereignty and integration. This dialectic carried the implication of an

explicit right to political co-determination, but failed to produce a credible normative commitment from the part of the national governing elites to democratizing the general system. Much like previous treaty reforms, as the majority of scholars have asserted, the Lisbon outcome, for all its provisions regarding the legally binding status of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, its references to representative democracy, the inclusion of a citizens' (agenda) initiative right and the envisaged role for the member state legislatures in the implementation of the subsidiarity principle, did not represent a *cause célèbre* for a more civic-minded process of union. Rather, it was yet another cautiously negotiated deal of «partial offsets» to key democratic problems facing the EU, for what it failed to produce was not only a common democratic vision *per se*, but also a belief that such a vision remains without reach, at least in the foreseeable future.

4. *Capturing the trend*

For the last three decades, after Greece became an EU member state, Greek academics have been largely concerned with the question of Europe and this country's role in it. This is a rather easy conclusion to draw, as this has been the case with the vast majority of countries which became members of this uniquely observed, dynamic and multilingual union. There are, however, at least two developments – perhaps surprising for the older generation, but almost self-evident to younger people – that have taken place since the mid-1990s which merit our attention. First, the EU is no longer seen as an extension of Greece's external relations, but rather as an integral part of the Greek polity's structural and functional properties. EU politics no longer represent an autonomous sphere of activity or intellectual concern (something which does not contradict the continuing interest of Greek analysts in the country's standing in EU external affairs). This was mainly the case during the first decade of Greece's membership, when the

country was often accused of an introverted perception of EU affairs due to a concealed intergovernmentalism in the conduct of its European policy. This perception led to an understanding of Greek-EU relations throughout the 1980s and up to the mid-1990s as a case of «uneasy interdependence» [Tsinisizelis and Chrysochoou 1996].

This development has had a direct impact on the evolution of the Greek polity: being a relatively small state, Greece has often in the past found itself in a rather delicate position between transferring sovereign authority to the common system and retaining its freedom of action from external interference, especially in sensitive national issues concerning competences that were traditionally located to the hard core of the Greek state. But the dynamics of integration, especially after the country's entry into the Eurozone in the early 2000s, have acted as a call for institutional adjustment – for what has been conveniently described, mostly in lack of a better term, as the Europeanization of domestic policy and public sector structures [Lavdas 1998; Tsoukalis 1999; Ioakimidis 2000; Paraskevopoulos 2001, Featherstone and Radaelli 2003; Featherstone and Papadimitriou 2008]. In the Greek case, major attitudinal changes in favor of further integration, along with the emerging constellation of power between new and old political parties (and between the two leading parties which still account for a majority of the national vote, albeit an increasingly declining one) portray the image of a liberal democracy which strives to break away from long-standing structural deficiencies.

Turning to the second development, EU studies taught at university level have been growing strong in Greece despite the lack either of strong international relations or, more generally, a political science scholarly tradition. For a country in which the domain of legal studies (and in particular the study of public or constitutional law) has been the norm almost since the inception of the modern Greek state, both in terms of scholarly as well as professional prestige, the dynamism of EU studies arguably constitutes a rather remarkable achievement, at least from

the perspective of higher education institutional pluralism (the emergence of new regional universities focusing on the social sciences) and disciplinary progress (research conducted by Greek political scientists). Moreover, studying Europe in Greece is increasingly becoming part of an interdisciplinary academic laboratory, which is indicative not only of the current intra- and inter-departmental synergies taking place in Greek universities, but also of the prospects of learning about Europe through the insights of several socio-scientific lenses.

The promotion of European integration studies at university level, especially in a country with a remarkably high percentage of undergraduate students, combined with the efforts made by such institutes and organizations as the Hellenic University Association for European Studies, the Hellenic Centre for European Studies, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, the Centre for European Constitutional Law, the Institute of European Integration and Policy, the Greek Centre for European Studies and Research, the various Jean Monnet Chairs, Centers and European Documentation Centers, as well as the Commissions' and Parliament's offices in Greece, to mention but a few, are also important means of further enhancing Greece's communitarian image, whether or not of a conventional or postmodern federalist direction.

5. Conclusion

For a polity that still rests on an international treaty and lacks a self-conscious demos, the transition «from democracies to democracy» is neither easy nor linear. Although recent trends in EU theory perceive the general system as being closer to a state-centric as opposed to a state-like formation, this is far from an ideal state, as it hinders the emergence of a European demos. Like any other polity that aspires to become a democracy, the EU has to invent its own framework of participatory politics, while ensuring that its political outcomes are informed by a principled

public discourse. Until then, it will continue to be confronted with the reality of multiple polities and demoi. As for the hopes and agonies of the Greek demos, in a manner not entirely dissimilar to its celebrated ancient counterpart, it will also have to cope with the reality of an enlarged, more competitive, less cohesive, and certainly less egalitarian union.

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN HUNGARY

Hungary joined the European Union in May 2004. However, the origins of European studies can be traced back much earlier. After Hungary submitted its membership application to the European Union in 1994, and launched accession negotiations in 1998, European integration gradually became a core theme in Hungarian social science research. European studies courses were taught in Hungarian universities as early as the 1980s, and began to flourish in the early and mid-1990s. By now, the number of European studies programs has increased considerably, and one of the main EU-information websites² currently lists over twenty European studies programs at BA, MA and post-graduate levels.

It is difficult to assess the development of European integration studies within political science in isolation from other core disciplines, such as economics, history, sociology or law. For instance, political science studies on European integration cannot be understood without an insight into the historical background and development of Hungary. Similarly, the issue of «Hungarian identity» and the «place of Hungary in Europe» cannot be assessed in isolation from sociological considerations. In particular, the development of the political science and economics literature is strongly interlinked in Hungary, a number of authors making contributions within both fields, or at the borderline of the two disciplines, such as political economy.

European integration studies in Hungary can make an important contribution to the academic debate at the in-

¹ Central European University, Budapest, Public Policy Department, PhD candidate.

² www.euvonal.hu (last visited on June 24, 2011).

ternational level. A number of research topics with wider international relevance have strong traditions in the region, including EU enlargement, minority protection and development policies of the EU. It is also true that much has been published by Hungarian authors on these issues in English. However, as I argue in the final section of this chapter, someone who would like to learn more about Hungarian contributions to European integration research has to search carefully, as many of these contributions did not find their ways into the wider international academic discourses. The chapter is structured as follows. The next section addresses some questions concerning the origins of European integration studies. The following section addresses some of the core integration topics widely researched by Hungarian authors, and presents the institutional framework of European integration studies in Hungary. The final section discusses how European integration studies in Hungary have contributed to the development of the discipline at the international level, and what their main added values and prospects for further development are.

1. The origins of European integration studies in Hungary

What do we mean by «European integration» in the Hungarian context, and how far back do we need to trace its development? According to Szabó «the history of the [political science] discipline is more or less directly bound to the prospects of democracy» [Szabó 2002, 129]. In other words the maturing of the discipline ran parallel to the process of democratization after the change of regime in 1989.

European integration issues within political science gained great importance during the 1990s, parallel to the accession process of Hungary. For instance, the «Political Science Review» (*Politikatudományi Szemle*) a quarterly with peer review, published articles about European integration from the second half of the 1990s, initially by international scholars of political science, such as Wolfgang

Merkel [1997] or Mary Kaldor [1997], and later by Hungarian authors as well. Other academic journals, such as the «Hungarian Economic Review» (*Közgazdasági Szemle*), have also published articles on European integration with relevance for the political science discipline. More recently, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has issued a journal entitled «Central European Political Science Review» (CEPSR, in English) that has contributions both from Hungarian and other CEEC authors on European integration. Among the current journals that have a strong European focus and publish articles within a wide variety of disciplines, the «European Mirror»³ (*Európai Tükör*, published in Hungarian since 1996) may be the best known.

In this chapter, the development of European integration studies is monitored ten years before the country's accession (1994), which is also the date when Hungary submitted its membership application. However, one has to look further back to get a deeper insight into the nature of the development of European integration research in Hungary. Eminent Hungarian political theorists and historians, such as István Bibó or Jenő Szűcs were concerned long ago with the issue of how Hungary relates to the rest of Europe, what are the main characteristics that distinguish central and eastern European countries (CEECs) from Western countries, and what distinguishes Hungarians from other CEECs. Bibó, Szűcs and others assessed the uniqueness of the central European region's development and its position within Europe through historical lenses. They described central and eastern Europe as a region whose history made it follow a specific development path in between Western European (*Occidens*) and Eastern countries.

In his study from 1946 entitled the *Distress of the East European Small States*, Bibó argues that «[f]or centuries, the people of Central and Eastern Europe were distinguished from Western Europe in terms of their degree of

³ «The European Mirror» is a monthly journal issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has an editorial board with reputed Hungarian academics in European integration research.

social, political and economic development. However, in geographical terms, and as far their stature is concerned, they always fell closer to Western Europe»⁴. Revisiting Bibó's ideas, Szűcs expressively describes – in his study from 1983 on the *Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline* – how history has repeatedly drawn two geographical lines (Elbe-Leitha in the west and the lower Danube through the eastern Carpathians, into the Baltics in the east) that set apart the «region in between» from both western and eastern Europe. This «in-betweenness» characterizes the cultural, social, economic and political development of the central and eastern European region. As Árpád Göncz once said⁵, Central Eastern Europe «is the place where the West and East meet without neutralizing each other»⁵. As we will see, these concerns have continuously penetrated much of the academic work of those who researched European integration after the mid-1990s, and it has been a central subject of research up until today (as a contribution from 2006 to the «identity literature» by Lux, who presents the views of public figures on being Hungarian in Europe).

2. *The development of European integration research in Hungary*

Since the early 1990s, a growing and ever more diverse academic literature has been published by Hungarian authors on the EU, essentially comprising all major research areas. For instance, a stream of European integration research has gradually emerged, covering issues with specific relevance for the region, such as European regional policy, agriculture, minority protection, or public adminis-

⁴ Own translation from Hungarian. Document available online at: <http://mek.oszk.hu/02000/02043/html/194.html> (last visited on June 24, 2011).

⁵ Quoted by Rupnik, J (1994), *Return of Central Europe* (in Hungarian: *Közép-Európa visszatérése*), *Európai Szemle*, Vol. 5 No 4, p. 11. Own translation from Hungarian.

tration reform. Furthermore, Hungarian authors made contributions to specific European integration issues, such as party politics in the EU, and lobbying and interest representation.

This diversity is also reflected in the books (or book chapters) by Hungarian authors. Early integration literature includes the *Handbook of the European Union* by Zoltán Horváth (first published in 1998), which has been translated into a number of other languages; as well as those that follow a historical perspective and assess the history of European integration [Nagy 1999; Horváth 2003; Kiss 2005; Arató and Koller 2009]. Furthermore, a number of Hungarian authors have written or contributed to various volumes that deal with wider EU aspects, such as *Enlarging the European Union* [1997], edited by Maresceau, with Hungarian contributions from Balázs, Dunay, Kende and Szűcs; *The Entry of Hungarians* [in Hungarian, Hegedüs 2006], or *Introduction to the Policies of the European Union* [in Hungarian, Kende and Szűcs 2005].

Much of the early literature in European integration can be characterized as a continued commitment of scholars towards defining Hungarian identity and Hungary's relations to Europe. As the accession negotiations started, Hungarian scholars increasingly turned to issues concerning the European Union's foreign relations and the eastern enlargement [Ágh 1999; 2008; Balázs 1997; 2002; Csaba 2001; Gazdag 2005]. In an interview published in the «European Mirror», Domokos Kosáry, a reputed Hungarian historian, said:

It is not the inner but the outer sheets of paperback books that are normally torn. The quality of paper is not worse at the edge, but its position is. We are at the edges, in the periphery, which could only be secured if the book gets a hardcover, meaning that we become part of the European Union [Kosáry 2004, 20]⁶.

One of the main concerns within this stream of litera-

⁶ Author's translation from Hungarian.

ture in the period running up to Hungary's accession has been the asymmetrical relationship between the old member states and the accession countries. A number of studies tried to carefully compare advantages and disadvantages of Hungary's future membership. Overall, there was a wide consensus in Hungary that accession to the European Union is both necessary and inevitable, however, concerns have been raised with regard to how well Hungarian interests are articulated in this process [Inotai 1995; Balogh 1994]. For instance, Inotai argued that

the EU's view, according to which central and eastern European countries should adapt unilaterally, is outdated. The new European "standard" which ensures sufficient security and high-level economic integration requires strong adaptation efforts from every single European country [Inotai 1995]⁷.

The impact of enlargement has remained high on the research agenda even after Hungary's accession to the European Union. However, the interest of researchers now shifted towards assessing what changes enlargement brought to the country and how [Inotai 1996; Ágh 2008; Pogátsa 2009]. The Eastern enlargement of the EU has been different from previous enlargements. In an article of 2008 in the «Political Science Review», Attila Ágh argues that enlargement produced a shocking effect in the CEECs

because these [...] states were not prepared for membership in terms of social capacity and completed the institutional system. It is well known from the EU history that all enlargements produced some backlash but since both social capacity and institutional system were at a higher level, the tension there was smaller and took shorter time, so a real post-accession crisis did not emerge [Ágh 2008, 95]⁸.

Hungarian scholars have not only been concerned with Hungary's relationship to the western part of Europe, but also with its relationship with its neighboring countries

⁷ Author's translation from Hungarian.

⁸ Text from the original English abstract.

[Balogh 1994; Gergely 1996; Tabajdi 1994 and others; see also CEPSR Vol. 5, n. 16]. Due to the diversity of national minority relations in central and eastern Europe, this issue has received a central focus within integration research. In an article of 1994, András Balogh said that

Many [among those who do not know Central-Eastern Europe well enough] treat the loosening relationships among the countries of the region, the disintegration of some of these countries, and the vigorous expressions about contractual autonomy of national minorities as harmful phenomena. These processes, however, are not surprising and not necessarily negative for those who know the history and current relationships internal to this region» [Balogh 1994, 6]⁹.

Throughout the years, many articles have been published on the issue, with the aim to explore the relationship between the integration dynamics and minority rights.

As European integration research in Hungary gradually matured, scholars increasingly turned their attention to more specific integration issues, in particular to those where Hungary's strategic interests were. Policy areas in the focus of Hungarian integration research include agricultural and rural development, and social and employment policies. Redistributive policies, such as regional policy or the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) are of particular interest in Hungary. The level of development (as reflected in the per capita GDP) makes almost all regions in the CEECs eligible for Structural and Cohesion Funds, and this has directed the attention of Hungarian researchers towards this subject [Horváth 1999; 2001; Inotai et al. 2005; Molnár et al. 2007]. Furthermore, agriculture plays an important role in the economy of the CEECs; and therefore support received through the first and second pillars of the CAP also received increased attention in Hungary [Csurgó et al. 2008; Halmai 2007; Csurgó and Kovách 2008; Nemes 2007]. A number of further policy areas have been the subject of Hungarian research, many of which have economic

⁹ Author's translation from Hungarian.

focus (monetary policy or the development of entrepreneurship) and therefore fall within the realm of economics.

Other Hungarian contributions to European integration research are numerous and diverse. Among others, Hungarian authors have made specific contributions to integration research areas with wider EU-relevance, such as the role of national parliaments and party politics in the EU [Ágh 2006; Batory 2008; Enyedi 2007; Györi 2003; Ilonszki 2002 and others; see also «European Review» 1998 Vol. 1]; lobbying in EU decision-making [Kéglér 2006; Lékó 2006; Simon 2009; Topolánszky 2009]; and public administration reforms in preparation for EU accession [Ágh 1995; 1999; Dudás 2006; Forgács 2004; Gajduschek 2004].

3. The institutional framework of European integration research and education

The teaching of European integration studies started to develop from as early as the 1970s, and in particular the 1980s at a number of universities (such as the Budapest University of Economics, *Eötvös Loránd* University, the *Gödöllő* University of Agriculture) intensified after 1990s [Palánkai 2002]. The development of European integration studies has been supported by the EU in the framework of programs such as Tempus, Erasmus, Jean Monnet and PHARE. In 1998, Centers for European Education were set up with PHARE support all over the country. Currently there are some seventeen such centers operating in Hungary.

The diversity and increasing number of national programs reflect the growing interest in the subject. However, most of the centers, as well as universities remain unknown at the international level. In fact, the Central European University (CEU) is the only university based in Hungary that made it to the «global ranking» list of political science

departments published by Hix in 2004¹⁰. CEU is accredited in both the United States and Hungary, and offers English-language master and doctoral programs. European integration research has been an integral part of CEU's curricula, and courses in the field are offered within the department of international relations and European studies and the department of public policy. Furthermore, Hungarian and international researchers of the Centre for EU Enlargement Studies of CEU (headed by Péter Balázs, former foreign minister and regional commissioner) have made important contributions to the European integration research, and organized various conferences. After the eastern enlargement, the center continued to focus on possible future enlargements of the EU (e.g. the Balkans and Turkey). Finally, there are currently discussions about the setting-up of a European Institute within CEU.

Much of the research work in political science (and European integration within) is concentrated within the Hungarian Academy of Science (HAS). The Academy supervises and finances the Political Science Institute, which incorporates the European Integration and Globalization Department. The Academy incorporates various research institutes, such as the Centre for Regional Studies with scholars based all over the country carrying out research related to regional development, including the EU dimension. Furthermore, the HAS is involved in a number of research projects concerning the European Union.

The Hungarian Europe Society (headed by István Hegedűs) is a non-governmental organization with over 150 members (including practitioners and scientists). Its core interest is in European integration and Hungarian membership within the European Union. The Society has widely contributed to wider discussions about the European integration in Hungary since its set-up, especially through the organization of various conferences and events.

¹⁰ See S. Hix (2004), *A Global Ranking of Political Science Departments*, in «Political Studies Review» Vol. 2, n. 3, pp. 293-313.

Finally, the participation of Hungarian and other CEEC scholars in international organizations, such as the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) needs to be mentioned. Within the Consortium, a Standing Group on Central and East European Politics was formed in 1999. Ilonszki [2001] argues that there is much to improve in terms of encouraging more scholars to get involved in networking and cooperation activities, and take an active part in the ECPR events.

4. *Concluding remarks: The future of European integration studies in Hungary*

As presented in this chapter, European integration studies have developed along two broad lines in Hungary. On the one hand, especially in the 1990s they have been concerned with better understanding how European integration has developed and how the European Union and its institutions and policies work in general. This work primarily serves the purpose of «awareness raising» about key issues of European integration. On the other hand, extensive research has been carried out in areas with specific relevance for Hungary. These include the relationship of Hungary to the rest of Europe, accession negotiations and the impact of enlargement, minority protection and other policy-specific concerns. Clearly, research carried out in the Hungarian context in these fields has much to add to the international European integration debate.

However, the main concern is how far these studies channel into the wider international academic debate. A number of influential Hungarian scholars have published in foreign languages (primarily English). However, with notable exceptions, the publications of even the most reputed Hungarian authors do not appear in internationally acknowledged academic journals. For instance, only very few authors are listed on the Thomson Reuter's Web of Knowledge, and even those whose publications appear there, often have a low citation index (most often non-

cited). The quality of articles published in Hungarian journals varies, and many of them are written in a more journalistic (rather than scientific) style, with few academic references. Furthermore, there are indications that scholars from Hungary and other CEECs are often underrepresented in international workshops and conferences, and Hungarian academic programs in European studies (with the exception of CEU) are mostly not recognized at the international level.

These tendencies generally show that the specific knowledge on European integration accumulated in Hungary has not made its way into the international research arena. Of course, this may be due to the fact that traditions of European integration research in Hungary is still in its «adolescent» phase. As more and more young scholars have the opportunity to study abroad and accumulate specialized knowledge and practical experience related to European integration, the situation may be gradually changing. It would be highly desirable to channel nationally accumulated knowledge into the wider international scholarly debate on European integration. For this, Hungarian scholars need to recognize the importance of making their voice heard through devoting increasing efforts to publish in internationally acknowledged journals, and participate in international academic events in growing numbers.

In conclusion, over the last twenty years Hungarian authors have produced valuable academic research work in European integration in the field of political science. Those concerned with the development of European integration in Central and Eastern Europe (and in general) should be aware of the unique developments and characteristics of this region, and the wide range of material published by Hungarian scholars will surely provide a helping hand.

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FEDERIGA BINDI AND SERENA GIUSTI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN STUDIES
IN ITALY

A founding member of the European Communities (EC), Italy has traditionally been a pro-integration country. The large consensus among people for the European project is more the result of a shallow understanding of European politics than an in-depth belief in the European project. In recent years the political elite has become more fragmented as far as the EU is concerned. Some parties such as the Northern League have even espoused (at least in their political discourse, less in real terms) an anti-European posture. The transformation of the Italian political climate has not contributed to deepening the national debate on the EC/European Union (EU). It has rather polarized the domestic political scene without adding any flavor. The EU continues to be a residual subject after domestic politics. The question of European integration has been at the centre of the national political arena in cases where the EU has been exploited as an external lever for domestic institutional policy change (see Italy's entry into the European Monetary system that helped the country to reduce its consistent budget deficit). Europe has been a convenient excuse for imposing unpopular measures or the reason why certain things cannot be done. In some other cases Italian governments have also tried to convince the EU to undertake some painful reforms because they had serious difficulties at home in passing them. Moreover, similarly to what happens in other EU member states, national politicians still prefer to focus their energies on the domestic dimension rather than on the EU institutions. They see the EU as an interim placement before returning back – as soon as new windows of opportunities open – to a national politics which is deemed to be more prestigious.

Academia too has to a large extent suffered from this

puzzling situation. Moreover, in Italy studies on the EU have suffered from the limits of the Italian intellectual and academic system. The Italian academic system in fact proved resistant to opening ranks to new disciplines and scholars, reflecting a resistance to change and innovation that seems to characterize the whole Italian institutional and political system.

Nevertheless a bunch of young, internationally-educated scholars have succeeded – in many cases thanks to the EU Jean Monnet programmes – in introducing European studies in Italian Universities and schools. Some other left the country to hold very prestigious positions Universities abroad, in particular in Great Britain. All of them have been very productive, publishing both in Italian and English. It is worth to mention however that Italy is the only net exporter of graduates among rich European countries, something more usually associated with developing countries than with developed ones.

1. *Attitudes towards European integration*¹

Italians are known to be among the most convinced supporters of the process of European integration. This is consistent with their vision, their interpretation of history, and their reading of the role their peninsula is to play on the continent.

The Romans perceived themselves as pivotal in securing the peace and civilization of the continent. Their cosmopolitan values and their contribution to the spread of civilization throughout the then-known world (the idea of *Pax Romana* and *romana civitas*) are highlighted in a positive way in Italian schoolbooks. Ancient Rome is considered one of the most glorious periods in the country's long history. Centuries later, Dante – the most important of all Italian writers and the first to use the Italian language (in his *Divine Comedy*) – emphasized in his *De Monarchia*

¹ This section draws heavily from [Bindi 2011, 70-72].

(1310-1313) that the only way to achieve true justice was through world unity (the “world” as he knew it, of course). In such a process of unification, the Roman people were to play a pivotal role: it was their birthright.

During the *Risorgimento* period, the claim for a “united Europe” was considered within the context of freeing Italy from foreign rule. Unity, indeed, was seen as a way to reach that goal. The most influential philosophers and politicians of the *Risorgimento* period supported the idea of a better and more peaceful future for the peninsula within the context of a (united) Europe. Thus, in *Rinnovamento* (1851), Vincenzo Gioberti advocated a «social democratic» renewal throughout Europe, in which the Italian national resurgence could take place. Cesare Balbo’s *Le speranze d’Italia* (1844) stressed that an Italian federation (which would not include the Austrians) would contribute enormously to the stability of all Europe. Other people, like Giuseppe Ferrari, promoted the idea of broader federalism as the result of the free will and action of the people (*La rivoluzione e le riforme in Italia*, 1851). According to Carlo Cattaneo, only the United States of Europe could ever secure peace and prosperity on the continent (*Considerazioni in fine del primo volume dell’Archivio triennale*).

Giuseppe Mazzini, a major promoter of a united (and republican) Italy and founder of *La Giovine Italia* – the movement in favor of Italian independence – was a strong supporter of the United States of Europe, too. Mazzini, who also founded *La Giovine Europa*, conceived of the nation as a means by which to achieve a better life for all people. Hence, Europe was to be shaped by 13 or 14 nation states (where «nation» had a spiritual and historical, rather than territorial or racial, meaning), each of them having a mission of their own, in the view of overall improvements.

Due to this historical background, the Italian people today feel that a more integrated Europe follows a logical continuum in their history. They still believe it is the best way to secure democracy and peace. Moreover, as the European Economic Community (EEC) made its first steps dur-

ing the so-called «economic miracle» period, the Communities came to be associated with an improved socio-economic lifestyle. This was true even to the extent that, when budget restraints became necessary to join the Economic Monetary Union (EMU), Italians did not complain too much about paying an ad hoc tax to get rid of their *lira* and its troubles for good. In fact, as the Italian system was entering a deep crisis, the EC began to be perceived as the only chance to bring order into the national system. Thus, the demand for supranational structures also came to represent a demand for a solution to the inefficiencies of the Italian system.

The level of knowledge about the institutions of the EU as it emerges from the Eurobarometer surveys, is higher in Italy than in other EU countries, despite a very recent more negative curve. The EU Parliament is by far the best known and most appreciated institution by Italian citizens, followed by the Commission and the Council. Data also highlights a correlation between the amount of information and the strength of the positive assessment: the greater the knowledge, the greater the appreciation. Citizens generally learn about community institutions through television (69%), newspapers (44%), magazines (26%), other citizens (23%), the internet (18%). Nevertheless, as the Eurobarometer (2002) also shows, Italian citizens still perceive their own government to be the most influential institution; the EU's influence is seen as less pronounced (46% of those interviewed think the EU has "some effect" on their lives). Finally, to an absolute majority of Italians, being a member of the Union is "good" (69%) while only 3% see it as "bad". For 73% of Italians, in comparison with 49% of Europeans on average, the Union has a "very" or "quite" favorable image. Italians are also prouder of being European than the average EU citizen: 81% of those interviewed said they were "very" or "quite" proud of being European; that figure is only 62% in the EU as a whole².

² For more information, visit the Eurobarometer website: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm (last visited on May 22, 2011).

2. *The Italian politics and the process of European integration*³

The decision to link Italy firmly to the process of European integration was essentially the decision of a small group of leaders, led by the Prime Minister and head of the Christian Democrats (CD), Alcide De Gasperi, and his Foreign Minister, Carlo Sforza. The DC – a party which would later become a champion of Europeanism – was, at the time, divided over the issue. De Gasperi's idea was that Italy could better defend its national interests only within a policy of European solidarity [Telò 1996, 195-196]. In addition, involvement in supranational European institutions would help strengthen the domestic political system and the new-born democracy [Cotta 1992, 206-207; Ferraris 1992 131]. European integration was seen as a fundamental opportunity for the peninsula. Piero Craveri (2003) talks about an external bond in relation to De Gasperi's vision of European integration: he says that, thanks to Italy's participation in the European Communities, De Gasperi aimed to make up for what he could not achieve on the national institutional level.

Despite some internal divisions in the 1960s and a new anti-European crisis in the 1970s, the European choice – strictly linked with the Atlantic one – came to represent a widespread and founding principle shared by the whole Christian Democratic Party. In particular, in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the party undertook a marked activism at the European level, also thanks to leaders like Giulio Andreotti and Emilio Colombo. However, as Niccolò Conti and Luca Verzichelli (2005) point out, the style was more «reactive» than «proactive»; there was a distinct lack of continuity and of strategy in the DC's European policy, especially as foreign policy was considered a minor issue in comparison to domestic politics.

The two major parties of the left – the Italian Com-

³ This part draws heavily from [Bindi 2011, 72-81].

munist Party (PCI) and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) – felt differently. Since the very early days of the republic, both the Communists and the Socialists were very negative towards Atlantic and European issues, perceived as a form of «submission» to the U.S. [Ginsburg 1990, 110-112]. The Socialist leader Pietro Nenni considered that Italy should not enter the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – which he perceived as a threat to the USSR and a number of other UN member states – or any European organization, including the Council of Europe. Yet, with the beginning of a gradual distension in East-West relations in the following years, new spaces for maneuvering were available to the PSI and slowly came to acknowledge the European status quo.

The definitive break with USSR foreign policy came with the Suez and the Hungarian crises of 1956. The Socialists in parliament thus abstained on the EEC membership and voted in favor of Euratom [Scirocco in Craveri 2003]. Meanwhile, Nenni had been co-opted into Jean Monnet's *Comité d'Action* [Monnet 1976]. The change in the PSI's approach to foreign policy then allowed the party to join the majority supporting the government in 1958 and to enter the government in 1963. From then on, they would remain pro-European.

The conversion to European values of the Communist Party was slower and less linear. The PCI demonstrated several times against the Americans and against the European Communities. The party had a fierce aversion to any form of European or Atlantic integration.

Some isolated communist leaders – like Giorgio Amendola or Gian Carlo Pajetta – at times showed a timid interest in some initiatives launched by Christian Democrat leaders – like Amintore Fanfani, or Giovanni Gronchi, with his *Östpolitik* – but that was about it. The events of 1956 and the brutal repression of the Hungarian uprising was a difficult moment for the PCI. Yet, unlike the PSI, the party remained staunch allies of the USSR.

Though the PCI leader, Palmiro Togliatti, was quick to suppress any idea that departed from the party's official

one, the first cracks in the party line were nevertheless starting to appear: the communist trade union (CGIL), for instance, felt that the EEC would speed Italian economic recovery. Finally, after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and the subsequent changes to the world scenario, the PCI started to change, too. When, in 1969, the first Communists were appointed to the European Parliament, the PCI began to overhaul its foreign policy. By the time of the first direct election of the European Parliament (1979), the European federalist leader, Altiero Spinelli, was elected as an independent in the lists of the PCI, thus completing the party's total reversal, into pro-European values [Spinelli 1992].

Still, such alignment on pro-European values by the various Italian parties did not result in a more proactive Italian European foreign policy; rather, a «depoliticization» of Italian foreign policy started to take place. Gradually, the EC became a non-issue in the Italian political arena. According to former ambassador Sergio Romano, Europe is an icon before which Italian politicians quickly kneel before moving onto other things. Seldom has strong political leadership emerged on European policy. There are some exceptions (the making of the Single European Act (SEA) in 1984-1985; the negotiations on EMU in 1990 for example), but they were rather the result of individual action on the part of a few leaders than of a concrete policy underwritten by the Italian parties. Only in the last 10 years or so have things really started to change.

It is the Italian dimension rather than the European one which appeals to national politicians. Too many times they – in a pure party-based logic – tend to consider «Euro-jobs» as (well paid) retirement or interim positions. Such jobs are just meant to tide them over until they can get back into the national political arena. The EC/EU has also been used by Italian politicians to legitimize their own actions [Cotta 1992, 211]. In fact, European constraints are often cited to justify otherwise unpopular fiscal and monetary measures. Some headlines from leading Italian newspapers make this clear: *The Twelve ask for blood and tears*

[«*La Repubblica*» May 5, 1992]; *Privatization? It is imposed by the EC* [«*Corriere della Sera*» August 3, 1992].

In the 1990s, the Italian political system underwent a great upheaval and this had a number of consequences both in the national debate about Europe and in European decision-making.

At the European level, the most important changes have been a shift in the membership of the European political families and in their internal schemes of alliances – the most visible concerning the European People's Party (EPP). When the first split took place within the DC (1993), it was the new Italian *Partito Popolare* (PPI) that inherited a seat in the EPP. The party's transformation and, most of all, its center-left orientation was neither understood nor welcomed by an EPP that was becoming progressively more conservative. In a typical parochial yet arrogant Italian manner, the leadership completely underestimated the impact of its changes on the other EPP members.

Meanwhile, in 1994, Silvio Berlusconi, the new leader of the center right coalition, had become prime minister. His nine months in office clearly showed him that isolation at the European level was a potential danger to his possible future governments. Therefore, Berlusconi put a tremendous effort into bringing his own party, *Forza Italia*, into the EPP.

On the left side of the political framework, the new Democratic Party of the Left (PDS) – born in 1990 from the ashes of the former PCI – quickly applied for membership in the socialist family, acquiring it in 1993. Once the Italian *Partito Democratico* (PD) was created, the party suffered a long agony concerning its affiliation in the European Parliament. Mostly former Christian Democrats, PD members were, understandably, adversing the idea of joining the SOC. Nevertheless, after the 2009 European Parliament elections, they did end up in the Socialist group, which, for the occasion, was renamed «Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the Euro-

pean Parliament»⁴. In the domestic arena, things also changed considerably. From the 1970s to 1990s, unlike in other European countries, EU issues were not used as a tool of domestic political confrontation. Things changed in the 1990s.

In his first programmatic speech to the Italian Parliament, Silvio Berlusconi declared that Italy was to play «a leading role» in the EU [*«Il Sole 24 Ore»* May 17, 1994]. His government featured an aggressive minister for agriculture, Adriana Poli Bortone, who affirmed that Italy was going «to play hard in Brussels» [*«Il Sole 24 Ore»* July 16, 1994], and even a proud member of Margaret Thatcher's *Club de Bruges* – Foreign Minister Antonio Martino, who favored a position of «qualified integrationism» and was critical of the nascent Economic and Monetary Europe. A number of confrontational episodes took place in this phase. This, together with the international political isolation of the Berlusconi I government, relegated Italy to a lesser role in the European arena.

In 1996, national elections were won by the center-left Olive Tree coalition. The Prodi I government made a concerted effort to relocate Italy in the European arena, in particular by focusing on economic reforms needed to successfully fulfill the EMU criteria. Yet Prodi's handling of the EU presidency (1996) was far less successful than that of his predecessors. Also, the Prodi I government suffered from the anti-European stance of its ally, *Rifondazione Comunista*. *Rifondazione's* votes in the Chamber of Deputies were necessary to Prodi's survival, but the party – born from a split in the PDS and still believing in communism as a viable solution – had reverted to the original communist opposition to both European integration and NATO. The positions of the *Rifondazione Comunista* therefore caused trouble with regard to the economic reforms Italy had to undertake in order to follow the path towards EMU. In this sense, the *Rifondazione* aligned itself with the Northern League – a far-right party – in opposition to EU integra-

⁴ <http://www.socialistgroup.eu> (last visited on May 22, 2011).

tion, thus definitively breaking the general consensus on European integration that had characterized the Italian political system since the early 1980s.

In 2001, Silvio Berlusconi regained power, this time with a solid parliamentary majority, which allowed him more freedom in foreign policy than any Italian government had enjoyed before. In search of international recognition, after the isolation of the 1994 experience, Berlusconi opted to «go American» and forged a strong personal friendship with George Bush Jr. According to Andreatta, that led to an «unbalanced foreign policy in which bilateral relations with the Bush administration took precedent over multilateral relations with Europe, leading to frequent tensions with EU institutions and partners» [Andreatta 2008, 175].

The Prodi II government (2006-2008), on the contrary, had among its objectives that of relocating European integration at the center of Italian foreign policy. However, the troublesome coalition he was leading allowed him little space for maneuver.

In the 2008 electoral campaign, for the first time since the early 1990s, Europe no longer constituted a divisive issue – indeed, it was hardly mentioned in the parties' programs or in the debates. Once elected, the Berlusconi IV government primarily showed continuity in foreign policy (and specifically in European policy) with the previous Italian government. The new course in Berlusconi's government and in Italy's European policy was confirmed, by a unanimous vote on July 31, 2008, when the Italian Parliament ratified the Treaty of Lisbon (www.camera.it).

In sum, from the early 1990s to the late 2000s there have been differences in the perception of European integration by the two main political coalitions. At times, these have been used in the domestic political debate as a mean of confrontation, in a stop-and-go argument over European values and Italian interests and over who is best fit to preserve them [Cotta, Isernia and Verzichelli 2005]. The Berlusconi I government (1994-1995) represented a break with the past due to its lack of support for the European inte-

gration process. Later on, the Berlusconi II and III governments (2001-2006) used the good relations with Bush Jr. to gain respectability and influence at home and in Europe. Vice versa, the various center left governments (1996-2001 and 2006-2008) stressed European integration as the founding value of Italian foreign policy, while at times having a more strained relationship with Washington.

In both cases, however, the anti-European parties – Northern League on the right and *Rifondazione Comunista* on the left – made significant trouble for their respective coalitions, at times using the EU as a scapegoat. On the contrary, *Alleanza Nazionale* (AN) – a former post-fascist Euro-skeptic party – was «converted» to Europe during its years in government.

3. *EU law in Italy – international or supranational law?*

The Italian Constitution (1948) does not mention the European Communities. Art. 11 of the Constitution – foreseeing the possibility for the state to delegate powers to international organizations – was introduced with an eye on the newborn United Nations, which Italy joined in 1955. At their creation the European Communities were thus understood as classical international organisations, producing international law. For a long time both legal doctrine and the Italian Constitutional Court's rulings supported the principle of the separation between the two juridical systems – the EC and the Italian one – notwithstanding the quite different views of the ECJ, which had established the principle of the supremacy of EC law⁵. In 1973, the Italian Constitutional Court recognised the principle of supremacy of EC law over national law, yet with limits⁶, and it was only in 1984 that the conflict between the Italian Constitu-

⁵ See the ECJ's rulings in *Costa v. ENEL* (n. 14 of 7.3.1964); and *Simmenthal* (9.3.1978)

⁶ See the ECJ's rulings in *Costa v. ENEL* (n. 14 of 7.3.1964); and *Simmenthal* (9.3.1978).

tional Court and the ECJ finally came to an end, with the *Granital c. Ministero delle Finanze* ruling⁷. Yet, it will be only in 1992 that the Italian juridical system finally came to terms with the principle of the supremacy of the EU law over national legislation after another judgment of the Court of Justice (the so-called Francovich case)⁸.

There were three main consequences of this attitude. First, it led to a chronic delay implementing EU legislation into national legislation, a problem that will be (only) partially resolved with the introduction of the so-called annual «Community law» (*legge comunitaria annuale*), first created with Law 86/1989, and amended several times thereafter. While in the past, implementation of EC norms relied on a variety of techniques, the «Community law» provides a specific and systematic method for the harmonising of domestic regulations to EC norms. Yet, the «Community law» is only partially an instrument for immediate implementation. Rather, it is a device for programming and rationalising the various sets of implementing measures. Secondly, it added to the disregard of politicians and public administration vis-à-vis EU day-to-day policy making: if EU law could be disappplied at wish – or so they thought – why investing time and resources in negotiating it? Third, it contributed to the disinterest towards European studies in academia. Indeed, until the mid-1990s European affairs were (eventually) only dealt in International Law classes and in their subfield: European law.

4. *European studies in Italy: the quest for a discipline*

The diffusion of European studies in Italian universities is a relative recent event that has followed a tortuous path; the result is that the country is lagging behind other

⁷ Ruling 183 of 1973. Cfr. also *Industrie Chimiche Italia Centrale c/ Ministero del Commercio con l'Estero*, n. 232 of 30.10.1975.

⁸ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:90J0006:EN:HTML> (last visited on May 22, 2011).

European countries in terms of number of the classes offered and of their diversification.

Until the early-1990s European affairs were (eventually) only dealt with in international law classes - of which European law was a subfield - and in European history classes. The byzantine and highly rigid Italian university system contributed widely to the lack of diffusion of European studies. Any time a new discipline - or a new course of studies - needs to be introduced in the Italian university system, it first needs to be «created» by means of national law adopted in Parliament. This is of course making change and innovation very difficult, something that suits well a substantially self-referent, conservative and essentially male-dominated academic class. In the second half of the 1990s, a major university reform was negotiated in Parliament - the so called *Riforma Berlinguer* (2000) - leading to the new 3+2 year degree-system, replacing the old mostly 4-years programs. It is commonly acknowledged that such reform (together with the subsequent Moratti reform of 2003) led to a deterioration of the otherwise fairly good Italian public system of higher education. With specific reference to EU studies, a group of «Young Turks» mainly gravitating in and around the European University Institute in Florence⁹ or having studied abroad (e.g. at the London School of Economics - LSE) seized the opportunity to promote the introduction of EU studies both as a discipline and as a course of studies. They also took advantage of the chance offered by the fact that a young dynamic minister of EU policies had been named in 1998 (Enrico Letta) and that he was willing to support such a change. However, despite an intense technical and lobbying work, when the «Old Guard» became aware that the «Young Turks» were not only promoting the creation of EU studies as course of

⁹ The European University Institute (EUI) was set up in 1972 in Florence by the six founding member states of the European Communities to provide advanced academic training to doctoral researchers and to promote research at the highest level. It carries out research in a European perspective in economics, law, history and civilization and political and social sciences.

studies but rather and mostly as a new discipline, not only stopped to support the movement but decisively acted against it, «winning the battle». As a result, the Italian university system has EU studies as a course of studies but does not have EU studies as a discipline in the political science field. European studies are therefore today a subfield of political science, just like international relations – and a weaker grouping within Poli.sc. The opposition of the «Old Guard» was mainly motivated by fears of losing «power» – that is, control over the discipline.

The recruiting system in Italy is based in theory on a system of open public competitions, yet in reality it is based on a pure cooptation system where a restricted number of people are able to act as gatekeepers and mostly control who gets appointed or who does not. For example, in a special report by «The Economist» from June 2011 dedicated to Italy it is stressed that «The market for academic jobs in public universities is deeply corrupt. Plenty of degree courses have sprung up that seem designed merely to create tenured positions...Applicants for professorship take part in public competitions for jobs that are neither public nor competitive but designed to lend credibility to decisions that have already been made». Had a new discipline be created – one in which very few of the «Old Guard» had expertise – this could have meant the entrance into the system of a new generation of (mostly independent) experts – out of which many females, in an otherwise male-dominated environment – with a marked international/European background (Erasmus, Master and PhDs obtained abroad) that could have hindered the «Old Guard»'s position and supremacy in poli.sc.. Such opposition reflected a short sighted view, as it ultimately led to a waste of resources (such young competent people easily found a good position abroad and left the country) and to a limitation in the number of posts that could have been created for the discipline. In fact, as «Europe» became a popular topic in universities – mainly thanks to EU grants on which Italian universities are now heavily dependent – a widespread desire to have EU classes in the curricula

emerged. However, as mentioned, European studies does not exist as a discipline and only few outside political science actually understand the byzantine fact that to have EU classes in the curricula one shall in fact include political science. Hence, what sounded most «European» was European law, which is now largely present in most humanist-political science – economy-business courses of studies. Jurists in fact underwent a similar debate as political scientists at the time of the reform, but more pragmatically decided to open the discipline a little. They allowed the creation of European law as a discipline in its own right – in change for more academic positions in Universities. It was, not only for EU studies but also for the larger political science¹⁰ academic community, a major set back. Where

¹⁰ Indeed, Italian political science has for a long time quite marginal in the university system [Graziano 2006, 265]. As Lucarelli and Menotti [2002] explained «For a long time the predominance of history and law in Italy obscured a politological analysis of the sociopolitical reality. Part of the phenomenon can be explained by the strong and lasting impact of the historicist approach of the philosopher Benedetto Croce on Italian culture [Bobbio 1969; Morlino 1991], part of which can find its causes in the Italian political culture (highly ideological at the time) and political history (fascist legacy)». Only in the 1950s a limited number of political science positions were created in the 1950s (the most important of which was held by Giovanni Sartori at the University of Florence); but during the 1970s and early 1980s a further strengthening of the discipline occurred when many new and permanent posts were created. Thus, political science has managed to «grow up» since the 1970s [Morlino 1989, 28] and clearly distinguish itself from other disciplines. Furthermore, an increasing number of teaching positions have been made available and Italian political science has become steadily more institutionalized [Graziano 1986, 30]. In 1971, a political science journal («*Rivista italiana di scienza politica*») was founded, and from that year on it became a major reference point for political science scholars. From 1973, what is now called the Italian «Society» of Political Science (*Società Italiana di Scienza Politica* – SISP) started to meet on a regular basis as a separate section of the Italian Association of Social and Political Sciences (*Associazione Italiana di Scienze Politiche e Sociali*). Formally constituted as an autonomous Association from 1981 onwards, SISP organizes regular meetings and an annual conference which has seen in the last years a sharp increase in the presence of EU-related papers and sections. In the two latest congresses (Venice 2010; Palermo 2011), one out of the twelve sections has been devoted to the European studies, see <http://www.sisp.it/convegno> (last visited on June 24, 2011).

political science made it, one finds courses on EU institutions and policies as well as a few classes focused on specific aspects of the EU, mainly foreign policy (external relations, development, enlargement, security), public policies, social policies. Some specialization emerged around Italian universities: Bologna and Milano Statale on public policies; Florence on regulatory policies (IT, telecommunications, network industries); Padua on human rights; Rome Tor Vergata on EU foreign policy and Italy and the EU; Università Cattolica Milano on EU foreign policy; Catania on Euro-Mediterranean studies; Trento on regional policies and Italy and the EU; Bologna and Forlì on security and the Balkan; Pisa on EU and political parties. Therefore, students still face a certain fragmentation when dealing with EU studies.

The growing attention of Italian schools to European studies is first and foremost linked to the question of funding. As EU grants became progressively available, the interest in EU studies increases. The Jean Monnet program has in particular dramatically contributed to the spread of classes on the EU thanks to its modules and chairs. This possibility has been especially used by the schools of economics and law within existing courses on international law or economics. It has been more difficult to introduce European modules in the schools of political science, where the collocation of such modules in the curricula has been complicated by the rigidity of the classification of the courses (see above). The first Jean Monnet chair in political studies was in fact only established in 1996 by Professor Fulvio Attinà at the University of Catania, while chairs in EU history had been in existence for many years (e.g. Professor Antonio Varsori in Florence). Last but not least, Jean Monnet modules and Chairs allowed for the creation of EU classes in non traditional faculties (humanities, communication, languages, engineering, etc) and for a «new generation» of experts to have funding for teaching. There are also virtuous cases in which a module or a chair has been converted in a compulsory course at Italian universities (e.g. Rome Tor Vergata, Milano Cattolica etc).

5. *The most studied themes in European studies*

As in other parts of the world, Italian political scientist initially concentrated on the systemic aspects of the EC/EU. While for many years the most popular textbook was a translated one – N. Nugent, *Governo e politiche dell'Unione europea*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2008 – in recent years a number of textbooks started to be produced domestically. That is for instance the case of F. Attinà and G. Natalicchi (eds.), *L'Unione europea- governo, istituzioni, politiche*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010; S. Fabbrini (ed.), *L'Unione Europea. Le istituzioni e gli attori di un sistema sovranazionale*, Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2002; F. Bindi, *Il futuro dell'Europa*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2005; S. Gozi, *Il governo dell'Europa*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011.

Other studies have focused on particular aspects of the EU decision-making and institutional setting. That is the case for instance of Attinà's *The voting behaviour of the European Parliament: Members and the Problem of the Europarties*, in «European Journal of Political Research» 1990; F. Attinà *et al.*, *Identità, partiti ed elezioni nell'Unione Europea*, Bari, Cacucci 1995; L. Bardi, *Il Parlamento della Comunità Europea* on the European Parliament, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1989. The volume published by L. Bardi and Pasquino – *Euroministri. Il governo dell'Europa*, Milano, Il Saggiatore, 1994 – focuses on the relations between Commissioners, their cabinets and the top levels of the directorate generals. Mascia, *Il Comitato delle Regioni nel sistema dell'Unione Europea*, Padova, Cedam, 1996 and Caciagli, *Regioni d'Europa. Devoluzioni, regionalismi, integrazione europea*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2003, focused instead on the regions in the EU context.

Attention progressively shifted from the «input of the political process» – elections, parties, institutions, etc. – to the output (especially public policies). Examples are: Ferrera, *The Future of Social Europe: Recasting Work and Welfare in the New Economy*, report prepared for the Portuguese Presidency of the EU, and *The Boundaries of Welfare European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social*

Protection, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005; Ferrera and Giuliani (eds.), *Governance e politiche nell'Unione europea*, Bologna, Il Mulino 2008; K. Featherstone and C.M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanisation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

The growing interest for the EU as an international actor is due to the role the EU has come to play as a consequence of the entry into force of the Treaty on the EU and after the big enlargement of 2004-2007. Examples are: Longo, *La politica estera dell'Unione Europea tra Interdipendenza e Nazionalismo*, Bari, Cacucci 1995; Mattina, *La Sfida dell'allargamento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004; M. Clementi, *L'Europa e il mondo, La politica estera, di sicurezza e di difesa europea*, Bologna, Il Mulino 2004; Giusti and Locatelli, *L'Europa sicura. Le politiche di sicurezza dell'unione Europea*, Milano, Egea, 2008; Bindi, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

As for the study of Italy and the EU, the earliest comprehensive work on Italy and the European Communities is Francesco Francioni's *Italy and EU Membership Evaluated*, London, Pinter 1992. The book examines Italy's participation in the EEC in a number of different areas, from monetary to agricultural policy, from the environment to foreign policy, mostly in terms of a costs-benefits analysis. However, it very seldom enters into the details of how the different policies and sub-policies had been elaborated, nor does it present a final overall assessment about Italy's participation in the Communities. Other studies include: Massimo Morisi's *L'attuazione delle direttive CEE in Italia*, Milano, Giuffrè 1992; and Marco Giuliani in the volume published by Rometsch and Wessels, *The European Union and Member States*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996. More recently, a few more works have appeared: Achille Albonetti's *L'Italia, la politica estera e l'unità dell'Europa* – Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 2005 – examines a few aspects of the Italian foreign policy and the way Italy behaved, mostly from a European perspective. *L'Italia in Europa*, by Marta

Cartabia and Joseph Weiler – Bologna, Il Mulino 2000 – is a very in-depth juridical analysis of the way Italian institutions – at various levels – interact with the European Union. By far the most relevant studies on Italy and the EU, however, are those devoted to the impact of the European Union on Italy – that is, those that belong to the stream of studies on the Europeanization process. For instance, Sergio Fabbrini's *L'europizzazione dell'Italia* – Roma, GLF editori Laterza 2003 – is a classic case of top-down analysis: it focuses on the effect EU participation has had on the national system, both in terms of institutions and policies through an analysis of the government, the regions and a number of policies (competition, health, foreign policy).

Albeit with some nuances, the authors of the different chapters agree that, in general terms, membership and participation in the EU has had a positive impact on both the structure of government and on the policies in Italy, essentially promoting efficiency. From this perspective, one might say that Italy has been «saved by Europe» – an idea that has been supported by many, starting with Joe Di Palma, Sergio Fabbrini and Giorgio Freddi in *Condannata al successo? L'Italia nell'Europa integrata* (Condemned to succeed? Italy in an integrated Europe), Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000. Sergio Fabbrini and Simona Piattoni's *Italy in the European Union: redefining national interest in a compound polity* – Lanham Md., Rowman & Littlefield 2008 – also took this tack, looking at a number of policies ranging from the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to macroeconomics to social policy. For each of the issues under consideration, a number of case studies were chosen – including examples both of success and of failure. The authors conclude that «systemic variables of a political and institutional nature, as well as actor-related factors [...], determined the outcome of the policy-making process in each particular instance» [Fabbrini and Piattoni 2008, 251]. Finally, Federiga Bindi in *Italy and the European Union* – Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC, 2011 – provides an in-depth analysis of Italy's role in the European Union, relating in detail the historical, cultural, and sociological factors

that have led to Italy's incomplete «Europeanization» or full integration in the EU while most of all considering how the national system influences the EU decision-making processes.

6. *The debate on EU studies outside universities*

The overall knowledge of Italian university students on the EU remains modest. According to a survey commissioned by AUSE and carried out by the *Osservatorio di Pavia* (2009) 37% of Italian university students have a good knowledge of the history and current politics of the EU, 28% a low knowledge and 35% is in the middle. When asked «Is the EU a debated subject in your university?» 23% answered «not at all»; 46% «a little»; 24% «enough» and 8% «a lot». Indeed, there are not many occasions for Italian experts and scholars to debate European politics. AUSE, the Italian Section of the European Studies Association tries to promote teaching and university research on European integration but remains essentially an academic-only community not able to reach the policy-making sphere. Although it is in principle open to economists, political scientists, lawyers and historians, it is mainly dominated by historians.

In parallel to the academia – but mostly with no interconnections with it, Italian think tanks have progressively devoted their attention to European studies. The two most important Italian think tanks – the Italian Institute for International Affairs (IAI, based in Rome) and the Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI, based in Milan) have both research programs on the EU. IAI focalizes on three areas: 1) EU democratic legitimacy; 2) EU as an international actor (with particular emphasis on the security aspects); 3) EU and multilateralism. ISPI has traditionally examined the economic effects of European integration exploring three main aspects: 1) European economic governance; 2) Institutional affairs; 3) enlargement and the European neighborhood policy. ISPI offers also a diploma

on European affairs for students and professionals wishing to acquire familiarity with the EU politics and policies (among the courses available for getting the diploma are: project cycle management, EU and development; European social policy, the EU and human rights)¹¹. Although both Institutes produce policy analyses, their suggestions are hardly taken into account due to a political system that is basically not permeable to external expertise. Nor is there – given a few individual exceptions – the interchange that characterized the osmosis between the think tanks and the political communities in the Anglo-Saxon world. In January 2010 the London based think tank European Centre for Foreign Relations (ECFR) opened a small office in Rome with a view to stimulating pan-European debate on strategic European foreign affairs issues but it has been so far penalized by its lack of researchers and the structural difficulties above mentioned¹².

Among other initiatives for the diffusion of European knowledge one finds Europepressresearch - Study Center for the European Project based in Bologna¹³. The main aim of the center is to trace how public opinion develops vis-à-vis European affairs. The center publishes an annual book with an insight on press and public opinion in a selected group of countries belonging to the EU¹⁴.

Last but not least, in the past – from 1992 to 2001 – the left oriented Gramsci Institute tried to foster debate on

¹¹ For more details see: http://www.ispionline.it/eng/school_diploma.php?IDGroup=3 (last visited on June 24, 2011).

¹² The key Italian Council Members include Giuliano Amato, Emma Bonino, Massimo D'Alema, Marta Dassù, Gianfranco Dellalba, Gianfranco Fini, Leoluca Orlando, Tommaso Padoa Schioppa, Giuseppe Scognamiglio, for more details see <http://www.ecfr.eu/content/entry/rome> (last visited on June 24, 2011).

¹³ This initiative is supported by the Bologna Banking Foundation of the *Cassa di Risparmio* in cooperation with the University of Bologna (in particular through its Department of politics, institutions, history), <http://www.europepressresearch.eu/html/centro.php?lang=ENG> (last visited on June 24, 2011).

¹⁴ The latest edition - *L'Europa di carta – stampa e opinione pubblica nel 2010* (Bologna, il Mulino 2011) – analyses the cases of Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Russia and Spain.

the EU with the trimestral journal «EuropaEurope». Despite its excellent record and level, the journal was discontinued – a proof of the lack of substantial interest in Italy in EU-centered debates. In more recent times, a new bilingual English/Italian monthly review – «Longitude» – has been launched by the Italian foreign ministry (2011). It aims to foster debate on the Italian foreign policy, including EU policies. The first issue, for example, focussed on Europe with a special report on Turkey.

7. EU studies in high schools

In this not encouraging picture, the Italian system of education does not foresee any specific teaching on European affairs at the secondary level. In some schools the classes on civic education might offer some hints on what the EU is about, but they are not compulsory. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that some initiatives have been taken with the support of municipalities. The *L'Europa va a scuola* (Europe goes to school) initiative is a case in point. Launched by ISPI and the Province of Milan in 2005 in order to spread awareness on the EU institutions and policies among high school students, it progressively saw the involvement of the Italian Ministry of Education, the EU Commission Representation in Milan and the European Parliament, involving over 12,000 students from various Italian Provinces (Milan, Rome, Catania, Genoa, Pisa, Trento, etc). The project consists in meetings and debates over the future of Europe; it also results IT products such as CDs, websites and an internet forum. Students are encouraged to increase their knowledge on the EU through the interactive game «Who wants to be a European?» inspired by the famous TV program format «Who wants to be a millionaire?». The winning students are awarded with Mp4 readers, EU gadgets and a journey to Milan (for the final stage of the game) and to Strasbourg (or Brussels) to visit the European Parliament. In 2011 the project has also been supported by UPI (the Association of Italian Provinc-

es) and the Italian Ministry of Youth. Specific attention has been devoted to the EU policies in the field of environment such as the fight against climate change.

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HYLKE DIJKSTRA AND MAARTEN VINK

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:
THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands has always played a prominent role in the process of European integration. It was a founding member of various regional organizations and several Dutch cities lend their names to milestones in the history of the European Union. It is therefore surprising that the study of EU integration by scholars with a background in political science or public administration is a rather recent phenomenon. Atlanticism and multilateralism – two constants of Dutch foreign policy – have topped the research agenda for a long time. Moreover, given a strong emphasis on international law in the Netherlands, lawyers had the upper hand. Since the mid-1990s, however, the study of EU integration has become a core topic in many political science and public administration departments and the quality of current Dutch scholarship on the European Union is very high. Competitive recruitment and open competition have led to an inflow of scholars with many different nationalities. The research tradition is analytical and scholars are encouraged to publish in international leading peer-reviewed journals.

The study of EU integration in the Netherlands is strongly intertwined with the international research agendas. It is therefore difficult to identify distinct Dutch approaches. This chapter lists four topics of research, where scholars have made notable contributions in understanding the process of European integration: 1. the study of multi-level governance by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe (Free University of Amsterdam, political science); 2. the role of institutions – in particular, the group around Bernard Steunenbergh (Leiden University, public administration) has studied decision-making rules, committees, agencies and

compliance from an empirical perspective, with a strong focus on quantitative methods and formal models. The EU institutions are also widely studied at other universities, albeit with more pluralism in terms methods and theories. The more classical comparative work on parties and parliaments by Rudy Andeweg (Leiden University, political science) and Peter Mair (formerly Leiden, now at European University Institute), as well as the constructivist work of Thomas Christiansen (Maastricht University, political science) can be highlighted in this regard. 3. The accountability of the process of European integration has been addressed by Mark Bovens and Deidre Curtin (Utrecht University). 4. A strong Dutch empirical political science tradition on electoral studies and the public sphere has spilled-over to the study of the European integration issues. Key scholars are, in this respect: Jos de Beus (University of Amsterdam, political science), Jacques Thomassen (University of Twente, political science) and Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam School of Communication Research).

This chapter commences with an introduction into Dutch foreign policy and its approach to the process of European integration. Subsequently, it will discuss the political science and public administration traditions in the Netherlands from an historical angle. The four important topics in EU integration studies that are mentioned above are discussed, with a focus on the quality of the Dutch academic contribution. Finally, this chapter also aims to present scholarly developments in a temporal context and it locates the development of scholarly approaches in the Netherlands in the broader European studies literature.

1. Dutch foreign policy and European integration

The Netherlands has historically been a small state with many international economic interests. As it did not have the physical resources to sustain a land army over long periods of time, it naturally became a strong proponent of

international law, which tends to protect the *status quo* and the weaker states in the international arena. The Netherlands was famously the country of Grotius. The Hague became, during the course of the twentieth century, the host city of many international courts and tribunals. Support for international law was combined with a policy of neutrality, which only came to an end as a result of the German occupation in 1940 [Heldring 1978; Voorhoeve 1979]. After the Second World War, multilateralism remained a cornerstone of Dutch foreign policy through support for the activities of the United Nations. Yet the years of war also created a sense of realism in that American friendship was to be sustained at all costs. This was partially a matter of appreciation for the liberation as well as Cold War necessity [Van Staden 1989]. The Netherlands became one of the signatories to the North Atlantic Treaty and it contributed troops to the United Nations Security Council-authorized, and American-led, Korean War (1950-1953).

In the regional context, the Netherlands has been a supporter of multilateralism as well. It hosted the Hague Congress (1948), which resulted in the Council of Europe. It was also a founding member of the Brussels Treaty Organization (1948, later the Western European Union), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1952), and the European Economic Community (EEC, 1957). The Netherlands, however, never pursued an outright federalist ideology [Pijpers 2006]. It generally acted on pragmatic grounds. An often mentioned example is that when the High Authority of the ECSC was created, the Netherlands feared Franco-German domination in this autonomous supranational body. It therefore demanded the creation of a Council of Ministers with veto rights to create a balance of powers [Wellenstein 2006; Nugent 2006]¹. The Netherlands supported regional integration because it felt this would serve its economic recovery. One scholar notes that

¹ This proposal was picked up by Germany, which was coincidentally afraid of too much supranational (French) interference in the Ruhr region [Gillingham 2006].

it became a well-known saying in Brussels that «the Dutch speak of supranationalism but what they really mean is cheese» [quoted in Van Keulen 2006, 97]. The preference for regional integration, of course, fitted with the Europe policy of the United States and thus with Dutch Atlanticism [Wellenstein 2006].

Evidence of the pragmatic, functionalist, approach of the Netherlands is that it envisaged for each issue a different international organization. It was the role of the United Nations to provide collective security and legitimacy. The Atlantic Alliance was taking the lead as regards collective defense. The European Community dealt with economic integration. Such neat separation across issues was rigidly enforced during most of the Cold War. When President de Gaulle, for example, tabled his Fouchet Plans for a European Political Union (1959-1962), he immediately ran into a Dutch veto. His proposals were considered as anti-Atlanticist and anti-Commission, because they could potentially undermine NATO as well as the recently established Community [Nuttall 1992]. When a limited form of cooperation in the field of foreign policy was eventually established (European Political Cooperation, 1970-1993), the Netherlands spent much of its political capital to promote its «communitarization» through the inclusion of the European Commission. Its rationale was a long-standing pragmatic fear that the large member states would use such mechanisms to bypass the Community and thus undermine trade liberalization on the continent.

The Netherlands promoting the communitarization of European foreign policy reached its climax in the run up to the Intergovernmental Conference in Maastricht (1991). Having the rotating Presidency, the Dutch negotiators ignored an earlier compromise proposal by Luxembourg in favor of their own federalist blueprint for Europe. On September 30, which became known as «Black Monday», the other member states rejected the proposal to the complete surprise of the Dutch foreign and prime minister [van den Bos 2008]. This led to a more modest Europe-policy throughout the 1990s. The fear of the domination by the

large member states continued nonetheless. Supported by many small states, the Netherlands tried to resist the creation of the position of President of the European Council in the Convention («Sun King»), just as it had opposed the European Council from the start.

Since multilateralism and international law play such a crucial role in Dutch foreign policy, it is hardly surprising that the diplomatic service traditionally consisted of lawyers. Consequentially, the study of Dutch foreign policy, international relations and European integration was also mainly a legalistic affair. Laurens Jan Brinkhorst [1962, 1971], for example, published on European law, but also on the rules of procedure of the European Court of Justice. In the fields of political science (and public administration), the academic community was only to a limited extent interested in international relations and their emphasis was squarely on Dutch foreign policy in relationship to Atlanticism [Van Staden 1974; 1989; Heldring 1978; Voorhoeve 1979; Baehr 1980]. The study of EU integration was originally not a major topic in political science research in the Netherlands.

2. Disciplinary traditions in the Netherlands

One of the typical features of the Dutch social science landscape is the historical division between political science and public administration as separate disciplines. Public administration is significantly bigger than political science in the Netherlands in terms of education and research. There are, for example, only four political science bachelor programs (Free University of Amsterdam, Leiden, Nijmegen, University of Amsterdam), while there are eight public administration programs (Delft, Free University of Amsterdam, Leiden, Nijmegen, Rotterdam, Tilburg, Twente, Utrecht)². As the number of students roughly correlates

² Apart from political science and public administration degrees, there are a number of interdisciplinary programs in The Netherlands.

with the number of staff members at these universities (due to proportional governmental funding), research in public administration clearly has had the upper hand. Since both disciplines have developed in parallel, it is necessary to discuss them separately.

With regard to public administration and its relevance for EU integration studies, we can be rather short. As the international research agenda on EU integration did not extensively consider comparative politics, or let alone public administration, until the mid-1990s, Dutch public administration scholars spent little time on the European Union. They focused instead on typical public administration topics from public values and water management to the efficiency and legitimacy of the process of agentification. Only with the advent of the «governance or public administration turn» in the study of EU integration [Kohler-Koch and Rittberger 2006; Trondal 2007] did Dutch public administration scholars increasingly become more interested in the European Union and they currently dominate the study of EU integration in the Netherlands (see also below). The speed with which public administration has started focusing on the European Union remains somewhat puzzling.

For political science, we have to go back to the *post bellum* period. Robert Lieshout and Bob Reinalda [2001] note that the foundation of the discipline of political science in the Netherlands in the late 1940s and 1950s was very much an international initiative sponsored by UNESCO and the International Political Science Association (IPSA). They therefore argue that «most Dutch political scientists followed the example of their American and British colleagues by embracing behaviorism and focusing on electoral studies». Dutch scholars also made important contributions, in this respect, on the international scene – not only through their publications, but also their service to the discipline. Jan Barents, for example, was one of the co-

European studies in Maastricht and international relations and organizations in Groningen are particularly worth mentioning.

founders of IPSA. Hans Daalder was one of the co-founders of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), while Arend Lijphart was the founding editor of the «European Journal for Political Research» (EJPR). This increased, needless to say, the internationalization of the discipline and made it even more intertwined with the Anglo-Saxon research agenda.

Despite a further consolidation of political science in the Netherlands in 1960s, the period between the end of the 1960s and the 1980s saw severe budget cuts and (personal) animosities in the political science departments, which resulted in a further split between the disciplines of political science and public administration [Daalder 1991]. The main result was that the discipline for political science became much smaller over time. Political science in the Netherlands remained strong in electoral studies, studies of political parties and parliaments and its comparative dimension (e.g. Rudy Andeweg; Peter Mair; Jacques Thomassen). However, just as the governance turn in EU studies has affected the discipline of public administration, the increasing interest in the concept of Europeanization and the comparative politics approach to the EU [Hix 1994] has influenced scholars in the Dutch political science departments.

International relations never really developed in the Netherlands as a separate discipline, yet it is not an integral part of the political science discipline either. Lieshout and Reinalda [2001] interestingly note that at the time that the Dutch Political Science Association was founded (1950), scholars with an interest in international relations established the parallel Society for International Affairs (1947). International lawyers, in particular, could not easily identify with the new discipline of political science. The Netherlands Institute for International Relations, Clingendael, did play a big role in promoting the debate on international relations in the Netherlands. Yet as a think tank, its focus clearly favored practical questions over research questions. International relations did not become positivist unlike much of political science and public administration in the

Netherlands. Its research topics were mainly Atlanticism and multilateralism. EU integration research was limited.

3. Theoretical approaches to EU integration studies

Due to the open and competitive recruitment policies at Dutch universities, at least 50-60% of the scholars working on EU integration in the Netherlands are foreign nationals. As a result the English language is omnipresent in the departments, mobility of scholars is high, and the research agenda in the Netherlands is strongly intertwined with the international research agendas. It is thus difficult to identify a distinct Dutch approach to the study of EU integration. That having been said, there are a number of specific strengths and topics, which are intensively analyzed. In particular, it is notable that most of the research concerns the «meso» and «micro» level of EU integration rather than the so-called «history-making decisions» [Peterson 1995; see also introduction]³. Furthermore, the emphasis is on empirical rather than normative questions. Overall, this chapter discusses Dutch scholarship on (1) multilevel governance, (2) the role of the EU institutions, (3) the accountability of European integration and (4) electoral studies and sphere.

Probably the most prominent international research on EU integration in the Netherlands is done by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe. Their work on multilevel governance in the European Union [Marks, Hooghe and Blank 1996; Hooghe and Marks 2001] has been trendsetting and is amongst the most cited in the study of EU integration (see also below). There is, however, one important caveat. Both scholars only hold a part-time position at the Free University of Amsterdam, spending the other part of

³ Some of the work of Thomas Christiansen on Treaty reform [Christiansen 2002; Christiansen, Falkner and Joergensen 2002; Beach and Christiansen 2007; Christiansen and Reh 2009] forms the major exception, although he did much of this work before he came to the Netherlands.

their time at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Moreover, they have only been in Amsterdam since 2004, which was after the publication of their keynote work. As a result of their limited time in Amsterdam, they have not been able to establish a coherent research group on multilevel governance in the Netherlands. However, this may change in the near future as a result of a very substantial Advanced Research Grant of the European Research Council.

One of the most coherent research groups on the study of EU integration is undoubtedly in Leiden and led by Bernard Steunenberg. It focuses on the role of institutions and employs a distinctive quantitative-empirical approach. The initial emphasis of this research group was on EU decision-making [Steunenberg 1994; Hosli 1993; 1996; Golub and Steunenberg 2007], but they have recently also focused on transposition and compliance and on the role of committees [Mastenbroek 2005; Keading 2006; Toshkov 2007; 2008; Steunenberg 2006; Steunenberg and Keading 2009; Steunenberg and Toshkov 2009; Häge 2007 and 2008]. At other Dutch universities, there is much related work on similar public administration topics, but the approach is generally more pluralistic in terms of methods. One can think of implementation and compliance studies, and work on «Europeanization» more generally [Haverland 1998; Vink 2001; 2003; Versluis 2004] and the study of European agencies [Versluis 2004; 2007; Groenleer, Keading and Versluis 2010; Groenleer 2009; Christiansen and Kirchner 2000].

Closely related is an emphasis on formal EU institutions. While this is not necessarily distinctive for the Netherlands, the European Commission, the Parliament, the rotating Presidency, the Council Secretariat have been researched in detail [Hooghe 2002; 2005; Settembri and Neuhold 2009; Schout and Vanhoonacker 2006; Warntjen 2007; 2008; Dijkstra 2010]. Thomas Christiansen et al. stand out internationally for their constructivist approach to institutional development and policy-making [Christiansen, Joergensen and Wiener 1999; Christiansen 1997; 2002;

Christiansen and Vanhoonacker 2008; Christiansen and Reh 2009]. Scholars have furthermore not limited themselves to first pillar policies. In Maastricht a research group is developing, which looks at the role of EU institutions in foreign policy [Duke and Vanhoonacker 2006; Vanhoonacker, Dijkstra and Maurer 2010; Vanhoonacker and Reslow 2010; Juncos and Pomorska 2006; 2008; Dijkstra 2008; 2010].

Another typical public administration topic concerns the accountability of the process of European integration. Particularly in Utrecht, there is a strong research group of studying accountability in the European Union led by Mark Bovens and Deidre Curtin. They have studied accountability more generally [Bovens 2007a; 2007b; Curtin 2009; Bovens, Curtin and Hart 2010; Curtin, Mair and Papadopoulos 2010], but they have also specifically looked at the European Council, committees and agencies [Van de Steeg 2009; Brandsma 2007; 2010; Brandsma, Curtin and Meijer 2008; Busuioc 2009). While accountability is, of course, a normative topic, scholars in Utrecht have tried to approach it from an empirical angle rather than to spend too much time on normative theory.

More classical comparative work on political institutions such as parliaments and parties, in relation to the European integration process, has been produced by scholars (previously) affiliated with the political science department at Leiden University, which has a reputation to uphold in the field of comparative politics following internationally recognized scholars such as Hans Daalder and Arend Lijphart. See, for example, work on parliaments by Andeweg [Andeweg and Thomassen 2005; Andeweg et al. 2008] and on political parties and party systems by Peter Mair, formerly in Leiden but now at the European University Institute [Mair 2000]. Outside Leiden, important work on parliamentary scrutiny of EU affairs is done by, for example, Ron Holzacker [2002] and Christine Neuhold [2001].

Apart from the empirical study of political institutions, the Netherlands also has a long standing tradition of the study of political behavior, particularly with regard to

electoral politics, referendums and public sphere. The work by Jacques Thomassen on issues of legitimacy and political representation should be mentioned [Thomassen 2009; Mair and Thomassen 2010]. Moving from political science to communication research, the best known work by scholars in the Netherlands comes from the Amsterdam School for Communication Research, particularly Claes de Vreese [de Vreese 2001; de Vreese and Boomgaarden 2005; Semetko et al. 2000; Vliegthart et al. 2009].

4. *Quality assessment of the EU integration studies*

It has been established above that the majority of scholarship on EU integration in the Netherlands is done by foreign nationals, as a result of the competitive and open recruitment process. The fact that so many foreign scholars have recently joined Dutch political science and public administration departments (and that many have stayed there) is in itself a sign of quality. The conditions for doing academic research are attractive and this has led to the inflow of many talents. Merit is, however, not only a criterion when departments are filling vacancies, it also plays a major role in academic promotions and the disbursement of research funding by, for example, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). What has become increasingly important, in this respect, is the number of international peer-reviewed – preferably social science citation indexed – journal articles. Publications in leading journals are regarded as the main indicator of research quality. As a result, scholars in the Netherlands prioritize these peer-reviewed articles (at the cost of monographs, edited volumes and professional publications) and the output at many departments is very high (see also table 1).

TAB. 1. *Total number of articles with at least one (co-)author based in The Netherlands (2005-2009)*

	Articles published	Total articles	Percentage
«Journal of European Public Policy»	27	322	8.40%
«Journal of Common Market Studies»	18	282	6.40%
«European Union Politics»	23	115	20.00%
«Dutch GDP / EU GDP»			5.00%
«Dutch population / EU population»			3.30%

Source: Authors' own.

While the number of publications by scholars at Dutch universities in leading international journals is impressive, one can add some footnotes about what these publications have really contributed to the key debates in EU integration. When looking, for example, at the number of actual citations in journals listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) over the last decade (see table 2), one has to conclude that they are relatively low. Particularly when Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe and Thomas Christiansen are excluded, because they only recently joined Dutch universities, the picture becomes rather sobering. In effect, only the work by Claes de Vreese is widely cited internationally. Other scholars have not produced keynote articles in the time period 2000-2009, which have become reference works. One has to acknowledge, of course, the limits of the Social Science Citation Index, which for example does not include monographs or book chapters in edited volumes. Yet given the emphasis at Dutch universities on SSCI-listed journals, it is problematic. Quantity seems to prevail over the quality of publications. It, however, still needs to be said that scholars at Dutch university do publish extensively in leading international journals. Scholars in many other EU member states do not publish in these journals (see other chapters).

TAB. 2. *Most cited scholars at Dutch universities, working primarily on EU integration, according to Social Science Citation Index (accessed: 25 May 2010). Number of articles between brackets. It includes articles in SSCI journals, which were published and cited in the period 2000-2009*

Gary Marks	417 (18)	Adriaan Schout	36 (5)
Liesbet Hooghe	379 (19)	Markus Haverland	31 (6)
Claes de Vreese	254 (41)	Michael Kaeding	22 (9)
Thomas Christiansen	80 (9)	Sebastian Princen	20 (4)
Hajo Boomgaarden	66 (12)	Deidre Curtin	20 (6)
Ellen Mastenbroek	49 (4)	Anne Rasmussen	19 (5)
Bernard Steunenberg	47 (10)	Wolfgang Wagner	17 (5)
Mark Bovens	43 (7)	Andreas Warntjen	16 (5)
Antoaneta Dimitrova	42 (5)	Dimitër Toshkov	16 (6)
Madeleine Hosli	36 (7)	Christine Arnold	10 (2)

Source: Cf. Andrew Moravcsik (466) and Simon Hix (344).

There are, of course, many possible explanations for the lack of keynote publications by the Dutch academic community, including the lack of research time for senior scholars. Yet probably one of the main reasons is that scholars deal mostly with niche topics and not with the big questions in the study of EU integration [Daalder 1991]. This is for a large part the result of (a) the particular research focus, which prioritizes everyday policy-making over history-making decisions, and (b) the research method, which is highly empirical (surveys/case studies). It is easy to see how this works out. An empirical case study about the impact of an agency, a comparative analysis of compliance in several member states or the accountability of a committee might make for a good journal article, but the audience is needless to say limited. Such studies are, of course, the building blocks for thinking about the big questions in the study of EU integration, yet such big thinking does not seem to happen extensively in the Netherlands.

One important qualification is, however, in place. As mentioned above, many scholars joined Dutch departments only relatively recently and many are still at the start of their careers. One could thus argue that it is only a matter of time before scholars at Dutch universities will publish keynote publications. It is, in this respect, worthwhile to point at the quality of the various PhD programs [Anderson, Haverland and Nölke 2006]. Contrary to many countries, PhD candidates have a four year contract, are part of the faculty and have intensive supervision. The Dutch universities have collectively created a training program for PhD candidates in the field of political science and public administration through the Netherlands Institute of Government. Moreover, publishing in leading international journals is strongly encouraged during the PhD project. Several recent graduates had already published 3-4 articles in SSCI journals, which is quite exceptional in contrast to many other countries (including the United States and the United Kingdom).

While scholars at Dutch universities thus extensively contribute to the international research agenda on the study of EU integration, their impact on actual policy debates in the Netherlands is limited. We think there are two reasons for the lack of interaction between academics, practitioners and politicians. Firstly, the Netherlands has a strong Weberian tradition with regard to its civil service. Bureaucrats are selected on the basis of their merit, professionalism and political neutrality. Ministries therefore have a lot of «in house» expertise. When it comes to using outside expertise in the policy process, there are various semi-autonomous think tanks and advisory bodies, notably Clingendael, the Netherlands Defense Academy, the Scientific Council for Government Policy, which operate quite separately from the Dutch academic community. Secondly, scholars in the Netherlands focus predominantly on analytical explanatory research questions and are not overly interested in practical questions or policy recommendations. There is thus a real disconnect between the academic community and policy makers. *Ad hoc*

consultations do take place, such as a large scale evaluation of the performance of rotating Dutch Presidency in the REACH directive (Maastricht; Rotterdam; Clingendael), but it is by no means systematic.

5. Time dimensions

In terms of the development of the study of EU integration in the Netherlands over time, this chapter has so far shown that the developments in the political science and public administration disciplines as well as the evolution of the international research agenda have had an important impact on the analysis of the European Union. The increasing focus on comparative politics, public administration, and in particular governance and Europeanization, affected the Dutch academic landscape. Real-world developments in Dutch foreign policy or the position of the Netherlands in the European Union, in contrast, have had little effect on the analytical study of the EU compared to many other countries – e.g. many of the accession states, where before entry to European Union sparked a lot of the academic interest (see other chapters). Given that the Netherlands was a founding EU member state and that Dutch foreign policy has been relatively stable, this is not completely surprising.

That having been said, the recent events in domestic Dutch politics since the beginning of the new century have had some effect on the study of EU integration. The increasing populism in domestic politics, the political murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh in 2002 and 2004, and the EU referendum in 2005 have sparked an academic interest in Euroskepticism and the «losers» of European integration and globalization more generally [Vollaard and Boer 2005; Hooghe and Marks 2007; Van der Brug and Fennema 2003; 2009; Van Kersbergen and Krouwel 2008; Van den Brug and Van Spanje 2009; de Vreese 2007; de Vreese and Boomgaarden 2005]. Moreover, the EU referendum gave scholars the

opportunity (to continue) to do research on referendums and publish several articles [Lubbers 2008; Baden and de Vreese 2008; Schuck and de Vreese 2008]. It remains to be seen, however, whether these events in Dutch politics have really triggered new lines of research, which will become permanent in the future.

In terms of Dutch foreign policy – and the possible consequences for the study of international relations and EU studies – it is worthwhile to note that the Netherlands may currently be standing on a critical juncture. Atlanticism in the Netherlands was strong throughout the Cold War and has remained strong ever since. Since the 1990s, the Netherlands has contributed troops to NATO in the Western Balkans, despite the national trauma over its earlier participation in the United Nations Protection Force in former Yugoslavia. Importantly, the Netherlands has furthermore made sizeable contributions to the United States-led operation in Iraq and the NATO mission in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the Netherlands from Afghanistan in August 2010, in this respect, at the time that other NATO allies were sending reinforcements, presents a possible break in Dutch foreign policy. A potential effect may be that the Netherlands will spend more attention on the European Union now that its relations with Washington have deteriorated and its position in NATO has become marginal. It remains, however, too early to come to conclusions about what this means for academia.

6. Comparative assessment

This chapter has given an overview of the study of EU integration in the Netherlands. It has shown that the recent emphasis on European governance and Europeanization has had an effect on the disciplines of public administration and political science. It has significantly increased the interest of scholars working at Dutch universities in the European Union. Currently, there are many academics with a keen interest in the process of

European integration. Interestingly, the majority of them hold foreign passports, which makes Dutch departments very internationalized indeed. The open competition also has led to a high number of quality publications in the leading international journals. These have been written by (younger) scholars, whose research focuses entirely on the European Union, as well as a number of established professors, who use traditional insights from comparative politics and public administration when analyzing the EU. The combined quantitative output is impressive. After the United Kingdom and Germany, no other country produces as many publications on the European Union as the Netherlands (see quantitative chapter by Matti Wiberg).

In analyzing the European Union, scholars at Dutch universities have predominantly focused on day-to-day policy-making rather than the history-making decisions. Moreover, their analysis is mainly empirical. Even in Utrecht, where scholars study accountability of European governance, they approach this normative subject from an empirical angle. While this specific focus in the Netherlands leads to high quality research – we have identified four areas of research – we have also suggested that these niche subjects may be one of the reasons for the relatively low number of citations of scholars at Dutch universities – or in other words, why keynote publications do not originate in the Netherlands. Another reason is that many scholars at Dutch universities are still in the early stages of their careers. They contribute to the major journals, but their work still has to mature into bigger ideas. It is therefore only a question of time before these scholars flourish at the international stage.

Finally, we have tried to highlight some of the major particularities of EU integration research in the Netherlands. The strong tradition of international law is important, in this respect. While this discipline has been important for the standing of the Netherlands in academia as well as the real-world, it has at the same time «undermined» the development of a serious analytical international relations discipline. The few scholars that

focused on international relations mainly dealt with (Dutch) foreign policy analysis, Atlanticism and multilateralism. This helps to explain why the study of the European Union, despite the Netherlands being a founding member states, did not fully mature until the mid-1990s. Given, however, the developments in the last decade, the future for EU integration research in the Netherlands looks very bright. Scholars at the Dutch universities are high in number and make important contributions to the international research agenda. This is unlikely to change.

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KJELL A. ELIASSEN, MARIT SJØVAAG MARINO
AND EIRIKUR BERGMANN

THE STUDY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
FROM OUTSIDE: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES
IN NORWAY AND ICELAND 1990-2010

The aim of this chapter¹ is to map the research on European integration carried out by Norwegian and Icelandic researchers and research institutions in the period 1990–2010. This study covers research of central aspects of the European Union itself: institutions, decision-making processes, policies, actors and the relationship to other countries, global and regional institutions and local and regional governments. In addition, we investigate studies on the relationship between Norway and/or Iceland and the European Union.

This chapter deals with both Norway and Iceland. The history of their relationship to the European Union is in many ways similar, but there are several differences in both the amount and direction of EU research. For each section, we will first present the Norwegian case and then the Icelandic situation on the same issues.

As for most European countries, even if there has been an extensive literature on the EU and European integration in general, only two studies have been made about the EU integration studies in Norway [Sverdrup, Olsen and Veggeland 1997; Sverdrup 2009]. The first study focused on the period 1994 – 1997 and the second mainly on European integration studies on governance and partly from a constructivist perspective. The SENT project has therefore given us a welcome opportunity to provide a

¹ We would like to thank Catherine Børve Arnesen and Ulf Sverdrup for their valuable input and constructive comments throughout this process. We would also like to thank Pavlina Peneva for assistance in writing an early version of the Norwegian part of this chapter.

more comprehensive and broader overview of Norwegian and Icelandic political science research on EU integration.

The distinguishing elements of Norwegian and Icelandic research on European integration are:

1. Norwegian research on EU integration took off when the EU issue regained actuality with the European Economic Agreement (EEA) agreement, and from the first half of the 1990s a large amount of research was published, both in absolute terms and relative to other countries.
2. The focus in Norway was from the early 1990s more on the EU as a political system than as an international organization and therefore, earlier than in many other countries, research placed less emphasis on the explanatory power of international relations theories and focused on comparative politics traditions, organisational theory, institutionalism and constructivism.
3. For several reasons the research in Norway focused on the EU – institutions, decision-making, policy areas, democracy and governance, more than on the relationship between Norway and the EU. The strong traditions of both comparative politics and organisational studies in Norway have created the bases for several major contributions in the study of the functioning of the EU institutions and decision-making processes.
4. In Iceland the volume of academic studies on European integration is significantly smaller and more limited than in Norway, as one might expect taking into account that the population of Norway is more than tenfold that of Iceland. Contrary to the Norwegian case, the main focus of Icelandic scholars of European integration has been on the role of small states, and Iceland's relationship in the European integration process. In recent years there has been a focused interest in analysing how participation in the European project relates to domestic politics in Iceland, especially how the idea of supranational

cooperation within the European Union relates to the traditional national discourse in Iceland.

Let us first take a look at the development of the relationship between EC/EU and Norway and Iceland from the first discussions of membership in the early 1960s.

1. *The quiet Europeans: Norway, Iceland and the EU*

Claes and Tranøy [1999] give a comprehensive description of the dilemmas of Norwegian politics on European co-operation in the early years of European institutional history from the late 1940s to the 1960s. Some of the most prioritized economical goals would only be fulfilled through membership in the European Community, while other could best be secured domestically. Since the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), the discussion on which path to follow in order to best secure Norwegian interests has been ongoing, and at times harsh. Two governments have lost office over the years over disputes concerning Norway's relationship to the EU. In the 1950s, the dilemmas were temporarily solved, with Norway joining a North Atlantic cooperation agreement, which agreed to keep distance from continental Europe. The Norwegian strategy for the first fifteen years after the launching of the Marshall plan can therefore best be described as somewhat hesitant and sceptical towards regional agreements and organization [Claes and Tranøy 1999, 15-16].

In Iceland, debates on foreign relations have been among the most vicious in domestic politics since Iceland gained full independence from Danish rule in 1944—after more than a hundred year-long struggle. Ever since the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957 Icelanders have debated their place in Europe. The issue first appeared on the agenda at the end of 1957, when leaders in Western Europe were preparing to create a joint forum for the six states in the EEC and the other members of the Organisa-

tion for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), of which Iceland was a member. After talks broke down in 1959 the UK government led a group of seven states (Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal) establishing the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960. EFTA was intended as an intergovernmental counterweight to the supranational characteristics of the EEC. Western Europe was now split into two competing economical establishments [Claes and Tranøy 1999, 15-26; Bergmann 2009a, 187-189].

At the time Iceland's economy was mostly based on food production: fisheries and farming. Iceland's main interests in foreign trade were to insure access for its fish products to European markets, of which the UK was vital. As EFTA was mainly formed around free trade with industrial goods, Iceland stayed out of the association in the beginning.

After the UK applied for membership in the EEC in 1961 the newly formed progressive coalition in Iceland seriously contemplated applying for membership in the EEC rather than joining EFTA [Gíslason 1993, 199]. The Icelandic government only abandoned the plan of seeking membership in the EEC after the French leader Charles de Gaulle vetoed the UK's application. [Gíslason 1993, 200-201]. Consequently, Iceland applied for membership in EFTA and joined in 1970, accompanying rapid industrialisation in the Icelandic economy.

De Gaulle's veto had consequences also for Norwegian foreign policy. Although the country had considered following the lead of two of their central trading partners (Denmark and the UK), this option was abandoned with de Gaulle's veto. With that firm «no», the reason for Norwegian membership this time was gone.

In the beginning of the 1970s membership was again on the political agenda in Norway. There had been broad agreement among the politicians to apply for membership in the EEC, but the discussions became very harsh. In the September 1972 referendum on Norwegian membership, 53.5 percent voted no. Britain, Ireland and Denmark

joined the EC, and, to secure Norwegian export interests, Norway established a free trade agreement with the EC.

The reason why the Norwegian people voted against EC membership was a combination of different interests between the center and the periphery – a central cleavage line in Norwegian politics, evident since the establishment of the Norwegian constitution and Parliament in 1814. The periphery strongly defended their interests, particularly in areas such as agriculture, fishing and industry. During the EC debate in the early 1970s the farmers and fishermen were particularly worried about potential competition with continental Europe. More generally one could say that the Norwegian population didn't understand urban culture, and is still basically having an egalitarian and euroskeptic political culture.

There was another Norwegian referendum 22 years later, in 1994, and once again the outcome of the referendum was «no» [Claes and Førland 2004, 205-212]. The 1994 referendum has been described as a «blueprint» of the 1972 election. Roughly speaking, the «no» districts in 1972 were the «no» districts in 1994. Similarly, the most important arguments against membership again centered around the right to self-determination and the future of Norway as a sovereign state, with the power to decide on central sector policies such as agriculture and fishing. Moreover, similarly to the 1972 situation, the Norwegian government sought access to the newly established internal market through the European Economic Area (EEA), without being a member.

Even though arguments in the EFTA-debate in Iceland were mostly based on the economy, the discourse on the independence struggle and the conservative ideas about the nation and its sovereignty were also quite clear and formed a base for the economic arguments. For example, many parliamentarians referred to the undisputed distinctiveness of the Icelandic nation and there was a clear consensus in the parliamentary discussions that the Icelandic nation was unique and had to be protected when it came to international co-operation [Bergmann 2009a].

The accession to EFTA in 1970 started the still ongoing process of Europeanization of the Icelandic society. The main aim of EFTA was to encourage free trade in industry between its members, for example by ending import limitations, import tax and other trade restrictions. In that way it hoped to promote free trade in all of Western Europe. However, each EFTA member reserved the right to complete freedom in regard to trade agreements with third countries, adhering only to regulations stipulated by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organisation. After accession the Icelandic economy rapidly adapted to the European market and saw the effects immediately, with the lowering of prices on imported goods and easier access to European consumers. Consequently, Icelandic industry also felt the effects of increased competition from European manufacturers, and some industries (e.g., the furniture making industry), suffered.

In 1972, Iceland followed the path of the other EFTA members by signing a free trade agreement with the European Community, which increased trade in goods and positively influenced business relations between Iceland and the European Communities (EC) members. The cooperation subsequently spilled over into other areas (for example, regulation within the field of environmental issues, transport and research). It also resulted in the quadrupling of business transactions between the EC and the EFTA states.

Although participation in EFTA and the signing of the free trade agreement greatly increased Iceland's and Norway's trade with the EC, pressure soon started to build for cooperation in other areas of the economy. The agreement between the two was after all only pertinent to a restricted area of trade between EFTA and the EC members. The EFTA states were also concerned with lack of influence, and only functioning as junior partner to the EC, who was clearly holding the initiative in the ever-increasing regulatory trade regime. The EFTA states were further worried that increased cooperation within the EC leading up to

the signing of the Single European Act in 1986 would increase the gap between the two institutions and leave EFTA lagging behind in the process.

Interest in closer cooperation between the two institutions arose soon after the free trade agreements came into force in the 1970s, widening it to areas such as education, science and culture. With a joint declaration in Luxembourg in 1984 the aim was set to create a unified and vibrant new European economic area which would promote free trade amongst all partners and increase competition as well as harmonise regulations and join forces against barriers to trade with wide scope measures. On January 17, 1989 the president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, proposed such an initiative in his famous speech to the European Parliament. The European Economic area agreement was then signed in Oporto in Portugal in May 1992 and entered into force on January 1, 1994.

The EEA agreement is by far the most comprehensive agreement ever signed by both Norway and Iceland. With the signing of the EEA agreement, Norway and Iceland joined the EU's internal market, with an exemption on fish and agricultural goods. The EEA agreement further led to a harmonization and adaptation of rules concerning health, health, safety and environmental (HSE) issues, further joint competition directives and directives concerning government subsidies. Cooperation in areas like education, science, environment and culture were also part of this agreement. Furthermore, the EFTA/EEA countries must follow directives, rules and regulations agreed upon in the EU that affect areas in the EEA agreement. The Norwegian and Icelandic governments can no longer independently implement constraints on the movement of capital, people, goods and services in and out of Norway and Iceland, and they are not allowed to introduce legislation or other regulation that discriminate citizens of the EU. With the signing of the EEA agreement, and with the consent of the internal market of the EU, Norway and Iceland effectively became highly integrated with the EU, but without being a member [Claes and Følrand 2004, 205-224]. Even though Norway

has chosen to not be part of the union, it has been active in constructing new institutional processes and frameworks, and as a result, the EFTA countries, through the EEA, are allowed to participate in key areas of the union.

Shifting Norwegian governments have taken the lead in developing what may be called a «Norwegian method» of European integration [Eliassen and Sitter 2003], which consists of indirect participation in European integration short of full formal membership. It can be traced back to efforts on the parts of the EC and the remaining EFTA states to adjust to the accession of the UK, Denmark and Ireland in 1973, but it developed into a more or less coherent strategy after Sweden, Austria and Finland joined the EU in 1995. The cornerstone of this quasi-membership is the European Economic Area, which in 1994 secured access to most of the Single European Market (SEA) for six of the then seven EFTA states (the Swiss government having seen its proposed EEA option defeated in a referendum).

As the expectation that most of the EFTA states would join the EU very soon strengthened during the EEA negotiations, the EEA arrangement came to be seen by most participants as primarily a temporary measure. As it turned out, it has become a more long-term arrangement for Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein. The relationship between the EU and Norway and Iceland rests on three pillars: an extension of the Single Market through the EEA; *ad hoc* arrangements for Norwegian and Icelandic participation in a range of other EU initiatives; and periodical adjustments and adaptations of this relationship to accommodate EU Treaty or constitutional change.

The dynamic nature of the relationship between the European Union and non-member states such as Norway and Iceland reflects the fact that the EU has evolved faster and more extensively than the other European organizations. In this process, it has absorbed several initiatives that were originally designed and operated outside the EU to the extent that one may speak of the «EU-isolation» of other European organisations [Sitter 2003]. To the extent

that Norway has participated in such arrangements, *ad hoc* solutions have been required in order to render existing institutional arrangements compatible with the new arrangements. The Schengen initiative to abolish border controls, launched in 1985 when the Benelux (i.e. Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) states decided to join a Franco-German initiative, had been linked to the Nordic Passport Union before it was incorporated into the EU in the treaty of Amsterdam [Ahnfelt and From 1996]. Norway and Iceland were therefore accorded considerable access to part of the EU system through Schengen. Most of the West European Union, apart from collective defence (Article 5), the WEU Secretariat, the Assembly and West European Armaments Groups, was incorporated into the EU at the Treaty of Nice and new EU political and military institutions have been developed. Again, Norway's and Iceland's status raises some awkward questions.

The EEA agreement has clearly and greatly influenced the development of the Icelandic society. Its impact is not only measured through the legal acts Iceland has had to adopt but also through increased and more informal trans-border cooperation which has followed. The EEA opened up the closed-off Icelandic society and provided for a transformation of the economy, which became much more diversified and increasingly internationalized. One could even claim that the agreement has in fact been Iceland's lifeline in international relations. Iceland has enjoyed increased access to the EU market and its many cross-border co-operations programmes, including scientific, educational and cultural affairs, bringing with it extra capital and knowledge, much to the benefit of Icelandic society. Icelandic entrepreneurs have been given the opportunity within in the European market and Icelandic scientists have created stronger ties with international colleagues. Participation in the EU programs has dramatically boosted turnover in the area of research and has strengthened relations between Icelandic businesses and institutions, and their European counterparts.

However, after the collapse of the financial system in

autumn 2008 the Icelandic government decided to apply for full EU membership. After fierce dispute in the parliament and in society at large, the new left-wing coalition government handed in the application in July 2009.

2. *European integration research in Norway: The early years (pre-1997)*

The first interesting observation about Norwegian and Icelandic political science research on European integration is its all-but-complete disinterest in the EC before the SEA. The little research that was done, mainly took place within an international relations (IR) framework and in international law. However, after the mid-1990s, there have been an impressive number of publications by Norwegian researchers in international journals.

Norway and Iceland are by far the non-member countries with the closest links to the EU, both to the internal market through the European Economic Area (EEA), as a full member of Schengen and with different mechanisms and as full payment-for-participation member of a long series of EU programs and initiatives. This strange combination of much integration but no membership has been characterised as a «quasi membership» of the European Union [Eliassen and Sitter 2004].

We have chosen to focus on literature published between 1990 and 2009. Prior to this period there was very little research on the EC in Norway (less than five publications per year) and among these publications there were a very limited number of analyses of the potential impact of EC on Norway, the majority being done by the Norwegian Institute of International Relations (NUPI – *Norsk utenrikspolitisk institutt*) under the leadership of the influential IR scholar Martin Sæther. We see this low production as a result of the outcome of the 1972 referendum and the serious impact it had on the political landscape in Norway, leaving huge scars in all political parties and in society itself. The campaigning and political debates prior to the

1972 referendum and the resulting «no» did not simply entail that Norway remained outside of the EC; it effectively buried any public debate on European integration for the best part of 15 years.

Therefore, until the late 1980s, the EC was not given any particular attention in higher education. The first master program in European studies (MSc in Euromanagement) was established at Norwegian School of Business only in 1991, and it combined studies of European integration with management studies. However, Norway's lack of educational programmes directed specifically towards the EU was not exceptional. Indeed, the Euromanagement MSc was one of two of its kind in Europe at that time. The first comprehensive Norwegian textbook on European integration was published in 1992 [Andersen and Eliassen 1992].

The volume of Norwegian political science research on European integration started to increase rapidly from 1994. This was the year of the second referendum on EC membership, and it had also become increasingly clear that Norway had to relate to EU regulation regardless of the referendum outcome. The rapid increase in the research interest for European integration in Norway had started with the Single European Act and the Internal Market, just as interest in political circles and among business people were stimulated by the success of the SEA and the possibility for EFTA countries to join. With the new momentum in European economic and with the political integration there was a renewed interest in Norway in studying and understanding this institution and its impact on various parts of Norwegian society. The Maastricht treaty represented a further expansion of the scope of EU policies. The EEA agreement ensured that the EU was a significant factor in Norwegian policy-making and had to be taken into account on many levels of political analysis.

Initially, this renewed European interest was manifest only in a limited number of political science institutions and research organizations. First of all, NUPI increased its interest in and work on European integration. Secondly,

the Norwegian School of Business created its Center for European (and, later, also Asian) Studies in 1989. In the universities (of which there were four at the time) there was only a limited interest in European integration and EEC studies, despite the University of Bergen's strong Comparative Politics Department and despite the very active International Relations section at the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo. The regional colleges created in the 1970s and 1980s were also not very active in this field. Some state-owned applied-research institutions focused on the EU in their research within their normal fields of interest, but mostly more with EU as a prefix or suffix to their normal research activity.

When the amount of European integration research in Norway started increasing rapidly in the mid-1990s, the dominating theoretical frameworks were comparative politics, political sociology and administrative studies. The salience of the first two of these frameworks in Norwegian research can be traced back to one of the influential founders of political science in Norway, Stein Rokkan. Administrative studies have traditionally been very strong in Norwegian political science, particularly at the University of Oslo with the scholar Knut Dahl Jacobsen, and in Bergen when he moved there in the late 1960s. The trend wherein the EU is seen as a political system rather than an international organisation is corroborated by the general international trend in studies of the European Union [Keeler 2005, 567]. The political developments, with the EU as «an ever closer union» lent credibility to the view that it should be seen as a political system in its own right, and not longer simply an arena of co-operation between nation states.

We can identify three different foci for these early studies. Firstly, a majority of the studies had the EU itself as research focus, including its institutions and functioning. This was of course the case for the IR scholars [Sæter 1993; 1995; 1997]. In addition, many Norwegian researchers have been interested in ways in which the policy-making process in the EU differed from that in the well-researched and well-known nation-states (the EU as political system),

and linked to this theme, to the democratic aspects of the EU. This gave rise to publications on lobbying and policy-making in the EU [Andersen and Eliassen 1991, 1993 and 1995], on democracy [Andersen and Eliassen 1996] and on voting systems [Lane and Mæland 1995]. These themes have continued to occupy Norwegian researchers up until the present.

An early seminal work was Andersen and Eliassen's *Making policy in Europe* [1993]. Here the EU was seen as an emerging political system rather than an international organisation. The book was used as a textbook in several EU-related courses both in the Norwegian School of Business (BI) and elsewhere, and dominated much of the research on lobbying in the EU in the subsequent years.

The relationship between Norway and the EC was another favoured research theme for Norwegian political scientists in this early period of European integration studies. Despite its narrow focus, this literature has contributed to the general study of European integration by giving attention to the specificities of small countries [Lis-thaug and Sciarini 1997; Jensen, Pesonen and Giljam 1998; Bjørklund 1996; Udgaard and Nilsson 1993].

Thirdly, many researchers studied the relationship between Norwegian and European policies, and about the impact of EU policies and integration for Norway. These themes were to a large degree dealt with through what we call «pre- and suffix EU studies» which focused on a «traditional» topic (e.g., the labor market, agriculture, education) but included an EU dimension. Energy policy [Andersen 2009] and foreign and security policy [Peterson and Sjursen 1998] are among the sectors that have attracted most attention from researchers. This is not surprising, given the importance of energy production for the Norwegian economy (although one might have expected this to spur even more research in this field), and Norway's particular defence and security situation as a member of NATO but not of the EU. More surprising, however, is the fact that there has been a negligible amount of political science literature on fisheries policy, or indeed any other

policies linked to marine conservation.

During the latter half of the 1990s the number of research institutions focusing on European integration in Norway increased significantly. Most important was the establishment of the government-sponsored research programme ARENA.

3. The formative years of European integration research (1995-2003)

Whereas the early years of EU research in Norway was close to a monopolistic undertaking by NUPI, and some early activities at Norwegian School of Business (BI), the field saw several new entrants in the mid-1990s. One could assume that the frustrated relationship to the EU as most recently documented in the «no» to membership vote in the autumn of 1994 could lead to little interest in this organization in the late 1990s, or at least only focus on our two main interests in relation to the EU: energy and fisheries, or at least that the willingness to fund this type of research was limited [Sverdrup 2009]. None of these potential developments took place. The volume of Norwegian EU research increased rapidly after 1994 and perhaps the most important reason for this is the realization in Norway that the EEA treaty had an impact in the economic field nearly similar to membership. The focus was not on our main interest in the EU, there were some research on energy, but very few if any major systematic academic studies on EU fishing policy and the consequences for Norway. Instead the leading centres were focusing on core EU questions like variable geometry [Sæther 1997], democracy [Eriksen and Fossum 2000], international norms and domestic politics in a rationalistic vs. constructivist perspective [Checkel 1997], the charter of fundamental rights [Eriksen, Fossum and Menedez 2003] or euro-skepticism [Sitter 2003]. Finally, the funding was also there – especially from the research council for the new ARENA program.

By far the most important change in the mid-1990s

was the establishment of ARENA (Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation-State) in 1994. This was a large, state-funded programme aimed at building basic competence on European integration and networks, and «to link Norwegian research on European integration to the best European and international scholarly networks» [Olsen, Sverdrup and Veggeland 1997, 5]. Central to the programme was also to address the normative aspects of integration, using normative political theory and democratic theory.

ARENA was a well-funded programme for Norwegian research standards, operating with 8-10 million NOK annually. The centre employed scholars from different disciplines, but a majority were political scientists [Olsen, Sverdrup and Veggeland 1997]. Some additional funding could be obtained from other sources, but in the first 10 years it was mainly funded from this original source and some funding through EU research programs.

From 2004 and up to the present ARENA has been a research institute at the University of Oslo. From that time the funding has been from different sources including a grant from the University, some funding still from the research council, Norwegian ministries and EU projects.

The ARENA research profile was for several reasons linked to the impact of the European integration efforts on the European nation states, the concepts of «Europeanization» and «governance» could be seen as headlines of a large proportion of this research. This was in line with the Norwegian research traditions from Stein Rokkan, both the centre-periphery perspective and the role of the state in the state and nation-building process, and the unfinished large comparative project on small states in Europe. But it was also a rather obvious focus given the competence of some of the first employees at ARENA, most notably Johan P. Olsen and his interests in national public administration and organisational theory.

Both because of the need to study the European integration project from different perspectives and due to the fact that the ARENA project was seen from the start as a

multi-discipline project, other topics like democracy, identity, norms and citizenship – and some core EU issues like foreign policy and justice and home affairs were also included.

The volume of ARENA research in the years 1996 – 2005 was substantial. The research center produced 239 academic articles and book chapters plus numerous books. Approximately 80 percent were written in English or in another non-Norwegian language [Sverdrup 2009]. Philippe Schmitter assessed as early as 1999 that already Johan P. Olsen and the ARENA was a project of major importance in the analysis of the impact of Europeanization [Sverdrup 2009]. Both the article of Olsen [2002] on Europeanization and Hix and Føllesdal [2006] on democratic deficit are among the most cited articles in the «Journal of Common Market Studies». ARENA has become a core member in different European networks for European integration research and has a strong reputation as a very valuable network participant.

The theoretical traditions addressed in the ARENA program was linked to both organizational theory and administrative science, but also different traditions in new institutionalism, governance and where the concepts, theories and paradigms from these traditions were deliberately implemented into the field of European integration studies [Sverdrup 2009]. Inside ARENA there were also major contributions in other theoretical transitions like constructivism, normative theory and democratic theory.

The other main research center which occupied itself with European integration after 1995 was the Center for European and Asian studies at the Norwegian School of Business. In addition to running the MSc programme, the Center worked on mainly externally funded programmes on various EU policies (e.g., telecommunications regulation, defense policy, security policy, armament policy and financial services, but also on major EU institution issues like lobbying, legislative processes and the EU democratic deficit.).

As a conclusion we see two main reasons for the high

academic interest and production in relation to European integration in Norway. Firstly, the EU's importance for Norway both economically and culturally has resulted in several debates about membership, and Norway shows a high interest in participating in various EU programmes. The awareness about the EU is therefore high, and the political complexities make EU integration a natural field of interest for Norwegian researchers. Secondly, there has been a high level of public funding for political science research in general and for European and EU integration research in particular compared to many EU countries. However, the most ambiguous EU and nation-state research program has been the ARENA program.

4. *The institutionalization of European integration studies (post-2003)*

The third distinctive period we have identified in the development of European integration studies is characterized by the higher number of Norwegian institutions undertaking research on European integration in some way or another. Many of them focus more on their prime area of research and add an EU dimension. It is also evident that the traditional university institutes of political science become more active in this field.

The number of publications increases a little bit in the middle of this period, but then seems to go down again. After the turn of the century Norwegian EU integration research became more similar to research carried out in other European countries, both with regard to focus and theoretical traditions. We witness also a marked variation in theoretical approaches and links to other topics, to the extent that «EU studies» becomes a less precise term.

With the size and wide range of social science research activities in Norway in general and more applied research in particular, it could be expected that the increased interest for EU during the 1990s resulted in several reports and studies linking an EU dimension to studies of a

wide variety of different national policies. In particular the internal market and the Norwegian link to the EU policies both through the EEA and through Norway buying into other flanking policies around the internal market made EU policies become more and more relevant for an increasing number of areas of Norwegian politics and sectors of the Norwegian society. This was to some extent true in the late 1990s, but in the period after 2003 the main focus, at least in the major contributions we have identified, was on traditional topics of the institutions and functioning of the EU, in particular comparative politics, and organizational and administrative sciences.

The wider research agenda in these years among important contributions includes topics like democracy, legitimacy, identity and policy issues like energy [Andersen 2009], enlargement [Sjursen 2006] and foreign policy [Carlsnæs and Sjursen 2004]. There were also a large number of similar research reports, books and articles on a large variety of aspects of the European polity under development. In these studies the focus was on the emerging state likeness of the EU political system as such seen from different political, geographical and theoretical perspectives. This focus is also related to the second dimension of the studies in this later period of investigation, organizational and administrative studies.

Even in this period, several of the most important, and often most cited contributions, come from the traditional centers for European integration research and in particular ARENA. The role and influence of ARENA led to this focus on the organizational bases for European governance as an important characteristic of the Norwegian European integration research in the last part of the first decade of this century. Sverdrup [2007] argues that there existed a strong link between the work of Stein Rokkan and the more recent research on EU governance, focusing on the role and the future of the nation state in the current European transformation. The initial mandate for ARENA was written within this logic and several of the other researchers working within the field of European studies come

from this tradition. More important, however, especially in this recent period, was the importance of organizational theory and the March and Simon tradition of which Johan P Olsen, the first director of ARENA was a part. As Sverdrup argues that «the linkage to organizational and institutional theory can be easily traced in general and encompassing approaches to the EU» [Sventrup 2007, 100; see Egeberg 2004; Olsen 2007]. Sverdrup continues that it can be traced in studies of EU committees, institutional design, decision-making and national adaptation from different researchers coming out of the ARENA environment. Some of these studies have also led to more comprehensive studies of political organisation at the EU level [Olsen 2007].

Some of the studies employ the EU and the relationship between the EU and the member states as empirical bases to test and to refine theories of organizational mechanisms or to develop new insight in this type of aspects of the EU system. They seem, however, to become somewhat narrow in scope and without references to the broader development of the EU as a whole.

Several of the studies from the organizational and administrative paradigms of investigation, and also the other ARENA studies, were linked to similar research efforts within other major European research centers in Germany and Britain. During this period (2003 to 2009), the European integration research in Norway in general become both more integrated into pan-European research efforts and at the same time reflected the current theoretical trends within this field of research.

5. European integration research in Iceland (1994-2010)

Apart from few general books and reports on different aspects of European cooperation, not much research had been published on Iceland and the European project prior to 1994. Leading up to the EEA, several commissioned reports on the agreement were produced, mainly dealing with its economical and legal effect. None of those writings

can be considered an important contribution in European studies. Icelandic academics did not really become interested in European integration until after the EEA came into effect.

Research on Europe started mainly within the Political Science department of the *University* of Iceland, by far the largest higher education institution in the country. With the establishment of the Centre for Small State Studies in 2001 and subsequently the revitalization of the then dormant Institute for International Affairs, the two institutions under the leadership of Dr. Baldur Thorhallsson became influential in the general discussion in Iceland on the EU and internationally within small states studies. The young private Reykjavik University established a European Law institute in 2002. In 2005 the small but long established Bifröst University founded the Centre for European studies in Iceland. Its main area of research has been Europeanization and Iceland's role in the European project. The Centre for European studies is part of the EC Thematic network for European studies, *SENT*, and the EC Thematic network for European law studies, *Menu for Justice*.

Only a handful of scholars in Iceland have dedicated themselves to European studies. Political science professor Baldur Thorhallsson has mainly focused on small state studies and how the Icelandic administration has dealt with ever-increasing Europeanization. Political science associate professor Eiríkur Bergmann has written extensively on Iceland and the EU, and also focused on how national sentiments have influenced Iceland's European policy. Political scientists, Birgir Hermannsson, Mangús Árni Magnússon and history professor Guðmundur Hálfðanarson have also focused on Icelandic nationalism and how it affects perceptions on Europe. Gunnhildur Lily Magnúsdóttir has focused on small states and EU's environmental policy, Úlfar Hauksson has focused on EU's fisheries policy and Audunn Arnórsson has contributed to studies on the application process. Jóhanna Jónsdóttir has contributed to the study of Europeanization in Iceland. Within legal studies professor Stefán Már Stefánsson and

Professor Davið Þór Björgvinsson have been the most influential.

The limited space here only allows for mentioning the most influential writings within the field. In 1994 ambassador Einar Benediktson co-authored a book with Ketill Sigurjónsson and Sturla Pálsson on the early years of Iceland's participation in European integration. In 1996 Ólafur P. Stephensen published his book on the EEA negotiation which he referred to as a milestone for Iceland on its European voyage. In 1999 economist Jón Sigursson published a book on the Euro.

In 2000 the foreign ministry produced the first overall assessment on the EEA and Iceland's position in Europe, in a wide scope report which became the basis for the debate on Europe in the coming years. The same year former ambassador Einar Benediktsson published his book, *Iceland and European Development*.

In 2002 Úlfar Hauksson published his influential book on EU's fisheries policy and its impact on Iceland in membership negotiations. In 2003 the International affairs institute at the University of Iceland published a joint research with NUPI in Norway on possibilities for the two countries within Europe, *Iceland and the EU: EEA, EU-membership or a "Swiss-solution"*. Together with the main report an influential appendix on possible solutions on the fisheries policy was published: *Iceland, Norway and the EC Common Fisheries policy. The potential of the reform – a springboard for Iceland and Norway*. Also in 2003 Dr. Eiríkur Bergmann published one of the first textbooks on Iceland and the EU: *European integration and Iceland – Guide to European integration and Iceland's involvement in the European project*.

In 2004 Routledge published, within its series on «Europe and the Nation State», a book called *Iceland and the European Integration: On the edge*. The collection of articles was edited by Baldur Thorhallson and dealt with several aspects of Iceland's relations with the EU. In 2007 a prime minister appointed committee of all political parties published its findings after a three year long overall study

on Iceland's relationship with the EU. The report served as a basis for the debate on Europe in the period leading up to the crash in autumn 2008. Countless reports have been produced on the impact of European cooperation and possible EU membership on different policy areas, such as fisheries, agriculture, regional policy and monetary policy.

In early 2008, before the financial crash, Eiríkur Bergmann co-authored a book on the effects of adopting the Euro together with economic associate professor, Jon Thor Sturluson. In 2009 Audunn Arnórsson published his book on the application process: *In or out – negotiating with the EU*. Later the same year, Eiríkur Bergmann published a new textbook on Iceland and the EU called: *From Eurovision to Euro – all about the European Union*.

Only a few PhD's have been written about Iceland and the EU: Baldur Thorhallsson wrote on the role of small states in the European Union [1999], Eiríkur Bergmann on how national sentiments have influenced Iceland's European policy [2009], Gunnhildur Lily Magnúsdóttir on small states and EU's environmental policy [2009], Jóhanna Jónsdóttir on Europeanization in Iceland [2010] and Magnús Árni Magnússon comparing Iceland and Malta [2010]. A large number of political debate books and articles have also been published on Iceland and the European question.

6. Some concluding remarks

The empirical evidence has been presented according to a time scale. By identifying three relatively distinct time periods coinciding with varying levels of academic output and also with the institutionalization (in the strict sense) of the research field, we have provided an implicit link between research output and «extra-academic» events (both economic and political).

If we go back to our introductory statements, we are able to make the link with scholarly traditions in Norway and Iceland, and also to identify some interesting differ-

ences between the Norwegian and Icelandic cases.

Our first statement was that Norwegian research on EU integration took off when the EU issue regained actuality with the EEA agreement. A large amount of research was produced from the mid-1990s, both in absolute terms and relative to other countries. The same pattern is found in Iceland, albeit in a more modest fashion. In the period after the establishment of the EEA agreement, EU and EU policies become much more important for both countries, for regional and local authorities, companies and interest organisations.

Our second statement concerned the theoretical traditions in Norwegian research. As we have seen, from the early 1990s the focus was more on the EU as a political system than on the EU as an international organization. Only a very limited number of scholars were studying European integration from an IR perspective. The main exception has been and partly is NUPI. Two points are of interest here. Firstly, the Norwegian emphasis on the EU as a political system can be traced back to the influence of the comparative politics researcher Stein Rokkan (who taught several of the contemporary scholars on European integration) and, more recently, to Johan P. Olsen who is an important scholar within institutionalism and organisational theory.

Secondly, Norwegian scholars were not alone in approaching the EU as a political system. Rather, they were part of a Europe-wide trend which used approaches and theories from comparative politics and organisational studies to better understand the complexity of the EU and European integration. And in that Europe-wide trend, Norwegian scholars have not only followed, they have made important contributions.

Our third statement concerned the extent to which Norwegian scholars have written on the EU *per se*, rather than on the relationship between Norway and the EU. Two points stand out here. Firstly, this interest in the EU itself (in a small, non-member country with relatively limited research funding and only limited influence in the EU deci-

sion-making system) becomes even more remarkable when compared with Iceland, where the situation was radically different. Icelandic researchers have mainly followed the track of constructivist and, to a degree, post-structuralist methods and have been much more interested in the relationship between Iceland and the EU, consequences for Iceland of various EU policies, programs, and forms of attachment, and also how it influences national political discourse. In the same vein, it is interesting to note that whereas Norwegian researchers have been interested in topics that are central to the EU, they have not at all been interested in fisheries policies and only to a limited extent in energy policy. In contrast, Icelandic researchers have been focusing on fisheries policy and the importance of this industry in relation to European integration. Secondly, Norwegian researchers have produced a large amount of normative studies. These writings can also be linked to the strong interest among Norwegian researcher in the field in governance and also to some extent to Rokkan's project on state and nation-building.

The attempt has been to paint a picture of the Norwegian and Icelandic research on EU and EU integration in terms of development on both quantity and not least areas of interest and theoretical framework used. Iceland only has 330,000 inhabitants and Norway is not a big country either, and with only 4.5 million inhabitants it is pretty evident that the research society is not as big as in other European countries. As a consequence of this, there are few research institutions, and the researcher tends to appear in the same forums. However, as small countries, and as non-members of the EU, the quality of assessment is vast and of quality to match any other European research institution. In this research on the development in given period, there was a steady increase in publications on EU integration matter, as well as a shift to comparative and institutional approach giving more notice to the actual complexity of the European Union and European Integration. If we dare draw a conclusion about the research community in Norway, we will say it is small, but very efficient and quali-

ty-centered, and very much linked to research contributed on the continental Europe. The European integration research in Iceland is much more limited and mainly focusing on the role of small states within the EU and especially on the relationship between Iceland and the European Union.

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KATARZYNA PISARSKA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:
THE CASE OF POLAND

Having joined the European Union (EU) only in 2004, Poland has been for many years outside the mainstream of the scientific debate regarding the European integration process. The development of EU studies in Poland can be divided into three separate periods: before the fall of communism (1951-1989), during the pre-accession period (1990-2004) and after accession (2004-present). Coincidentally, these timeframes coincide with the evolution taking place in the EU institutions themselves, from the European Communities (EC) into the European Union (1951-1991), the 1990s reforms of the EU (1991-2004) and the so-called «big bang» enlargement (2004 and 2007). Until 1989 the evolution of the European Communities was of interest only to a handful of scholars, who too often were forced to portray the developments in Western Europe through the ideological paradigm of the Cold War. In the years between 1945 and 1989 the discipline of political science in general was dominated by Marxist and Leninist theories, which claimed the superiority of communism over other political systems. As in no other field of research, international and political studies were censored becoming in fact «single ideology studies». As a consequence, there was limited space for analyzing the developments of the ongoing European integration on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Despite these difficulties, independent research communities developed in the less «politicized» areas such as sociology, economics and legal studies, where ideological independence was still possible. The studies published in the years 1958-1989 were mainly empirical in nature. Some books were designed to explain the phenomena at hand

from a macro perspective [Bożyk 1972; Werner 1978; Michałowska-Gorywoda 1981; Grabska 1988]. Most works focused on the micro level of policy implementation. The themes under consideration were: economic cooperation between EEC and CMEA [Kindera 1989; Synowiec 1989], the developments in particular areas such as agriculture [Chęciński 1968] or the legal system [Skubiszewski 1965; Piontek 1979; Sadurska 1981] and the potential for cooperation between Poland and the EEC [Wieczorkiewicz 1974; Kotelnicki, 1986]. Particularly in the 1980s, when access to Western literature broadened, works analyzing in details particular policies of the EEC became abundant. Very few of these works were published in English and thus could not have had any impact on the ongoing European discussion. In Poland, these works were on the margins of political, economic and legal international studies.

It was not until 1989 that the birth of modern European integration studies in Poland became a fact. As the communist system broke down and the new independent Polish government announced the «return of Poland to Europe», integrating the state with the European Communities became an official goal of the national foreign policy. A new era began for political and international studies in general and for European studies in particular. The early years of system transformation in Poland coincided with the dynamic development of the European Communities. The signing of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1991 marks the beginning of the European Union as a new actor on the international political scene. Despite the fact that European integration studies in Poland have grown from the field of international studies, the first more elaborate research on the EC/EU in Poland have been influenced more by domestic politics of integrating in the EU.

In the early 1990s most studies on European integration and EU politics were empirical in nature. Their goal was to explain the meaning of the phenomenon of European integration and the EU policies from a Polish perspective [Mulewicz 1992; Kawecka-Wyrzykowska 1994] and to help strengthen Poland's integration with the EU

[Gawron 1993; Klasik, 1993]. Many textbooks and other introductory books devoted to the history of the integration process were published, enumerating and describing the political institutions, the EU legal system and analyzing in detail the content of particular EU policies [Michałowska-Gorywoda 1994; Ciamaga 1998]. As the integration with the EU deepened with the signing of an association agreement (1991) and the commencement of the accession negotiations (1998), more attention was directed towards the practical preparations of Poland for the upcoming enlargement [Jaworski 1998; Plewa 1997; Orłowski 1998; Mika 1996]. Only a few scientists undertook the task to analyze the ongoing developments of the European integration process outside the Polish context [Grabska 1994; Karolewski 1999] or its impact on the current EU member states [Barcz 1992; Muszyński 1998]. The years leading to accession also witnessed the creation of the first research centers dedicated exclusively to the studies of European integration. Many new journals appeared on the subject («*Polska w Europie*», «*Studia Europejskie*») and many others devoted much space to issues related to Poland's integration in the European Union («*Polish Foreign Affairs Digest*»).

The Polish scholars' engagement in shaping the political debate on the European integration process was important on the national level and throughout the preparatory process to enlargement. Until recently, however, it had a very limited influence on the pan-European level. Some progress has been made since the year 2004. As we will see later on – with the accession into the European Union – more studies appeared with the aim to provide policy advice and to shape the political debate on the EU level. The main areas of research are: EU's foreign policy (including the Eastern Partnership), defense policy and institutional reform. Many works analyze the impact of EU membership and how the changes are perceived by both state [Grzesik-Robak 2008] and non-state actors [Zuba 2006]. Unfortunately little focus is placed on the theory of European integration [Czaputowicz 2008] and literally no new theories

are developed. The innovative contribution in general is still minimal. Today most normative studies are published by independent think-tanks and foundations or by government-funded institutes, whereas universities often lag behind.

1. The history of Poland's integration in the European Union

The year 1989 and the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe mark the beginning of official relations between Poland and the EC. The ongoing revolution proved to be an immense challenge not only for the newly independent Republic of Poland but also for the EC's evolving external relations. Together with the dismantlement of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the withdrawal of Russian troops from central and eastern Europe in 1992 the region became a «security vacuum». At the same time the newly independent central European states, including Poland, announced their «return to Europe» and began to demand closer integration. All this coincided with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and the creation of the European Union.

Being the first to hold democratic elections on June 4, 1989, the Republic of Poland signed only three months later an official Trade and Cooperation Agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC). This agreement was limited in scope and was soon substituted by a deeper association agreement, known as the Europe Agreements, on December 16, 1991. Through its provisions the EU measures focused mainly on the reconstruction of Poland's economy and the establishment of trade relations. It was not until April 8, 1994, the day when Poland submitted its application for membership in the EU, that bilateral cooperation reached a new dimension. The year 1994 marks the date when intense harmonization efforts began in Poland in all areas of European integration. The government started to develop new structures in its ministries as well as to coordinate bodies such as the Office of the Committee

of European Integration¹. It also increased the cooperation with the EU institutions. In July 1997 the Commission issued formal opinions on the applications of Poland and nine other applicant states. In December 1997 the Luxembourg European Council endorsed the Commission's recommendations which led on March 31, 1998 to the formal opening of negotiations with Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia, as well as Cyprus.

The EU-Polish negotiations consisted of five different stages. The first was a review of the Polish legislation regarding its compliance with the Community *acquis*. The «screening» was done in 29 out of 31 negotiation areas, as the last two areas «Institutions» and «Others» were not subject to the process. The review began in March 1998 and lasted until the fall of 1999. The second stage was the preparation of position papers by both the EU member states and Poland. The third stage was represented by the negotiations based on the position papers. The positions were steadily converged until a complete agreement was reached by December 2002. The fourth stage was the creation of the accession treaty, which was taken up by the Greek EU Presidency in January-March 2003. The agreements in all negotiation areas were compiled into a final negotiation package. Approval of the accession negotiation results took form of the provisions of the Accession Treaty. The last, fifth stage was represented by the ratification of the Treaty which took place in all EU member states between April 2003 and May 2004². In the end, on May 1, 2004, eight Central and Eastern European countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) and the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Cyprus were able to join the European Union.

The accession of Poland into the European Union

¹ The Office of the Committee for European Integration was in fact a Polish Ministry for European Affairs. It ceased to exist on January 1, 2010 when it was officially incorporated into the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

² To learn more see: Poland's way to Europe at <http://www.poland.gov.pl/?document=458> (last visited on May 20, 2011).

brought new opportunities and challenges. The benefits of enlargement are felt on the political, economic and social level. Joining the EU has strengthened Poland's international position and gave it new tools of influencing its direct neighborhood. It has resulted in high inflow of foreign direct investments, a higher economic growth (around 6% until the economic crisis and 1% during the crisis), raise in salaries and acceleration of the modernization and investment processes in Polish infrastructure and agriculture. All this was possible thanks to the effective utilization of the pre-accession and structural funds and the opening of EU labor markets³. At the same time participating in the decision-making process and being an «insider» of the EU institutional system forced the Polish administration to go through a deep process of Europeanization. The learning process has not been easy, but despite this the first six years of membership brought considerable successes in influencing the EU itself. Some of these successes concerned the EU financial perspective for 2007-2013, the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the Treaty of Lisbon and the introduction the Eastern Partnership initiative. Poland was also able to join the Schengen area in December 2007, thus becoming a full-fledged member of the EU.

The history of Poland's integration with the European Union has visibly shaped the European integration studies in the country. The research focus has shifted from trying to understand the European integration process and its implications for third states [Parzymies 1993; Rosati 1994] to preparing for the accession and presenting the opportunities and challenges of enlargement [Borkowska 1998] to analyzing how to efficiently utilize the benefits that come with accession [Lastawski 2009; Piotrkowska 2009]. It has also evolved from predominantly empirical to more and more normative approach, often around important stages

³ Kałużyńska, M., Smyk, K., and Wiśniewski J. (2009), *5 years of Poland's membership in the EU. Analysis of social and economic benefits and costs*, Office of the Committee for European Integration, Department of Analyses and Strategies, Warsaw.

of integration, like for example preparing to join the Schengen area [Orłowski 2000; Rokicka 2000]. The works on how to influence EU policies [Boratyński 2001], or what impact Poland has had so far on EU policy [Pisarska 2008] are still very limited in number and will most likely constitute a next step in the evolution of EU studies in Poland.

2. Polish traditions in European integration studies

2.1. Political science and other disciplinary traditions in Poland

When analyzing Polish traditions in European integration studies, one must understand the history of political science in Poland in general. Here this discipline has had a truly troubled history throughout the 20th century. Despite the establishment as early as 1902 of the first chair of politics at the University of Vilnius, political studies *per se* has seen very moderate development during the inter-war period of the independent Polish state (1918-1939). The traditions in analyzing the state were developed mainly in the framework of legal studies and focused on constitutionalism and modern political thought theories. Some of these traditions have been incorporated directly after the war into the discipline of political science, by scholars such as Oscar Lange. Unfortunately, the dramatic political change resulting from the introduction of the totalitarian Stalinist system had disconnected political science from the independent world of research. Instead of western-type departments of political science, chairs on Marxism and Leninism mushroomed at Polish universities.

The faculty recruited to these chairs was indoctrinated and discouraged from any autonomous work. Independent research in the field, however, did not cease completely. It rather shifted into the legal and sociologic studies. As access to western literature became broader in the late 1970s and 1980s, political science began to moderately evolve. Firstly, under the influence of legal and sociological

disciplines two traditions in political science developed: institutionalism and functionalism⁴. Secondly, comparative studies of political systems of western democracies appeared which were followed, among others, by works analyzing political institutions of the EEC [Bartoszewicz 1978]. The raise of the “Solidarity” movement in Poland has encouraged Polish scholars to express themselves more freely. Western methodology and concepts began to be broadly used. In particular, economic and historic studies became a harbor for the anti-communist opposition and a haven of free thought. However, during the 1980s the departments of political science continued to be ideologically biased and were not in any way agents of change in the academic world. In consequence, after the collapse of communism, political science in Poland lagged behind other studies in humanities. The most rapid progress was made in the study of party systems, democracy theory and in completely new areas such as European studies, globalization and political economy. Political theory, institutional and system analysis and statistical modeling have all started to be widely applied in the field. Until 2010, however, not enough progress was made in most of these areas to catch-up with scholars from western countries. The main problems prevailing in the field of political science are deficiencies in methodology and a very weak innovative contribution of Polish scholars to the international debate and literature. The growing number of bilateral and European multilateral research projects will surely narrow the gap. Nevertheless the post-communist legacy is still particularly strong in these studies, making political science an area that calls for serious improvement.

Naturally, the evolution of political science as well as the evolution of different disciplines has had a direct impact on the development of European studies in Poland for

⁴ To learn more on the development of political science in Poland see: Gebethner, S. and Markowski, R. (2009), *Political Science – Poland*, Revised edition, Berlin, Knowledge Base Social Sciences Eastern Europe.

several reasons. Firstly, because of the political situation under communism the initial works devoted to the European integration process advanced in the framework of legal and economic fields and were derived from the theoretical frameworks of these disciplines. Secondly, even after the official incorporation of the EU studies into the surfacing ideologically-unbiased political science after 1989, legal and economic works on the European integration process tend to be of better quality and often dominate the field of EU studies in Poland. Thirdly, the problem of the lack of methodological traditions in political science has been inherited after 1989 also by «new» fields of research such as international relations and European integration studies. Sadly, the university curricula courses on modern methodology of research in the field are of poor quality and do not give young scholars the proper tools to compete in the EU academic world. There is, however, a growing number of scientists who begin to use sociological notions and various other methodology traditions in their research in the field of European integration studies.

2.2. Perspectives and areas of EU studies research after 1989

The research on European integration in Poland has been shaped mostly by the political developments related to the process of Polish integration with the EU. The two most important perspectives that can be identified are pre- and post-enlargement. The pre-enlargement perspective (1991-2004) was characterized by a strong focus on the preparatory and adjustment efforts undertaken by Poland in order to join the European Union. In the 1990s major works were devoted to assessing the current state of Poland's administrative and economic standing, as well as the impact of EU integration on Poland's overall development. These studies were mostly empirical in nature, centering on a micro level on policy implementation in a candidate country. Other studies have tried to answer the question of how to best prepare for the enlargement, in a variety of

domains: from constitutional adjustments [Safjan 2001], to national defense [Zięba 2001]. After the year 2000 more comparative studies were introduced [Bossaert 2003; Adamowicz 2003], attempting to analyze certain research problems by comparing the situation in different EU member states. Moreover, sociological notions began to be applied in the studies of public perception of the EU [Sikorska 2001]. Until 2004 however, with a few notable exception, the predominating opinion in the academic world, was that as an «outsider» Poland had no chances of influencing the EU debate and should rather focus on issues of national concern.

Joining the EU in 2004 initiated a slow process of internalization of EU issues, leading to a more influence-oriented and normative approach. In the first years many works were devoted to the assessment of the costs and benefits of membership in the European Union [Kundera 2005]. Among the most holistic of these is the annual report prepared by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. Normative studies offering policy recommendations are often prepared in collaboration with researchers from other EU member states [Teichmann 2005; Pełczyńska 2004]. The main topics analyzed in the first year of membership were either related to the dynamic changes inside the EU (the structural reform, the Constitutional Treaty) or subjects of particular national concern (the EU's eastern policy, including visa policy).

Today the most commonly discussed subjects in European studies in Poland are:

- a. The impact of EU enlargement on different policy areas in Poland (agriculture, regional policy, energy policy, etc.).
- b. The EU as a global actor (including the influence of the European Neighborhood Policy on the EU's eastern neighbors and the Eastern Partnership).
- c. The future of the EU (reforms, the constitutional treaty)

It should be stressed that much of the research is still very nation-centered. The main goal is to influence the

academic debate in Poland. Consequently links to international debates are still rare.

2.3. *Institutions and publishing*

The practical needs that have emerged after 1989 in the field of European integration have resulted in the expansion of EU studies in a number of institutions. Today, there are both big and small institutes that are renowned in this field. They can be grouped into three different categories:

1. academic centers (University of Warsaw, Jagielloonian University, Warsaw School of Economics, etc.).
2. independent think-thanks (European Center Natolin, Institute of Public Affairs, Stefan Batory Foundation, DemosEuropa, Center for International Relations, the Casimir Pulaski Foundation, CASE).
3. government-funded institutes (Polish Institute of International Affairs, Center for Eastern Studies).

Despite having over 400 *universities* in Poland, only a few are truly active in the field of European studies. The first Polish university to introduce graduate studies in European integration and a quarterly devoted exclusively to EU studies («*Studia Europejskie*») was the European Center at the University of Warsaw. The Institute for International Relations is located in the same University, and it is renowned for its research on EU's foreign policy [Zięba 2003; Starzyk 2003; Halizak 2002]. In issues related to the economic aspects of Poland's integration with the EU, the Warsaw School of Economics (WSE) is an unquestionable leader. WSE scholars specialize in issues ranging from EU agriculture [Duczkowska-Małysz 2009] and regional policies to topics related to the introduction of a single currency EURO [Żukrowska 2004a]. The most vibrant academic faculty in the field still comes from public universities, where scientific research has longer traditions. Overall, in both public and private universities the chairs for Euro-

pean studies are usually part of the department for international relations. Most of these departments publish their own «series» or «working papers», which are ways to disseminate research results of scholars from regional academic centers. The quality of these studies is still one that calls for improvement, as they lack proper peer-review and have a predominantly descriptive character. In the international relations department teaching is still too often more appreciated than conducting genuine scientific research and participating in the mainstream debate in one's field.

The situation looks more optimistically among the major Polish *non-governmental think-tanks*, which in fact stir the national debate on crucial EU issues. In the framework of their European programs the Institute of Public Affairs and the Batory Foundation have over a decade of experience in publishing studies, which offer innovative solutions to such issues as EU visa policy [Wasilewska 2009; Chajewski 2009], border issues, EU immigration policy, or recently the preparations for the Polish Presidency in the EU [Gromadzki 2010]. There are also two think-tanks in Poland which devote their entire work to EU issues: European Center Natolin and DemosEuropa. The first was visible during the EU constitutional reform debate and the latter specializes in EU energy policy, among other topics. The research program conducted in Natolin European Center⁵ refers also to the evolution of European integration ideas and concepts (history of European thought), institutional and legal aspects of EU functioning (institutions and policies of European Union). All of these think-tanks publish extensively in English and realize European research projects with counterparts from other countries. Many of the scholars that work for Polish think-tanks co-author or co-edit volumes prepared together with Western scholars.

Finally, the third category of institutions conducting research in the field of European integration studies is *gov-*

⁵ To learn more please see the Natolin European Center website at: <http://www.natolin.edu.pl/english/badania.html> (last visited on May 20, 2011).

ernment-funded think-tanks. Some, as the Center for Eastern Studies, have managed to be as competitive as their non-governmental counterparts. CES has published a series of important papers on the EU's Eastern policy. They have influenced the national debate, leading, indirectly to the creation of the Polish proposal of the Eastern Partnership. The reports and strategic papers of the Polish Institute of International Affairs are also worth mentioning. They are analyses published in both Polish and English discussing issues related to the EU's Eastern Partnership, the development of the European External Action Service, the common defense policy or energy policy. Interesting is the absence of the Polish Academy of Science (PAN) – the major research institution in Poland - in mainstream EU debates on the national level. Despite having a Chair on European studies, PAN has only recently undertaken a research project on Polish influence on the EU's Eastern policy (2009-2011).

It is also necessary to stress that so far no national European integration studies association has been established, which could represent the professional interests of scholars working in the field and foster peer-review and higher quality of scientific research.

3. *Quality assessment*

The most influential scientific debates on the EU are usually initiated by think-tanks, which have more international links and are more focused on producing normative studies. It is worth noting that these debates often take place in the pages of prominent daily and weekly newspapers («*Rzeczpospolita*», «*Gazeta Wyborcza*») rather than in scientific journals [Gebethner 2002]. There are two examples of academic debates that have had a direct influence on national policy-making. The first was instigated in 2001 by the Batory Foundation, concerned about the need to reduce the negative impact of visa-introduction for Eastern neighbors after Poland's accession to the EU. The solutions

proposed in a number of articles and conferences included: issuing long term national visas, expanding consulate infrastructure, establishing an efficient administrative system that would minimize inconveniences related to applying for a visa [Boratyński 2001]. The two-year debate resulted in the Polish government proposing free issuing of visas for all its Eastern non-EU neighbours⁶ and becoming one of the most active EU members calling for a visa-waiver for Eastern neighbors.

The second important debate – which had a national but also an indirect European impact on policy-making – concerned the creation of the EU's eastern dimension. Although the idea was initiated by the Polish ministry of foreign affairs, the content of the first proposal (non-paper) was influenced by a number of scientific articles on the topic [Cichoński 2002; Kowal 2002; Pełczyńska-Nałęcz 2003]. The end result was the introduction of the Polish-Swedish proposal on the Eastern Partnership in 2008. A very recent example of a study which has managed to stir the national debate on EU issues is a report prepared by the Polish Institute of International Affairs on the marginalization of central Europeans in the EU diplomatic service [Formuszewicz 2010]. This report, based on a survey of over 115 posts of EU Ambassadors and DG RELEX staff showed that in the EU's external service there were only 36 Poles, a mere 2% of more than 1,700 employees. Only 2 of the 12 new member states have so far had ambassadors at the EU delegations abroad. The report has shed light on an institutional matter that has not been discussed in the scientific debate and will surely be analyzed further both in Poland and other EU states.

Apart from a few exceptions, when discussing Polish scholars' contributions to the international debate in European studies, the situation looks rather grim. In the 1990s

⁶ At the end only Ukraine has agreed to accept the Polish proposal, which offered free Polish visas for Ukrainian citizens in return for a complete visa waiver for Polish citizens travelling to Ukraine. Russia and Belarus have not agreed to the solution and insisted on the reciprocity rule, reintroducing visas for Polish citizens in 2003.

most EU literature focused on presenting and discussing Western findings of the last four decades. Later studies tended to simply describe the current developments in EU policy, instead of actively participating in presenting new ideas and approaches. Consequently, citations of Polish scholars in international journals are rare. One cannot of course expect that after 40 years of being literally absent in the European studies field, Polish political scientists actively join the ongoing debate on all issues related to European integration. It comes as a surprise, however, that even at the micro level, in fields that should be Poland's specialty (European Neighborhood Policy, influence of new member states on particular EU policies), the link to international discussions is very limited. It is worth noting that many of the cited internationally Polish political scientists, specializing in European integration live and publish abroad (Jan Zielonka, Katarzyna Wolczuk, Marcin Zaborowski), which gives a hint to where the main problem may lay. Among the most important factors contributing to the poor international performance of scholars working in Poland are:

1. the underdevelopment of political sciences (and thus European studies) compared to sociology, psychology, and economics, which includes also the underdevelopment of research methodology (lack of formalized or quantitative modeling).
2. The insufficient participation of Polish scholars in international project, which is a consequence of the linguistic barrier of the older generation of professors.
3. Lack of a genuine peer-review tradition in the European integration studies and professional associations of scholars, which could foster higher quality of research.
4. An overall underfunding of research activities in Poland.

4. *Conclusions*

On the whole, the development of European integration studies in Poland is a new phenomenon, lacking strong traditions in Polish humanities. Having been a part of political science only since the early 1990s the area of research calls for further development. Some of the major deficiencies are:

- The domination of empirical studies of the European Union over normative studies. Moreover, most works analyze political institutions and policy implementation, leaving the macro level literally untouched.
- A clear discrepancy between the national and international debate.
- The lack of new schools of European thought, not only in Poland but in the whole central European region.
- A modest at best innovative contribution to the literature in European integration studies, which results in a small number of citations in international journals.

In order to improve the situation Polish political scientist should be encouraged to participate in a larger number of international projects. They should also take every opportunity to publish in English, in order to be a part of the Anglophone academic mainstream, which dominates the EU studies field of research today. The Polish academic institutions such as universities should create a system of internal incentives, awarding scholars not for the amount of teaching hours or textbooks published but for the number of articles in international journals. The quality of publications can be improved also by the implementation of a peer-review system or a creation of a national professional association of scholars in this area of studies. Finally, more attention should be paid to teaching Western-type methodology to young students and scholars.

To conclude, one should stress that the poor performance at the international level is somewhat leveraged by

the intensive exchange of ideas at the national level. Moreover, the negative trends are slowly being reversed with the emergence of a new generation of young Western-educated researchers starting their work in the area of European integration studies.

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PAULO VILA MAIOR AND CLÁUDIA TORIZ RAMOS

MAPPING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN
PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SCIENCE

Section 1 will briefly address political science literature on European integration until the Single European Act (SEA). Section 2 presents the Portuguese history in the context of European integration. Academic traditions are examined in section 3 in order to understand the location of political science within the realm of social sciences in the Portuguese academia as well as to grasp idiosyncratic features of early literature. Section 4 makes a qualitative assessment of the literature using a conceptual tool that distinguishes empirical from normative contributions, on the one hand, and between macro, meso and micro levels, on the other. A different source of qualitative assessment emerges in section 5. Major inputs to political science literature on European integration are examined in the context of the impact on European Union (EU) policy at the national level. Section 6 focuses on a time dimension. The literature is now scrutinized through three periods: the first covers the period from accession until the Maastricht Treaty; the second entails the post-Maastricht Treaty debates until 1999; and the third includes all contributions published from 2000 onwards. Finally, section 7 provides a comparative assessment trying to capture whether Portuguese political science literature on European integration goes hand in hand with the literature abroad.

The selection of literature obeyed a two-stage process. In the first stage we collected a vast array of literature dealing with European integration. This was a cumbersome process, considering the enduring lack of emancipation of political science *per se* in the Portuguese academia (see section 3). At first sight, some of the literature seems to fall outside political science. This was especially the case for legal studies and economic analysis that examined the Eu-

ropean Communities (EC) and the EU one way or another. Nonetheless, a careful analysis of the literature reveals how even legal and economic texts on European integration intersect with political science. This was especially evident as long as the long-lasting political science tradition in Portugal reflected the mixed influence of French and German political science schools – with an emphasis on legal and institutional analysis combined with an analysis depicting the theorization of the state.

At the second stage we narrowed the list to a survey of major contributions for the study of European integration. We recognize that this exercise may be affected by subjectivism. We tried to circumvent, as much as possible, the subjective bias. Some of the literature that belongs to the sample under examination is clearly a milestone for the analysis of European integration in Portugal. The same cannot be said of other selected references. For these, our choice was determined by several aspects, namely: to what extent they reflected the paradigm shift in political science studies in Portugal; whether they incorporated specific analyses relevant for the categories (empirical versus normative; and macro, meso and micro studies) selected for mapping political science literature on European integration; and whether there was a connection between European integration and Portugal. The outcome was a sample of over 80 published references by Portuguese scholars.

1. A short overall mapping of the literature: The early stage

Portuguese accession to the EC and the first amendment of the EC original treaties happened at almost the same time. For this reason, the literature on European integration before the SEA is not relevant, for Portugal was outside the EC. Portuguese academics were not especially interested in understanding European integration. Notwithstanding this, some contributions looked at European integration and others anticipated how prospective membership could affect Portugal. The foundations of the Por-

tuguese literature on European integration date back to the mid-60s and early-70s, when Cunha [1963] and Xavier [1965, 1970] first wrote about European integration and Portugal. Cunha [1963] focused on European integration *per se*, presenting the ideas that influenced the creation of the EC and providing a detailed overview of supranational institutions. Xavier [1965] examined the recent creation of the ECs and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). He analyzed the impact of Portuguese membership of EFTA and looked at the EC as an alternative to EFTA. However, Xavier was aware that full membership of the EC was out of question because Portugal was not a democratic regime at that time. Yet, these contributions are the yardsticks for Portuguese literature on European integration as the EC were examined for the first time, even though the methodology was mainly influenced by economic analysis (Xavier) and by law (Cunha). Xavier's input was, nevertheless, an impressive political economy account. It has, to that extent, some connections with political science. Later, Xavier [1970] provided an overview of the trade agreement between Portugal and the EC. Cunha's analysis is the first original contribution to the study of European integration in Portugal. In its essence, it is a legal approach which incorporates aspects (especially institutional building and decision-making) that matter for political science.

Rapaz [1984] presents a systematic account of the negotiations between the Portuguese government and the European Commission. By then negotiations were at an advanced stage. The study was an opportunity to address the issues at stake in the negotiation package and to assess future perspectives. In this case, however, the emphasis was not on presenting the EC to the Portuguese public, but to take account of the sensitive negotiations that would end up with Portuguese accession.

After Portugal's accession to the EC, Reizinho [1986] produced a textbook on the practical implications of Portuguese membership to the EC. Again, the ECs were not the independent variable, for the author's concern was to

present an overall assessment of changes and opportunities implied the EC membership. Álvares [1986] offered a similar approach to European integration, again considering Portugal as the independent variable and European integration as the dependent one. Despite the fact that the EC doesn't come up as the independent variable in this literature, what matters is its relevance as pioneering inputs that opened the window for a more systematic analysis of European integration in Portugal.

Campos [1983] took a different approach on the first edition of a successful textbook on EC law. The interesting finding is a textbook on a specific issue of European integration (its legal context) prior to the Portuguese accession to the EC. Campos's textbook is a valuable input to the systematic analysis of European integration in Portugal. While taking a legal approach, the book provided a detailed account of the genesis, goals, institutional operation and legal instruments of the EC. A pedagogical purpose lies beneath this textbook, which feeds an innovative approach to the study of the EC in Portugal: the EC as the independent variable. It is also relevant for supplying a thorough examination of European integration even before Portugal joined the EC.

2. The history of Portuguese European integration

Portugal became member state of the EC on January 1, 1986. Nevertheless, the record of relationships between the country and the EC dates back to 1972, when a trade agreement was signed. The agreement was an embryonic form of trade agreement that involved mutual benefits for industrial imports and exports between Portugal (as a member state of EFTA) and ECs' member states [Porto 2008]. Despite the fact that the relationship between Portugal and the EC traces back to the 1972 trade agreement, the period that followed is not relevant for accounting the country's history of European integration. During these early days, Portugal's EC membership was ruled out be-

cause of the existing dictatorship in the country.

Only when democracy replaced the *Estado Novo* regime (a right-wing dictatorship, 1930-1974) Portugal started to meet the basic conditions to apply for membership. Yet, the early years of democracy were characterized by intense political turmoil – «the revolutionary interlude» [Nataf and Sammis 1990, 73] – with two threats of military *coup d'état* in 1975 (March 11 and November 25, the first from right-wing conservative sectors and the second from left-wing radicals with the support of the communist party) [Maxwell 1997; Schmitter 1999]. After the April 1975 election that decided the members of parliament (MPs) to be in charge of designing the new Portuguese constitution, the first general election happened in April 1976. With this election, some democratic normality was achieved. The socialist party (PS) won the elections but was unable to retain absolute majority, with just 35% of the votes. Despite the fact that the electoral process was in motion, the following years were characterized by intense governmental instability. Between 1976 and 1986, Portugal met ten constitutional governments [Lobo 2000].

While the major threats to the democratic regime seem to have vanished after the first general election – notably for the evanescence of far-left parties who eclipsed as the result of electoral preferences – democracy was still exposed to totalitarian threats. The communist party (PCP) and a small far-left party (UDP, Maoists) represented around 16 percent of the electorate. PCP followed the orthodoxy of the Soviet Union regime. Despite PCP constantly used democracy in their political rhetoric, the long-term goal was to establish a people's dictatorship [Lisi 2004]. Political activism from communist sectors was well beyond the communist party's vote cast. The general feeling was that democracy – the liberal democracy type – was facing huge pressures from totalitarian sectors that were able to spread their influence outside strict party politics competition (for instance, culture).

Realizing the potential threats to democracy, on the one hand, and the deep structural backwardness with per-

sistent poverty, on the other hand, socialist Prime Minister M. Soares submitted the Portuguese application to the EC on March 28, 1977 [Neves 1997]. Two major goals were set. First, the accession to the EC served to embed the process of democratic consolidation. Other political parties with parliament seat were influenced by democratic values. They ranged from a Christian-Democratic party (CDS) to a reformist, centrist party (PPD-PSD) and to the socialist party (PS). All these parties converged on how strategic EC membership was for national interests, especially to avoid tensions that could jeopardize democracy. Together these parties represented 84% of the Portuguese electorate. This was interpreted as a large consensus in favor of EC membership [Ferreira 2001]. Second, EC membership was a strategic move designed to provide increased welfare patterns to Portuguese citizens [Cunha 2007]. This was, however, a wild guess since the EC had no instrument available to correct inter-regional asymmetries.

Negotiations were long and hard, mostly because of the structural backwardness both countries suffered from. Portugal and Spain were in the same package deal, and for the EC one of the main interests in accommodating both countries was to provide an input to their infant democratic regimes. Many details were considered before the EC decided to open the doors to Portugal or the EC membership risked bringing additional problems to the country. That was the reason why negotiations were protracted. Consequently, several transitional derogations were given to Portugal [Reizinho 1986].

At the same moment that enlargement negotiations were going on, the EC was involved in the negotiation of the first amendment of the founding treaties. One of the innovations of the SEA was regional policy. For the first time, the EC encompassed a mechanism of limited inter-regional solidarity. Some scholars [Tondl 2007, 171] found a correlation between the creation of supranational regional policies and the accession of Portugal and Spain (as well as that of Greece in 1981). The new member states lagged behind the EC income average. Without any sort of com-

pensation mechanisms their position would deteriorate, as the expected trade effect would act against them (competitive companies from wealthier member states would reap the positive effects from the free movement of goods).

The assessment of Portuguese membership was overtly dominated by economic considerations. Regional policy provided a significant input to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), helping the government to provide basic infrastructures that in turn bolstered development and contributed to narrow the gap vis-à-vis the EU average [Pires 1998]. Politically, Portugal played a discrete role, which is consistent with its situation as a medium-size country. Portugal was not among the promoters of the most significant moments of European integration development. The three presidencies of the European Council (first semester 1992, first semester 2000, and second semester 2007) were low profile, despite the huge media visibility of the later presidencies that coincided with the signing of the Lisbon Treaty [Edwards and Wiessala 2001; Ferreira-Pereira 2008]. Current Presidents of the European Commission and of the Court of Auditors are Portuguese citizens, which is the exception to the low profile status of Portugal's EU membership.

3. Traditions

EC membership led to many academic works on European integration. This was not surprising, as membership triggered an interest for academic debates in social sciences, which was not paralleled by the society's acknowledgment of how European integration might affect the country's wealth and how it could influence domestic policy-making. Portuguese scholars took lead in examining European integration as the country became involved in the EC.

At the outset, the major contributions for the study of European integration did not come from political scientists. Lawyers provided the first input, although incorporat-

ing a methodology that owed much to political science. Therefore, the EC were not assessed through a genuinely political science lens. The explanation lies in the fact that political science was a second-order discipline in the Portuguese academia until recently. Significantly, Portuguese Political Science Association (APCP) was only created in 1998. Lawyers and economists dominated political analysis for a long period, and that was particularly noticeable with regards to European integration analysis.

During this early stage, the dominant school of political science received a mixed French and German influence [Sande 2000]. The French tradition fed legal-institutional analysis. In this context, the institutional examination of the EU was somehow connected to legal studies. On the other hand, political analysis was permeable to the German tradition of political science focusing on the theorization of the state. While this mixed influence triumphed within the academic landscape of political science, political science was kept hostage from other social sciences, notably law. A vicious circle further heightened this aspect: for many years, scholars did their doctoral studies in Portuguese universities, thus perpetuating the dominant tendency that prevented the emancipation of political science.

The outcome of French-German tradition was a vast collection of publications on European integration where it was frequently difficult to distinguish legal studies from a political science analysis [Fernandes 1992; Ramos 1999; Cunha 2003; Martins 2004]. However, a new generation of scholars went abroad to carry out their research projects. These scholars took their doctoral degrees mainly in British and U.S. universities. They were educated on a different political science paradigm inspired by political philosophy, on the one hand, and reflecting a concern to produce empirically based political analyses. Thus, the new generation of scholars introduced new insights, promoting interdisciplinarity. The literature on European integration started to change, reflecting a paradigm shift on Portuguese political science. This new strand of publications also reflected some of the leading debates going on among European

integration scholars worldwide (see section 7 for further details).

With time, a growing perception of political science emancipation came with the increasing influence of the new generation of scholars who were either genuinely political scientists or at least incorporated contemporary Anglo-Saxon patterns of political science in their analysis of European integration [Sande 2000; Covas 2002; Figueira 2004; Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes 2005; Maduro 2006].

4. *Theories*

The first operational criterion to map Portuguese political science literature on European integration distinguishes empirical from normative studies. Empirical studies provide an explanation of European integration, while normative studies seek to influence policy-making or at least to contribute to the political debate on European integration. The literature sample shows a slight dominance of empirical over normative studies. The second level of classification engages on a threefold categorization: macro studies emphasize European integration as the independent variable; meso studies look at EU institutions; and micro studies pay attention to the political system of the EU, with a particular emphasis on policy implementation. The combination of the normative/empirical with the macro/meso/micro levels provides a detailed account of how political science literature on European integration evolved in Portugal.

TAB. 1. *Systematic overview of Portuguese literature on European integration*

	Empirical	Normative
Macro	Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes [2005], Covas [1999, 2002, 2003], <i>Fernandes, A. J. [1992]</i> , Martins, A. [2004], Martins, G. [2004], Nunes, J. [1993], <i>Porto [2001]</i> , Sande [2000], <i>Soares [2006]</i> , Marques [2005], Ramos, C. [2008], Vila Maior [2008, 2010], Camisão [2007], Ramos and Vila Maior [2007]	Barroso [1999], <i>Costa [2002]</i> , Cunha, P. P. [2000, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008], Cunha, P. F. [2005], Fernandes, A. J. [1994], <i>Maduro [2006]</i> , Nunes, A. J. [2006], Pires, F. L. [1997], Sá [1987, 1997], Duarte [2005], <i>Rocha [2007]</i> , Vasconcelos [2007], Melo [1999]
Meso	<i>Cardoso et al. [2006]</i> , <i>Fernandes, A. J. [1992]</i> , <i>Soares [2006]</i>	Álvares [1992], <i>Costa [2002]</i> , Covas [2005], Cunha, P. P. [1999, 2003, 2008], Leitão [2002], Pires, F. L. [1998], Cabral [2007], Amaral [2005], Lobo-Fernandes [2005], Gorrão-Henriques [2001], Laranjeiro [2001], Maduro [2007], Martins, A. [2005], Rebelo [2005], Soares [1997], Vila Maior and Marques [2001]
Micro	Álvares [1986], Azevedo [1996], <i>Cardoso et al. [2006]</i> , Cunha, A. [2000], Cunha, L. P. [1997], Davin [2004], Fernandes, A. J. [1989], Franco et al. [1994], <i>Maduro [2006]</i> , <i>Porto [2001]</i> , Rodrigues [2004], Silva [1999], Soares [2002], Varela [1988, 1991], Vila Maior [1999], Aragão [1994], Caetano et al. [2005], Fernandes, A. H. [2005], Ferreira-Pereira [2007], Leal [2001], Mendes [1990], Porto [1996], Quelhas [1998], Torres [1997], Martins [2009]	<i>Cunha, P. P. [1999, 2003]</i> , Ferreira [1997], <i>Rocha [2007]</i> , Aragão [1996], Torres and Fraga [2006], Pereira [2006]

Note: references in italics mean that they simultaneously fall under two categories; part of the text belongs to one category and the other part falls within a different category.

Table 1 shows the distribution of references within

the working categories. Macro empirical studies tended to emphasize explanations of European integration, with several textbooks [Covas 1999; 2002; Fernandes 1992, Nunes 1993; Soares 2006] and a book chapter [Marques 2005] examining the historical sources of European integration. Porto's textbook [2001] similarly looks into the origins and characteristics of the EU, but takes a political-economic approach. Portuguese scholars discovered European integration theorization at a later stage. The few academics that engaged with theories of European integration tried to provide a systematic overview of the state of the art of the previous fruitful debate [Sande 2000; Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes 2005; Ramos 2008; Vila Maior 2008; Camisão 2007; Ramos and Vila Maior 2007]. For long, Portuguese political scientists ignored the intense discussion on the nature of European integration that was taking place at the international level. Finally, within this category there are some reflections on the Constitutional Treaty [Covas 2003; Martins 2004]. These authors undertake an analytical approach of the context and the changes introduced by the Constitutional Treaty without falling into a critical assessment.

Still at the macro level, there is a considerable amount of normative literature. On the one hand, scholars reflected about European integration. While some emphasized the federalist nature of European integration [Barroso 1999], or cogently theorized about the evolution of the EC/EU as a political entity [Vasconcelos 2007], others supported the *status quo*, arguing that EU's evolution followed the right pace at the right time [Costa 2002].

Reflections on European integration also triggered a subset of euro-skeptical literature. Cunha [2005] and Fernandes [1994] argued – although in different periods of the historical evolution of European integration – that the steps taken were misguided by the excesses of integration they entailed. Both scholars endorsed a harsh criticism to the recent evolution of the EU, fearing a federalist future for the EU and anticipating the dilution of national sovereignty. In a previous text, Cunha [2000] had already positioned

himself against federalism. A final reason of concern among scholars who reflected about European integration was the impact on national sovereignty. Sá [1987, 1997] took a critical approach, emphasizing how European integration at least triggered a redefinition of national sovereignty. Conversely, Melo [1999] sought to demystify the apparently troubled relationship between the EU and member states' sovereignty by introducing the concept of post-national sovereignty. The issue of national sovereignty was examined in its connection with the Constitutional Treaty by Duarte [2005]. Finally, a further strain of reflection on European integration owes to Rocha [2007] when he looked into the prospects of fiscal federalism in connection with Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

On the other hand, macro normative studies paid attention to the Constitutional Treaty (and its successor, the Lisbon Treaty). The literature selected shows a divergence between scholars who criticize the outcome of the Constitutional treaty [Cunha 2004, 2005; 2007] and the Lisbon treaty [Cunha 2008] taking the assumption that both treaty amendments would take European integration to an uncertain destiny. Similarly, Nunes [2006] wrote a demolishing critical analysis of the Constitutional Treaty. However, since Nunes's approach is explicitly a Marxist one, the underlying disagreement is not motivated by the allegedly federalist bias of the treaty amendment but instead by allegedly exaggerated neoliberal solutions. Other scholars [Pires 1997; Maduro 2006] took an enthusiastic approach to the ongoing constitutionalization of European integration. For similar reasons, Cunha [2005] supported the Constitutional Treaty, despite addressing some criticisms for the ambiguities that constrained the ambitious path of European integration.

At the meso level the majority of the literature is concentrated on normative studies. This category covers three major aspects. First, scholars critically assessed institutional change following treaty amendments. Álvares [1992] revealed how the new institutional setting after the Maastricht Treaty could affect the operation of the EU. Follow-

ing the Amsterdam Treaty, Pires [1998] showed his dissatisfaction for the missed opportunity to entangle deeper institutional change, pointing out that the treaty represented a deadlock for European integration. With the increasing pace of treaty amendments, the literature paid more attention to institutional changes. The Nice Treaty fed skeptical analysis on the institutional changes agreed to incorporate the wave of central and eastern countries in the EU. Gorjão-Henriques [2001], Costa [2002], and Leitão [2002] examined the outcome through that lens. Vila Maior and Marques [2001] emphasized the re-balance of member states' weight within the Council of Ministers following the redefinition of voting powers, stressing how larger member states took the greatest share and how this effect could mean an intergovernmental bias for the future of European integration. The specific context of institutional change in EMU was addressed in connection with treaty reforms [Amaral 1995; Cunha 1999; Laranjeiro 2001]. Showing the growing attention of Portuguese scholars to the impact of the Constitutional treaty, Covas [2005], Martins, A. [2005] and Cunha, P. P. [2008] addressed critical examinations on the transformation of EU's institutional architecture.

Second, the democratic deficit that hinges on European integration was a reason for concern within some literature. Standing on a skeptical position, Cunha [2003] drew attention to the underlying dangers of EU democratic deficit. Soares [2006] softened criticisms to the democratic deficit, but pointed out the negative consequences of an institutional and decision-making process that was far from meeting the basic requirements of democratic legitimacy at the national level. Also taking a critical approach to recent developments of European integration, Cabral [2007] presented persuasive arguments highlighting the democratic deficit of the EU. Interestingly, Maduro [2006] contradicts this reasoning, putting forward the innovative concept of democratic surplus of the EU. Similarly, Rebelo [2005] grabbed the procedure implemented at the beginning of the negotiation process of the Constitutional treaty to em-

phasize its democratic potential, taking it as the turning point to the democratic deficit that plagues European integration.

Third, writings touching regulatory design were timidly a source for the literature on European integration. Pires [1998] was the founding father of the regulatory approach in Portugal. Only some years later Lobo-Fernandes [2005] and Maduro [2007] wrote about the regulatory activity of the EU.

Only a few references fall within the empirical dimension of the meso level. They are textbooks about the EU [Fernandes 1992; Soares 2006; Cardoso et al. 2006]. The main purpose of these textbooks is to present an overview of EU institutions, how they interact and their competences, and who has a seat at the institutions. The focus is on the institutional domain without any substantial concern other than providing detailed information about institutions. Other textbooks that come up in different categories could also be located here. Nevertheless, they are not restricted to an explanation of the institutional architecture of the EU. Since they go beyond this analytical level and incorporate other aspects, such references are not considered meso empirical references.

At the micro level, normative studies are not particularly significant, neither in number nor in qualitative terms. The small number of normative, policy-oriented contributions critically examines the political economic model of EMU. Cunha [1999, 2003] takes again a skeptical approach to EMU. He disagrees of the prevailing monetarist imprint of EMU and criticizes the one-size-fits-all monetary policy that is unable to take in consideration national specificities. He furthermore emphasizes the absence of fiscal federalism as a fundamental flaw of EMU [Cunha 1999]. Rocha [2007] takes a similar position, claiming that fiscal federalism is the natural but yet absent ingredient of European monetary union. Ferreira [1997] also points at the exuberance of monetarism and to the inconsistency of such political option with the basics of the Portuguese constitution. Alongside normative studies on monetary integration,

the remaining references within this category are critical evaluations of environmental policy [Aragão 1996] and trade policy [Pereira 2006]. Torres and Fraga [2006] criticized the outcome of the European Convention in terms of national interests.

Contrary to the scarcity of writings in the normative dimension, the micro level shows a vast array of references on the empirical dimension. They cover varied EU policies as well as analysis of the relationship between Portugal and the EU. Álvares [1986] provides instructive examples of the latter. The literature also examines the scope, characteristics and outcomes of several common policies: trade policy [Cunha 1997]; agriculture policy [Varela 1988 and 1991; Azevedo 1996; Cunha 2000]; regional policy [Fernandes 1989; Mendes 1999; Porto 1996]; social policy [Rodrigues 2004; Maduro 2006]; EU finances [Franco et al. 1994; Quelhas 1998]; environmental policy [Aragão 1994]; monetary union [Torres 1997; Silva 1999; Vila Maior 1999]; common foreign and security policy [Leal 2001; Fernandes 2005; Ferreira-Pereira 2007; Martins 2009]; justice and home affairs [Davin 2004]; the charter of fundamental rights [Soares 2002]; and enlargement [Caetano et al. 2005]. Porto [2001] and Cardoso et al. [2006] provide an overview of several EU policies. Porto's emphasis is on policies with an economic impact, while Cardoso et al. focus on a heterogeneous sample of policies.

5. *Quality assessment*

This section aims at finding out whether scholars influenced national decision-making related with European integration. To this purpose, it is interesting to observe that several scholars did serve, at least temporarily, as politicians. The research question that follows is whether scholars that crossed the line were able to influence political outcomes that one way or the other involved the country's participation in the EU. Perhaps it is instructive that some of these scholars reached top-level jobs in Portugal and in

EU institutions. To this extent, one might ask whether their reflections on European integration were an important ingredient to shape the Portuguese governments' behavior towards European integration.

The majority of scholars who were also politicians belong to the two major political parties of the so-called «governing arch» (PPD-PSD and PS). These were the parties that were for a long time committed with European integration (CDS had a variable approach and the communist party and the far-left party – *Bloco de Esquerda* – were Euroskeptics, to say the least). Therefore, scholars from «centripetal» parties might have influenced to some extent the position of these parties vis-à-vis European integration. The fact is that some of them held top positions either at the supranational or at the national levels.

At the supranational level, J. M. Barroso is the current Commission President. M. P. Maduro was general-advocate of the European Court of Justice. While in the first case the top position is not a direct consequence from being a distinguished scholar of European integration (which was not the case), the second case rewarded one of the few Portuguese academics working on European integration with an international career and outstanding publications record. M. Porto and A. Cunha were members of the European Parliament.

At the national level, one of the scholars included in the bibliographical list is the current president, A. Cavaco Silva. He was previously prime minister for two consecutive mandates of four years (1986-1995). He was an enthusiastic supporter of Portugal as a founding member state of EMU. Other scholars reached ministerial positions: A. S. Franco (finances), M. J. Rodrigues (innovation), A. Cunha (agriculture), and F. Seixas da Costa (Secretary of European Affairs). In all these cases (except Franco), they produced texts on European integration after leaving the government. For this reason, it is difficult to accept their influence in policy formulation related with European integration.

Several scholars were members of the Portuguese par-

liament: F. L. Pires, L. Sá, A. B. Melo (parliament's chair, November 1991-November 1995), F. Torres and M. Rebelo. Among them, Pires was the most influential for his systematic thinking on European integration and his intellectual charisma. Finally, R. M. Ramos is the current president of the Constitutional Court, where A. M. Martins is also judge. G. O. Martins is the president of the Court of Auditors.

6. *Time dimension*

Since Portugal became an EC member state in 1986, and since before accession the literature on European integration is not particularly relevant (see section 1), it is reasonable to establish the beginning of the early stage right after accession to the ECs was granted. The first period goes until the signing of the Maastricht Treaty (1992). This period matches the early years of Portuguese membership. Therefore, one might expect that the large bulk of the literature would focus on the meaning of European integration, on the impact of the EC to Portugal, on how the EC work, their goals and institutions. The second period starts with the Maastricht Treaty and lasts until 1999. On the one hand, the transition to a new century has a symbolic meaning that cannot be ignored, even in terms of periodical delimitation. More importantly, though, is the perception of a deep enlargement for the following years. The eastern enlargement could promote two important modifications in the context of European integration. First, transformations might emerge at the level of the EU itself, notably the efficiency of institutions and decision-making procedures. How this changing pattern was an opportunity for scientific inquiry in Portugal is one of the research questions of this section. Second, the changing nature of the enlarged EU might also affect the position of Portugal within the EU. Indeed, Portugal was one of the major net recipients of EU regional policy. The accession of several central and eastern countries poorer than Portugal would affect the *status quo*. This is the other yardstick to measure the im-

pact on the literature.

TAB. 2. *Periodical distribution of the literature on European integration*

	Empirical	Normative	
Macro		Sá [1987]	1986-1991
	Covas [1999], <i>Fernandes, A. J. [1992]</i> , Nunes, J. [1993]	Barroso [1999], <i>Fernandes, A. J. [1994]</i> , Pires, F. L. [1997], Sá [1997], Melo [1999]	1992-1999
	Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes [2005], Covas [2002, 2003], Martins, A. [2004], Martins, G. [2004], <i>Porto [2001]</i> , Sande [2000], <i>Soares [2006]</i> , Marques, [2005], Ramos, C. [2008], Vila Maior [2008, 2010], Camisão [2007], Ramos and Vila Maior [2007]	Costa [2002], Cunha, P. [2000, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008], Cunha, P. F. [2005], <i>Maduro [2006]</i> , Nunes, A. J. [2006], Duarte [2005], <i>Rocha [2007]</i> , Vasconcelos [2007]	2000 onwards
Meso			1987-1991
	<i>Fernandes, A. J. [1992]</i>	Álvares [1992], <i>Cunha, P. P. [1999]</i> , Pires, F. L. [1998], Soares [1997]	1992-1999
	<i>Cardoso et al. [2006]</i> , <i>Soares [2006]</i>	Costa [2002], Covas [2005], Cunha, P. P. [2003, 2008], Leitão [2002], Cabral [2007], Amaral [2005], Lobo-Fernandes [2005], Gorjão-Henriques [2001], Laranjeiro [2001], Maduro [2007], Martins, A. [2005], Rebelo [2005], Vila Maior and Marques [2001]	2000 onwards
Micro	Álvares [1986], <i>Fernandes, A. J. [1989]</i> , Varela [1988, 1991], Mendes [1990]		1987-1991

Azevedo [1996], Cunha, L. P. [1997], Franco et al. [1994], Silva [1999], Vila Maior [1999], Aragão [1994], Porto [1996], Quelhas [1998], Torres [1997]	<i>Cunha, P. P. [1999],</i> 1992- Ferreira [1997], Aragão 1999 [1996]
<i>Cardoso et al. [2006],</i> Cunha, A. [2000], Davin [2004], <i>Maduro</i> [2006], <i>Porto [2001],</i> Rodrigues [2004], Soares [2002], Caetano et al. [2005], Fernandes, A. H. [2005], Ferreira- Pereira [2007], Leal [2001], Martins [2009]	<i>Cunha, P. P. [2003],</i> 2000 <i>Rocha [2007],</i> Torres onwards and Fraga [2006], Pereira [2006]

Table 2 organizes the literature mapped according to the aforementioned criteria. There is a regular pattern across all categories and throughout the periods under examination. In all cases, the majority of the literature is concentrated on the third period (after 2000). This is instructive of Portuguese scholars' recent analysis of European integration. Indeed, the numerous references found for each category in the third period clearly outweigh the distribution of the literature in the first and second periods. Thus, attention over European integration has been rising over the years. A growing literature on European integration goes hand in hand with the emancipation of political science from the gridlock of law and economics (see section 3). Furthermore, the dispersion observed in the third period is consistent with broadened scope and methodologies in the examination of the EU. This is especially true for micro studies. The range of policy issues analyzed is wider than in previous periods, thus showing how Portuguese scholars are driving research to areas that were not among their interests before.

Over the years, normative studies grew in number and

relevance. Perhaps this tendency reveals that a majority of scholars took a cautious approach to European integration, especially in the early years of Portuguese membership. Throughout the years, the behavior slightly changed. The comparison of normative studies in the second and in the third period (not only for the absolute frequency but especially for the relative frequency) is instructive of how scholars untied normative considerations about several aspects of European integration. This fact points to a different approach where the influence of Anglo-Saxon political science has risen, which is more open to normative analysis. It also shows that many Portuguese scholars adopt critical standpoints on European integration, perhaps a symptom of a nurtured knowledge about the EU. Overall, Portugal is not any longer an infant member state of the EU. This may have helped scholars unlock the chains of criticism.

7. A comparative dimension

The sample of the literature under examination provides connections with leading international debates on European integration. For instance, the debate on the nature of European integration, the values that command the EU and the desirability (or not) of a federalist shape influenced Barroso [1999] and Vila Maior [2008, 2010], although at different levels. While Barroso suggests the federalist path of European integration, Vila Maior presents a systematic analysis of EU competences through a comparative framework that looks into typical federalist features elsewhere and in the EU. Some scholars rejected the federalist imprint of the EU [Fernandes 1994; Cunha 2000; 2003], while others refused to embrace euro-skeptical positions but did not accept federalism in the EU. They emphasized the advantages of the ongoing integration process [Costa 2002; Martins 2004], just as if they were ambassadors of EU official standpoints.

Somehow connected with this debate is the unfinished discussion on the theorization of European integration. As

it was stressed before (section 4), the late arrival of Portuguese scholars to this debate is clear from how the literature on European integration was not focused on political science *per se*. It was, on the other hand, a result of the intellectual influence of dominant universities (especially Lisbon and Coimbra's law schools) over the analysis of European integration. These things notwithstanding, now Portuguese scholars are paying more attention to theories of European integration. At the beginning the goal was to provide an outline of theories and theoretical approaches without choosing on side of the barricade [Sande 2000; Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes 2005; Ramos and Vila Maior 2007]. This was when Europeanization was treated within the conceptual framework of theories of European integration [Ramos 2008]. Recently, scholars engaged in the theorization of European integration took a step forward and incorporated some parts of normative analysis of selected theories [Camição 2007].

A collateral discussion lies within the post-national conceptualization of European integration. The redefinition of conventional concepts (sovereignty; state-centric paradigm) is crucial to understand the nature and operation of the EU. Pires [1997] was the first scholar to use that conceptualization in the domestic literature. Nevertheless, Sá [1997] published a seminal book in the same year where a post-national analysis of European integration breached the conventional yardsticks through which the EU was understood in the country. The difference, however, lies on scholars' opposite readings as far as the implications of a post-national polity are concerned (Pires's optimism against Sá's mistrust). Melo [1999] reflected on this issue going deeper on political philosophical foundations. Some years later, Covas [2002], Cunha [2005] and Maduro [2006] provided detailed arguments on how European integration encouraged a new, post-national paradigm.

The international debate on whether the EU is a post-national polity or not touches the long-lasting discussion on the nature of EU *per se*: whether the EU is a *sui generis* polity (which, in turn, feeds the perception of the post-

national paradigm) [Shaw 1999] or just an international regime [Magnette 2005]. This debate has several ramifications, one of which concerns EU legitimacy and the claim of a democratic deficit. The literature in Portugal also reflected about these issues. For the majority of scholars [Soares 1997; Nunes 2006; Cabral 2007] the EU is plagued with a democratic deficit that, hence, affects its legitimacy. Differently, other scholars take a non state-centric approach to conclude that the EU does not suffer from diminished legitimacy [Figueira 2004], emphasizing that it makes no sense to ask the EU to fulfill conditions that member states are not able to respect [Maduro 2006].

Finally, the discussion about EMU orthodoxy was incorporated into Portuguese literature. Many texts approached the issue from a pure economics point of view. However, other references matter to a political science approach since they take a political-economic lens to examine whether EMU should change or not. Alongside with prevailing tendencies all over the world, the majority of scholars addressed harsh criticisms to the underlying model of EMU [Amaral 1995; Ferreira 1997; Cunha 1999]. Conversely, Silva [1999] and Vila Maior [1999] avoided unpleasant criticisms and accepted that the monetary union shape follows the monetarist school. This was somehow surprising because Silva is one of the most distinguished Portuguese economists with a long record of Keynesian-led university teaching.

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IRINA ANGELESCU

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES IN
ROMANIA

The development of European integration studies in Romania is very similar to that of other «new» European Union (EU) member states. At the institutional level, the contribution of the European Commission was pivotal in ensuring the funding and assistance for the development of European studies in Romania. Law, history, economics – and, to a certain extent, philosophy – dominated the first Romanian European integration studies, but a political science approach is increasingly being adopted in the study of the EU. Romanian studies of the European integration process focus mostly on presenting the EU institutions and functioning to the national audience, and they attempt to assess the impact of accession on the domestic socio-political and economic context. One interesting distinction from the development of EU studies in other EU member states is that the most EU knowledge and expertise is *not* concentrate in the capital, but in several centers across major cities in Romania.

The chapter is composed of three parts. The first one presents a brief history of the EU-Romanian relations. It shows how, despite the fact that Romania had very good relations with the West before the fall of communism, the country was reluctant to engage on the Euro-Atlantic path immediately after 1989. This fact affected the development of European integration studies in Romania. The second part presents the institutional dimension of the EU studies research and teaching in Romania. This section shows highlights the contribution of EU centers of excellence and of Jean Monnet chairs and modules in the promotion of EU studies in Romania. Lastly, the chapter discusses the

main topics and publications which discuss European studies issues in Romania.

Following the rules established by the editors of the volume, only scholars associated with Romanian institutions will be considered. However, it is worth keeping in mind that many Romanians in the field of European studies are studying and working abroad, publishing and teaching under the «institutional umbrella» of foreign universities and research centers.

1. *History of Romanian-EU relations*¹

Romania is often called a «laggard» of Euro-Atlantic integration [Noutcheva and Bechev 2008]. However, Romania's history didn't always indicate this outcome. Indeed, from the late 1960s throughout the 1970s, Romania was the most Western-oriented country in the Warsaw Pact. It was the first country to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany in 1967 and the first among the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) to have established relations with the European Communities (EC), by signing a Generalized System of Preferences Agreement in 1974 and an Agreement on Industrial Products in 1980. Romanian President Nicolae Ceaușescu was called by *The Economist* «the de Gaulle of the Warsaw Pact» and his opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was characterized by some historians as «his finest hour» and «the most brave» expression of the country's independence from the Soviet Union [Constantiniu 2010, 498].

Ceaușescu's policy of distancing Romania from the Soviet Union, together with other international developments permitted a certain *rapprochement* between the Ro-

¹ This part draws on the paper «Punching Below Its Weight? Europeanization and Romanian Foreign Policy» presented at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) biannual conference in Boston, March 3-5, 2011 (http://euce.org/eusa/2011/papers/7j_angelescu.pdf - last visited on May 23, 2011).

manian leader and the Western world – and this move had its benefits! Despite tensions in France, President Charles de Gaulle visited Romania in 1968. The U.S. President Richard Nixon came to Bucharest in August 1969, followed by the visit of U.S. President Gerald Ford and his wife in August 1975. Romania was granted Most Favored Nation Status (MFN) in 1975 and it became the first Eastern European country to join organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Ceaușescu served as a mediator in several international conflicts in Africa and Asia (including in the «opening of China»), and his policy was described by the Soviet Union as «maverick» and «autonomous» [Roper 2000, 109].

The situation changed dramatically in the 1980s, when a combination of external circumstances and Ceausescu himself became more «paranoid and anti-Western» [Roper 2000, 109]. In order to pay off its external debt, the country turned increasingly towards the Soviet Union for trade and energy needs, while the government's treatment of its ethnic minorities further alienated the West. Consequently, «Romania emerged after December 1989 much more isolated than almost any other East European country» [Roper 2000, 109]. This isolation, together with the nature of Romania's political leadership after the revolution (mostly of ex-communist extract) would lead to «initial confusion» about the country's foreign policy priorities – and geopolitical orientation.

After the Romanian revolution and the fall of the communist regime in December 1989, the new government of the National Salvation Front (*Frontul Salvării Naționale* – FSN) sent mixed signals with regards to its intentions to join the Euro-Atlantic institutions. The text of the FSN declaration of December 22, 1989 reads:

The entire foreign policy of the country stands in the service of promoting good neighborly relations, friendships, and peace in the world, integrating itself in the process of reconstruction of a united Europe, the common house of all the people of

the Continent. We will respect the international engagements of Romania, and, in the first place, those of the Treaty of Warsaw. [quoted in Wagner 2002, 275].

This paragraph makes references to both the «reunification of Europe» and the «Warsaw Pact», with priority given to the latter. In fact, Romania was the last CEEC to call for the dismemberment of the Warsaw Pact [Phinmore 2001, 254]. Furthermore, Romania was the only CEEC country to sign a treaty of cooperation, good neighborliness and friendship with the Soviet Union on March 22, 1991. It was also the last eastern European country to open diplomatic relations with NATO, on October 12, 1990 [Wagner 2002, 257]. Even Romania's status as a founding member of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) was first perceived as a proof of Romania's orientation towards the East, not the West [Hartwig 2001, 271].

In addition to this, the inter-ethnic clashes in the city of Târgu Mureș between Romanians and Hungarians in March 1990 and Romanian President Ion Iliescu's call for the miners to «calm down» anti-government protests in June 1990 made the West doubtful of the FSN's Western orientation. FSN began to be perceived as a neo-communist organization, especially since many of its members came from the former *nomenklatura*. Unlike organizations such as Solidarity or Charter '77, the FSN lacked democratic credentials, and therefore the West put extra-pressure on FSN for greater political and economic reforms [Roper 2000, 110].

Consensus about Romania's accession to the EU was not evident at the elite level. At the beginning, the FSN government focused on accession to the Council of Europe (CoE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). CoE membership was seen as evidence of Romania's belonging to Europe, while membership in NATO was meant to serve as a guarantor of peace and security. The break-up of the Soviet Union turned Romania's attention towards integration in NATO.

While not so popular among the political elites at first,

the idea of European Union (EU) membership enjoyed overwhelming support among the population. According to surveys carried out in 1995, 97% of Romanians favored membership in the EU, the highest figure in Europe [Roper 2000, 115]. Similar level of popularity continued well into the 2000s. By that time, Romania had already signed a trade and cooperation agreement in 1990 to replace the 1980 agreement on trade in industrial goods and an association agreement in 1993 that had eliminated 90% of all quotas and tariffs imposed on industrial imports. Romania was the third country to sign an association agreement (AA) with Europe, after Poland and Hungary. Romania was also the third country to submit its formal application for EU membership on June 22, 1995. Since June 1993, Romania had had more regular contacts and interactions with the EU due to the «structured dialogue» set up at the European Council in Copenhagen between the EU and the countries which had signed a European agreement (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia).

The EU Commission released its opinion on Romania's application for membership in July 1997. While the Commission noted the progress made by the country, especially in the political field and after the coming to power of the Ciorbea government, it also noted the lack of progress on the transportation or adoption of substantial parts of the *acquis communautaire*. Consequently, the Commission did not indicate a date for the beginning of the accession talks [EU Commission 1997]. Following this non-favorable opinion, Romania embarked on a lobbying mission to convince the Council to disregard it. Romania's success was partial: the Luxembourg Council of December 1997 agreed to open negotiations with five CEECs (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia) but also declared that accession would be all-inclusive [Phinnemore 2001, 250].

Although Romania embarked on a series of reforms after this initial rejections, progress was not substantial before the next Commission opinion, issued in 1999. Consequently, the expectations were that the report would

have a detrimental effect on Romania's membership prospects. However, the EU Council expressed its appreciation for Romania's support of the NATO mission in Kosovo and the EU Commission recommended that the EU open accession negotiations with Romania despite expressing grave concerns over the state of Romania's economic reforms. A formal invitation was issued by the EU Council at Helsinki, in December 1999 and negotiations began in early 2000.

The consensus on the literature on Romania is that this episode is typical of the country's progress towards Euro-Atlantic integration, in that (international) factors beyond Romania's actual relationship with these organizations appeared to ensure its continued integration with them [Gallagher 2005; Phinnemore 2001; Wagner 2002].

Because of their slow progress on reforms, Romania (together with Bulgaria) was excluded from the first wave of the «big bang» enlargement of 2004. To reassure the two countries that enlargement was still ongoing, the Commission put forward a detailed roadmap for accession negotiations. Although Romania made some progress, it was slow. The country performed badly even when compared to Bulgaria, which obtained the status of functioning market economy and was taken off the Schengen “black visa” list before Romania. The pattern in the EU-Romanian accession negotiations suggested that Romania responded best to sticks, not carrots. Whenever the EU penalized it, Romania would step up reforms and rapidly respond by presenting revised reform strategies and making pledges for additional measures [Noutcheva and Bechev 2008, 124]. As pointed out by Noutcheva and Bechev:

while domestic dynamics alone can account for Bulgaria and Romania's poor performance in comparison with other new member states, the EU leverage helps explain why the two laggards moved out of the post-communist limbo and ultimately qualified for EU membership [Noutcheva and Bechev 2008, 140].

2. Institutions

The European Commission contributed substantially to the development of EU studies in Romania by providing funding for research and establishing EU centers of excellence, Jean Monnet chairs and modules.

At present, there are only four European centers of excellence in Romania, all part of (major) Romanian universities, in the cities of Cluj, Iași, Oradea and Timișoara. According to the European Commission Education, Audiovisual and Culture Agency website, all the centers of excellence have an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the EU and they are run by Prof. Nicolae Păun, Prof. Gabriela Carmen Pascariu, Prof. Ioan Horga and Prof. Grigore Silas respectively².

It is worth noting that there is no EU center of excellence in the Romanian capital, Bucharest, despite the fact that the city hosts the biggest university in the country (University of Bucharest), the National School of Political Science and Public Administration (*Școala Națională de Studii Politice și Administrative* – SNSPA) and the second-largest private university in the world, Spiru Haret (which has a school of international relations, history and law and public administration).

In 2010 the EU Commission listed twelve Jean Monnet chairs in Romania. Four of them were located at the Babeș Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca: the Chair in EU legal studies held by Prof. Adrian Liviu Ivan; the Chair in EU economic studies held by Prof. Mihaela Lutaș; and the Chairs in EU interdisciplinary studies and EU historical studies, both held by Prof. Nicolae Păun (who is also the person in charge for the EU center of excellence at this university). Two Jean Monnet chairs were located at the University «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» in Iași: one in EU inter-

² More information about the European centers of excellence and Jean Monnet professors and chairs in Romania can be found on the EACEA official website, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/index_en.php (last visited on May 30, 2011).

disciplinary studies held by Prof. Doina Balahur and one in EU economic studies held by Prof. Gabriela Carmen Pașcariu (who is also the person in charge of the EU center of excellence at this university). The University of Oradea had two chairs, one in EU legal studies, held by Prof. Ovidiu Tinca and one in EU political and administrative studies held by Prof. Ioan Horga (who is also, incidentally, a partner in the SENT project). The remaining four chairs were hosted by: the Western University of Timișoara – a chair in EU economic studies held by Prof. Grigore Silasi (who is also responsible for the EU center of excellence at that university); SNSPA in Bucharest – a chair in EU political and administrative studies held by Prof. Lucica Matei; the University «1 decembrie 1989» in Alba Iulia – a chair in EU historical studies held by Lucian Nastasa-Kovacs; and by the University Transilvania of Brașov – a chair in EU interdisciplinary studies held by Prof. Ileana Tache³.

Finally, in 2010 Romania was granted nine Jean Monnet modules, equally distributed across the country. Two modules were located at the Babeș Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca, in «Multi-level governance in the EU» (held by Dr. Natalia Cugleşan) and in «Modeling the new Europe» (held by Prof. Nicolae Păun). Two modules were hosted by the University of Oradea, in «Ethnie (sic!), confession and intercultural dialogue at the European Union eastern border» (held by Dr. Mircea Brie) and «Political leadership and organizational development in the EU» (in French, held by Dr. Cristina-Maria Dogot). SNSPA Bucharest hosts a module in «Rights and identities beyond the state: managing diversity in the European Union» held by Prof. Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu. The University «Petru Maior» in Târgu Mureș hosted a module on «European Union: History, Policies and Opportunities for Active European Citizenship» held by Prof. Simon Costea. The Uni-

³ More information on Jean Monnet chairs in Romanian can be found following the links on the EACEA website, available at <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/jeanmonnet/directory/New/Version/2008/V1/ajmrepertoire/pres17.asp?pay=Romania/Roumanie&typeaction=Chair%20/%20Chaire&univ=&nom> (last visited on May 30, 2011).

versity «Ștefan cel Mare» in Suceava had a module on European integration and enlargement held by Prof. Carmen Năstase. Finally, two modules were held in French at the University «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» in Iași on the EU civil service and servants (held by Dr. Mihaela Tofan) and at the Western University in Timișoara on European economic integration (held by Dr. Ioana Vădășan)⁴.

A few conclusions can be drawn from this information. First, the EU centers of excellence are located in most of the major Romanian cities – with, as noted above, the notable absence of the capital, Bucharest. Second, Jean Monnet chairs and modules have been also mostly concentrated in these locations, clustered around the EU centers of excellence. As a result, the Universities Babeș Bolyai in Cluj and the Universities of Oradea have emerged as the two leading poles of EU research and teaching in Romania. Third, it is evident from the nature of the Jean Monnet chairs and modules that the topics and disciplines addressed tend to focus towards economics and law, and that they are empirically-oriented (see, for example, the focus on public administration and European economic integration).

Although the contribution by the EU Commission in supporting the development of EU studies in Romania is pivotal, there are also other institutions that encourage the study and teaching of the EU. Among them it is worth mentioning the Altiero Spinelli Center for the Study of European Governance. The center has been developed in collaboration with the University of Rome La Sapienza, with which it has developed an exchange-student program. It is worth mentioning here that most EU centers of excellence have also established bilateral exchange programs with European universities across the continent, thus encouraging student and faculty mobility, as well as better access to library and other research resources.

⁴ More information on the Jean Monnet modules in Romania can be found at <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/jeanmonnet/directory/New/Version/2008/V1/ajmrepertoire/pres16.asp?pays=Romania/Roumanie&annee=2010&univ=&nom> (last visited on May 30, 2011).

The Romanian European Institute (*Institutul European Român* – IER) is another institution dedicated to the study of the EU. Although it is now financed by the government and other grants, IER was created in 2000 as part of a PHARE project. The Institute operates more like a *think tank*, offering advice to policy-makers on EU legislation and processes and assessing the impact of various aspects of the EU accession for Romania. IER publishes widely on these topics (most policy papers are available on line) and organizes events on these topics.

3. Books

Books on European integration studies written by authors have tended to be empirical in nature. They focus on the functioning of the EU and the impact of Romania's accession to the EU. Less attention has been paid to theories of European integration and, in general, to engaging in debates with international scholars. In addition to books written by Romanian authors, translations of relevant publications have been published in Romanian by major printing houses.

After Romania's accession to the EU, a few books were published on the accession negotiations [Costea and Costea 2007]. It is worth noting in this category the book written by Vasile Pușcaș, Romania's chief negotiator with the EU during the period in which all the accession chapters were concluded, in 2000-2004 [Pușcaș 2007].

Before and after accession, a series of volumes were published on EU law and administration and how the EU is organized and works, aiming to keep the public informed of the changes the EU itself has been undergoing [Antonescu 2007; Bărbulescu 2008; Iancu 2010; Ivan 2009b; Filip 2008; Micu 2008; Păun 2004]. Other works that can be mentioned in this category focus on the post-Lisbon Treaty impact [Pușcaș and Sălăgean 2010], relations between the EU and Romania [Ghica 2006], as well as the

impact of the EU accession on Romania and EU-Romanian relations [Pecican and Gherghină 2010; Petrică 2010].

A textbook on EU studies for undergraduate students was co-edited by a professor and two *alumni* of the Babeș Bolyai University in Cluj. The volume – *Uniunea Europeană: Drept, instituții și politici comunitare (The European Union: Law, Institutions and Communitarian Policies)* – was published in 2008. It is a unique book, inasmuch as it includes chapters written by Romanian (doctoral) students, most of who studied abroad [Pop, Gherghină and Jiglău 2008]. Similarly, a *Trilingual Dictionary of the European Union* (in Romanian, English and French) was produced and published in 2009 [Bărbulescu and Râpan 2009].

Many of these books take a juridical approach to the study of the EU, focusing on the EU legislation rather than the inter-institutional workings. A few studies have also been published on specific EU policies, such as: health [Vlădescu and Busoi 2011], the European Neighborhood Policy [Bordeianu 2007], national minorities [Mișcoiu and Harda 2007].

One important and promising branch of political analysis of the EU present in the Romanian academic community is that electoral studies and the decision-making process. In particular, Romanian researchers have focused on elections to the European Parliament [Boboc 2008; Tufiș, Gheorghită and Tomșa 2010] but also on the decision-making process in the Romanian and European Parliament [Gherghină 2010]

Most books address the impact of European accession for Romania. Before Romania's accession, a series more «anthropological» and «philosophical» books were published, analyzing the compatibility between Romania and EU accession [Pecican 2003] and, more broadly, the nature of the European Union and its future [Caragea 2009; Gherghină and Jiglău 2009; Pușcaș 2008], as well as the history of the European project [Ivan 2009a]

In general, European studies are a newcomer in the Romanian academic background (indeed, they still need to assert themselves as a discipline *per se*). Romanian political

scientists prefer to focus less on EU-specific topics such as electoral studies and ideology (the latter being a result of philosophy as a dominant discipline in the Romanian academic community). Romanian studies of political studies continue to have a strong historical component. Most scholars focus on the analysis of communist times and of the 1989 revolution.

4. *Other publications: journals and policy papers*

Romania publishes several academic journals on EU studies, most of which are circulated in electronic format. Not surprisingly, they have developed alongside the EU centers of excellence. Thus, the University Babeş Bolyai in Cluj publishes «Europolis», a political and policy-oriented journal (in the English language) whose aim is to «produce good-quality analysis and to contribute to the development of a new category of political literature»⁵. The journal is generally divided in three sections – completed articles, works in progress and book reviews. Some of the topics covered include globalization and geopolitics [Bosanceanu 2009; Condulescu], ethnic, national and regional identities [Bogdan 2008; Denes 2008; Gherghinã and Braghiroli 2008; Mateescu 2008; Spãriosu 2008], governance [Angelescu 2008; Creitaru 2008; Cibian 2008].

University of Oradea publishes «Eurolimes», a bi-annual academic journal edited by Ioan Horga and Istvan Suli-Zakar. It is published in English and it focuses on the study of Europe's frontiers from a multidisciplinary perspective, benefitting from many international contributions⁶. The journal is important inasmuch as it encourages contributions from non-Romanians in an attempt to stimulate debates about the EU's eastern borders (and not only).

⁵ Its articles are available on line at <http://www.cceol.com/asp/publicationdetails.aspx?publicationId=e27cf423-b704-4cd4-84d4-2d6bb a530131> (last visited on May 30, 2011).

⁶ More information about «Eurolimes» can be found at <http://www.iser.rdsor.ro/eurolimes.htm> (last visited on May 30, 2011).

Furthermore, the concept of «border» is studied from a variety of points of view, ranging from religion to geopolitics and economics.

The University of Iași publishes biannually the «Eastern Journal of European Studies», edited by Maria Bîrsan. Its issues include multi- and interdisciplinary papers, and they occasionally focus on a particular theme (for example, the most recent available copy addresses the topic of «foreign direct investment»)⁷. The journal gathers contributions from various international authors, and it tends to focus on specific policies, such as agricultural policy [Kerekes 2010], health [Puscas and Curta 2010], competitiveness [Cojanu 2010].

Similarly, the Western University in Timișoara publishes the «Romanian Journal of European Studies» (RJES), which aims to address topics understudied by Romanian scholars, such as migration and mobility in Europe. Just as the other journals dedicated to EU-related issues, RJES had many foreign contributors, with Romanian articles mostly dedicated to illustrating the case study of Romania [Nicolescu and Constantin 2005; Ghetau 2005].

The efforts of the EU centers of excellence and editorial boards to publish these journals regularly are substantial and laudable. The fact that all of them have a significant number of non-Romanian contributors (or of Romanians working and living abroad) is mostly a positive thing. This fact stimulates dialogue and permits the (Romanian) reader to become aware of other approaches and case studies. At the same time, greater engagement and encouragements of local students and professors to contribute would most likely increase the visibility of EU studies in Romania. Unfortunately, insufficient funds and visibility do not make these publications a point of reference for the national or European debates on European integration studies. Furthermore, most of the articles focus on case studies (adopting mostly qualitative approaches) and not

⁷ More information about EJES can be found at http://ejes.uaic.ro/about_EJES.htm (last visited on May 30, 2011).

on an effort to contribute to the development of European integration theories.

In addition to these publications, the European Institute in Romania (located in Bucharest) produces the «Romanian Journal of European Affairs». According to the journal's website, this is the first publication dedicated exclusively to the study of European integration in Romania. It is published in English at a rate of four times a year and it includes both Romanian and international contributions. The positive role of the RJEI in European debates has been confirmed by its introduction in various specialized databases, including the International Consortium for the Advancement of Academic Publications (ICAAP), Index Copernicus, the Knowledge Base Social Sciences in Eastern Europe, Gesis, Open J-Gate, Intute, the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), the Social Science Research Network (SSRN), Eurointernet, World Affairs Online (WAO) and ProQuest⁸.

The Altiero Spinelli Center on European Governance at the Babeş Bolyai University in Cluj also publishes the «Romanian Review of European Governance Studies». Published biannually (in English and French), the journal covers a wide range of topics from the field of international relations and European studies, with a focus on European (multilevel) governance, European integration and civil society⁹.

5. *Conclusions*

The Romanian scene for the development of European studies is not dissimilar from that of most other «new» EU member states. In this sense, Romania did not have a longstanding tradition of studying and researching

⁸ For more information about the journal, you can visit its website at http://www.ier.ro/index.php/revista/page/about_us (last visited on May 30, 2011).

⁹ More information about this journal can be found at <http://www.rregs.cassoe.ro/node/24> (last visited on May 30, 2011).

the European Communities (EC) before the fall of communism. Research and teaching of the EU intensified in the 1990s, benefitting greatly from the contributions from the European Commission. The EU centers of excellence and the Jean Monnet modules and chairs have been increasingly disseminating knowledge about the EU in the national scenery.

Just like in other «new» EU member states, political science is still a relatively new discipline in the Romanian scenario. That is why much of the research on the EU has been carried out through the lens of law, economics, history and even philosophy. This aspect is likely to change in the future, as a more political science approach is developing, with a focus on governance and electoral studies.

The focus of these studies is twofold: first, present to the national audience what the EU is and how it functions; second, explain the impact of the EU accession on Romania's economic and socio-political landscape. In this sense, Romania is not dissimilar from other «new» EU member states, inasmuch as so far little attention has been paid to contributing to the theoretical debates in the international literature about the nature and functioning of the EU. In other words, Romanian European integration studies adopt a micro and macro approach, with a substantial emphasis on empirical research.

One big difference between Romania and other «new» EU member states is that the main sources of EU knowledge and expertise are not concentrated in the nation's capital, but in the periphery. This may be the result of a different orientation in the understanding of EU studies. Whereas in places like the Babes Bolyai University in Cluj «EU studies» are seen as a discipline *per se*, in Bucharest the EU is looked at as a «case study» or «example» in larger political science studies.

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EUROPEAN STUDIES IN SPAIN

1. *Short overall mapping of the literature*

This chapter focuses on the production of Spanish political science related to the process of European integration since the country joined the European Community in 1986. The material we survey here emanates from publications in Spanish languages (Castilian, Catalan, Galician and Basque) covering what is broadly understood to be political science (international relations, comparative politics, political theory and political economy. We also enlarge our boundaries to political sociology (i.e. opinion polls, public attitudes), historical and legal studies only to the extent they provide a better understanding of European integration and its outcomes. However, a comprehensive account of the field is beyond our means and we apologize in advance for any omissions. The literature is divided into different thematic areas of analysis, from the more general (macro) to specific public policies (micro). First, we consider the different sources in general and then focus on the main format used by researchers in Spain: the journal articles. As expected, the historical review of the Spanish scientific research reflects a parallel with the development or the stagnation of the process of European integration. Information is based on different sources: web pages, university libraries, e-magazines, European documentation centers and other Spanish institutions with broad databases and literature on request (see below)¹.

¹ The Dialnet database was the most useful tool due to accessibility through the Internet and a long background on the following of different academic publications at the Spanish level.

In what follows, we will examine the different aspects of Spanish production according to the common analytical framework provided for this volume.

2. Spain's EU membership

Since Spain's entry in the European Communities (EC), in 1986, a combination of different factors (political stability, economic growth, decentralization and European membership) has led to the fastest process of transformation in modern Spanish history [Morata 2007; Powell 2007]. Before the global financial crisis, Spain was ranked as the eighth economy in the world. As a less developed country in the European context, Spain has been relying largely on EU subsidies to develop its regions and to modernize its infrastructure. Between 1989 and 2006, it was the member state which most benefited from the Structural and Cohesion Funds and it is the second biggest recipient of agricultural subsidies after France. Meanwhile, EU legislation has impacted almost all policy areas, especially the environment, agriculture, competition, infrastructure and foreign policy. Besides profiting from EU funding, public administrations at the various levels have had to adapt to EU membership establishing new structures and procedures to cope with European requirements [Arregui 2007].

As a result of economic development, Spain – historically a country of emigration – has turned into the largest recipient of immigrants throughout the EU. Another notable feature is the dynamism of Spanish firms abroad. Spain ranked as the second private investor in Latin America from 1996 to 2008, just behind the US. Although it would be unreasonable to attribute all these achievements to Spain's EU membership, «they hardly would have occurred without it» [Powell 2007, 36]. Moreover, Spain is most likely the member state where the dual process of state restructuring from «above» and «below» has been most intense as a result of both European integration and political decentralization.

Since its entry into the EC, Spain has seen itself as one of the large member states [Powell 2002]. To play a major role in the EU, Spain has sought to take advantage of its historical relations with Latin America and some Arab countries. However, some of the problems faced by Spain as an EU partner might be better explained because it «does not fit into any of the categories into which all others may be grouped: the very prosperous and large; the very prosperous and small; the less prosperous and small» [Powell 2002, 13]. Under the Lisbon Treaty provisions, Spain will continue to enjoy 27 votes in the EU Council until November 2014. Until the post-Maastricht period, Spanish European politics were based on a nation-wide consensus rather than on partisan preferences [Closa 2001, 10]. Spain's entrance into the EC was almost unanimously supported by political parties, interest groups, the media and public opinion. The consensus style of the Spanish transition to democracy contributed to this general agreement [Ruiz Gimenez and Egea de Haro 2007]. Significantly, Spain is the only country among all those which have joined the EU after 1958 whose political parties were in complete agreement on this issue [Alvarez Miranda 1996]. In a multi-national country of conflicting identities, belonging to Europe was also seen as a golden opportunity to share a «new» identity based on non-nationalist values. Finally, EU membership has led to adjustments of both the institutional framework and domestic policy-making to face EU requirements although these have not always been appropriate or effective.

The overall assessment of Spain's EU membership among public opinion has been positive since 1986, ranging between 54 per cent (1995) and 76 per cent (2004), always above the European average [Diez Medrano 2007]. In 2009, 64 per cent of Spaniards considered belonging to the EU a «good thing» (EU average: 53 per cent) close to 1999 (62 per cent) and 1989 (68 per cent) figures [Eurobarometer 2009, 1999 and 1989]. Similarly, two out of three Spanish citizens felt that they had benefited from European membership. Meanwhile, despite the impact of the eco-

conomic crisis and declining confidence with regard to domestic institutions, confidence towards the EU scored 56 per cent, 5 points above the previous year (EU average: 46 per cent) [Eurobarometer Standard 72 2009]. In terms of the impact of the different levels of government on their lives, as in all member states, Spaniards gave priority to the national government (49 per cent), ahead of regional or local authorities (34 per cent) and EU institutions (12 per cent). It is interesting to note that 68 per cent of the respondents claimed that decision-making in the EU does not take sufficient account of regional and local governments.

On a variety of topics (combating terrorism, environmental protection, defense, foreign policy, and immigration), a majority of Spanish citizens preferred decisions to be made at the EU level and not by the individual governments. By contrast, they believed that economic issues such as pensions and taxes should remain within the national realm. Nevertheless, the EU was viewed as somewhat better equipped than the national government to address the economic and financial crisis. Significantly, just over half of respondents stated in 2009 that Spain would be better protected against the crisis if it had kept the former Spanish currency (*peseta*) although 43 per cent considered that the euro had mitigated the effects of the crisis. Spaniards also acknowledged that European issues affect national policies and that EU decisions impact on their everyday life.

3. *Traditions*

The almost 600 titles on different aspects of European integration that were published in Spain between 2005 and 2009 are a representative sample of the topics that have attracted most academic interest in recent years. According to our analytical framework, we distinguish between three levels: (i) Macro, which concerns more general issues of European integration, such as its history, the degree of integration and the debate among the different theoretical approaches (neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism,

neo-institutionalism/constructivism, Europeanization, Multilevel governance); (ii) Meso, which includes issues relating to European institutions, their actual functioning and possible reforms to make them more efficient and effective; and (iii) Micro, mainly referred to the policy outcomes (domestic implementation, monitoring and evaluation studies), including policy assessments and recommendations.

We also provide a classification based on two categories of studies: empirical or descriptive and normative. The former delve into the different topics to carry out assessments and recommendations or to deepen into the current political debate.

TAB. 1. *Type of research carried out in Spain*

Level of analysis	Category of studies	Total
Macro	Empirical	142
	Normative	160
Macro Total		302
Meso	Empirical	32
	Normative	18
Meso Total		50
Micro	Empirical	151
	Normative	93
Micro Total		244
TOTAL		596

Source: own elaboration

Table 1 allows us to draw some initial remarks concerning the kind of research being conducted in Spain. Researchers have not been so much interested in analyzing the EU institutional framework. Of the nearly 600 publications, only about fifty were devoted to this general topic, mostly from an empirical perspective. Therefore, it seems that researchers have preferably focused on checking the political dynamics both at the domestic and the EU levels, with particular regard to the general debate and the future challenges of European integration. In this respect, a major concern is connected to the difficulties of European inte-

gration and the changing international arena.

TAB. 2. *Balance between normative and empirical studies in Spain*

Category of studies	Level of analysis	Total
Empirical	Macro	142
	Meso	32
	Micro	151
Empirical Total		325
Normative	Macro	160
	Meso	18
	Micro	93
Normative Total		271
TOTAL		596

Source: own elaboration

As regards analytical categories, there is almost a balance between normative and empirical studies (Table 2).

Considering the different levels of analysis, we find almost an exact balance between normative and empirical literature. It should also be noted that the macro level (i.e. the way in which the European Union faces the challenges ahead, especially from the institutional point of view) is dominant. A significant part of the literature make recommendations on the way in which Spain should defend its positions in Brussels and on strategies of pressure necessary for the Union as a whole takes a particular direction.

Besides this general overview, Table 3 shows that journal articles are the most frequent academic support used to publish research outputs, far away from the working papers. In both cases, it is interesting to note the balance between «macro» and «micro» topics and the secondary role of the «meso» ones. It is also important to note that categories 03 and 04 - working papers and doctoral theses, respectively - are closely linked, although the final count, for obvious reasons, differs in number. As usual, the first often anticipate the latter. In addition, as doctoral publications are concerned, the important number of re-

searchers focusing on European integration in recent years indicates a growing interest in European issues in general.

TAB. 3: *Level of analysis and categories*

Level of analysis	Category	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009 (March)	Total general
Macro	EU Integration	54	36	29	21	27	142
	The Goal of the EU	54	43	34	24	5	160
Macro Total		108	79	63	45	7	302
Meso	Institutional Reform	2	5	5	5	-	17
	Political Institutions	15	6	5	5	2	33
Meso Total		17	11	10	10	2	50
Micro	Policy Implementation	42	38	29	37	5	151
	Policy Reform	22	25	21	21	4	93
Micro Total		64	63	50	58	9	244
TOTAL		189	153	123	113	18	596

Source: own elaboration

It is worth mentioning the relevance of institutional issues in Spanish journals during this period, which coincides with the Constitutional Treaty and, later on, the Treaty of Lisbon. However, likely for chronological reasons, this circumstance is not reflected by the number of books published during this period since of a total of 69, only 2 have addressed the issue. The same is true for chapters included in edited books, although the proportion is higher. In short, the Spanish case corresponds to the general trend in Europe: a clear preference for articles and working papers dealing with various aspects of the process of European integration. These include the transformation of the polity, the policy process (decision making and implementation), regionalism and multi-level governance, Europeanization, European elections, the enlargement, foreign European policy and security issues, and especially terrorism and immigration. Other media such as books were more

concerned about the general aspects of European integration. As we shall see above, this characteristic is coherent with the scientific production in Spain since the early 80s.

4. Time dimension

The time series of publications provides some interesting facts that are connected with the dynamics and evolution of the European integration process. First, it should consider the number of publications for each period. Table 4 lists the levels of analysis («Macro», «Meso» and «Micro») and topical subdivisions according to the year of publication.

Tab. 4. *Type of document for each level/category*

Level of analysis	Category of studies	Type of document						Total general
		10	02	03	04	05	06	
Macro	Empirical	73	7	25	4	26	7	142
	Normative	94		46		19	1	160
Macro Total		167	7	71	4	45	8	302
Meso	Empirical	22	2	3	2	3		32
	Normative	11		6		1		18
Meso Total		33	2	9	2	4		50
Micro	Empirical	110	3	11	4	17	6	151
	Normative	57	5	28		3		93
Micro Total		167	8	39	4	20	6	244
Total general		367	17	119	10	69	14	596

Source: own elaboration (*) Code: 01= Article; 02= Book chapter; 03= Working paper; 04= Doctoral thesis; 05= Book; 06= Journal (monographic issue).

In terms of publications, the most fruitful years of this period were 2005 and 2006, coinciding with the European Convention and the process of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty. The adoption of the Treaty, in 2004, and the crisis that followed the negative outcome of referenda in

France and the Netherlands, in 2005, gave rise to numerous analyses, both on the developments of the Treaty and the consequences of the ratification process failure. The number of publications has decreased in subsequent years. The Lisbon Treaty, driven by the German Presidency in the first half of 2007, was another major topic of study from 2008 onwards. However, the number of publications is not as high as in the period 2005-2006. Thus there is a clear shift in the analysis, from the «macro» level – the future of the Union – to the «micro» one with a predominant focus on the institutional and the sectoral impacts of the new Treaty. As it could be expected, most of the studies are related to the new Presidency the European Council President and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security, the inter-institutional relationships, the impacts of the new voting system, the Protocol on subsidiarity, the division of powers between the EU and member states, the procedure European citizens' initiative, and the Treaty implications for other policy areas.

In conclusion, the period of study is characterized by the large quantity of publications in the Spanish context, especially in the first phase, for the reasons already mentioned. The most interesting fact is the increasing interest in the implementation of the institutional reforms from 2008.

5. Quality assessment

Twenty five years of European membership is a sufficiently long period to carry out an analysis of the Spanish bibliographic production on European integration [Lascurain and Sanchez 2010]. Our survey includes social science journals as the most common means of disseminating scholar production in Spain. The dimensions and the characteristics of bibliographic production on the European Union over the years include a variety of approaches, ranging from comparative politics and international relations, to public institutions, public policy and public administration,

law, economics, sociology or history. In Spain, as in the other Mediterranean member states, the study of European integration process was dominated in the early years by juridical approaches (law and institutions). However, from the 1990s, European studies began to delineate a specific sub-field of political science. In varying degrees, all disciplines of political science have been interested by the phenomenon of European integration, including also international relations which, for many regards, remains a clearly separate field in Spain. In some cases, however, the focus is not so much the EU itself, but the opportunity to expand the scope of methodological approaches. This sometimes results in analyses that reflect the lack of an overall knowledge of the process of integration.

Therefore, the Spanish academic literature on the EU includes many subjects and multiple theoretical approaches, although there are also purely descriptive studies, conducted on behalf of public and private institutions or public foundations. In addition to academic research, we found a significant number of opinion polls on the EU, reviews on the implementation of structural funds in Spain at the regional level, and papers commissioned by public or private institutions related to the various policies. The data provided below refer to the production of Spanish articles contained in the ECLAS catalogue². The search strategy used for this analysis was to define the ECLAS journal articles in Spanish from 1980 to 2008. The total number rose to 7722 (Figure 1).

² ECLAS is the European Commission union catalogue referencing holdings of a network of libraries, called Réseaubib. In addition to the Central Library, some 25 smaller specialised libraries and documentation centres participate in this co-operation network ([http://ec.europa.eu / ECLAS](http://ec.europa.eu/ECLAS)).

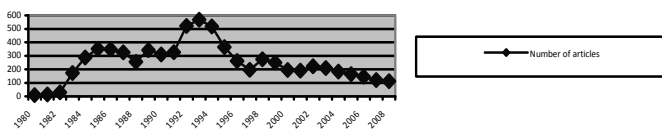


FIG. 1. Evolution of the articles in Spanish in ECLAS (1980-2008).

Source: Own elaboration based on Lascurain y Sánchez 2010.

According to available data, the average amounts to 250.69 items per year. However, the standard deviation calculation (139.45) indicates a large spread of values between the years analyzed. In practice, just over 36 percent of the articles in Spanish listed were published in two periods, from 1985 to 1987 (14.10 percent) and 1992-1994 (22.12 percent), being the central year of both intervals the most prolific. It is easy to associate these numbers to two significant events: in the first case, the «commitment effect»; in the second one, the «Maastricht effect» and the internal market. Both stages, characterized by the implementation of EU and national projects, saw a sharp increase of productivity in Community-related literature. The number of journals in any of the Spanish languages (Castilian, Catalan, Basque and Galician) reaches 275, but it should be noted that 86 of these titles are represented only by one item, while 37 titles are represented by two articles. The set of the Spanish journals that have three or more items recorded in the catalog is limited to 152 ECLAS titles. Approximately half of the articles are concentrated in 14 publications, of which the first 5 are: «*Información Comercial Española*» (751 articles), «*Noticias de la Unión Europea*» (376 articles) – both non academic journals - «*Revista de Estudios Agrosociales*» (272 articles), «*Política Exterior*» (251 items) and «*Revista de Instituciones Europeas*» (243 items).

Beyond periodical publications, doctoral theses are also a good indicator of the interest aroused by European integration developments among PhD students and,

indirectly, their supervisors. In this regard, a database developed by the University of La Rioja (Dialnet), is the main source of academic references. Between 1993 and 2008, Between 1993 and 2008, Dialnet records a total of 87 doctoral dissertations related to «European integration» or «European Union» produced in twenty Spanish universities and research centers. Figure 2 shows the number of theses per year.

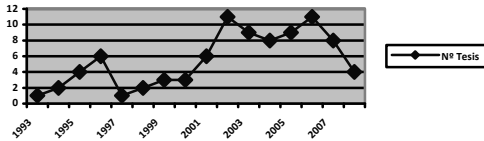


FIG. 2. Number of PhD thesis per year (1993-2008).

Source: own elaboration.

The total number of thesis is quite modest considering the number of Spanish universities and research centers. The impact of the Maastricht Treaty is reflected especially in the years 1995 and 1996. The largest increase occurs after 2000. We may assume it reflects, at least in part, institutional changes recorded from the reforms of Amsterdam, Nice and the Constitutional Treaty. Academic training and interest in European issues vary from one territory to another, with a strong predominance of Madrid and Catalonia³, which host the highest number of students and faculty members (Table 5). Moreover, in the table are represented only universities in 11 of the 17 Spanish regions. Therefore, in places like the Basque Country, Aragon, Navarre and the Balearic Islands there has been no doctoral research on the EU.

³ The leading role of Madrid should be nuanced since it hosts the Spanish Open University (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and the headquarters of several foundations of social sciences research that cover the whole Spanish area (ie Juan March Foundation, Ortega y Gasset Institute and the Center for Political and Constitutional Studies).

Tab. 5. *PhD thesis per regions (1993-2008)*

Madrid	Catalonia	Valencia	Extremadura	Andalusia	Castille-León	Cantabria	Canary Islands	Galicia	La Rioja	Murcia
36	23	8	5	3	-	3	2	2	1	1

Source: own elaboration.

Finally, an analysis based on the content of the thesis confirms the trend already observed for the 2005-2008 period, although in this case the relative weight of the micro-level studies and the normative approaches is still higher (Table 6). Academic interest has focused predominantly on EU policies and/or their implementation in Spain and other member states.

Tab. 6. *Phd theses: level and approach (1993-2008)*

Levels/Approach	Empirical	Normative
Macro	1	7
Meso	9	10
Micro	27	33
	<i>Total: 37</i>	<i>Total: 50</i>

Source: own elaboration

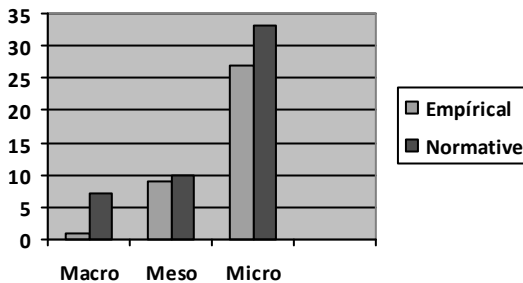


FIG. 3. PhD thesis content (1993-2008).
Source: own elaboration.

The Spanish centers on European integration are located in seven universities:

Centro de Estudios Europeos – CEE (University of Navarre)

Institut Universitari d'Estudis Europeus - IUEE (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos «Salvador de Madariaga» - IUEE (Coruña University)

Instituto de Estudios Europeos – IEE (Valladolid University)

Instituto Superior de Estudios Europeos y Derechos Humanos ISEEDH (Universidad Pontificia Salamanca)

Instituto Universitario de Estudios Internacionales y Europeos «Francisco de Vitoria» – IUEIE (Carlos III University, Madrid).

Instituto de Estudios Europeos – IEE CEU (San Pablo University, Madrid)

However, some of these structures are not involved in research activities. They carry out only post-graduate programs based on single issues such as Human Rights and Development Cooperation. Just a few of them are interdisciplinary centers fully dedicated to higher education, training and research on European affairs. They host PhD programs on European integration and publish their own series of working papers. The most consolidated research centers is probably the IUEE at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Created already in 1985, the IUEE hosts two Jean Monnet Chairs and is responsible for a PhD Program in European Integration and International Relations, and two MAs (European Integration and European Policies of International Cooperation for Development). The IUEE is organized through interdisciplinary research groups that deal with multilevel governance in the European Union, European foreign policy, the Economic and Monetary Union and social policies. It hosts a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence on Sub-national Territorial Cooperation in the Mediterranean area and, as other Spanish EU centers, it participates in European and international research and teaching networks with Latin-American and

East-Asian partners.

It is worth mentioning the influence of some think tanks that rely on academics working on European issues: the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed, Barcelona), the Center of Information and Documentation of Barcelona (CIDOB), the Real Institute El Cano of International and Strategic Studies (Madrid), the Foundation for International Relations and External Dialogue (FRIDE, Madrid) and the Spanish section of the European Council of Foreign Relations (Madrid).

An interesting indicator of the interest aroused by European issues among Spanish political scientists is the institutionalization, from the mid 90s, of a permanent working group in the bi-annual meeting of the Spanish Association of Political Science (AECPA). The European dimension is also part of the multi-annual research programs, both at the central level and the regional level, especially in Catalonia and the Basque Country, where the regional governments support research groups on European issues.

Without any doubt, from the 1990s and, to a greater extent, the 2000s, the RFPs of the EU have become an important source of funding for Spanish researchers and, indirectly, a crucial incentive to publish in outstanding international journals as the «European Journal of European Public Policy», «Common Market Studies, Regional and Federal Studies», «Western Politics» and the «European Journal of Political Research». Access to multinational research networks has been a driver of Europeanization for the Spanish Academy. However, insufficient knowledge of the English language remains an obstacle. At the end of the chapter the reader will find a selection of publications that account for some of the most significant contributions (books) of Spanish scholars to the literature on the EU, both in Spanish and English, in recent years.

6. *Conclusions*

Over the past 25 years, European integration has become an increasingly relevant research area to political science and, more in general, social sciences in Spain. While, according to the national traditions, legal studies were overriding in the 1980s, the booming and further consolidation of political science as an autonomous discipline in the Spanish academy during the 1990s has led to greater diversification, both in research and publications terms. It is also important to note the gradual integration of Spanish scholars into European research networks thanks to the incentives of the EU's research programs and to a lesser extent, the increase of domestic public funding. Both the successive transformations of European governance and the growing impacts of European integration in Spain have influenced research interests. Besides the attempt to grapple with changes at the European level, Spanish literature reflects the specific characteristics of Spain within the EU context and, especially the domestic concern for high sensitive issues (environment, cohesion, agriculture, market regulation, home affairs or common foreign and security policy). There is also a permanent attentiveness on the impacts of European integration on the territorial state, citizens' attitudes, and relations with Mediterranean countries and Latin America.

At first sight, the large number of publications during the reporting period seems really surprising. However, it should be noted that in many cases it is only descriptive studies with a markedly legal or informational character. It must be clear that the community of scholars working on the EU in Spain is still very modest. Many sub-fields still remain undeveloped, both in regard to theoretical as empirical research. However, the increasing socialization of young researchers at the European level portends a promising future provided, of course, that funding sources will not suffer from further cuts.

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1996 *El sur de Europa y la adhesión a la Comunidad: los debates políticos*, Madrid, CIS.
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2007 *La opinión pública española y la integración europea*, in *España en Europa. Europa en España*, edited by F. Morata and G. Mateo, Barcelona, CIDOB.

Selected literature (books)

A. Spanish

Parlamento Basco (ed.)

2009 *El Tratado de Lisboa y las Regiones. Lisboako Ituna Eta Eregioak*, Bilbao, Parlamento Basco.

Álvarez Miranda, B.

1996 *El Sur de Europa y la adhesión a la Comunidad: los debates políticos*, Madrid, CIS.

Barbé, E.

2010 *La Unión Europea más allá de sus fronteras: ¿hacia la transformación del Mediterráneo y Europa Oriental?*, Madrid, Tecnos.

2001 *Política Exterior Europea*, Barcelona, Ariel.

Beneyto, J.M. and Argerey, P. (eds.)

2008 *El impacto de la adhesión de Turquía en la Unión Europea*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva/CEU.

Closa, C.

2001 *La europeización del sistema político español*, Madrid, Istmo.

1997 *Sistema Político de la Unión Europea*, Madrid, Ed. Complutense.

Fernández Pasarín, A.M.

2007 *Europa como opción histórica*, Vilafranca del Penedès, Erasmus Ed.

Fernández Muñoz, J.J. and Pérez-Bustamante, R.

2006 *Las elecciones al Parlamento Europeo (1979-2004): un análisis de sociología electoral*, Madrid, Dykinson.

Font, J. y Torcal, M.

2011 *Elecciones Europeas 2009*, Madrid, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Freres, C. and Sanahuja, J. A. (eds.)

2006 *América Latina y Unión Europea: estrategias para una asociación necesaria*, Barcelona, Icaria.

García Picazo, P.

2008 *La idea de Europa: historia, cultura, política*, Madrid, Tecnos.

Llamazares, I. and Reinares, F. (eds.)

1999 *Aspectos políticos y sociales de la integración europea*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch.

Mariscal, N.

2010 *Más allá de Lisboa: Horizontes europeos*, Madrid, Tecnos.

- 2003 *Teorías Políticas de la Integración Europea*, Madrid, Tecnos.
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NICK SITTER

THE AWKWARD SUBJECT?: THE STUDY OF
EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS IN THE UK AND
IRELAND

The study of European Union (EU) politics in the UK and Ireland exploded onto the academic scene in the mid-1990s. In 1990 even the best-stocked university bookshops featured little more than a single shelf of books on the European Community; by 2010 a full wall would no longer provide sufficient space. In 1990 the student of European Communities (EC) politics could easily gain a good overview of the relevant literature on politics, international relations and economics, and even law; two decades later it is difficult enough to keep up with developments in only one of these fields. The present chapter provides an overview of the development of the British and Irish literature on the EU, from the early debates on European integration to the broad area that makes up European Union politics today. Because this is a large field, the chapter charts the development of this literature rather than provide in-depth assessment of individual contributions.

In 1990 Stephen George gave his book on Britain in the European Community the title *An Awkward Partner*. The title reflected the difficulties British politicians and civil servants experienced in adjusting to and coming to terms with membership of the EC, but the conclusion of the second edition [George 1994] suggested that this relationship was gradually becoming somewhat less awkward. Something similar can be said about the study of the European Union and its predecessors, both in the UK and in Ireland. The study of EC/EU politics has been more difficult, problematic and controversial than most area studies or cases in comparative politics. This is not simply a matter of how to deal with comparative analysis of a single case (the «N=1 problem»); or of the classical debates about the

role of structure and agency; or about the balance between context and parsimonious simplification [Sartori 2009]. The study of the politics of European integration has proven particularly challenging because the EU changes faster than most other polities, because the study of the EU requires knowledge of both international relations and comparative politics, and because the EU is more heterogeneous than most political units.

The study of European Union politics (this term will hereafter be used as a shorthand to denote EU, European Economic Community/EEC and EC politics) has developed over the last half-century from a sub-discipline of international relations to a fully fledged subject in both international relations and comparative politics. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the beginnings of a turn to comparative politics and public policy in the EU politics literature, and the subject exploded onto the scene in the 1990s. To be sure, the debates over the very nature of the EU – whether it is best studied as an international organization, a political system or something unique – still remain open. However, EU political system is increasingly used as a case study or an arena for testing and developing theory, much in the same way that national political systems have long been used. Studies of the European Court of Justice are comparable to those of the national constitutional courts; studies of the Commission's DG Competition to those of member state competition authorities; and studies of the European Parliament to any national parliament. The theories that inform academic studies of EU politics are increasingly taken from the broader comparative politics and public policy literature, as much as from the international relations literature.

This chapter charts the development of the study of EU politics in the UK and Ireland, from the early debates on European integration to the Lisbon Treaty. The first section elaborates on the «awkwardness» of the subject and locates British and Irish research on EU politics in a broader international relations and comparative politics context. The next three sections each address one period. Section

two focuses the initial debates on European integration and on UK and Irish membership, during which the literature was characterized by individual *ad hoc* contributions in politics, law and economics, and the main theoretical debate centered on international relations theories of regional integration and the nature of the EEC. Section three covers the period running from first enlargement of the EEC to the Single European Act (SEA), during which the debate between realists and neo-functionalists reached its zenith but the comparative politics debate on European politics also began to take form. The fourth section takes the story up to the present day. It includes the period between the SEA and the Lisbon Treaty when debates in international relations and comparative politics theory were projected onto debates about European integration, and many British and Irish research projects diverged along constructivist vs rationalist lines. By 2010 the field of «EU studies» in the UK and Ireland could properly be said to be so broad as to no longer constitute a single field. Tellingly, books on the EU are increasingly (once again) dispersed across the appropriate disciplinary sections in university bookshops.

1. *An awkward subject?*

The study of the European Union – not just in Britain and Ireland, but elsewhere too – has proven awkward in the dictionary-definition sense that it is «not easy to deal with» and «requires cautious action». The nature of the object – the EU – has been far more widely and aggressively debated than in the case of most other polities or political units. William Wallace's [1983] «less than a federation, more than a regime» formulation neatly captures both the two main units to which the EU has most often been compared – a federal state and an international organization – and the idea that the EU does not quite fit into either category. An obvious solution is to argue that the EU is in fact a unique organization, that it is *sui generis*, or born in and of itself, and that the study of EU politics warrants the de-

velopment of an entirely new set of analytical tools. A prominent 1990s version of this debate in the UK saw Simon Hix [1994, 1996] advocate a comparative approach and Andrew Hurrell and Adnan Menon [1996] argue that the EU was not «politics like any other» and that its study required a combination of comparative politics and international relations theory. The central point, however, is that comparative analysis of the EU is «not easy» and «requires cautions action» – the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of «awkward». The three principal sources of the awkwardness of EU politics as a subject – that it has been changing relatively fast, that EU politics is a very multi-theoretical field, and that the EU is remarkably heterogeneous – are addressed briefly in this section.

The first challenge that confronts the student of EU politics is that the organization changes at a faster pace than almost any other large polity. To be sure, all polities change. The study of politics and public policy is therefore, to some extent, the study of reform and change. Students of British politics are no strangers to relatively fast and radical change, from Thatcherism to New Labor and beyond. However, *as a political system*, the EU has developed and changed much faster, and more continuously, than those of its member states. Moreover, this change has not only been comparatively fast, it has also involved several dimensions of European integration [Wallace 1989]. The EU has *deepened* in the sense that its member states have become more closely integrated over time and the EU's supranational characteristics have been strengthened: more majority voting in the Council of Ministers, a stronger role for the European Parliament and the European Commission, and an increasingly important role for EU law and the European Court of Justice (at least until the mid-1990s). The EU has *widened* in the sense that it has grown steadily from six to twenty-seven member states: the UK, Ireland and Denmark joining in 1973, the Mediterranean enlargements in the 1980s, five of the six remaining European Free Trade Area states joining the EU or the European Economic Area in the 1990s, and the ten former communist states

plus Malta and Cyprus joining after the turn of the century. And the EU has increased its *scope* in the sense that it has expanded from the single market to include a number of other policy areas, including foreign policy cooperation, the common currency, policy and justice cooperation. Even the scope of the single European market has been gradually extended since the Single European Act, with the «public turn» to utilities and cooperation in social policy, health and education since the early 1990s.

The «moving target» problem has been exacerbated by the somewhat erratic pace of European integration. This, in turn, shaped the academic debate in the UK and Ireland (and indeed elsewhere). The first decade after the Treaty of Rome saw a number of radical developments, including establishing the direct effect of EEC law and the supremacy of the European Court of Justice. Neo-functional accounts of European integration driven by an inexorable logic of spillover from one policy area to the next and interest groups shifting their loyalties to the new political centre were triumphant. The «empty chair» crisis in 1965-66 and the «Luxembourg compromise» (to the effect that qualified majority voting in the Council would not be used if a state argued that important national interest were at stake) hit the brakes on European integration, and coincided with Stanley Hoffmann's [1966] timely article asserting the obstinacy of the state.

Others followed in Hoffmann's footsteps, but already by the end of the decade it became clear that, assured that they were now in control of the integration process, the member states governments were prepared to push integration further. The 1970s saw some success for intergovernmental initiatives as the role of the Council of Ministers and its Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) increased and member states explored intergovernmental cooperation in the fields of foreign policy, counter-terrorism and combating drugs and organized crime. However, the decade also saw considerable problems with the efforts to move toward a common currency. Paul Taylor captured the state of affairs nicely in *The Limits of Euro-*

pean Integration, published in 1983.

Somewhat ironically, European integration blossomed again less than two years later. Renewed interest in neo-functionalism followed [Geroge 1985; Tranholm-Mikkelsen 1991]; as did another round in the debates between realist and liberals in international relations. The Single European Act and the increased role of the European Parliament prompted renewed interest from scholars of comparative politics and public policy [Wallace, Wallace and Webb 1983; Lodge 1989; Andersen and Eliassen 1993; Bulmer 1993; Richardson 1996]; best summed up in Simon Hix's [1994] call for comparative politics scholars to «pick up their pens». The steady pace of deepening, widening and scope extension in the 1990s and 2000s seems to have brought an end to the rollercoaster pattern of European integration – but history suggests that it would be rash to expect that this will last.

Perhaps the most challenging practical question that this history of the ups and down of both integration and integration theory raises is whether the EU is best studied as a process or a «snap-shot». The debate centers on whether EU politics is sufficiently stable to warrant «normal» comparative politics analysis of for example lobbying or voting patterns in the European Parliament, or whether all decision making should be seen in a broader context of continuing European integration. Unsurprisingly, scholars who draw on the public choice literature (often inspired by studies of the federal U.S. political system) and focus on the interplay between rational actors with fixed interest and clear unambiguous rules have tended towards greater assumptions of stability. Examples include studies of voting patterns in the Council of Ministers or the European Parliament, of which many can be found in the journal «European Union Politics». Conversely, scholars from a more sociological tradition, who also include ideas and organizations among the drivers of political decision-making have tended to emphasize change. The «Journal of European Public Policy» offers numerous examples of studies that focus on changes over time in decision-making practices in

the Council and the Commission. In practice most public policy scholars have opted to do both: to study decision making as if it were taking place under relatively fixed rules of the game, while bearing in mind that decision making in the 1990s and 2000s generally took place in the shadow of rapid «constitutional» change as the EU treaties were revised and the scope of the single market extended to new sectors even between treaty changes.

The second challenge that confronts the student of EU politics is practical: the need to acquire a solid grasp of a broad range of theories. Whereas the public choice theorist interested in legislative decisions at Westminster or the political sociologist interested in cleavages and voting patterns may with some justification limit their study to the literature in their chosen field, the study of EU politics requires a broader theoretical background. Mastering EU politics involves at least some study of international relations, comparative politics, political economy, political history and political sociology. Many of the scholars cited in the present chapter have been trained in both comparative politics and international relations; most of the rest have acquired solid command of the literature and research methods that range far beyond the methods they favor in their own work. This is not only because of the nature of the EU, but also because of the history of EU studies as an academic field.

The brief review of the history of EU studies in this chapter and elsewhere in the present volume provides ample illustration that the subject has been driven by scholars working in a number of different academic traditions. Patrick Dunleavy's observation (when studying a crisis in Thatcher's cabinet in the 1980s) that «political science is inherently a multi-theoretical discipline in which issues of interpretation are of central intellectual interest» [Dunleavy 1990, 58] is particularly pertinent to the study of EU politics. Although there is much common ground between comparative politics and international relations, inasmuch as both raise similar questions about the nature of the world (ontology), what one can know about the world

(epistemology) and the appropriate tools for acquiring particular knowledge (methodology), comparative politics and international relations still draw on quite different sets of literature in practice. Because both sets of literature have played such a central role in the study of EU politics, the student of EU politics faces a heavy burden in terms of mastery of *the* literature.

At the level of theory, the multi-theoretical nature of EU studies has raised several questions as to how different theories can be used or combined to study «the nature of the beast». Donald Puchala's [1972] metaphor for several blind men examining different parts of an elephant and drawing widely different conclusions about what kind of animal they were studying is probably the most widely cited example. Puchala's blind men offer one way out of this conundrum: acceptance that different theories focus on different aspects of European integration. Alternatively Robert Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann [1991] and John Peterson [1995] suggested that different theories explain different types of events: they saw neo-functionalism spillover operating between inter-governmental bargains offers another – based on distinction between rule making and policy making. Andrew Moravcsik [1991, 1993] used a similar argument to limit his liberal intergovernmental theory to explaining treaty change. In a similar vein, Jeremy Richardson [1996] drew on theories of the policy process to argue that different stages of the EU policy process warrant different theories. Finally, Paul Taylor [1991] offered another approach to combining theories: suggesting that neo-functionalism theories illustrated the pressure *for* integration while consociationalism explained the *countervailing* forces. In short, the multi-theoretical nature of the study of the European Union is beyond doubt, although the implications of this remain controversial.

The third challenge that confronts the student of EU politics derives from the indisputable fact that the European Union is a more heterogeneous political unit than most of its member states, and the controversies this has caused about whether convergence can be expected and

documented. The enlargement from six to thirty-odd member and quasi-member states has driven the point home: no student of current EU politics can doubt that there are big and important differences in power, preferences, resources, institutions, policy traditions, values and ideas across the member states. However, the early UK literature on European integration shows this is a difference in degree rather than in kind from the early years of the EEC. For example, in 1968 John Pinder argued that the differences between Gaullism in France and neo-liberalism in German economic policy would make it very difficult for the EEC to progress beyond negative integration (agreement on the removal of barriers to trade) to positive integration (the development of common policies). This was in response to the neo-functionalists suggestions that European integration would not only make the EEC more homogeneous, but that economic integration would spill over into increased political support for the project over time [Haas 1958]. Since the 1960s this debate has continued in a modified form: scholars who focus on integration theory have tended to emphasize the tendency for the EU to grow ever more integrated and homogeneous; whereas public policy scholars who study patterns of Europeanization have presented a wealth of evidence of variation across sectors, countries and time [Bulmer 2007].

The debates about the significance of heterogeneity in the EU have taken two principal forms. First, a question of whether political or economic integration is the central driving force; and second, whether heterogeneity has become less politically important over time. The first debate has roots in the debates in the 1960s about the role of nationalism, and the relationship between what Paul Taylor [1968, drawing on Tönnies 1940] called transaction-based society (*Gesellschaft*) and value-based community (*Gemeinschaft*). Neo-functionalist scholars generally took the view that economic integration would drive political integration (*Gesellschaft* would spill over into a nascent *Gemeinschaft*); whereas federalist or realist scholars saw the absence of an EEC-level *Gemeinschaft* as an obstacle to further integra-

tion. This debate continues today in the shape of research on socialization of national actors and the Europeanization of member state politics. It confronts the student of EU politics with a number of important questions for research design, particularly related to how far and to what extent researches can simplify and generalize in order to build parsimonious models of decision-making in the EU without losing touch with reality. Much of the critique of neo-functionalism in the late 1960s from British and Irish scholars centered on its assumptions that interest groups were heterogeneous within states but that similar sets of interest groups could be found in each state.

The second dimension of heterogeneity concerns its importance. Perhaps the clearest example is the debate that centered on the effect of the enlargement of the EU to include formerly communist member states. Scholars who focus on preferences and rules tended to focus on how enlargement could be expected to lead to more blocking constellations in the Council of Ministers whereas others have suggested that the EU (like other federal systems) develops its own mechanisms for overcoming deadlock [Egan, Nugent and Paterson 2010 for several good reviews]. Alternatively, patterns of EU decision-making are deemed to have changed over time. The change from consensual decision making in the Council in the 1960s and 1970s to more use of majority voting in the 1990s and 2000 is well documented, as is the change from the classical «community method» of consensual decision-making to other forms of governance such as regulation. Helen Wallace has written extensively on this, most accessibly in various editions of *Policy-Making in the European Union*, each of which also contains good reviews of the literature on integration theory [Wallace, Pollack and Young 2010]. Another version of this argument can be found in the literature on the regularity state in Europe [Majone 1994; McGowan and Wallace 1996], in the shape of an argument that decision-making both in the EU and its member states took a turn toward regulatory governance in the early 1990s. Alternatively, the development of the EU political

system may be compared processes of national state-building in Europe, using classical comparative politics literature such as Stein Rokkan's work on state-building and democratization [1970] and Arend Lijphart's work on democracy in plural societies [1977]. Hence Simon Hix's suggestion [2007] that as the EU regime matures, left-right political competition is replacing national divisions as the key dimension of political competition at the EU level.

Although the study of EU politics involves some challenges above and beyond those encountered by the student of comparative politics at the state-level, this should hardly be a cause for despair for the student of EU politics, whether he or she comes to the subject from a comparative politics, international relations, public policy, political economy, political sociology or indeed any other background in political science. The study of EU politics may be an awkward subject in the sense that it requires careful consideration and raises questions about assumptions that can safely be made when studying politics and policy at the national level. Four broad questions have dominated the British and Irish literature: first, the question of what kind of political system or regime the EU is and how it is best understood; second, questions about the nature, preferences and strategies of the core actors (and indeed about what kind of actors can be considered core actors); third, questions about the European institutions and agencies in terms of their organization and resources; and forth, questions about the implementation of EU policy and of its effects. All four questions have prompted debates about the relative importance of actors, institutions and norms. The debates not only reflect contemporary debates in comparative politics and international relations; by the 1990s they were beginning to shape and drive the broader debates in political science and international relations. The next three sections turn to the historical development of the study of EU politics in Britain and Ireland; covering three periods separated by the UK's and Ireland's accession to the EEC in 1973 and the ratification of the Single European Act in 1987.

2. Before membership

The study of the politics of European integration prior to the UK and Ireland (and Denmark) joining the EEC in 1973 was carried out largely as a sub-discipline of international relations. The academic debate centered on how to understand the EEC and, to a lesser extent, on how European integration worked in specific policy areas. A handful of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, mainly working in the field of international relations (hereafter IR), shaped these early debates between state-oriented and pluralist scholars. The central question was whether international politics was primarily driven by states or by a wider set of non-state actors. Some of the British academics who were to publish top-level articles in five consecutive decades – such as Paul Taylor and Helen Wallace – began to publish on European integration at a time when the IR debate on the EEC was driven as much by North American IR academia as by its European counterparts. The literature that was developed by British and Irish scholars in the 1960s and early 1970 concentrated on two broad themes: contributions to the IR debates on theories of European integration and on the practical policy implications for the UK (and to a lesser extent Ireland) of participation and non-participation in European integration.

The central question in debates on theories of European integration in the 1950s and 1960s concerned hypotheses put forward by Ernest Haas [1958] and other American neo-functionalists on the one hand, and their more state-centered critics on the other. These debates reflected both the broader IR debate between pluralists and realists, and the practical debates about how to go about European integration in the late 1940s and early 1950s [Lindberg and Scheingold 1970]. The central theoretical questions were whether European integration was driven by a self-reinforcing dynamic beyond the control of the six member states; and particularly whether integration was driven by (supranational) policy entrepreneurs, whether it entailed tasks that were inherently expansive (functional spillover

would occur as solving one challenge gave rise to new and broader challenges), and whether the loyalties of firms, trade unions and voters would be redirected toward Brussels (political spillover). The clearest elaboration of a realist critique came from Stanley Hofmann [1966] at Harvard, in the shape of his suggestion that European integration would be limited to «low politics» (practical policy issues and zero-sum games about redistribution) and that «high politics» (relating to security, and to the «maximization of the common good», in Hoffmann [1982, 29]). The British debate at the time saw the elaboration of four broad lines of argument that contributed to shaping the IR rebate on European integration.

First, European scholars in general and British scholars in particular paid more attention to the role of nationalism than did most of their U.S. counterparts. For example, Paul Taylor [1968] argued not only that nationalism was limiting the scope for European integration, but also that scholarly attention to the role of nationalism might raise questions about the legitimacy of the European integration project. Like both state-centric scholars and classical functionalists, Taylor suggested that the political legitimacy of the project might be a precondition for successful integration. Consequently therefore integration was, and indeed should be, state-driven and based on political consensus. This picture stood in stark contrast to both the neo-functionalists' and federalists' assumption that successful integration would lead to increased legitimacy for the EEC project. It foreshadowed the focus on democracy and sovereignty that would be more fully developed in the British literature in the 1970s.

Second, several British scholars embarked on detailed empirical investigation of domestic politics and the role of interest groups in the European integration process. Helen Wallace [1971] found that far from generally supporting European integration, interest groups were divided within and across the EEC member states. Whereas neo-functionalists assumed a degree of homogeneity of interest groups across the member states (and realists paid only

limited attention to interest group politics at all), the empirical evidence pointed to a far more diverse picture. Wallace and others documented considerable variation between member states both in terms of the types of interest groups that existed and the role they played in the European integration process. Consequently they directed research toward the role that domestic politics played in European integration, with particular emphasis on the effects French and British interest group and party politics had on European integration and the prospect for UK membership

Third, the neo-functional dynamic of functional spillover was challenged by John Pinder's [1968, drawing on Tinbergen 1954] suggestion that integration in policy areas that only required the removal of barriers to trade (negative integration) was far easier than in policy sectors where new common standards were required (positive integration). This introduced a more elaborate qualification of the limits to European integration than Hoffmann's high/low distinction, building not so much on (the realists') preoccupation with power and sovereignty as with the practical and political obstacles to the development of common policies. The central argument would later be formulated more rigorously in game-theoretical terms by Fritz Scharpf [1999], but Pinder's work in the 1960s already argued that it had proven considerably easier to remove barriers to trade by prohibiting or removing protectionist measures than it was to establish new common rules among six states that features quite different economic, administrative and legal systems.

Fourth and finally, the IR debate drew some criticism on the grounds that it neglected the international context in which European integration took place, from, for example, John Pinder [1968], Michael Hodges [1972] and Reginald Harrison [1974]. The establishment of the EEC took place very much in the context of the Cold War, with considerable help from the U.S. both directly in terms of help and encouragement and indirectly in terms of the NATO security umbrella. Whereas the international context was

relatively benign in the 1950s and 1960s, the combination of economic and political international crises in the 1970s would provide a very different context for European integration. With the US Dollar off the gold standard, soaring oil prices, an international economic downturn, and increasing debates about welfare state crises at home, the EC member states would operate in a more volatile political and economic context in the 1970s.

However, during the 1960s a second, more empirical and policy sector-oriented, dimension of the academic literature on the politics of European integration began to take form in Britain and Ireland that took this subject beyond the international relations literature. A growing number of academics publishing in the «Journal of Common Market Studies» (established in 1962) turned their attention from integration theory to analysis of the economic (and to a lesser extent political) consequences of the EEC for the member state states, particularly in terms of industry, agriculture and trade. An overview of the first ten years of «Journal of Common Market Studies» publications includes a series of articles on economic, social, legal and constitutional aspects of European integration, including studies of the European institutions, and a substantial number of articles that focus on the external relations of the EEC (particularly trade). These articles lay the foundations for a board literature on EEC public policy, both in its own right and in terms of its impact on the member state. The core contribution of this policy literature was to position the EEC as an «issue area» in national politics [Wallace 1971; 1973], and to focus attention on the role of different sets of national actors in different EEC issue areas and the role of the Commission and the European Court of Justice as policy entrepreneurs [Coombes 1968; 1970]. Work on the role these institutions played drew attention to the strong regulatory role that the Commission was beginning to play in EEC politics and policy.

3. From membership to the Single European Act

The study of the politics of European integration between the 1973 enlargement and the Single European Act saw an increasing number of comparative politics scholars turn their attention to the European stage, and begin to analyze the politics, public policy and political economy of the EEC on its own merits rather than approaching it primarily as a case of advanced regional integration. This period also saw a decline of regional integration theory in the IR discipline in general, and somewhat of an academic backlash against neo-functional theories of European integration. By the early 1980s a series of new books and articles were being published in the UK and Ireland that either returned the state to the center of integration theory or focused more explicitly on broader political and economic constraints than the principal neo-functional authors had done. However, just as neo-functionalism reached its nadir and the state's role seemed at its strongest, European integration took off again after a period of «Euro-sclerosis» in the 1970s. The agreement at the Fontainebleu summit in 1984 and the resolution of the UK budget rebate question set the scene for a renewal of European integration. The role of the Commission in brokering the political agreement that led to the Single European Act and the ensuing debates on economic and monetary union prompted a revival of the realist – neo-functional debate in the early 1990s. However, by this stage the study of the politics of European integration has been broadened to such an extent that the realist – pluralist debate never regained the prominent position it had occupied in the 1960s. Much of the reason for this lies in the empirical and policy-oriented turn that British and Irish scholarship on European politics took in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The 1970s saw a decline in regional integration theory, both in the UK and Ireland as well as on the broader academic scene. Ernst Haas himself [1975] declared the death of regional integration theory, or at least its obsolescence. Integration theory was to be subsumed under the broader

heading of interdependence. By the mid-1970s it was clear that much of promise that European integration had seemed to hold in the 1960s would remain unfulfilled in the short term. A combination of international developments and domestic politics limited the development of the EEC, as did the enlargement to the UK, Ireland and Denmark in 1973. The predominant response in terms of international relations theory was a turn either to broader theories of interdependence, or a return of the state to centre stage. However, a range of mixed models that saw the EC system as something almost unique in international relations were also developed in the 1970s. Perhaps most famously, William Wallace [1983] argued that the EC was «less than a federation» and «more than a regime»; that it was neither a federation nor international organization but an institutions that involved a compromise model of sovereignty. Likewise John Pinder [1985] saw the EC a complementary to member state sovereignty, rather than as a challenge to it; as a system that was developing alongside the state system. In short, the 1970s saw economic and social transformation in Western Europe that prompted British and Irish academics to begin to investigate the close and increasingly intense interdependence between the EEC member states, and the implications of these relationships. William Wallace would later [1999] suggest that these changes in Europe were of the kind that would later be labeled «globalization» when they took place on a wider stage in the 1990s.

The decline in academic interest in integration theory did not extend to interest in the European institutions themselves. With the strengthening of the Council of Minister's role and machinery and institutionalization of the European Council summits of heads of state and government, interest in the state-driven machinery of the EC grew. Prominent books on the Council of Ministers in this era included a volume by Geoffrey Edwards and Helen Wallace [1977] volume, as well as several articles by Wallace [1976], and Paul Taylor's work on intergovernmentalism [1982]. A key point in this literature was the difference

between formal rules and the actual workings of the Council of Ministers; a theme that was echoed in articles by practitioners [Bieber and Palmer 1975]. The European Commission attracted somewhat less attention: although a number of articles explored the Commission's role in policy sectors such as trade or competition policy, relatively few books and articles addressed the Commission as an international organization. David Spence and Geoffrey Edwards' [2006] edited volume on the European Commission contains practically no references to books or articles from this period, but a couple of dozen references to publications in the decade after Jacques Delors took office as Commission President in 1985. However, academic work on the European Parliament took off in the second half of the 1970s (see below): a review by Simon Hix, Tapio Rautio and Roger Scully [2003] found that the publication of books and articles on this topic peaked in the years after the introduction of direct elections in 1979 and only began to recover again in the late 1990s.

This period also saw increasingly systematic focus on the relationship between domestic politics and European integration, and particularly how domestic politics could act as a break on integration. Labor's calling a referendum on EEC membership in 1975 was the clearest case in point [Sarlvik, Crewe, Alt and Fox 1976]; in the Irish case the economic incentives were clearer and more one-sided [Burns and Salmon 1976]. This drew attention to the possible breakdown of what Lindberg and Schenigold [1970] had called the «permissive consensus», as a state's participation in European integration became contested by political parties in the member states. All the new member states had gone through domestic debates on membership in the early 1960s, and the year before the 1973 enlargement Norway had become the first state to reject membership in a referendum. In 1978 Groom warned of «spillback»: the possibility of successful economic integration provoking political controversy at the member state level. In the same decade academic work in the UK and Ireland began to address questions of democracy and legitimacy, the opera-

tion of the European Parliament and whether direct elections to the European parliament could resolve the Europe's «democratic deficit» [Lodge and Herman 1978; Marquand 1978, 1979; Lodge 1984, Kirchner 1984]. Michael Palmer [1977, 1981] added analysis from a practitioner's perspective. Simon Bulmer's [1983] article on domestic politics and EC policy making and Stephen George's [1985] discussion of the role of domestic politics in shaping European integration started off a series of articles and books examining the relationship between domestic (particularly British and German) politics and European integration and policy-making [Bulmer and Paterson 1989; Bulmer, George and Scott 1992; Bulmer and Lequesne 2005].

At the same time the EC saw quiet progress in a number of policy areas, from the mechanisms for European Political Cooperation and the establishment of the European Monetary System in 1979, to cooperation outside the formal EEC framework in terms of counterterrorism, efforts to combat illegal drugs and cooperation in defense. A range of mid-level policy studies that focused on individual or comparative studies of policy sectors were published in books and journals, and theories of policy making were applied to the EC. A notable example of the latter was Jordan Grant and Jeremy Richardson's [1983] application of their work on policy communities to the EC, which Richardson followed up with a series of studies of EC lobbying and policy-making [Mazey and Richardson 1993; Richardson 1996; Coen and Richardson 2009]. The «Journal of Common Market Studies» attracted a wider range of empirically oriented articles, as scholars specializing in a range of policy fields turned to examine the EC as another case study of policy-making or international policy cooperation. A review of individual policy articles is beyond the scope of the present chapter, but a handful of books and edited volumes merit particular mention because they provide a particularly good overview of the state of the art at the time. The volume on *Policy-making in the European Communities* edited by Helen Wallace, William Wallace

and Carole Webb, which covered both policy making and a range of sector cases studies, made its first appearance in 1977 and was followed by a second edition in 1983 (by 2010 it was in its sixth edition, edited by Helen Wallace, Mark Pollack and Alasdair Young). Stephen Geroge's *Politics and Policy in the European Community* [1985] combined analysis of EC policy making with several sector-specific chapters; and Hugh Arbuthnott and Geoffrey Edwards' *Common Man's Guide to the Common Market* [1979; second edition 1989] provided an accessible overview of EC policy in a range of sectors.

Taken together, the studies of the politics of European integration, of European institutions, of policy-making in the EC and of a range of policy sectors provided a mapping of the EC as a complex and heterogeneous institution. During the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s academic attention to some extent followed the fortunes of the institutions: relatively more about the Commission and Court in the 1960s, then a stronger focus on the Council and the role of domestic politics in the 1970s, with increasing focus on the European Parliament in connection with the introduction of direct elections in 1979, and a return to attention to the Commission after Delors took over and the Single European Act was negotiated. In the period after the first enlargement the study of European Community politics became thoroughly multi-disciplinary, as a series of comparative and sector-specific policy studies were published both in the form of books and journal articles. The heterogeneity of the European Community became a more pressing challenge after the 1973 enlargement, and by the time of the Single European Act the debate as to whether a larger number of member states made the Community more unmanageable (prone to gridlock) or institutions like the Council were adapting through the use of informal norms and procedures was well underway. With the enlargements, institutional reforms and extension of the policies covered by the EU in the 1990s and 2000s this question was set return and prompt ever more academic debate.

4. *From the Single European Act to the Constitution*

The Single European Act proved a watershed not only for European integration, but also for the study of EU politics in Britain and Ireland. The run-up to the 1992 «deadline» for the single European market saw a large increase in book-length studies and journal articles on European integration, and this turned out to be the beginning of a sustainable boom in EU studies. The story of research on EU politics in the UK and Ireland in the 1990s and 2000s is a story of rapid expansion, but also a story of «normalization» of EU studies in the sense that the subject began to attract the attention of a wide range of comparativist scholars. EU politics became a more «mainstream» field of research, and the EU, its organizations and its policy sectors were used increasingly as case studies in comparative politics and public policy. Whereas the EU remained somewhat unique as a subject of international relations, not least because of the deep and intense degree of inter-state cooperation, it came to be seen by many scholars almost as just another case of political competition or policy making. Across the disciplines, the distinction between the EU as a system or regime and its member states as a separate level of analysis became increasingly blurred. By the end of the 1990s, IR scholars working on the EU had contributed considerably to the blurring of the boundaries between the state and international politics in mainstream IR analysis. Likewise, public policy scholars working on the EU contributed considerably to shaping the field of comparative public policy in the UK and Ireland. By 2010, even if the EU was not quite «just another case study», the EU had become somewhat of a «normal subject» for IR, comparative politics, political economy and public policy scholars.

The first decade after the Single European Act saw the publication of a raft of textbooks and studies of the individual EC institutions that soon became standard reference for academic work on the EC/EU, whether in the shape of undergraduate reading lists or citations in research articles. Two early textbooks warrant mention: Stephen George's

[1985] *Politics and Policy in the European Community* and Neill Nugent's [1989] *The Government and Politics of the European Community* joined the Wallace, Wallace and Webb [1977] policy volume and El-Agraa's [1980] EC economics textbook as classics that would reappear a number of editions [most recently: El-Agraa 2007; Nugent 2010; Wallace, Pollack and Young 2010; George, Bache and Bulmer 2011]. Others that appeared in one or two editions but captured the state of the art at the time well include Juliet Lodge's [1989, 1993] edited volume on the EC's challenges, William Wallace's [1990] *The Dynamics of European Integration* and John Pinder's history of the EC/EU [1991, 1998]. These have since been joined by a series of single-author textbooks and edited volumes, notably by Mike Artis and Norman Lee [1994], Jeremy Richardson [1996], Simon Hix [1999], John Peterson and Michael Shackleton [2002], and Michelle Cini [2003], all of which have since appeared in new editions and sometimes with new co-authors or co-editors. Nugent's 1989 volume was part of Macmillan's comparative politics series; a few years later he was among the series editors for that publisher's dedicated European Union series.

The number of books on the European institutions likewise increased, and many prompted repeat editions (only the first and most recent editions are cited here). The Palgrave Macmillan series now includes David Judge and David Earnshaw [2003, 2008] on the European Parliament, Fiona Hayes-Renshaw and Helen Wallace [1997, 2006] on the Council of Ministers, and Nugent [1997, 2001] on the Commission, as well as a series by Juliet Lodge on each set of European Parliament elections [Lodge and Herman 1982; Lodge 2009]; Simon Hix and Christopher Lord [1997] on political parties and Justin Greenwood [1997, 2007] on organized interests. Other notable volumes on institutions include Simon Bulmer and Wolfgang Wessels [1987] and Emil Kirchner [1992] on the Council; David Spence and Geoffrey Edwards [1994, 2006] and Michelle Cini [1996] on the Commission; and Francis Jacobs and Richard Corbett [1990]; Jacobs Corbett and Shackleton

[2007] on the Parliament. Two volumes focusing specifically on the Delors commission also merit attention: George Ross [1995] *Jacques Delors: The House that Jacques Built* and Charles Grant *Jacques Delors and European Integration* [1994].

The present chapter is not the place to replicate or compete with some of the excellent article-length analytical reviews of EU studies in the first decade or two after the Single European Act, let alone the book-length surveys and assessments of the English-language literature on European integration. At this point it is better to refer the reader to Simon Hix's review of international relations and comparative politics research on the EU [1994] published in «West European Politics» just as that journal began to focus on EU issues; to the debate on institutionalism and new governance carried out in the shape of critical literature reviews by Simon Bulmer [1998] and Hix [1998] in the then newly established «Journal of European Public Policy» [see also Pollack 1996]; and to Helen Wallace's [2000] critical review of the history of European Union studies as part of the «One Europe or Several» research program. A good recent review by an American author can be found in Mark Pollack's [2010] chapter in the *Policy-Making in the European Union* volume. For book-length reviews of the history of European integration theory that focus primarily on the English-language literature, see Paul Taylor's [1996] discussion of the relationship between developments in European integration and integration theory, Ben Rosamond's [2000] thematic review of the theories of European integration, Michelle Cini and Angela Bourne's [2006] edited volume on EU studies, and the edited volume on research agendas in EU studies by Michelle Egan, Neill Nugent and William Paterson [2010]. Moreover, the «Journal of European Public Policy» has dedicated a series of special issues to constructivism [1999], Europeanization [2001], historical institutionalism [2002], political economy [2003], neo-functionalism [2005], etc. The following paragraphs therefore do little more than to point some broad trends in EU studies that characterized research in Britain and Ireland in

the last two decades, each of which would warrant at article-length surveys in themselves.

Given the close relationship between IR and comparative politics in the UK and Ireland, it was no surprise that the central debates in the two disciplines developed in parallel in the 1990s, closely mirroring one another. For scholars concerned with the EU in both disciplines, the central questions concerned the nature of the EU as an object of comparative study, and the analytical tools and research methods most appropriate to study it. The debate as to whether the SEA was better understood in terms of cooperation between states with clearly articulated preferences or the Commission's entrepreneurial role was fought out on both sides of the Atlantic. Robert Putnam's work on two-level games [1988] and Andrew Moravcsik's [1991, 1993] liberal intergovernmentalist position in the USA were close to the position elaborated by Paul Taylor [1991] from the IR perspective and Stephen George [1985] from the comparative politics angle. Wanyne Sandholtz and John Zysman's [1989] work on the Commission's leadership role found parallels the research by IR theorists, comparative politics scholars, and even sociologists and anthropologists collected in Neill Nugent's [1997] edited volume on the Commission. William Wallace's [1990] edited volume on *The Dynamics of European Integration* represented an effort at dialogue not only across the Atlantic, but also between IR and comparative politics. By 2000, could confidently assert that «contemporary Europe is approached increasingly through the regular conceptual lenses and with the regular methodological toolkits of political science and international relations» [Wallace 2000, 100]. In both cases, this meant bringing new theories and research tools to bear on the study of European politics; to the study of integration and treaty debates as well as day-to-day politics and the study of individual legislative proposals or policy sectors.

One broad question lay at the centre of the debates in EU studies in the 1990s and 2000s: do institutions matter? Or more specifically: why and how do institutions matter?

The classical approach to EU institutions, focusing on their functions, competencies and relationships with each other and the member states, was been supplemented by studies of their organization, the formal and informal rules observed by actors, and whether participation in European integration changed or shaped preferences, norms and values. Studies of the Commission went beyond examination of its executive, legislative and administrative roles, to explore its internal cohesion, leadership and dynamics [Page and Wouters 1994; Cram 1994, 1997; Laffan 1997]. Work on the European Parliament went beyond the study of its formal power, to explore the dynamics of decision making and patterns of party competition [Hix and Lord 1997]. Game theory-inspired work on the European institutions was pioneered in the U.S. by Geroge Tsebelis [1994], but challenged by arguments to the effect increased power to the parliament could also reinforce the Council's focus on collegiality [Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace 1997]. Three broad sets of answers to the question of how and when institutions matter shaped the research agenda on EU politics in Britain and Ireland.

First, drawing on the rational choice (or public choice) tradition of comparative politics, and closely linked to the realist school in IR, a number of scholars approached EU studies with the assumption that institutions play a role that is largely limited to providing the rules of the game. Institutions provide one of the constraints – or, in rational choice institutionalism, the key constraint – under which individuals attempt to maximize their expected utility. Institutions may provide a degree of stability inasmuch as they may be difficult to change, they may limit the range of policy options, and they may limit the member states of complete control of policy making or effective supervision of supranational organizations. However, they are seen as intervening rather than independent variables. Although the most influential early research in this field came from academics in the U.S. [Tsebelis 1994; Pollack 1996; 1997], a number of British and Irish scholars working in this tradition applied their theoretical approach to

the EU, notably Patrick Dunleavy [2000] and Michael Laver [2000]. However, as the institutional affiliations of the contributors to the journal «European Union Politics» reveal, this is hardly an Anglo-Irish-dominated research agenda. Tellingly Mark Pollack's [2006] review of the rational choice work on EU politics includes relatively few references to work by British scholars, compared to the large number of Americans and continental Europeans working in this tradition. The notable exception is Simon Hix's work on voting in the European Parliament [2001]. Hix's textbook on EU politics [1999] is broadly in this tradition, although his work [e.g. 2008] also addresses a broader research agenda. Criticism of these approaches generally centered on their heavy reliance of formal rules and distance from the real world of politics, including the gap between theory and practice [Corbett 2000].

Second, new institutionalism differs from rational choice institutionalism in its broader focus, which includes informal institutions, sometimes described as «thick» institutionalism [Bulmer 1993; 1998]. Institutions do not necessarily evolve from a historically efficient process or reflect the interests of the principals that created agents to operate in their interests. Institutions may develop beyond the intention of the member states, and thus cause gaps between the states' preferences and the actual operation of institutions. States' short term preferences may be subject to change, and their actions are likely to have unanticipated consequences. Institutions are more autonomous than in rational choice models, and may drift away from original intentions. Many institutionalists also emphasize the role of ideas and norms, i.e. the «embedded values» written into the institutional set-up, in addition to the formal rules of the game, and the extent to which these shape actors' preferences or values (the literature on Europeanization). This tradition has deep roots in the empirical orientation of the comparative politics work on Britain (and Germany) and the EC [Bulmer 1983; 1993; 1998; Bulmer and Paterson 1987; Armstrong and Bulmer 1998]. The «One Europe or Several» research program [Wallace 2001] was carried out

within this broad tradition, as is much of the work published in the «Journal of Common Market Studies» and the «Journal of European Public Policy». Policy studies and textbooks that fall within this broad strand of research include books and edited volumes by Michelle Cini [1996], Laura Cram [1997] and Elizabeth Bomberg and John Peterson [Peterson 1999; Bomberg, Peterson and Stubb 2008]. For a positive review, see Helen Wallace's assessment to the effect that this research tradition offers «thoughtful thick description [that] has to be contrasted with much of the American literature, where the objectives are often more theoretical than empirical» [Wallace 2000, 103]. However, Wallace also notes that a large part of the theory-development in this field came from German and Scandinavian scholars, and that the institutionalist research tradition in the UK and Ireland draws on a broad set of European scholars, many of whom spent some (or much) time in the UK.

Third, in its «thicker» form, new institutionalism crosses into the territory of social constructivism, as ideas and interpretation of reality assume more importance than objective reality itself. This entailed an application of constructivist IR theories to the EU [see Rosamond 2000], with the core assumption that the structures of international politics are the products of social interaction extended to the EU system. In the 1990s this kind of analysis was often applied together with arguments to the effect that the Union is a unique or *sui generis* system due to its specific ideas and institutions, and that this has implications for the nature of both decision-making and models of democracy. A notable breakthrough came with a special issue of the then relatively young «Journal of European Public Policy» in 1999 edited by Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, Antje Wiener and published as an edited volume in 2001. Again this was a thoroughly international research team, the three editors working respectively in Aberystwyth, Aarhus and Belfast, constructivism being associated with the «Copenhagen School», and the critical review with which the special issue concluded being the U.S.-based

Andrew Moravcsik's «Is something rotten in the state of Denmark? Constructivism and European integration» [1999]. By the 2000s constructivist analysis of the EU has become part of the mainstream, and a series of special journal issues and edited volumes were dedicated to bridging the gap between rational choice and constructivist scholarship, to the extent that Pollack's [2006, 2010] reviews of EU theorizing assess the outcomes of these debates as increasingly pragmatic and problem-driven approaches to the study of EU politics rather than «dialogue-of-the-deaf» meta-theoretical debates.

Finally, EU studies in the 1990s and 2000s also saw a broad series of comparative politics and public policy-oriented research agendas that were only loosely connected to these three strands (though many fell closer to the new institutionalist middle ground than to rational choice or constructivism). For example, the debate on the extent to which the EU constitutes a regulatory state was kicked off by Giandomenico Majone [1994] (at the multi-national European University Institute) and Francis McGowan and Helen Wallace [1996] and generated considerable debate in both EU studies and comparative public policy [reviewed in Lodge 2008]. Because it was amongst the first truly supranational policy areas in which the Commission exercised considerably power alone, competition policy drew particular attention [McGowan and Wilks 1995; Wilks 1996; Gerber 1998]. A second noteworthy example is Paul Taggart's [1998] work on how and why political parties on the flanks of European party systems oppose European integration, which likewise generated a broad debate among both EU scholars and comparative party politics scholars [Mair 2000; Szczerbiak and Taggart 2008]. These developments saw EU studies become far more closely integrated into broader comparative research agendas than had been the case in the period before Single European Act.

5. *The Study of EU Politics in Britain and Ireland – no longer an awkward subject?*

Over the past half-century or so the study of European Union politics in British and Irish academia had developed from a somewhat awkward subject dominated by U.S.-led IR debates to a broad and well-integrated part of political science. With this development the subject has lost much of its awkwardness, although it remains so in the dictionary definition sense that it is «not easy» and «requires cautions action». The political system of European Union still changes faster than the Irish or UK political system; the student of EU politics still needs to acquire a solid grasp of several theoretical approaches to the subject, and the EU is, if anything, more heterogeneous than the EEC ever was. Yet the fast-changing nature of the EU is well-understood, how to handle this has been subject to considerable debate, and theoretical and practical tools have been developed to deal with this. The study of the EU is still multi-theoretical, but over the last two decades similar questions have been asked by comparative politics and IR scholars, and the dialogue across disciplines and approaches improved dramatically. The multi-faceted nature of the EU is well-understood, and easily accommodated in integration theory. At the same time much of the uniqueness of Anglo-Irish scholarship on European integration has disappeared. The influence from U.S. academia was strong even in the 1950s and 1960s, and this has been supplemented by close integration of the European academic community. Research training and work in more than one country is common, particularly among scholars writing on EU politics. Consequently it is increasingly difficult to classify scholars as «British or Irish». In short, the study of the EU in the UK and Ireland is very much a «normal subject» in the sense that it is less unique than it has at some periods in the past, in terms of both disciplinary focus and research agendas. The combination of labor mobility, disciplinary cross-fertilization, the internationalization of journals and editorial boards, and the very fact that English has become

the language of choice (if not first choice, then second) for many EU-oriented academics means that even in the UK and Ireland the subject has been well and truly Europeanized.

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SARAH DUNPHY AND FINN LAURSEN¹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION STUDIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
IN CANADA

The beginning and developments of European integration studies in Canada are very much linked with developments in relations between Canada and the European Communities (EC), later the European Union (EU)². The early period of European-Canadian relations, at the start of the European integration process, is sometimes called the period of indifference. European integration in the 1950s created some unease in Canada due to the Canadian preference for North Atlantic free trade³. Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty deals with economic cooperation, but it was never implemented. Canada played an important role in getting it into the treaty [Bothwell 1977]. The fact that Canada's most important trading partner in Europe, the United Kingdom, did not take part in the EC at the beginning eased the Canadian situation. Although the UK first applied for membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961, the bid for membership was vetoed by General de Gaulle in 1963 and 1967. UK negotiations had the Canadian government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker very worried. What would happen to the Commonwealth's preferences?

The UK finally joined the EU in 1973. Before then another event was to influence Canadian thinking: the so-

¹ Sarah Dunphy is a PhD candidate in political science at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Finn Laursen is professor of political science and holds a Canada Research Chair in European Union Studies at the same university. He also holds an *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair and directs the EU Centre of Excellence (EUCE) at Dalhousie.

² This introduction partly relies on [Laursen 2010].

³ For details on the Canadian reaction to the formation of the EEC, see chapter 6 in [Muirhead 1962] and [Potter 1999].

called «Nixon shocks» in 1971, when the U.S. government put a 10 percent surcharge on imports and made no exemption for Canada. Canadian politicians began considering how to diversify trade in order to become less dependent on the United States. Three options were discussed in 1972 [Potter 1999, 35-36]. The first option was to do nothing and resign to «continentalism», the term used for developing relations first of all with the United States. The second option considered was to embrace continentalism and seek more integration with the United States. The third option was to diversify trade using the EC as counterweight. This third option was supported by the government of Pierre Trudeau during the 1970s.

By 1973, after the British accession, the EC's trade policy was taking shape. The customs union was in place, as well as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Since 1972, when the EC enlargement was confirmed, there have been high-level bilateral consultations between the EC and Canada. Since 1973 Canada has had an ambassador to the EC, and since 1974 parliamentarians have met regularly. Since 1976, Canada has had a Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation with the EC⁴. It created what was called a contractual link. It confirmed the Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) treatment and spoke in general terms about commercial and economic cooperation. Institutionally it created a joint cooperation committee (JCC) to «promote and keep under review the various commercial and economic co-operation activities envisaged». The JCC would normally meet at least once a year. (Interestingly, the United States did not get a comparable agreement with the EC at the time.) But the outcome was modest⁵. According to Andrew F. Cooper, «instead of being readily and rapidly translated into a wide number of specific programs of co-operation, the contractual link

⁴ The text, and other official documents, can be located on the website of the EU Commission, Delegation in Ottawa, www.delcan.ec.europa.eu/en/.

⁵ On this, see also chapter 5 in Rempel 1996.

withered away through mutual neglect» [Cooper 1997, 253].

Given the meager results of the third option, the second option, continentalism, increased in importance. In the 1980s the government of Brian Mulroney promoted the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement (1988), which in 1993, by including Mexico, became the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These developments, of course, further increased Canada's trade dependence on its southern neighbors. It probably also affected the teaching of International Relations (IR) in Canadian universities. IR theory in Canada is dominated by American theory and the teaching of Canada-U.S. relations, U.S. foreign policy and the NAFTA are important topics.

In the late 1980s and the 1990s, the internal market plan in Europe affected EU-Canada relations as the creation of the customs union had done at the beginning. But it actually affected foreign direct investment (FDI) flows more than trade. A number of Canadian companies, especially the bigger ones, invested quite heavily in Europe at this point. The same thing happened with American and Japanese companies, because of the fear of a «Fortress Europe».

Eventually the end of the Cold War would create other parameters of Canada-EU relations. In the area of political economy the ups and downs of multilateral trade negotiations within GATT and the WTO also affected the relations. More recently 9/11 put terrorism on the agenda. Further, in recent years energy and environment policy have become important issues.

1. *The Journal of European Integration*

In 1977 the then bilingual «Journal of European Integration» started in Canada. A number of Canadian scholars were now focusing their work on the European Communities. As noted by Hans Michelmann, one of the pioneers of European Integration Studies in Canada, «the journal was

headquartered in Canada from its founding in 1977 through 1997» [Volume 20, Numbers 2-3]. For the first six years Panayotis Soldatos was managing editor and the Journal was housed at the *Université de Montréal*. During that period Charles Pentland (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada) was co-editor. In 1983, beginning with volume 7, number 1, the Journal's editorial offices were moved to the University of Saskatchewan with Hans Michelmann as the managing editor. Professor Soldatos was co-editor with Michelmann. In 1997 the Journal's editorial office was transferred to the University of Essex and Emil Kirchner became co-editor with Michelmann [Michelmann 2010].

The members of the Editorial Board at the time of the first issue in September 1977 were:

Andrew Axline, Political Science, Université d'Ottawa
Ivan Bernier, Faculty of Law, Université Laval
Naomi Black, Political Science, York University,
Paul-A. Crepeau, Law, McGill University,
Jean-Emile Denis, Université de Montréal
Alex Easson, Law, Queen's University,
Maciej Kostecki, Université de Montréal
Daniel Seiler, Political Science, Université du Québec
à Montréal,
Klaus Stegemann, Economics, Queen's University
James Taylor, Psychology, Université de Montréal,
Kimon Valaskakis Economics, Université de Montréal
Alian Van Peeterssen, Université de Montréal

In 1981 a smaller Editorial Board was created with the following members:

Robert Boardman, Political Science, Dalhousie University
Alex J. Easson, Law, Queen's University
Richard Lipsey, Economics, Queen's University
Hans J. Michelmann, Economics and Political Science, University of Saskatchewan
In 1984 Edelgard Mahant, Political Science, Laurentian University, joined the Editorial Board.

2. An early Canadian study

As mentioned earlier European integration studies in Canada began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The economic and political interests of the new Trudeau government were an important factor during the early years [Boardman et. al 1984]. Before the arrival of the new government, Canada and the U.S. shared similar views on the European Community in terms of their support in areas of strategy and politics but were both cautious on issues with respect to agriculture and trade policies due to various levels of trade protectionism [Boardman et. al. 1984]. However, in 1969 the Trudeau government developed a more robust foreign policy. The 1972 government document titled «Canada-U.S. Relations: Options for the Future» promoted the ideas of expanding the Canadian economy and diversifying its trade options to minimize the reliance on the US market [Boardman et. al. 1984]. The goal was to establish greater ties between Canada and the European Community.

Following this initiative by the Trudeau government and a few years of exploration, Canada determined what areas it would like to expand and gain access to in Europe including, raw materials, trade and industry. However, the member states of the European Community had to agree on a framework that satisfied their political and economic interests. Some obstacles existed as Britain and France were concerned with the competency of an agreement. These concerns prolonged negotiations until all countries were satisfied with a workable agreement. Finally, in July 1976, The Framework Agreement on Commercial and Economic Cooperation was signed between Canada and the EC. It came into effect in October of 1976 [Boardman et. al. 1984].

Five years after the Agreement had been signed, the Canadian Council for European Affairs (CCEA), responsible for promoting relations between Canada and Europe, established a working group to evaluate and assess the results and implications realized since its inception in 1976

[Boardman et al. 1984]. In 1981, four scholars (Robert Boardman, Hans J. Michelmann, Charles Pentland and Panayotis Soldatos) undertook this study to address the impact the Agreement on Canada and its ties with its European counterparts. They also addressed prospects for cooperation in the future and greater development and expansion in specific policy areas [Boardman et al. 1984]. These four scholars can be considered the pioneers of Canadian-European integration studies.

The working group interviewed various representatives from the business, academia and government agencies [Boardman et al. 1984]. In 1984 they produced a report titled «The Canada-European Communities Framework Agreement: A Canadian Perspective». This report provided an overview of the general observations followed by an examination of four key areas including: trade problems, the special sensitivity of agriculture, industrial cooperation, and the institutions of cooperation [Boardman et al. 1984]. Boardman, Michelmann, Pentland and Soldatos note that the Agreement in practice had not provided the results originally anticipated leading to varying levels of disappointment and skepticism of future levels of cooperation and collaboration [Boardman et al. 1984]. However, in some areas of industry cooperation positive results were achieved.

One of the main goals of the Agreement was to shift trade and investment strategies away from relying on U.S. markets and to establish closer ties with Europe. Although this appeared a viable alternative, in reality, Europe did not open wide its markets to Canadian exports and in some cases there were misunderstandings on the language and interpretation of the Agreement by both Canadians and Europeans. However, although there were doubts about the agreement there were some government officials who saw the Agreement as both positive and promising for Canada. Boardman *et al.* note that:

particularly in External Affairs, Science and Technology and on the “industry” side of the former Department of Industry,

Trade and Commerce, it is argued that the Framework Agreement has made a difference to Canada-EC relations in a number of ways: as an additional device for crisis management or damage limitation; as a vehicle for identifying and exploring areas of mutual interest in technology and industry; as a means of developing the new areas of complementarity opened up in the wake of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations; and as a way of approaching the sort of familiarity (in both public and private sector contacts) taken for granted in Canada-US relations [Boardman et al. 1984].

As can be realized, although in some areas progress was minimal, in other areas it had a more important impact. As noted earlier, there were four areas addressed by the authors in the Canada-European Communities Framework Agreement where the working arrangement proved problematic and challenging. «Trade problems» were listed as one of the major areas where overtime progress became marginal.

The second area of interest pertained to the «special sensitivity of agriculture» which into the present day is one of the most significant challenges of trade both between Europe and Canada as well as other parts of the world. The EC developed a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which was to produce problems with many trading partners. Boardman et al. noted that, «leaving the special area of fisheries aside, cheese, vegetable oils, processed foods and seed potatoes have been mentioned at various times as products on which the Community has proved especially difficult» [Boardman et al. 1984]. Regardless of whether it is a Canadian or EC agricultural issue, this proved to be the most difficult problem to solve.

Industrial cooperation, on the other hand, was one of the areas that proved to be very promising between Canada and the European Community. Significant progress was realized in the metals and minerals sectors [Boardman et al. 1984]. Boardman et al. note that, «in iron and steel, a joint project involving the British Steel Corporation and two Canadian companies will study the process of coke degradation with a view to improving the performances of blast furnaces [Boardman et al. 1984]. In the area of forest pro-

ducts, progress had been made but an impending challenge remained as to the appropriate standards for the construction of timber frames by Canadian producers.

Finally, «institutions of cooperation» were one of the areas where structure posed a problem. In Canada, there are federal and provincial disputes on various issues especially with respect to jurisdiction such as wildlife, natural resources, trade and commerce. There were also issues with respect to inter and intra provincial trade that remained a road block within Canada as well as between Canada and the EC [Boardman et al. 1984].

As can be realized, the Canada-European Communities Framework Agreement demonstrated only marginal success in certain areas as well as posed some interesting challenges during the 1980s and going forth into the future. But the Agreement paved the way for greater scholarship in the area of Canada-EC relations as well as the broader topic of European integration policy. It helped Canadians understand the need for studying European integration.

3. Jean Monnet programs

From the 1990s the Jean Monnet programs started by the European Commission gave new possibilities of funding for European integration teaching and research, also in Canada. Jean Monnet was the intellect behind the so-called Schuman Declaration made by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman in 1950. It led to the creation of the first Community, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. It invented the so-called Community method, with an independent executive, first the High Authority of the ECSC, later the Commission of the EC/EU. The method also included majority voting in the Council of Ministers and an independent Court of Justice (ECJ) which makes binding decisions.

Various grants are given by the Jean Monnet Action, now administered by the European Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency (EACEA). Grants are given to indi-

viduals who demonstrate high levels of teaching and research in European integration at their respective academic institutions around the world. For the purposes of this chapter, we will identify only those at Canadian Universities who have received Jean Monnet grants. There are two types of Jean Monnet Chair Awards. The first is the «Jean Monnet Chair» with specialization in teaching posts in European integration studies [The Jean Monnet Program 2010]. The second is more distinguished - the *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair. This particular award is one attributed to scholars that are both teaching and researching European integration studies and producing valuable publications and who have a long track record. Both are highly regarded and have been given to individuals in Canada at various universities.

The first to receive a Jean Monnet Chair in Canada was Panayotis Soldatos at the Université *de Montréal*. Later when Soldatos moved to France the Chair was taken over by Nanette Neuwahl⁶. It was only in 2001 that the next chairs were given to scholars at Canadian universities. In that year a Jean Monnet Chair in Economics was given to Professor John Praetsche at the University of Guelph and Professor Amy Verdun received an interdisciplinary Chair at the University of Victoria. In 2002 a Jean Monnet Chair in Law of International Economic Integration was awarded to Professor Armand de Mestral at McGill University. In 2006 Professor Oliver Schmidtke at the University of Victoria received a Jean Monnet Chair in Politics and History. In 2008 Professor Willem Maas at York University received a Chair in Political Science. That year Nanette Neuwahl received another Chair at Université de Montréal, this time with a clear law focus. In 2010 two scholars received Jean Monnet Chairs, Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly at Victoria and Kurt Huebner at the University of British Columbia.

The first *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair in Canada was awarded to Professor Finn Laursen, Canada Research Chair at Dalhousie University (and senior author of this

⁶ This section relies on [Verdun 2009].

chapter) in 2007. The following year a second *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair in Canada was awarded to Professor George W. Ross, who had just arrived at the Université de Montréal from a previous position in the United States. In 2009 Amy Verdun received an *ad personam* Jean Monnet Chair at Victoria. And in 2010 an *ad personam* Chair in EU Legal Studies was given to Markus W. Gehring at the University of Ottawa.

The Jean Monnet Program also gives grants to the teaching specific courses, so-called modules. The following Canadian scholars have received grants for modules: David Long, Carleton University, in 2001; Steven B. Wolinetz, Memorial University, in 2001; Oliver Schmidtke, University of Victoria, in 2002; Noemi Gal-Or, Kwantlen College, in 2004; G. Cornelis van Kooten, University of Victoria, in 2004; Alexander Moens, Simon Fraser University, in 2004; Ljiljana Biukovic, University of British Columbia, in 2004; Martha O'Brian, University of Victoria, in 2005.

Apart from chairs and modules the Jean Monnet Program further gives grants to centers and research projects. In 2004 a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence was established at the University of Victoria and in 2006 Amy Verdun was instrumental in attracting money for a Multilateral Research Project on «Governance and Policy-Making in the European Union» together with two non-Canadian Jean Monnet Chairs. The outcome of this project was an important book entitled *Innovative Governance in the European Union: The Politics of Multilevel Policymaking* [2009].

All in all, there can be no doubt that the Jean Monnet Program has been important for advancing EU teaching and research in Canadian Universities.

4. *European Union centers of excellence in Canada*⁷

Another way the EU tries to encourage EU research

⁷ The first part of this section also partly relies on [Verdun 2009].

and teaching is through co-financing of European Union centers.

In 1998 the European Commission's Directorate General I (DG I) provided funding for the first EU center in Canada at the University of British Columbia (UBC). The following year grants were given to four EU Centers in Canada: Carleton University, McGill/Montreal, Toronto/York and UBC, the latter with the University of Victoria (UVic) and Simon Fraser University (SFU) as minor partners. In 2003 the Commission awarded grants to five EU centers: Carleton, McGill/Montreal, Toronto/York, UBC and UVic. In 2006 only four center grants were made available: Carleton, Dalhousie, McGill/Montreal and Toronto. There are currently, since 2009, five operating EU centers of excellence (EUCES) in Canada. They are located at Dalhousie University (Halifax, Nova Scotia), *Université de Montréal*/ McGill University (Montreal, Quebec), a joint operation between the University of Toronto (Toronto, Ontario) and the University of Victoria (Victoria, British Columbia), York University-Glendon College (Toronto, Ontario) and Carleton University (Ottawa, Ontario). Each is unique and brings together scholars studying a wide array of topics from Canada and the EU, Eurasian politics, regionalism and EU integration, domestic and foreign policies, federalism and growing levels of decentralization. Each EU center of excellence will be briefly described below.

4.1. *Carleton University*

In October 2000 with the support from Carleton University and the European Commission, the Center of Europe Studies (CES) was established and in 2006 became designated an EUCE in Canada. It is also the network coordinator in Canada for all five of the existing EUCE's. The CES promotes teaching and research in European studies and is located in the Department of Political Science and Institute of European and Russian Studies.

Through this inter-disciplinary initiative, programs are funded, courses provided, as well as visiting scholars invited to enhance the prospects for teaching and research at this EUCE in Ottawa. Co-financing comes from a variety of sources including the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Carleton's Faculty of Public Affairs and other offices at the university [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010].

The core research programs are combined into what is referred to as European Research Nodes (ERNs). This is an attempt to bring together faculty and students at both the University of Ottawa and Carleton University by focusing on various themes. Carleton's EUCE themes are: 1. The EU and Canada: International conflict management and promotion of regional economic development, 2. Citizenship and Social Integration: Between national and transnational society, 3. Innovation in Environmental Policy in Europe and Canada, and 4. Regional and Neighborhood Inequality: Post-enlargement policy dilemmas [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010]. From these ERNs conferences are organized and publications produced in an attempt to encourage greater dialogue and cooperation between faculty and students on EU-related issues.

Professor Joan DeBardeleben is the Director of the EUCE at Carleton University and has been one of the major contributors to EU studies from her recent publications. She has written several pieces including, *Europe Matters: What Canada Needs to Know*, *Democratic Dilemmas of Multilevel Governance: Legitimacy, Representation and Accountability in the European Union* [2007] co-authored with Achim Hurrelmann, and *Soft or Hard Borders: Managing the Divide in an Enlarged Europe*. Achim Hurrelmann has also published extensively on EU subjects with several chapters in various journals including, *Constructing Multilevel Legitimacy in the European Union: A Study of British and German Media Discourse* [2008] and *European Democracy, the 'Permissive Consensus,' and the Collapse of the EU Constitution* [2007]. Other scholars associated with the

EUCE include Piotr Dutkiewicz, Robert Gould, Edward Jackson, Eda Kranakis, David Long, Crina Viju and Inger Weibust.

4.2. *Université de Montréal and McGill University*

In October 2000, with the financial help of the European Commission, the Institute for European Studies/ *Institut d'études européennes* (IES) was established at the *Université de Montréal*. This initiative was jointly funded by the *Université de Montréal* and McGill University: «In 2006, the European Commission designated IES/IEE in association with the *Chaire Jean-Monnet en Intégration Européenne* (U de M) and the Jean-Monnet Chair in Law of International Economic Relations (McGill) a European Union Centre of Excellence» [*Université de Montréal-McGill University* 2010]. This center is a multi and interdisciplinary endeavor which promotes EU-related research. It also focuses on promoting teaching in the areas of European studies in Canada and Quebec. This center provides financial grants to researchers, research projects, graduate and post-doctoral students and colleagues to help expand the existing literature and knowledge on EU studies in Canada. Moreover, it conducts research seminars and workshops with themes associated with, «institutional consolidation and the harmonization of European private law in a comparative perspective, transatlantic international relations and Europeanization and European social policy in comparative perspectives» [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010].

The current director of the Montreal EUCE is Professor Denis Saint-Martin who is a member of the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue coordinated by Carleton University with research focusing on social policy. He examines lobbying in the European Union and the role of parliamentary ethics [*Université de Montréal-McGill University* 2010]. One of the Jean Monnet Chairs in Montreal is held by Professor Armand de Mestral at McGill University who

is also a member of the Order of Canada. His research focuses primarily on international trade law, the law of the European Union with a current focus on the law of international economic integration [*Université de Montréal-McGill University* 2010] He has written several articles including *L'UE: un bloc régional parmi les autres?* [2006] and also *Canada-EU bilateral Air Service Agreements* [2005].

This EUCE have several scholars focusing on European studies who have produced valuable publications. At *Université de Montréal* this includes Professor Gérard Boismenu who wrote an article titled, *L'Union européenne et les déterminants dans la transformation des politiques sociales* [2006] and Jane Jenson who wrote a piece on, *Governance and Citizenship in the EU: What is the White Paper on Governance Suggesting on Citizenship?* [2002]. She also co-authored a piece with Philippe Pochet *Employment and Social Policy since Maastricht: Standing up to Monetary Union* [2002]. Frédéric Mérand has also been a valuable contributor. He has written extensively on European Defense Policy with two books entitled, *European Defence Policy and International Relations Theory* [2008] and *European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State* [2008]. He also co-authored a piece with René Schwok in 2009 entitled *L'Union européenne et la sécurité internationale: pratiques et théories* and he has written a book chapter on transatlantic security entitled, *NATO, ESDP, and Transatlantic Security: Where does Canada Fit?* [2006]. Moreover, Isabel Petit has contributed to this area of study with her article *Les peuples et la construction européenne: la pensée des pères fondateurs revisitée* [2004] and Peter Ives wrote the chapter, *Managing or Celebrating Linguistic Diversity in the EU?* [2004].

4. 3. *University of Toronto and the University of Victoria*

In 2003, the Institute of European Studies was established at the University of Toronto located in the Munk Center for International Studies. This initiative was funded by the European Commission as well as through the Facul-

ty of Arts and Science at the University of Toronto. Similar to other EUCE establishments in Canada the purpose and mandate is to «promote the study of the European Union in Canada» [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010]. The University of Toronto EUCE has affiliated scholars from a wide range of disciplines and various departments. The Institute for European Studies is also part of a joint initiative with German and European Studies, the Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies and the European Studies Program. In 2006 the University of Toronto became a EUCE and received additional funding from the Commission and the University of Toronto's Faculty of Arts and Science. The EUCE hosts workshops and seminars as well as community outreach programs for both undergraduate and graduate students to promote the teaching and research on the EU. Additionally, conferences and research clusters at the Institute have allowed for greater collaboration between scholars in their production of publications. Currently it focuses on five key areas of research which include: 1. European Integration and Global Governance 2. The Europeanization of Migration and Integration, 3. Ethics in the European Union, 4. Transatlantic Security and Thinking Beyond Enlargement [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010].

There is graduate student exchanges between the University of Toronto and the European University Institute in Florence as well as the Central European University in Budapest sponsored through the Institute of European Studies [Canada Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010]. Moreover, the IES encourages scholarship amongst graduate students and faculty and brings in visiting speakers from Europe to facilitate greater knowledge and understanding of the EU. Programs are offered at both the undergraduate and graduate level on the EU, European Integration and Canada-EU relations.

Research contributors at the university have brought a wide depth of knowledge to the field, specifically from the department of political science. A few are noteworthy contributors to be mentioned in this chapter. Professor Jeffrey

Kopstein is the Director of the Institute and the Center for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies with research interests in the areas of comparative and European Politics, transatlantic relations and ethnic conflict [University of Toronto-EUCE Faculty 2010]. He recently co-edited a book in 2008 titled, *Growing Apart? American and Europe in the 21st Century* and authored the book, *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities and Institutions in a Changing Global Order* [2008]. Emanuel Adler is also an affiliate with research focusing on European cooperative security and pluralistic integration, European security institutions, including the OSCE and NATO, civilization as a community of practice [University of Toronto-EUCE Faculty 2010]. Jean-Yves Haine's research looks at the EU and external security dimensions as well as the EU and Atlantic security. Randell Hanson, a professor of political science and a Canada Research Chair in Immigration and Governance has contributed two book publications including, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* [2000] as well as one co-authored with Patrick Weil, *Towards a European Nationality* [2001]. Finally, Phil Triadafilopoulos has written on Canada-EU relations in his chapter, *A Model for Europe? A Critical Appraisal of Canadian Integration Policies* as well as on member states in his article *How the Federal Republic became an Immigration Country: Norms, Politics and the Failure of West Germany* [2006].

Currently the University of Victoria and University of Toronto have a joint EUCE. Dr. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly is the acting director of the program at Victoria with research interests in the area of comparative urban politics, cross border regions and local government. This center also includes two Jean Monnet Chairs: Oliver Schmidtke and Amy Verdun. Each has published extensively on the European Union. A few are worth mentioning. In 2008 Oliver Schmidtke published an article, *The Threatening Other in the East: Continuities and Discontinuities in Modern German-Polish Relations* [2009] as well as a book publication in 2008, *Europe's Last Frontier: Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova between Russia and the European Union*. In 2007 he

completed two book chapters, *Borders in a 'Post-national-Age: Changing Modes of Inclusion and Exclusion in European Studies* and *In Search of a European Identity: Towards a Genuine Political Community*.

Amy Verdun has also contributed widely to European studies and academic scholarship. Her book *Globalization, Development and Integration: A European Perspective* [2009] and publication in 2010, *Ruling Europe: The Politics of the Stability and Growth Pact* are a couple of examples of her research contributions to the field. Both Verdun and Schmidtke have co-authored a chapter with D. Goold and T. Christiansen in 2007 titled, *The European Union Fifty Years after the Treaties of Rome*. Verdun has also co-authored the introduction of the book, *The European Union in the Wake of Eastern Enlargement: Institutional and Policy-Making Challenges* [2007] with Osvaldo Croci from Memorial University in Newfoundland.

4.4. Dalhousie University

In 2006 Dalhousie University was awarded a grant from the European Commission to establish a EUCE. The goal for establishing a EUCE at Dalhousie University was to promote the studying, teaching and research on the EU and develop a framework to ensure these activities are achieved and upheld. It is noted that, «the initiative is designated to build on and strengthen the foundational work that led to the creation of the BA Honors Program in European Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in 2003-2006 and recruitment of internationally recognized scholars as Canada Research Chairs in European and EU Studies» [European Union Centre of Excellence-Dalhousie University 2010]. Research contributions at Dalhousie are in the areas of Canada-EU relations, EU policies, Canada and EU comparative policy as well as federalism and constitutionalism within the EU. Although the largest number of scholars comes from the political science department, there are also scholars from other disciplines including

sociology, economics and law. This EUCE organizes annual research workshops and conferences bringing together academics from various countries and disciplines to facilitate both scholarship and dialogue.

Dr. Finn Laursen is the Director of the EUCE at Dalhousie and holds a Canada Research Chair in European Union Studies. He also was awarded a Jean Monnet Chair *ad personam* in 2007 which has been a valuable financial contribution to EU related research and teaching at this institution. Since arriving at Dalhousie from the University of Southern Denmark in 2006 he has edited five books: *The Rise and Fall of the Constitutional Treaty* [2008], *The EU as a Foreign and Security Policy Actor* [2009], *The EU in the Global Political Economy* [2009], *Comparative Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond* [2010], and *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared* [2010].

Other scholars from the department of political science are also closely affiliated with the EUCE. Professor Robert Finbow, chair of the political science department has developed research related to European labor relations and labor market policy with national examples from the Netherlands and Denmark. Professor Robert Boardman, one of the pioneers of European integration studies, now retired, has examined biodiversity in the EU and Professor Katherine Fierlbeck has been studying EU public health policy. In the areas of EU international policies and EU-Canada relations, Dr. Jerome Davis, Canada Research Chair on Oil and Gas until 2010, has examined the EU and the international politics of oil and gas and issues pertaining to oil in the arctic [European Union Centre of Excellence-Dalhousie University 2010]. New projects underway include Professor Jennifer Smith's comparative research on asymmetrical federalism and Finn Laursen's recently organized the 4th annual EUCE conference at Dalhousie the Lisbon Treaty. Two books are expected as the outcome of this conference.

In the past year Finn Laursen also secured funding from the Jean Monnet Program for a Research and Information Activity entitled «From Paris to Lisbon: EU Trea-

ties and their Reforms». One book is expected from this project.

4. 5. *York University-Glendon College*

The most recent addition to EUCes in Canada has been the one at York University-Glendon College in the fall of 2009. Similar to the other EUCE Centers, it received its funding from a grant from the European Commission. This institution has been improving and expanding its faculty to promote the study of the European Union in its faculties including political science, law, humanities and public administration. Professor William Maas is the director of the EUCE at York University and also the recipient of a Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration awarded to him in 2008. This has helped with greater funding opportunities and greater research and teaching European studies and European integration at the university. In the past most of the research conducted on the European studies was at the Canadian Centre for German and European Studies (CCGES). Research topics including Canada-EU relations, EU affairs and networking initiatives are part the research focus from 2009-2012 at York University's EUCE [Canadian Network of EU Centers of Excellence 2010]. The goal is to promote the studying, teaching and research of this centre and develop programs to enhance these study areas in Canada.

Several scholars studying the EU are affiliated with this newly established center including William Maas, Ian Roberge and Leah Vosko. There are several other affiliates but these professors are political scientists with relevance for this chapter. William Maas focuses on citizenship and European integration and has published extensively on this topic including a book titled, *Creating European Citizens* [2007] and two journal articles, *Unrespected, Unequal, Hollow?: Contingent Citizenship and Reversible Rights in the European Union* [2009] and *Migrants, States and EU Citizenship's Unfulfilled Promise* [2008]. Ian Roberge's re-

search focuses on global finance as noted in his forthcoming article, *Middle-Sized Powers in Global Finance: Internationalization and Domestic Policy Making* [2010]. His research areas also include the international political economy, and financial services sector reform and integration and the European Union. Dr. Leah Vosko is a Canada Research Chair in Feminist Political Economy/Political Science.

5. *Strategic Knowledge Cluster ~Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue*

In 2004, the Strategic Knowledge Cluster began with an initiative amongst the five EU-funded centers which are located at Canadian universities. As with the EUCE initiatives, this Cluster was designed to promote the learning, teaching and researching about the EU and Canada-EU relations. It also looks at various policy opportunities and challenges that impact both Canada and Europe. It focuses specifically on «Canada-wide and trans-Atlantic research networks as well as the dissemination of research findings to the Canadian policy community and to the public at large. The cluster is cross-disciplinary, involving scholars from political science, economics, environmental studies, international affairs, international and EU law, sociology, and history» [Strategic Knowledge Cluster 2010]. The Cluster is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and housed at Carleton University.

This Cluster is composed of several highly established scholars in Canada as well as those from European universities. The leading researchers and participating scholars in this cluster include Joan DeBardeleben (Director, Carleton University), Armand de Mestral (McGill University), Kurt Huebner (University of British Columbia), Jeffrey Kopstein (University of Toronto), David Long (Carleton University), James Meadowcroft (Carleton University), Denis Saint-Martin (University of Montreal), Oliver Schmidtke (Uni-

versity of Victoria) and Amy Verdun (University of Victoria). There are many other scholars who have contributed to Canadian and Foreign Collaborations within this cross-disciplinary cluster in various policy areas to be mentioned below.

Moreover, there are both Canadian and European Partners including:

Canadian partners [Strategic Knowledge Cluster 2010]:

- Canadian Institute of International Affairs (now Canadian International Council)
- Center for Security and Defense Studies, Carleton University
- Elections Canada
- *Développement économique, innovation et exportation, Government of Quebec*
- European Union Studies Association-Canada
- European Union Study Tour, housed at Capilano College, British Columbia
- Government of Canada, Canadian Mission to the European Union, Brussels
- Government of Canada: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada: European Union and Southwest Europe Division.
- Metropolis, Citizenship and Immigration Canada
- Metropolis, British Columbia
- Pembina Institute

European partners [Strategic Knowledge Cluster 2010]:

- Center for European and Transition Studies (University of Latvia), Riga, Latvia
- Climate Change Program, British High Commission, Ottawa, Canada
- Cultural Migration in Europe (housed at University of Siegen), Germany
- Delegation of the European Commission in Canada
- Environmental Policy Research Centre (Free University Berlin), Germany
- European University Institute, Florence, Italy

- Hans Boeckler Foundation, Düsseldorf, Germany
- *Institut d'étude politiques de Paris*/Center for European Studies, Paris, France
- International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), Stockholm, Sweden
- *Observatoire social européen*, Brussels, Belgium
- Providus Center for Public Policy, Riga, Latvia
- Royal Netherlands Embassy, Canada

The goal and vision of the Cluster is to «initiate and support an ongoing transatlantic dialogue involving researchers, the policy community, and interested civil society actors and to promote the sharing of research and knowledge related to common issues facing both Europe and Canada» [Thematic Research Groups 2010]. The Cluster has undertaken a project titled, «Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue: Seeing Transnational Solutions to 21st Century Problems» which focuses on issues including, citizen participation, climate change, security, human rights, immigration, and trade.

The project has been divided into Thematic Research Groups (TRGs) in an attempt to deal with the policy related challenges. The Cluster notes that, «Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue has defined its thematic research parameters by two criteria: (a) issues of current societal importance; and (b) themes for which research on Europe or Canada-EU cooperation may generate findings that are useful for Canada or highlight Canadian research abroad» [Thematic Research Groups 2010].

There are five identifiable *Thematic Research Groups* including:

- The Environment and Sustainable Development
- Immigration and Social Policy
- Economic Cooperation, Competition and International Law
- «Democratic Deficits» and Policy Coordination in Multi-Level Systems
- The EU and Canada as Global Actors: International

al Conflict Management and Security

Within these TRGs, ongoing investigation and research has been provided by scholars from both Canada and Europe to foster greater levels of collaboration and cooperation on Canada-EU relations and policies affecting them both. This Cluster has produced publications on several of these themes noted above including a recent Policy Brief by Mark Glynn (under direction of Armand de Mestral) of McGill University on *The EU-Canada Air Services Agreement: A Plea for Rapid implementation* [2009] and a commentary by Inder Marwah and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto) on, *Europeanizing Canada's Citizenship Regime?* [2009]. Other scholars who have contributed to this Cluster and research include Oliver Schmidtke (University of Victoria) and his commentary, *Canada and the EU towards international standoff? The increasingly troublesome Czech visa saga* [2009], policy brief by Joan DeBardeleben and Jon H. Pammett (Carleton University), *Activating the Citizen: Addressing dilemmas of participation in Europe and Canada* (2009) and Kurt Hübner (University of British Columbia) on *The Launch of Negotiations for an Encompassing EU-Canada Economic Partnership* [2009].

6. EUCAnet

The use of forums has been a valuable method of communication between Canada and European scholars, especially on topics associated with the Thematic Research Groups within the Strategic Knowledge Cluster ~ Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue. This has been established by the Cluster and outlines all scholars associated with each of the individual themes, their respective research interests and publications and contact information. This fully developed website offers a wide variety of search mechanisms including an expert directory, expert search, cluster groups, press releases and links to other related sites or

research topics. It also allows the user to browse by Provinces within Canada and also in specific disciplines. One of the major projects EUCA net has undertaken is its Journal publication, *The Review of European and Russian Affairs*. This journal covers a wide variety of topics including EU member states, Russia and the former Soviet Union, history, international relations, languages, Central, Eastern and Southern European States, and cultures [E-Journal Publications and Multimedia 2010].

7. Other individual scholars studying the EU in Canada

As noted in the above analysis there is significant scholarship in Canada on Canada-EU relations and the European Union. However, it tends to be geographically concentrated with EUCes in the West, Central and Eastern Canada which is heavily determined by funding from DG Relex of the European Commission and academic institutions and some governments and related offices. Most of the scholarship tends to come from those faculty and researchers associated with these centers but little is noticed at other institutions in Canada. Those that are studying Canada-EU relations of European politics tend to be sporadically placed at various universities with little teaching on the EU or Canada-EU relations in general. This is an interesting finding since one would think studying the EU would have greater prominence. However, from the research collected for this chapter it resulted that there are a handful of scholars at other institutions apart from the EUCes that study these research areas.

In Eastern Canada three scholars have published extensively on the European Union and Canada-EU relations. At Memorial University (Newfoundland), Osvaldo Croci has published several articles, including, *Taking the Field: The EU and Sport Governance* [2009], a co-authored article with Livianna Tossutti, *The elusive object of desire: Canadian perceptions of the European Union* and a book chapter with Tossutti, *Canada and the European Union: A Story of*

Unrequited Attraction in The EU in the Global Political Economy [Laursen ed. 2009]. Steven Wolinetz has also spent time studying Western Europe and produced book chapters on various member states and party systems in his article on, *Party Systems and Party System Types* in *Handbook on Political Parties* [2006], edited by Richard Katz and William Crotty. Steven Wolinetz was a key person, together with Hans Michelmann, when the European Community Studies Association (ECSA)-Canada was formed in 1994-95 [Verdun 2009]. He has also regularly contributed to the annual research conferences at EUCE Dalhousie and ensuing publications.

At Bishop's University in Quebec, Trygve Ugland has also spent time studying the EU as well as various member states in his articles including, *Designer Europeanization: Lessons from Jean Monnet* [2009]. He has also spent considerable time studying food policies which is noted in his book chapter co-authored with F. Veggeland, *Intergovernmentalism Transcended: Deep Transformation and Integration in European Food Safety* in *The Organizational Dimension of Politics: Essays in Honour of Morten Egeberg* [2008] edited by U. Sverdrup and J. Trondal. He further co-authored two additional pieces on food safety policies with F. Veggeland including, *Experiments in Food Safety Policy Integration in the European Union* [2006] and *The European Commission and the Integration of Food Safety Policies across Levels* [2006].

In central Canada at Royal Military College in Ontario, John D. Young has produced a paper on *Canada as a Stakeholder in the EU's Arctic Policy: The Challenge of Multilevel Governance in a Region of Emerging Strategic Salience* [2009]. Similarly at the University of Windsor, John Sutcliffe is studying multilevel governance as well as intergovernmental relations in his paper on *Critical Interpretations of «Deep Integration» in North America and the European Union* [2009] as well as in his chapter on *Intergovernmental Relations in the EU and Canada: The Place for Local Government* (2004). Also of mention is Axel Hülsemeyer of Concordia University (Quebec) who wrote on

Toward Deeper North American Integration: A Customs Union? [2004].

In western Canada one scholar worth mentioning who is also part of the Strategic Knowledge Cluster ~ Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue is Kurt Hübner of the Institute for European Studies at the University of British Columbia. His research areas focus on topics of global and European currency regimes, international regimes of foreign direct investment, and the relations between innovation and sustainability. His latest research focuses on the economic and socio-political foundations of technical innovations in a transatlantic perspective. He is currently working on a project on currency competition and currency co-operation, which analyses the relations between the U.S. dollar, the Euro and the Japanese Yen [Institute for European Studies at the University of British Columbia 2010]. As mentioned earlier Hubner received a Jean Monnet Chair in 2010 in recognition of his work.

8. Conclusion

As can be realized, EU studies in Canada are concentrated at a handful of universities, especially those housing EUCES. Even at these universities the number of scholars that have deep knowledge of the EU is limited. This is an ongoing challenge for many Canadian universities. In many Canadian political science departments there is little, if any, knowledge on the EU or Canada-EU relations, and these topics are not usually taught. The EU has become a dominant and growing international regional actor and more attention and research is needed to create a better balance of scholarship across the country. It was noted that much of the study of European integration, including EUCES, depend on funding from the EU (DG Relex of the European Commission and EACEA). Hosting academic institutions play a viable role in the long-term success of each of the EUCES in Canada. This is because the universities of which they are associated have provided the infrastructure,

resources and funds to help with its day-to-day functioning activities. Many scholars are associated with these institutions that also bring to these centers funding of their own including social science and humanities (SSHRC) research grants which further facilitate research and associated activities such as conferences and seminars on European research and scholarship. Funding from SSHRC to the centers as well as individuals scholars tends to guide what is studied and in what capacity in Canada. This is not surprising given how scholars will tailor their work to either SSHRC interests or other funding institutions/ organizations to be able to capitalize on research monies to promote their centers and future research.

Funding in Canada is geographically situated mainly at the five major EUCes in Canada which has had a major impact on what is studied from a Canada perspective. Without EU funding and co-funding from the various Canadian universities it is doubtful that European Scholarship in Canada would have reached the level it has. When the wave of funding comes in to either an individual or an institution, the interest in EU studies in Canada peaks and increases and so too do publications. Attracting funding to other universities in Canada remains a challenge and requires further investigation into the future as to what could be possible new avenues of funding and whether the government and government agencies will play a leading role. Some of this may be driven by current events and public policies but it will be something to consider going forth into the future.

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JOAQUÍN ROY¹

RESEARCH AND TEACHING THE EUROPEAN
UNION IN LATIN AMERICA:
BACKGROUND, CONTEXT, TRENDS AND A
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SELECTION

In the same year as the Spanish presidency of the EU during the second semester of 2010, a major summit was held in Madrid on May 18, 2010. It was the sixth major gathering of the leaders of the European Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean, a scheme that began its journey in 1999 in Rio de Janeiro. The bulk of the issues discussed in the summit were trade and economic relations, with political items inserted when feasible. However, the global topic of the European Union-Latin American/Caribbean relations reminded attendees that the future of the plans also reside on the consolidation of cultural and educational links between Europe and the subregions of Latin America and the Caribbean. A true mutual understanding needs to be based on a solid knowledge of the accomplishments and failures of the European Union.

Who will continue the work done for a couple of days by prime ministers and presidents? Who will support the

¹ <http://www6.miami.edu/eucenter/publications/roy-EULA-bibweb.pdf> (last visited on May 19, 2011). This research study has been possible due to the decade-long support of the European Commission in the founding and development of the Jean Monnet Chair and European Union Center at the University of Miami. This experience has allowed the author to be in direct contact with most of the holders of Jean Monnet chairs and modules in Latin America, as well as other scholars and research institutions. The list of people to be recognized is too long to be included here. Suffice is to say that gratitude should be extended to all the scholars who are listed in the report and others that supplied crucial information. Special mention should be given to Federiga Bindi for her constant show of confidence in the development of studies on the relations between the European Union and Latin America and for the chance to share the results in a series of seminars and courses offered by the University of Rome Tor Vergata.

popularizing job executed by the media, pressed by the daily grabbing of headlines? What will happen after the press conferences are closed? Surely, the work will fall on the desks of the bureaucrats who have to proceed to fine-tuning the details of the agreements and also discover the emptiness of the promises made in rush meetings and photo opportunities. But the main lasting pending business will be educational. It will be the time for the scholars and think tank specialists, as well as journalists, to come to action. The present study tries to offer a selective sample of the setting of the attention given to the European Union in academic centers, either in a collective fashion through joint volumes or through individual works as expressed in single-author books and scholarly journals. A limited selection of the books is listed as an appendix at the end. A compilation of articles published in academic journals is available on line¹.

The tasks of researching, teaching and public opinion outreach activities on the European Union in the Latin American subcontinent² are propelled by two principal motivations. In the first place, interest on the EU originates from the historical proximity between Europe and Latin America. There are no other two regions in the world with a deeper mutual affinity than the one existing between Europe and the conglomerate composed by Latin America and the Caribbean. Only the intimate relationship forged by the United States with the Europe continent is perhaps stronger, and even more special with the United Kingdom.

Modern Latin America traces back its roots, history, political culture, languages and predominant religion to the «old continent». For these reasons, there should not be a more fertile land for the installation of the model of regional integration developed by the European Union during the last half a century³. Relations between the two regions

² This geographical setting has to be understood as comprising the countries of Central America, Mexico, and South America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. A short reference to the Caribbean is also made.

³ This part of the report relays heavily on two kinds of references.

should be superior to any other EU's links with the rest of the world. Latin America and the Caribbean would be ideal candidates for receiving the highest attention from Europe and its institutions, resulting in solid integration systems mirroring the EU. However, the reality is that there is an uneven political marriage. The commercial exchanges have been comparatively limited, comparing with the overall EU trade with the whole world. Moreover, regional integration in Latin America and the Caribbean (an integral part of the overall strategy of the EU) seems to be lagging in commitment and results.

Nonetheless, the collective profile of both sides of the Atlantic is impressive. The combined bloc composed of the European member states and the Latin American and Caribbean countries is truly outstanding: it includes 60 sovereign states, with a population of over one billion people, creating over a quarter of the world's GDP. However, for the most part the predominance of the EU bloc is overwhelming, although for positive reasons. Europe is the leading donor in the Latin American region. It has become the first foreign investor and it is the second most important trade partner.

This unequal relationship is to be shaped through a plan-concept known as the «Strategic Partnership». The EU's aim in its policy towards the region is to strengthen the political dialogue to better address together new global challenges⁴. The EU's relations with Latin American countries have developed at the bi-regional level and a number

One is the official description and assessment given by the European Commission documents. The second reflects a series of research publications produced by the European Union Center/Jean Monnet Chair of the University of Miami in cooperation with Latin American institutions. For a general treatment of the relations between the European Union and Latin America, see the following volumes listed in the references below [Roy, Domínguez and Velázquez 2003; Roy, Chanona and Domínguez 2004; Roy, Peña and Lladós 2005].

⁴ European Commission, *Regional Strategy Paper*. http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/la/rsp/07_13_en.pdf - last visited on May 19, 2011; European Commission. Latin America http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/la/index_en.htm - last visited on May 19, 2011).

of specialized «dialogues» with specific sub-regions and two individual countries (Mexico and Chile).

The recognition of Latin America and the Caribbean in the institutional framework of the European Union is a late phenomenon. This peculiarity is in part explained by some complementary dimensions. First, the initial membership and the original aims of the European Communities since the 1950s have to be taken into account. In its early years, the European Community concentrated its efforts in the development of its common commercial policy. The European Political Cooperation (EPC), the predecessor of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was very modest in its reach.

Latin America was not even mentioned in the Schuman Declaration that propelled the formation of the original European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Only Africa was recalled as an additional recipient of the benefits of the aims and purposes of European integration. This apparent discriminatory lack of consideration was due to the overwhelming role played by France – the only European Community state power that at the time had former colonies, with the exception of Belgium's colonial control over the Congo. The Caribbean was not seriously considered by the EU in its relations with America until the accession of the UK in the European Community.

Under the inspiration of French and German interests, the European institutions began to pay attention to the region. Latin America at last received the favors of Brussels when in 1986 Portugal and, most especially, Spain became members. The rest of the 80s and the decade of the 1990s was the golden era of EU-Latin American/Caribbean relations, in part due to the European interest in contributing to the pacification of conflict zones, such as Central America. The impetus given to the exportation of the European model of integration was the other decisive factor for the involvement in the region.

The structure of EU-Latin American relations is based on periodic summits at the highest level of government in both continents. Every two years, the heads of state and

government of the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean have been meeting in a city alternating Europe and Latin America. The series began with the inaugural gathering that took place in Rio de Janeiro (1999), followed by Madrid (2002), Guadalajara (2004), Vienna (2006), and Lima (2008). As seen above, Spain was a host for the second time in 2010. At the same time, this bilateral relationship has been reinforced by using a forum created by Latin America and the Caribbean, designed more for political consultation: the Rio Group.

Respectful of the subdivision of the Latin American/Caribbean subregions, the EU has been organizing its framework of activities with individual trading blocs and subregional integration schemes. In this sense, Brussels has been traditionally dealing with the existing schemes: the Andean Community, MERCOSUR, Central America, and the Caribbean. The fact that two individual countries (Mexico and Chile) do not belong to any of these subregional Latin American schemes has advised the EU to arrange individual agreements. Oddly, they are in fact the most advanced in terms of close economic relations. The Dominican Republic and Haiti have been inserted in the Africa, Caribbean, Pacific (ACP) grouping, devised to receive EU's aid. Cuba became an ACP member, pending its application for the signing the Cotonou (successor of the Lomé Convention) Agreement. However, the good intentions of the EU were not responded by Havana, reluctant to go through an elaborate process of credentials examining.

In addition to the subregional programs and individual agreements with each one of the countries the EU offers a series of horizontal programs for the whole continent. These programs are AL-INVEST (to help small and medium-sized companies), ALFA (for the promotion of co-operation in higher education), URB-AL (links between European and Latin American cities), ALBAN (reinforcement of co-operation in Higher Education), @LIS (information technologies), and EUSOCIAL (social policies, health, education, administration of justice, employment

and taxation policies). Indirectly, some of these programs have considerable impact on the support that Latin American universities and scholars receive from the EU, most especially ALBAN and ALFA.

In view of all the above and the close historical links, numerous voices have reminded scholars, students and policy practitioners that the evolution of the EU, if not Europe itself, should not be considered as a monopoly of Europeans. Latin Americans should claim a stake on it. More than any other citizens in the rest of the world, Latin Americans should feel at home dealing with the EU. Europe should not be considered an alien dimension. This feeling is reflected in a considerable number of the publications crafted by Latin American scholars.

The EU is an object of research and political-economic interest worldwide because it has been converted as a point of reference, if not an outright model, for all the projects of regional and political regional integration. None of the experiments across the Latin American subcontinent – and the rest of the world, one may add – would have been possible without the evolution and comparatively impressive success of the EU. No matter what the detail in crafting a mechanism for integration or economic cooperation in Latin America, the looming presence of the EU is detectable.

The above arguments, perceptions and facts come to meet at one common and central dilemma: is the EU to be imitated or should Latin America seek its own models of integration and interstate cooperation? As a consequence, most tasks of carrying out research, teaching and popularizing of the EU in Latin America reflect this oscillating attraction and rejection. Indifference to EU issues is never the dominating trend. However, knowledge and active production of EU-related topics in Latin America is the realm of the small minority of scholars, students, government officials, and selected media.

General economics, large cultural trends, standard political phenomenon occupy the bulk of the studies carried out by the elite. In the course of the second part of the last

century, the United States (through its economic and political hegemony) has inexorably substituted Europe as a cultural and educational priority. Only a handful of experts and government leaders feel basically comfortable with the specificities of the EU. These individuals, clustered around selected universities and think tank ventures, often feel frustrated by the slowness and ineffectiveness of the evolution of the regional integration adventures.

They have been dealing with their own regional integration schemes and the domestic trade arrangements with a sense of nostalgia for missed substance in close relations among the countries of Latin America. In a sense, scholars are the heirs of a truly Latin American species known as the *pensadores*, the intellectual and political thinkers who since the advent of Latin American independence have advocated for unity. They have been preaching with the example of their own work in literature, the arts and the development of Latin America-wide ideological movements. They have asked why the initial work of some of the *próceres*, like Simón Bolívar, has been lost.

It is true that Latin American leaders and governments have responded to this call since the mid 20th century with the development of Latin American-wide integration and economic cooperation projects. The Latin American Free Trade Association (ALALC) and its more ambitious successor, the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), were the answers to the needs outlined by studies developed by the United Nations Latin American Economic Commission (CEPAL). These entities, to a large degree, were closely developed under the inspiration of the political and economic line of thought of dependency theory. The central issue was the so-called import substitution policies, based on the need for industrialization and protection against foreign imports. The result was the survival of schemes known as «closed regionalization» and regional integration entities, unable to compete in a world inexorably coming to terms with globalization.

In this setting, the institutions of the EU have been responding to the uneven experiments in regional integra-

tion in Latin America, especially after its abandonment of the pioneer regional attempts, with a respectful attitude and close attention for the native jurisdictions presented by the different sub-regions. However, in recent years Brussels and individual European countries have proceeded to re-format some of their apparently unmovable insistence in negotiating with the corresponding sub-blocs. Having exhausted their energy in encouraging the formation of real economic and political integration entities, the EU seems to have chosen a more pragmatic path.

Catching up with the educational programs early developed from Brussels to be offered to the rest of the world, activities have recently encompassed the Latin American subcontinent with considerable and promising results. Along the development aid programs executed in each one of the priority countries (Central America at the head), scholarly ventures have been established with selected universities in the rest of Latin America. The incorporation of Latin America (as well as the rest of the world) to the territorial target of the Jean Monnet diverse grant programs has to be considered as a success – even though still are modest in comparative terms of numbers of institutions and financial volume. Each one of the subregions presents specific profiles and individual institutional experiences.

1. General profile of research on the EU

Jean Monnet grantees (modules and especially chairs) are in many cases former students of European universities. Their doctorates might have been awarded by Latin American universities, usually by their own current departmental localization, but a considerable part of the advanced training for developing dissertations has been carried out in European universities. Spain is one of the leading countries in this trend. This fact explains in part the geographical locations of the first generation of Jean Monnet chairs and modules. In sum, there is almost always a European connection in training or formal education. France and the

United Kingdom follow Spain as the educational background of Latin American scholars. On a personal level, several holders of chairs are Europeans by birth or second generation Latin Americans.

Regarding the specific disciplinary insertion of professors dealing with the EU, political science and international relations, as well as economics are the most common home department of EU scholars. Law is notably present in certain countries (Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Peru). However, as it happens in Europe itself, eclectic and multidisciplinary methodologies are part of the profile of courses and publications of Law professors. In sum, politics and international relations are a major focus and inclination of the majority of scholars. Even when dealing with economics, a methodology based on the theories of the subfield of political economy permeates the studies. A common curriculum nucleus composed of history, institutions and policies is the basic trio of themes present in syllabi used in the Latin American universities that offer courses on the EU.

The scholarly production is to a large extent published in Spanish, with some Portuguese – as in the case of Brazilian professors. A minority publishes sporadically in English, especially when contributing to European journals (with the exception of Spain). This language inclination is partially attributed to the remains of the linguistic limitations of Latin American scholars teaching traditional disciplines such as law. This is also caused by the great use of books published in Spain by Latin American students. French used to be the second preferable language of university professors, before the «defection» to English. Younger generations seem to have more linguistic diversification, preferring English to French or other European languages.

A review of the production on the EU by Latin American scholars reveals the expected panorama of scarcity of books published by a single author, be they scholarly works or textbooks. The exceptions are well detected. Book-length studies on the theory of European integration are totally absent. The most frequent format of books on EU

matters is the edited volume – by either a coordinator or two or three. Those compilations are to a large extent subsidized by European foundations and EU delegations.

This rather disappointing profile can be easily explained by the fact that Latin American scholars rely heavily on European publishers (overwhelmingly located in Spain) for books to be used in courses and purchased by libraries. Textbooks published in Latin America have a limited circulation. The profit emanating from this effort is not worth the financial and editing trouble. However, the import of Spanish books means a considerable expense for students, libraries, and professors themselves – many of them part time educator, holding other employment.

The creation of Jean Monnet chairs and modules in selected Latin American universities has generated a quasi monopoly of this connection with chair for formally teaching EU subjects. Still, the rather short number of awards of chairs during the decade of 2000-2010 – when the program was opened to the rest of the world – represents a modest balance, especially when compared that of certain European countries, the the Far East and Oceania.

This detail can be in part explained by the synergy provided by the award of Centers of Excellence sponsored by RELEX (in coexistence with the ones administered by the Jean Monnet itself) in non-EU industrialized third countries (Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand). In contrast, a project to be developed in the Latin American MERCOSUR region for the foundation of a program composed of a dozen centers was blocked (hopefully temporarily) by the European Parliament under the rationale that using funding intended for development aid was not appropriate for more advanced countries. RELEX centers are directly funded from tid own DG lines, in contrast with Jean Monnet projects that are supported by budgets in the DG Education and Culture.

Cooperative arrangements with other institutions seem to be a fruitful alternative, not limited to linkages with other Latin American institutions, but also with U.S. and European think tanks and universities. As an example,

the Jean Monnet Chair and the European Union Center of Excellence of the University of Miami have maintained a fruitful research and publications cooperation with Latin American counterparts. As a result of a cooperation agreement with the Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), several volumes dedicated the EU foreign relations were published, as well as on comparative integration in the Americas and Europe, and the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA). Their prefaces were offered by EU and Latin American personalities such as Enrique Iglesias, Javier Solana, Valery Giscard, and Enrique Barón. With the *Consejo Argentino de Relaciones Internacionales* (CARI), a dual volume in Spanish [Roy, Lladós and Peña 2005] and in English was published. It is worth noting that UNAM is usually one of the few institutions in Latin America that is mentioned in the world rankings. CARI was recently selected as the best think tank in Latin America by a survey conducted by the *Foreign Policy* magazine.

Although some think tanks in Latin America have a continental exposure and joint activities with other entities outside their home countries, most are intimately related to the issues that pertain to their own countries, in part serving as showcase for the foreign policies of Latin American governments. Only a handful of centers or institutes with specialization on European and/or European Union affairs are known to have substantial research and publications. Santiago de Chile (CELARE), Mexico City (ITAM and UNAM), Buenos Aires (Bologna) and Havana (*Centro de Estudios Europeos*) are the exceptions, with varied exposure and scope (see later in the text for more details). In consequence, there is a clear need for a center with overall Latin American ambitions. Moreover, there is a place for an inter-American program of research exchanges among the three subregions (North America, Latin America and the Caribbean). The fact that the United States and Canada joined efforts in the formation of NAFTA parallels the experience of the Caribbean countries cooperating in CARICOM (the Caribbean Community) and the struggle in Cen-

tral America (developing the Central American integration system).

In the realm of regional integration, the Latin American Integration Institute (INTAL), part of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), based in Buenos Aires, fills that vacuum, dealing often with issues related to the EU as a model or point of reference. Its journal *Integration and Trade*⁵ is a useful source of studies in the field. In the past, the Institute of European-Latin American Relations (IRELA) – based in Madrid, fully funded by the European Commission with limited financial participation of Latin American interests – served as a bridge in this line of thought. Unfortunately, the institute was terminated by the European Commission when it faced serious financial and management difficulties.

Presently, among other more modest projects, at least two entities are dedicated to the relations between Latin American and the European Union, both primarily supported by grants of the European Commission. Based in Santiago de Chile, CELARE serves primarily the field of EU-LA relations and comparative regional integration. Considered to a certain extent as a heir of IRELA, the Observatory of European Union-Latin American Relations (OBREAL/EULARO) is the result of multiple collaboration between Latin American and European universities. Its operations have a more academic and outreach profile than IRELA, centered on symposia, informative reports, and a magazine named «Punto Europa», based at the University of Bologna branch in Buenos Aires⁶.

⁵ http://www.iadb.org/intal/ICom/30/eng/i_home.html (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁶ Other Latin American centers with marginal activities and reports related to the European Union, specially its relations with Latin America, are: *Centro de Estudios de Integración Económica y Comercio Internacional* <http://www.f-integral.com/>; *Centro de Integración, Cooperación y Desarrollo Internacional* <http://www.cicodi.org/Default.aspx>; *Centro Latinoamericano para las Relaciones con Europa* (CELARE) Santiago, Chile <http://www.celare.org/>; *Centro de Formación para la Integración Regional* (CEFIR), Montevideo, Uruguay www.cefir.org.uy; *Centro de Estudios Políticos, Económicos y Sociales* (CEPES), Argentina. <http://ww>

The fact that there is no Latin America-wide university poses an additional obstacle for collaborate projects in the general field of social sciences. The *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO)⁷, legally formed as a sort of an NGO, is a multi-campus arrangement and cooperative programs existing in several Latin American countries. It is the closest venture mirroring a continental university. Other experiments, like the case of UNIVERSIA⁸ in cooperation with Spanish universities, are mostly loose arrangements among universities, under the steady demand of educational leaders for the establishment of better exchanges and degree recognition in different countries. It is not surprising that the ERASMUS program is often recalled as a potential inspiration for a close educational integration. The out of Europe programs of ERASMUS, Erasmus Mundus, constitute a bridge for Latin American students and scholars to benefit from European exposure⁹.

The arena of academic journals hosting the scholarly production of Latin American specialists (along European authors) on subjects related to the EU presents a rather varied and modest panorama. A number of excellent journals, mostly based in the important Latin American capitals (Mexico City, Bogotá, Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, Rio

w.cepes.org.ar/; Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales (CARI), Buenos Aires, Argentina www.cari.org.ar/; Red Hemisférica de Consejos de Relaciones Internacionales. <http://www.eset.com>; Red MERCOSUR, Montevideo, Uruguay, <http://www.redmercosur.net/>; Centro Brasileño de Relaciones Internacionales (CEBRI), Rio de Janeiro, Brasil. dgregory@cebri.org.br; Consejo Chileno de Relaciones Internacionales (CCEI), Santiago de Chile secretarioejecutivo@consejo chileno.cl; Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Internacionales (CEPEI), Asunción, Paraguay bhsaguier@gmail.com; Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales (CEPEI), Lima, Perú cepei@cepei.org.pe; Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales (COMEXI), Mexico City, Mexico direccion@consejo mexicano.org; Consejo Uruguayo para las Relaciones Internacionales (CURI), Montevideo, Uruguay curi@curi.org.uy; Centro Argentino de Estudios Internacionales (CAEI) Buenos Aires, Argentina <http://www.caei.com.ar/> (pages last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁷ <http://www.flacso.org/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁸ <http://www.universia.es/index.htm> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁹ <http://ec.europa.eu/education/external-relation-programmes/doc72en.htm> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

de Janeiro) are adequate forums to maintain the primary task of disseminating research on a varied range of international issues, offered through the disciplines of political science/international relations, law, economics and trade. However, the attention paid to studies solely dedicated to the EU is rather limited.

Among other journals that often publish research on the EU are: *Foro Internacional* (Colegio de México, México)¹⁰, *Estudios Internacionales* (Universidad Nacional de Chile, Santiago)¹¹, and *OASIS* (Universidad del Externado, Bogotá)¹². There is no record of an academic journal totally dedicated to European studies¹³ and less so to the EU. A think tank based exception is the *Revista de Estudios Europeos*, published by the Center of European Studies in Havana.

2. A birdview of the geography of Jean Monnet projects

Perhaps reflecting the overall regional distribution of programs of the EU, respecting the subregional groups, it is significant to note that two of the countries with most scholarly activities on the EU are the ones that do not be-

¹⁰ <http://biblioteca.colmex.mx/revistas/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

¹¹ http://www.iei.uchile.cl/?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=publicacionesIEI (last visited on May 19, 2011).

¹² http://portal.uexternado.edu.co/irj/portal/anonymous?guest_user=oasis&NavigationTarget=navurl://7736232f780fcf826dbca05d7b3b700 (last visited on May 19, 2011).

¹³ Among the journals that sporadically publish research on the EU or its relations with Latin America, as well as comparative regionalism, are the following: «Contexto Internacional» (Rio de Janeiro) <http://publicue.rdc.puc-rio.br/contextointernacional/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?tpl=home>; «Integration and Trade» (Buenos Aires, Argentina) (last visited on May 19, 2011). <http://www.iadb.org/Intal/detalletipo.asp?cid=234&idioma=esp&tid=4>; «Desarrollo Económico» (Argentina), <http://www.ides.org.ar/revista/>; «Datos» (Rio de Janeiro, Brasil) www.scielo.br/rbpi; www.scielo.br/dados; *Revista de Ciencia Política* (Santiago de Chile, Chile) <http://www3.puc.cl/revista/>; «Política y Gobierno» (Mexico City, México) <http://www.politicaygobierno.cide.edu/>; «Papel Político» (Bogotá) http://revistas.javeriana.edu.co/sitio/papel_politico/

long to any of the Latin American subregional blocks: Mexico and Chile.

2.1. *Mexico*

A member of the North American Free Trade Treaty (NAFTA), Mexico has a long tradition of fostering European interests in academia and maintaining political and economic links with it. Tourism is an industry that benefits from European visitors. Still, the presence of the United States is overwhelming. A saying attributed to long-time dictator Porfirio Díaz, whose regime was finally ousted by the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917, says: «Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States». In more mundane terms, some claim that Mexico is «so far from Europe and so close to the United States». There is an interest of the academic circles to balance the U.S. influence with European relationships.

The best universities in the country, especially in the capital, dedicate considerable attention to European affairs and specifically to the European Union. Two Jean Monnet chairs (CIDE and ITAM) were established since the opening of the program to the world. The largest public university (UNAM) has a Center for European Studies. One of the most prestigious journals in Latin America dedicated to international affairs (*Foro Internacional* of the *Colegio de México*) has a long record of publishing studies on the EU. In all these cases the emphasis is on political and international relations, with an added economic content in many articles.

The development of programs in Mexican universities should be credited to the strong interest on studies of political and economic integration in Mexico after the signing of NAFTA, the renewal of the integration and political cooperation in the rest of Latin America (such as MERCOSUR), and the strengthening of existing agreements such as the Central American Common Market and the Andean Pact. Moreover, the signing of the Agreement of Economic, Po-

litical Concentration and Cooperation between the EU and Mexico has generated high expectations on the future of the relations between the two partners.

2.1.1. *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM)*

The *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México* (ITAM) founded in 2002 the *Instituto de Estudios de la Integración Europea* (Institute of Studies on European Integration). It has as main objectives to foster research and teaching on European integration and its relations with Latin America. It is a project undertaken with the financial assistance of the European Commission, and the academic support of the *Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos* of the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* (IUEE-UAB) and the College of Europe (Brugges, Belgium). Its co-directors are Jordi Bacarí (Barcelona) and Stephan Sberro (ITAM).

It is the mission of the Institute to encourage the training of experts on regional integration; to develop courses, seminars and conferences; to promote foster research on European issues; to offer up to date information; and, in general, to serve as a forum for the discussion on themes of interest for the country and the region. The ITAM academic program is one of the MA degrees that are officially accredited in Latin America¹⁴.

Stephan Sberro, professor of ITAM, was awarded an *ad-personam* Jean Monnet chair. He has a doctorate in Political Science from the *Institut de Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine* of the University of Paris III-New Sorbonne. He has published numerous articles and several books mainly on European Integration and EU-Latin American relations, and has been visiting professor in several universities in the United States, Canada and Europe.

¹⁴ <http://ieie.itam.mx> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

2.1.2. *The Jean Monnet Chair of CIDE (Mexico).*

The Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) is a higher education research and teaching institution specializing in social sciences. With over seventy full time faculty members trained in the best universities of the world, it serves a student body of about four hundred. Its main programs are Bachelor degrees in economics, political science and international relations, law, MA in Public Administration, and a doctorate program in economics and public administration.

A Jean Monnet chair was created in 2007. The purpose of the chair is to reinforce the research program previously undertaken both at CIDE and at the *Colegio de México*, on the topic of Europeanizing national foreign policies towards Latin America. The courses offered by the chair are on European integration, regional integration and lessons of European integration for north America.

The holder of the chair is Lorena Ruano¹⁵. She has a BA from the *Colegio de México*, and an MA and doctorate degrees in international relations from Oxford University. She was also Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Her main areas of research are EU enlargement, common agricultural policy (CAP), and EU-Latin American relations. Her most recent work is a history of the relations between Mexico and Europe (1945-2010), as part of a project on the history of international relations of Mexico. It was published by the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs to commemorate the bicentennial of the republic.

The *Universidad Autónoma de México* (UNAM) is the site of the *Centro de Estudios Europeos*, one of the few entities of this nature in Latin America totally dedicated to Europe. Heir to the Royal and Pontifical University founded

¹⁵ *División de Estudios Internacionales, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas*, Tel. (+52 55) 57279800 ext. 2136; lorena.ruano@cide.edu; <http://www.cide.edu/investigador/profile.php?IdInvestigador=163> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

in 1545, UNAM is the most prestigious university of Mexico and the largest (encompassing 13 faculties, 4 schools, 44 institutes and research centers, and home to about 314,000 students). The European Studies Center, attached to the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, was founded to sponsor interdisciplinary research about Europe and the EU. Its founder was Alejandro Chanona and the coordinator is Beatriz Nadia Pérez Rodríguez¹⁶.

*ECSA Mexico*¹⁷ is a nationwide academic association formed by researchers, professors, graduate students, and private sector executives dealing with research, analysis, and related studies dealing with European integration institutions. The main research field at ECSA Mexico is the comprehensive study of economic, political, commercial, social and cultural relationships between the EU and Mexico (as well as both regions links with other Latin American nations). ECSA Mexico is an active member of the European Community Studies Association worldwide network based in Brussels. Rosa María Pinón Antillón is the President of ECSA Mexico. She is a professor at the National University of Mexico. She has been visiting professor at Santiago de Compostela University (Spain), Columbia University (NY) and Reading University (UK). Her special areas of research are comparative regionalism and trade blocs¹⁸.

2. 2. *Central America*

The Central America area offers a clear contrast. On the one hand, it is a region that has received more per capita development aid in the last two decades, contributing to the betterment of social conditions, fostering the demilita-

¹⁶ Beatriz Nadia Pérez Rodríguez. Tel. 56 22 29 70 ext. 206, nadia-triz@hotmail.com, centrodeestudioseuropeos@mail.politicas.unam.mx; <http://www.estudioseuropeos.unam.mx> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

¹⁷ <http://www.ecsamexico.org/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

¹⁸ E mail: pinonantillon@yahoo.es; ecsamexico@yahoo.com.mx; Fax: 56-446789

rization of the region, and insisting in the progress of the regional integration networks. While the role of the EU has been evaluated as extremely positive in the political realm and economic development, the long process of integration has generated frustration in Brussels due to the inability to obtain a full customs union. Nevertheless, in the summit of Madrid held in May 2010 Central America received much praise from the EU when the integration process showed considerable improvement. The same cannot be said in the field of research and teaching of the EU in the Central American countries.

The efforts made by some universities in pursuing teaching and researching Europe have been notable. Among others, the *Universidad Centroamericana* in San Salvador and Managua, founded by Jesuits and benefitting from considerable participation of faculty of Spanish origin or training, should be mentioned. However, the production of studies on the EU is extremely limited, with only references in publications about regional integration. In spite of the encouragement of EU entities, no Jean Monnet chairs or modules have been granted in the area. Very modest programs try to fill this vacuum. One exception is an MA offered by the Open University of Costa Rica¹⁹. Potential exists at the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO) in San José, Costa Rica.

2.3. *The Hispanic Caribbean*

The panorama in the Dominican Republic is similar to the case of Central America. In spite of the central importance of the Lomé and Cotonou agreements, granted to the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, the study of Europe in Dominican universities is limited. Private and quasi-government foundations have been lobbying to correct this shortcoming. The leading organization

¹⁹ Coordinator of the program: Luis Arnoldo Rubio Ríos. Lrubio@uned.ac.cr

seeking expansion of operations on European issues is Fundación *Global Democracia y Desarrollo* (FUN-GLOBE)²⁰.

The case of Cuba is as exceptional as the nature of its political regime. On the one hand, the university system reflects a strong Spanish background in the humanities and law fields. In politics and economics, the imprint of Marxism shares the spotlight with methodologies emanating from the United States. The panorama of academic publications is extremely limited and it suffers from poor circulation outside the country. However, Havana has one of the few research entities in Latin America (*Centro de Estudios Europeos*²¹) entirely dedicated to European affairs. It publishes a journal (*Revista de Estudios Europeos*²²) which content reflects to a large extent the aims of the Cuban government towards Europe.

2.4. *The Caribbean*

Although historical links between the non-Hispanic Caribbean and Europe exist since the time of early colonization with the insertion of England, France and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands, the development of research on strictly European Union topics has been rather limited. Courses and activities related to European-Caribbean relations and comparative regionalism (with emphasis on CARICOM) are mostly offered in the three main campuses of the University of the West Indies located in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. The Institute of International Relations at the Trinidad branch is the leading center where activities related to the EU are found²³. The Barbados campus offers courses on the EU and European-Caribbean relations²⁴.

²⁰ <http://www.funglode.org> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

²¹ <http://www.cee.cubaweb.cu/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

²² <http://www.cee.cubaweb.cu/revista.htm> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

²³ <http://sta.uwi.edu/iir/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

²⁴ <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

The Jamaica campus at Mona offers research and activities on regional integration²⁵.

2.5. *The Andean Community*

The Andean area offers a diverse picture as varied as the differences among the countries that are or were members of the Andean Community, heir of the former Andean Pact. On the one hand, under the control of President Hugo Chávez, Venezuela announced that it was leaving the group, joining MERCOSUR. It is not then surprising that development cooperation programs between Brussels and Caracas are almost non-existent. The academic work on Europe, in contrast with the rather recent European immigration pattern in the country, is left to individual initiatives, surviving with links in Europe. The same can be said about Bolivia under the control of President Evo Morales, experiencing a wave of indigenous-populist policies and constitutional changes and threatening to leave the Andean Community. Only individual initiatives fill the vacuum of absence of serious study of the EU.

The case of Ecuador is more promising and shows a set of accomplishments. On the one hand, Quito is the site of the *Universidad Simón Bolívar*, the official academic institution established by the Andean Community. It is not then surprising that this education entity is the site of the only Jean Monnet module in the country, a model of cooperation with local entities and foreign governments, which also has strong links with Europe.

2.5.1. *Ecuador*

The Jean Monnet Module of *Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar* (Ecuador) was awarded for the first time in 2004 and again in 2009. The module's coordinator is Mi-

²⁵ <http://www.mona.uwi.edu/> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

chel Levi-Coral²⁶, professor of law. The purpose of the module is to conduct research, reflect and analyze on how the instruments of European Union external relations policy contribute to the South American integration and development process and increase the transatlantic and regional relations in the frame of political dialogue, cooperation and trade.

The *Universidad Simón Bolívar*²⁷ is a higher postgraduate education center which belongs to the Andean Integration System (Andean Community). The professors and students come from all the Community member states and from all around the world. The module is housed at the Andean Center of International Studies.

Since 2004 the Jean Monnet program has been developing two main activities: (1) a specialized course for the postgraduate students in law, international relations, Latin American studies, public health studies, history and Latin American cultural studies, and (2) an annual colloquium at the end of May, to celebrate the day of Europe, and to discuss the state of the relations between European Union and Latin America.

Michel Levi holds a Doctor of Jurisprudence (D.Jur.) degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador and an MA degree in international and European law from the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. He is visiting professor at the Pierre-Mendes-France Law Faculty and at the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* in Grenoble, France. His research interests are in the regional integration field, focused on the European Union and Latin American regionalism.

²⁶ *Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar* Ecuador; Toledo N22-80; Quito, Ecuador. Phone: +593 2 322 8085 ext. 1616; Email: mlevi@uasb.edu.ec; jmonnet@uasb.edu.ec; www.uasb.edu.ec (last visited on May 19, 2011).

²⁷ www.uasb.edu.ec (last visited on May 19, 2011).

2.5.2. Colombia

The record of research and teaching the EU in Colombia is impressive, mostly due to the establishment of a Jean Monnet chair at the *Universidad del Externado de Colombia*, in Bogotá, the capital city that is the host of other academic institutions with a long traditions of relations with Europe, such as the *Universidad de los Andes* and the *Universidad Javeriana*.

For a long time, the *Universidad Externado de Colombia* has been offering courses on European Community law and comparative regional integration, all within the undergraduate curriculum of the school of finance, government and international relations. With the support of the European Commission, these academic activities were reinforced with the establishment of a Jean Monnet chair on EU law. Founded in 2006, over thirty courses have been offered to almost 500 undergraduate students. At the graduate level, a dozen courses on European integration have been offered to more than 200 students in international relations, trade law, and international law, both in the central campus of Bogotá and in the city of Medellín. One of its journals («OASIS») is a leader in publications on the EU.

The holder of the chair is *Eric Tremolada*²⁸, professor of international law and international integration law at the Faculty of Government, Finance and International Relations at University Externado of Colombia. He has a law degree awarded by the Externado of Colombia. He is a graduate in International Law and International Relations of University Complutense of Madrid, Spain. He was also awarded a diploma of advanced studies in international law and international relations, University Complutense of Madrid, and the University Institute Ortega and Gasset, Spain, and MA degrees in analysis and development of science

²⁸ Calle 12 N° 1-17 Este CO - 034141 Bogotá; Tel. : (571) 34202882002 Fax : (571) 3418715 E-mail: ERIC.TREMOLADA@uexternado.edu.co

and technology, University Carlos III of Madrid, Spain, and in constitutional law and political science, Center of Constitutional Law Studies of Madrid, Spain. He is the author of several books and articles on those subjects.

The Jean Monnet chair has organized a series of annual international seminars with the participation of scholars from France, Spain, the United States, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Ecuador. More than 1,000 students have participated. Round tables on timely issues have been held with the participation of Colombian and foreign experts, EU member states ambassadors and staff of the Delegation of the European Commission in Colombia. The High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, Javier Solana, gave a special key note speech in one of the conferences. The chair also performs important outreach activities in the community, most especially in the field of comparative regional integration law. To support the academic activities, a documentation center has been established in the university library. The chair maintains its own website²⁹ providing information about the internal programs, data on the EU institutions and documentation of other Jean Monnet chairs around the world.

2.5.3. Peru

Reflecting its rich intellectual and academic background (its *Universidad de San Marcos* in Lima is the dean of Latin American educational centers), along the sporadic EU activities at the private *Universidad de Lima* and the *Universidad Pontificia de Lima*, Perú is the site of one of the first Jean Monnet chairs, awarded to a private entity, far from the capital, the *Universidad de Piura*.

The Jean Monnet chair on the institutions and law of the EU was awarded in 2002 to the law school of the University of Piura. It is an institution founded forty years ago with the aim of offering a quality education, sponsoring

²⁹ <http://www.uexternado.edu.co/jeanmonnet>

academic research, and the purpose of training professionals able to transform the society. Its law faculty aims to educate future professionals to face a changing world. At the same, the curriculum includes courses in ethics and humanistic studies, with the objective of relating the juridical-social issues with a commitment to law, justice and solidarity. The Jean Monnet chair includes the following themes: (1) history of the European Union, the reason for its creation; (2) the institutions and their organization, and the need for the member states to share their sovereignty within the common entities; (3) an introduction to Community law, including the principles of primacy and direct effect.

The holder of the chair is Carlos Hakansson³⁰, professor of law teaching courses on constitutional law and regional integration law. He has a doctorate from the University of Navarra, Spain, and did postgraduate work at the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela and Oxford University. He also holds a Diploma on European Union Studies awarded by the *Universidad de la Coruña* (Spain). He is the author of several books and academic articles on the evolution of the EU constitutional process in a comparative perspective

2.6. *Chile*

In spite of its geographical isolated situation, Chile is proud to offer one of the richest connections with Europe, due to its considerable European immigration, the economic and political links of the country, and the efforts made by its researchers. Santiago de Chile is the site of several Jean Monnet projects, with chairs awarded to professors at the *Universidad de los Andes* and the *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*. Three modules have Chilean professors as holders at *Universidad Miguel de Cervantes*, *Universidad*

³⁰ P.O. Box 353 PE – PIURA; Tel. : +51 (74) 307777; Fax : +51 (74) 308888 E-mail: hakan@udep.edu.pe

Diego Portales and *Universidad de Chile*. The holder of the chair *Jean Monnet Chair* at the *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* is Fernando Laiseca³¹. He is *licenciado en derecho* from the *Universidad de Deusto*, Spain, an MA in international studies (from the *Universidad Computense*, Madrid). He is a professor of the law school at the *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* and director of program on regional integration co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies of the University of Chile. His main areas of research are regional integration law, public international law, and international economic law.

He is also president of the *Asociación de Estudios en Integración Europea* (ECSA-América Latina), a Latin America-wide organization formed by 52 different ECSAs and other EU-related networks in the continent, representing more than 9,000 members³². *Universidad de los Andes, Santiago de Chile*. The activities of the Jean Monnet chair of public law began on 2004, preceded by a Jean Monnet module (2002-2004). Courses include «What is the European Union?» and two doctorate seminars on the EU from the perspective of federalism and the sources of law and the federal process of the EU.

The holder of the chair is José Ignacio Martínez Estay. He has a PhD from the University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain, and a BA from the University of Valparaíso (Chile). He is professor of constitutional law at the faculty of law of the University of the Andes and director of research of the University of the Andes. His publications deal with the constitutional system of the EU, as reference for regional integration projects³³.

The Latin American Center for Relations with Europe (*Centro Latinoamericano para las Relaciones con Europa* (CELARE)) was founded in 1993 to promote the links be-

³¹ Diagonal las Torres 2640 Peñalolén CL - SANTIAGO Tel. : (56) 23693690 flaiseca@uai.cl

³² www.uai.cl/prontus3_newsletter/site/artic/20060503/pags/20060503122357.html

³³ San Carlos de Apoquindo 2.200 Las Condes CL – Santiago. Tel. : (56) 22141258 Fax : (56) 22141759

tween the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean. It is a non-profit institution located in Santiago de Cuba, with activities in several Latin American countries and Europe.

Its main objectives are: the strengthening of historical, political, cultural and economic links between the EU and Latin America; fostering research on the process of an association between the two regions; contributing to the co-operation and exchange among parliaments, governments, academic institutions, the media and the civil society; supporting the integration processes in Latin America using the experience and cooperation of the EU; cooperating with public and private institutions in their programs of development cooperation. Among its main activities are: monitoring the evolution of European-Latin American relations through an on-line daily newsletter, a weekly report, and four reports per year; studying and researching the main objectives; organizing seminars, conferences and workshops; teaching in universities topics of the EU.

Its structure is composed of a board, an internal team of experts, and a network of Latin American specialists and institutions. The president of the board is Gonzalo Arenas Valverde, former ambassador of Chile to the European Union, dean of the engineering school at the University Pedro de Valdivia, Chile. Its executive director is Héctor Casanueva Ojeda, professor of international relations and integration, former ambassador of Chile to ALADI and MERCOSUR. Gonzalo Arenas is also the holder of a Jean Monnet chair at the *Universidad Miguel de Cervantes* in Santiago³⁴.

ECSA Chile³⁵ was founded in 2000 with the aim of fostering the study and researching the EU. It is a non-profit corporation, with membership composed of researchers, academics, students and representatives of the private sector. The impact of the European process on Latin American integration – especially the relationship between Chile and the European Union – has been a prior-

³⁴ Merced 379 CL – Santiago. +56 (2) 6338933

³⁵ <http://www.ecsachile.cl/>

ity for its activities. Other objectives of ECSA Chile include networking of its members and the academic community around the country, with the proposal of research topics, outreach programs and information related to the EU. ECSA Chile organizes a bi-annual congress, holds bi-monthly seminars and organizes the celebration of Europe Day. It is an active participant of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA World). The president of ECSA-Chile is Rosa María Madera Núñez³⁶. She is a professor of law at the *Universidad de Los Andes* (Santiago de Chile). She holds a law degree from the University of Oviedo (Spain) and MA degrees from the *Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset* (University Complutense, Madrid) and the University of Saarbrücken (Germany).

2.7. *The MERCOSUR region*

The countries of MERCOSUR offer a scene on academic activities on the EU commensurable to their corresponding population and economic strengths. Argentina is the leader in the establishment of Jean Monnet projects, followed by Brazil. While Paraguay reveals non-existing entities with Jean Monnet links, Uruguay – whose capital, Montevideo, is the site of MERCOSUR – is the host of the first Jean Monnet module in the country.

2.7.1. *Brazil*

The first and, until today, only Jean Monnet chair awarded in Brazil was established at the *Universidade do Vale do Itajai*. The main objectives of the chair are to study relations between Latin America and the European Union; to establish modes of interpreting and producing knowl-

³⁶ *Av.ElGolf de Manquehue 9360 –M. Lo Barnechea, Santiago; Teléfono 2496216, celular 09-1002193; rmadera@uandes.cl, rmadera@hotmail.com*

edge which stimulates the models of Latin-American integration; to study the general theory of community law, encompassing historical, political, and social aspects of the European integration; to stimulate the critical-reflective study of community law as a new line of law destined to govern the European integration process; to critically study the evolution of the European integration in its different facets, encompassing the challenges, advances, and retreats.

Major activities undertaken since its foundation have been: organization of seminars; the elaboration of academic papers and the organization of activities pertinent to the theme; the creation of the «Integration Studies Group» which congregates faculty, PhD, MA and undergraduate students of UNIVALI, permitting the exchange, production, and socialization of research concerning themes linked to community law and to integration law, with a special emphasis on the European Union and to the regional integration of Latin America.

The holder of the chair is Karine de Souza Silva, professor at the School of Law and at International Relations Faculty. She holds a doctorate in European Union Law from the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina* (UFSC), a Master in International Law (UFSC), and BA in Law from the *Universidade Católica do Salvador*. She has been visiting scholar at the Institute for International Policy of the *Katholieke Universiteit* in Louvain, Belgium (under a scholarship awarded by the Coimbra Group), at the European Community Court of Justice, Luxembourg, at the *Universidad de Sevilla* in Spain (under a scholarship from the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* of the Brazilian Federal Government). She has been a Consultant for the European Commission (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) for the *Ministério de Educação do Brasil*, and for the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico do Brasil*. She has been in charge of the development of research projects sponsored by the government of the state of Santa Catarina as well as by the federal government of Brazil. She has published books and articles in Brazil, United States, Portugal

and Spain on communitarian law, relations between Latina America and EU, Latin American integration and the protection of human rights.

Inspere Instituto de Ensino e Pesquisa (São Paulo, based at Instituto Veris³⁷) is a non-for-profit educational institution with a focus on research and teaching in business and economic fields. Founded in 1987, it has programs on business, economics, MBA, LLM, and an MA in Economics and Business

The Jean Monnet Module is a 45hour program including the participation of 2 foreign professors and 6 Brazilian professors. Classes are taught in English and Portuguese. The program discusses the following topics: introduction to international commercial arbitration, Europe's integration process, institutions and the legal order of the European Union, the European Central Bank, the free movement in the European Union, geopolitical aspects, and introduction to European law.

The general director of the Modulo is Jairo Saddi³⁸. He holds a BA degree in law from São Paulo's University School of Law (USP) as well as a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration from *Fundação Getúlio Vargas* (EAESP/FGV). He also holds a Ph.D in economic law from São Paulo's University School of Law (USP) and a post-doctoral degree from Oxford University (UK). He is dean of Inspere school of law, director of the Center for Legal Studies of Ibmec São Paulo, and editor-in-chief of «The Banking Law and Capital Markets Review». He has been a visiting professor at St. Gallen University and at Coimbra School of Law. He has authored diverse legal textbooks and academic articles.

³⁷ www.insper.edu.br

³⁸ Rua Quatá, 300 Vila Olimpia BR - 04546-042 SAO PAULO; Tel.: (55) 11-45042303 Fax : (55) 11-45042315 E-mail : jairos@isp.edu.br

2.7.2. Argentina

A record in Latin America, eight Jean Monnet modules (not all currently active) have been established in Argentina since 2001 the year the program was opened. An *ad personam* chair was awarded to the director of the activities of the University of Bologna in Buenos Aires. Santa Fe is one of the interior cities that compete with Buenos Aires in the establishment of projects.

Lorenza Sebesta³⁹ is the holder of a Jean Monnet *ad personam* chair at the University of Bologna, Buenos Aires. She teaches history of European integration and institutions and history of international relations with a special attention to the rising and demise of European national states. She founded an information and study centre of European integration, *Punto Europa*⁴⁰, which in 2005 was offered the coordination of the information and communication area within the European program OBREAL⁴¹.

In October 2009, the University of Bologna, campus of Buenos Aires was selected as a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, co-financed by the European Commission. Punto Europa became its headquarters and the chair holder its director. Among the activities of the center have been a course on the European Union and its Common Agricultural Policy⁴², a conference on regional institutions, organized together with the Unit for Mercosur of the Argentinean Congress, with the sponsorship of the University *Tres de Febrero* and the Permanent Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Political Parties (COPPAL)⁴³, and a special number of *Puente@Europa* in

³⁹ Punto Europa, Universidad de Bologna en Buenos Aires, Rodriguez Peña 1464, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, CF021 ABF, Argentina, tel. e fax 0054.11.48782900. e-mail: Lorenza.Sebesta@unibo.it; lorenzasebesta@yahoo.it

⁴⁰ <http://www.puntoeuropa.eu/> Puente@Europa, <http://www.ba.Unibo.it/BuenosAires/Extension/PuntoEuropa/revistapunteaeuropa.htm>

⁴¹ www.obreal.org (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁴² <http://www.ba.unibo.it/BuenosAires/formacionacademica/modulomonnet/default.htm> (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁴³ <http://www.ba.unibo.it/BuenosAires/Extension/PuntoEuropa/par>

order to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the first elections at universal suffrage of the European Parliament.

The *Universidad de San Andrés*⁴⁴ is a private higher-education institution founded in 1988. It offers degrees in business administration, communication, economics, education, international relations, law and political science, at the BA, MA and PhD levels. The University was awarded a teaching Jean Monnet module at graduate level, as part of the elective courses in the curriculum offered by the MA program on international relations and negotiations jointly taught with FLACSO/Argentina, in cooperation with the University of Barcelona. The main course entitled «Introduction to European Integration: Legal, Institutional and Economic Aspects» is a general introduction to European integration, with focus on the economic, legal and institutional aspects of the European integrative process. The module also sponsors research and dissemination activities on European integration by university professors and graduate students.

The module's coordinator is Roberto Bouza⁴⁵, professor at *Universidad de San Andrés* and chair of its department of social sciences. He holds a BA from *Universidad de Buenos Aires* and an MA in Economics from Cambridge University. He is also a Senior Research Fellow of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council. His areas of expertise are international trade, regional integration and international political economy.

The European program at the *Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero* is part of the Jean Monnet Action, within which the *Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero* has been awarded a grant to develop a program entitled «The European Path towards Integration: Lessons from an Experience». It is centered around a course. The course has been attended by students from the Latin American integration and international commercial relations MA pro-

la mentosregionales.htm (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁴⁴ www.udesa.edu.ar (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁴⁵ Roberto Bouzas, Tel (+54-11-4725-7090). rbouzas@udesa.edu.ar

gram as well as by scholars, teachers and professionals with interest in the European Union, its functioning and the impact on the rest of the world and the Latin South American region in particular.

Its Director is Félix Peña. A specialist on international economic relations, international trade law and economic integration, he holds a law degree from the *Universidad Nacional del Litoral* (Santa Fe), a doctorate in Law (University of Madrid), and a degree in European law (Catholic University of Louvaine, Belgium). He is director of the International Trade Institute of the Standard Bank Foundation and professor of international trade relations at the *Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero* (UNTREF), Director of the MA in international trade relations and of the interdisciplinary nucleus of international studies of UNTREF, and director of the Jean Monnet module of UNTREF. He is a member of the executive board of the *Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales* (CARI).

The *Universidad Nacional del Litoral* (Santa Fe, Argentina) was awarded a Jean Monnet Module in 2007, a project carried out jointly by the schools of law and economics. Among its main activities are an elective course (law, economics and politics of the European Union integration) and a bibliography center. Conferences, workshops and seminars are organized during the school with participation of other Jean Monnet Action programs in Argentina and foreign countries.

The holder of the Module is Luis Felipe Agramunt. He has a degree in administration from the *Universidad Nacional del Litoral* (UNL) in management in international business from the *Universidad Politécnica* of Madrid. He is professor of international marketing and economic integration of the UNL. He has been visiting professor at several universities in Spain (*Alcalá de Henares*, *León*, *Santiago de Compostela*) and Brazil (UNISINOS). He is the author of two books and several papers on the relationship between Latin America and the EU⁴⁶

⁴⁶ lagramunt@fce.unl.edu.ar

2.7.3. Uruguay

The Catholic University of Uruguay is the oldest (1882) private university of the country and presently is the largest and more prestigious private high education institutions in Uruguay. It was the first institution in Uruguay to incorporate Economic integration as a formal subject, and offers a degree in International Business and Integration⁴⁷. Located in Montevideo the administrative capital of MERCOSUR, the University is the primary center of integration studies in the region.

The Jean Monnet Module was awarded to the University in July 2009. From September to November the module conducted its first course on European integration⁴⁷. The module director is Héctor N. Di Biase⁴⁸. He holds a doctorate in law and social sciences (UDELAR, *Universidad de la República*, Uruguay) and a Diploma in University Education (Catholic University of Uruguay). He is director and professor of the BA degree of international business and integration (Catholic University of Uruguay). He is the author of numerous articles issued in academic publications.

The Academic coordinator is Amílcar Peláez⁴⁹. He is professor of economic integration at the Catholic University of Uruguay. He holds a PhD in economics and business Management (University of Deusto, Spain). He was also awarded a distinction of European doctorate at University of York and a degree in international business and integration (Catholic University of Uruguay).

3. *Current topics and themes for future research*

While the three standard topics of research and teaching (the EU itself, comparative regionalism, and EU-Latin

⁴⁷ Website: <http://jm.ucu.edu.uy>. (last visited on May 19, 2011).

⁴⁸ hdibiase@ucu.edu.uy.

⁴⁹ apelaez@ucu.edu.uy.

American relations) will continue to dominate the corresponding agendas, additional themes will need to be addressed. The first one is the economic crisis with political impact that is taking place in Europe, creating not only uncertainty about the European process, but also presenting a potential impact in the integration experiments taking place in Latin America.

The central question will be not only «how is the EU a model for Latin America integration», but «do we have to take into account a procedure that has reached its limits»? The latest reform provided by the Lisbon Treaty will be studied in Latin America as a culmination of the European process itself. However, it will also be studied because of its internal uncertainties, inadequacies, and doubts about the effective transfer to other regions, where the first stages of regional integration have not been carried out.

In general terms, the future volume and the quality of studies on the EU carried out in Latin America will depend on the importance given to Europe in the overall development of the Latin American societies. In turn, the support offered in the past by the European institutions to foster knowledge of the EU in the continent will also depend on the degree of importance awarded to Latin America in the objectives and agendas of the European member states and business. In the event that the attention given to Latin America is maintained at the current level (not a priority, but with considerable sensibility, thanks to the push provided by certain member states such as Spain, but also Germany and France), there is a future for the study of Europe in the Latin American countries. The availability of local resources (foundations, private universities, and business) will continue to be very modest, hence forcing scholars to continue to rely on the programs emanating from Brussels and the influential European capitals. In addition to the Jean Monnet, ALFA, ERASMUS Mundus and other programs, the recently approved EU-Latin America Foundation will certainly help in filling the vacuum of almost non-existent private support. Replicating the assessment given in most of the evaluations for development aid pro-

grams, the issue of sustainability has a very blunt answer: without the support of EU programs most of the research and considerable part of the teaching would suffer serious damage.

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- 2005 *La Economía Global y la Integración Regional: Las experiencias de la Unión Europea y América Latina*, ECSA-México, Comisión Europea, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, UNAM, Mexico.
- 2006 *El Mercosur en la Encrucijada: La Unión Europea y el ALCA*, ECSA-Mexico, Comisión Europea/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, UNAM, Mexico.
- 2010 *Desafíos Globales en un Mundo Convulso: La UE y EE.UU.* ECSA-Mexico, Comisión Europea, UNAM, Mexico.
- Roy J., Chanona, A. and Domínguez, R. (eds.)
2004 *La Unión Europea y el TLCAN: integración regional comparada y relaciones mutuas*. UNAM, Mexico.
- Roy, J. and Domínguez, R. (eds.)
2001 *Las relaciones internacionales de la Unión Europea*, Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México, Mexico.
- Roy, J., Domínguez, R. and Velázquez Flores, R. (eds.)
2003 *Retos e interrelaciones de la integración regional: Europa y América*, Universidad de Quintana Roo/ Plaza y Valdés, Mexico.
- Roy, J., Lladós, J.M. and Peña, F. (eds.)
2005 *La Unión Europea y la Integración Regional: Perspectivas comparadas y lecciones para las Américas*, Consejo Argentino de Relaciones Internacionales CA-RI/Universidad de Tres de Febrero UNITREF/University of Miami, Buenos Aires.
- Sberro S. and Soriano, J.P. (eds.)
2005 *La Unión Europea, su evolución y relaciones con América Latina y el mundo en 2005*. Porrúa-Fundación Konrad Adenauer, Mexico.

- Silva, K.
2005 *Direito da Comunidade Européia: fontes, princípios e procedimentos*, Unijuí, Brasil, Ijuí.
- Silva, K. (ed.)
2010 *Mercosul e União Européia: o estado da arte dos processos de integração regional*. Florianópolis, Brasil.
- Tremolada, E. (ed.)
2008 *Crisis y perspectiva comparada de los procesos de integración*, Facultad de Finanzas, Gobierno y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Externado de Colombia, Jean Monnet Chair, Bogota.

ALEXANDER STRELKOV¹, MARK ENTIN AND OLEG
BARABANOV

EU STUDIES IN RUSSIA TODAY

1. Research/education centers and other education facilities

After the formation of the newly independent post-Soviet state of the Russian Federation, EU studies have acquired additional importance in this country. This development has been strongly connected with the Russian society's long-term cultural and ideological identity as an integrally European. Another factor was the permanent civil optimism about the necessity of a strategic partnership between Russia and the EU. That is why the expert community on EU studies has become one of the major political and lobbying driving forces for the pro-European trend in the Russian foreign policy.

In this regard, it is necessary to underline the essential differences between the EU studies in modern Russia and their chronological predecessor, the system of European Economic Community studies in the Soviet Union. Most of the EEC studies in the Soviet Union were strongly based on the communist ideology, and in the bipolar cold war world, they were largely written in black and white colors, considering the EEC mainly as the NATO's European civilian branch. However, it has to be kept in mind that the

¹ Dr. Alexander A. Strelkov, Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Prof. Dr. Mark L. Entin, Director of the European Studies Institute at Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO), Vice President of the Russian Association of European Studies and Russian Association of International and European Law, Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Prof. Dr. Oleg N. Barabanov, Head of the EU Politics and Policies Department at the European Studies Institute in MGIMO University, Member of the Board of the Russian Association of European Studies.

Soviet-time EEC studies were based on solid empirical research.

This situation began to change during Mikhail Gorbachev's times. The main ideological vector of the Soviet EEC studies also changed following Gorbachev's ideas of the «common European house» first proclaimed during his visit to France in 1985. They were later conceptually elaborated in his book *Perestroika and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World* [1987], and, to some extent, put into real political practice during the Paris CSCE Summit in 1990. Another novelty compared with the Soviet-time studies was the creation of new centers of excellence in EU studies in Russia sometime at the beginning of the 1990s. This process was directly connected to practical political decision-making process, while academic research expanded and intensified.

The first of these new centers was the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP) organized by Sergey A. Karaganov. This Council became a prominent joint forum for leading experts and practical specialists in the new Russian foreign policy. It has prepared various research reports on EU- Russia relations advancing a pro-European attitudes, which has contributed significantly to the development of the pro-European public opinion within the political decision-making community as well as Russian media.

The Institute of European Law at the Moscow State International Relations University (MGIMO) organized by Prof. Lev M. Entin in the mid-1990s was another of these centers. It was established by a special decree of the Russian federation president to promote knowledge of European law in Russia and to prepare practical recommendations for the harmonization of the Russian legislation and the EU legal norms.

Another step was the creation of the ECSA-World branch at the Russian Association of European Studies (AES) organized by Yury A. Borko and now headed by Alexey A. Gromyko, which has been effective in creating Russia's interregional network of expertise on the EU affairs.

These organizational efforts aimed at establishing strong ties between experts and practical specialists on the EU politics in Russia resulted in the decision (taken at the EU - Russia Summit in 2005) to establish a joint educational research center, the European Studies Institute (ESI) at the MGIMO University. Its main objective was to promote a special MA program in EU studies for mid-level civil servants from various Russian federal ministries and agencies. Several hundred Russian ministerial employees have graduated from the ESI so far. Another task of the ESI was to become a hub for conferences and workshops as well as to establish partnership networks with regional Russian universities so as to improve and update the curricula and teaching methods of the EU courses in Russian universities. Sergey E. Prikhodko, the Chairman of the ESI International Governing Board, is also a counselor on foreign policy issues in the Russian president's administration.

Prof. Mark L. Entin is the Director of the ESI². The Institute has three departments: EU law (chaired by Genady P. Tolstopyatenko), EU economics (chaired by Natalia G. Adamchuk) and EU politics and policies (chaired by Oleg N. Barabanov).

Within the system of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Europe and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) are the key EU studies and research centers. Many leading experts on EU integration work at the Institute of Europe. They are: V. Zhurkin, N. Shmelev, A. Gromyko, M. Nosov, D. Danilov, O. Potemkina, A. Tevdoy-Burmuli, N. Kaveshnikov and others. The IMEMO's pool of experts on the EU issues comprises V. Baranovsky, N. Arbatova³,

² Энтин М.Л. В поисках партнерских отношений. Т. 1: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2004 – 2005 годах. – Санкт-Петербург, 2006; Т. 2: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2006 – 2008 годах. – М.: Зебра Е, 2009; Т. 3: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2008 – 2009 годах. – М.: Зебра Е, 2010.

³ Проблема 2007: что дальше? // Россия в глобальной политике, 2004, т. 4, № 1; Станут ли страны СНГ яблоком раздора в

M. Strezhneva, A. Kuznetsov, S. Utkin⁴ and P. Sokolova⁵.

Another prominent research and education center is the High school of economics in Moscow's HSE-University and the Faculty of international economy and world politics headed by Sergey A. Karaganov, who is one of Russia's leading foreign policy experts. The HSE's research potential in the field of the EU studies is supported by the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies headed by Timofey V. Bordachev⁶, with Dmitry V. Suslov being one of its leading researchers.

The Moscow State University also provides extensive courses on EU affairs, namely the ones offered at the Faculty of global politics. Another prominent organization is the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences (ISSS), which provides access to various on-line catalogues and modern literature. The ISSS' main role is to provide means and infrastructure for research, but it also hosts a Russian NATO center, contributing to the research on the European security agenda.

The EU and other European issues are also the subject of studies at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS, its Department of Euroatlantic Studies is chaired by Elena S. Khotkova) and the Institute of Contemporary International Studies at the Diplomatic Academy. The Center

отношениях России и ЕС // МЭиМО, 2006, № 6.

⁴ Уткин С.В. Институциональное развитие Общей внешней политики и политики безопасности Европейского союза / Европейский союз: В поисках общего пространства внешней безопасности. - М.: ИМЭМО РАН, 2007.

⁵ Соколова П.С. Государства западных Балкан в евроатлантической интеграции / Интеграционные процессы в современном мире: экономика, политика, безопасность. Мировое развитие. Вып.2. / Отв. ред. Войтловский Ф.Г., Кузнецов А.В. - М.: ИМЭМО РАН, 2007.

⁶ Бордачев Т. Модель на вырост // Россия в глобальной политике, 2003, т. 1, № 2; Bordachev T. Russia and the European Union after 2007 / The elephant and the bear try again. - Brussels: CEPS, 2006; Бордачев Т.В. Европейский союз: возможные пути развития / Мир вокруг России: 2017, СВОП, ГУ-ВШЭ, РИО-Центр. - М.: Культурная революция, 2007.

for the Postindustrial Society Research headed by V. Inosemtsev is also actively involved in the EU studies.

Unfortunately, the Committee on Russia in the United Europe headed by Vladimir A. Ryzhkov and Nadezhda K. Arbatova, which was very active at the beginning of the 2000s and published a number of excellent working papers on such diverse issues as the Kaliningrad region, the EU-Russia energy dialogue and the EU military capabilities, to name a few, ceased to exist.

The Moscow Carnegie Center (led by D. Trenin) has published several papers on the EU-Russia relations⁷, although it generally focused on «wider» Russia-Western relations and the EU topic hasn't gained prominence in the organization's research portfolio.

The Moscow State Law Academy (MSLA) is another prominent center of EU law studies (S. Kashkin, P. Kalinichenko). The Moscow University of the Russian Ministry of Interior is the main research school on European legal philosophy and the EU political ideology; V. Malakhov and A. Klimentko are representatives of this school.

The Faculty of International Affairs of the Saint-Petersburg State University (K. Hudoley, D. Levi, N. Zaslavskaya, T. Romanova, etc.) is also among the key hubs of expertise. The European University in Saint-Petersburg (M. Belova and M. Nozhenkova) is a notable example, although the university prefers a somewhat wider scope of research, touching upon sociology and gender studies. The European University hosts a Center for German and European Studies, which organizes annual workshops and seminars on the methodology of the EU studies. The Center for Regional and International Policy (CIRP) in Saint-Petersburg offers programs devoted to the Baltic region, EU-Russia relations and cross border cooperation. B. Kuz-

⁷ Лешуков И. Россия и Европейский союз: стратегия взаимоотношений / Россия и основные институты безопасности в Европе: вступая в XXI век / Под ред. Д. Тренина. - М.: Центр Карнеги, 2000.

netsov, E. Klitsunova and L. Karabeshkin are members of this think-tank.

The booming development of regional universities and research centers has been one of the driving forces behind the evolution of the EU studies in modern Russia. Thus, the Faculty of international relations at the Nizhny Novgorod State University has become one of the leading centers of EU studies in Russia. The Oleg A. Kolobov, Dean of the Faculty, is Vice-President of the Russian Association of European Studies. The research on EU studies at the Faculty is carried out at the Department of international communication and country studies, chaired by Mikhail I. Rykhtik. Faculty research mainly focuses on Euro-Atlantic relations in their research.

Two other leading regional research schools on EU studies in Russia are the newly formed Ural Federal University named after Boris Yeltsin in Ekaterinburg and Saratov State University. Valery I. Mikhailenko, a member of the board of the Russian Association of European Studies, heads the Ekaterinburg research school. Among the key research activities of the school is the analysis of individual EU member states' role in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy; it is based on the widely recognized school of Italian studies in Ekaterinburg. The head of the Saratov research school is Yuri G. Goloub, Vice Rector of the University and Head of the Department of international relations theory, who is also a member of the Board of the Russian Association of European Studies. The Saratov school focuses on the history of European integration in its research.

The Immanuel Kant Russian State University in Kaliningrad is obviously the leading research center on Kaliningrad issues in the EU-Russia relations. Andrey P. Klemeshev, the Rector of the University is the head of the regional school. He and his team (G. Fyodorov, Yu. Zverev, I. Zhukovsky) have prepared numerous research reports on socio-economic specifics of the Kaliningrad exclave and its transborder cooperation with the EU member states.

Another issue of interest for the Kaliningrad school is EU Law (V. Rusinova and V. Voinikov).

The following educational centers can be mentioned among other dynamically developing regional research centers on EU studies in Russia: the Volgograd State University (I. Kurilla, main interest – Euro-Atlantic studies), the Yaroslav Mudry State University in Veliky Novgorod (V. Grokhotova, A. Gusev – EU Law), the Altay State University (Yu. Chernyshov, A. Betmakaev, O. Arshintseva, L. Monina, S. Nozhkin – the history of European integration and Euroregions), the Tambov State University (V. Yuriev, D. Seltser, V. Romanov – Euro-Atlantic studies and political decision making), the Perm State University (L. Fadeeva – European political science), the Voronezh State University (O. Belenov – the history of European integration), the Smolensk State University (A. Egorov – the history of European integration), the Southern Federal University in Rostov-on-Don (I. Uznarodov), the interinstitutional Center of European Studies in Ryazan (S. Trykanova – EU Law), the Ivanovo State University (D. Polyvyanny – the history of European integration) and many others.

2. An overview of literature and research spheres

In Russia there are presently various specialized journals on EU studies, e.g. «*Vsya Evropa*» (*All Europe*) (www.alleuropa.ru; www.ru-eu.ru), published by the European Studies Institute at the MGIMO University; «*Sovremennaja Evropa*» (*Modern Europe*) published by the Institute of Europe and «*Aktualnyi problemy Evropy*» («*Modern European Issues*») published by the ISISS. Other prominent magazines, such as «*World Economy and International Relations*» (IMEMO), «*Russia in Global affairs*» and «*Observer*» also publish articles devoted to the EU issues on a regular basis.

The journal «*International Trends*» has also published a number of interesting articles on the EU foreign policy,

federalist traits of the EU political system, etc. There are several online reference magazines in Russia, namely «EU: Facts and Comments» (Institute of Europe) which provides news on the EU affairs. The magazine «Kosmopolis» (published by MGIMO) has been rather active in publishing articles about the EU affairs; however, it ceased to exist. The «Pro et Contra» magazine (Moscow Carnegie Endowment) also publishes materials about the EU.

The European Studies Institute at MGIMO started publishing series of books with contributions from both Russian and EU experts⁸. The European University in Saint-Petersburg started a similar program, with publications touching upon gender issues in the EU, army-society relations in the EU member-states and development of higher education system in the EU⁹. The Institute of Europe is the most active in this field.

In evaluating the EU studies in Russia one should not forget those scientists who were instrumental in creating the foundation of this research domain back in the Soviet period: Y. Borko, L. Gluharev, M. Maksimova, Y. Shishkov and others concentrated on economy studies; legal as-

⁸ «Библиотека слушателей Европейского учебного института при МГИМО (У) МИД России. Серия «Общие пространства Россия-ЕС: право, политика, экономика»: Выпуск 2. Перспективы развития отношений между Россией и ЕС: право, политика, энергетика (Материалы международных конференций, посвященных 10-летию юбилею Института Европейского права, новому в развитии европейского права и европейской интеграции, вопросам энергетике и проблемам обучения, проведенных в МГИМО (У) МИД России в 2006-2007 гг.) – СПб.: СКФ «Россия-Нева», 2008; Выпуск. 3. Взаимодополняемость ЕС и его государств-членов в области внешних действий и ОВПБ и ее влияние на отношения ЕС и Российской Федерации (Материалы международной конференции, проведенной в МГИМО (У) МИД России и МГЮА 28-29 сентября 2007 г.) – СПб.: СКФ «Россия-Нева», 2008.

⁹ Данилова Н. Армия и общество: принципы взаимодействия – СПб.: Норма, 2007; Жанна Чернова. Семейная политика в Европе и России: гендерный анализ. – СПб.: Норма, 2007; Шпаковская Л. Политика высшего образования в Европе и России. – СПб.: Норма, 2007.

pects on the EU integration were studied by L. Entin¹⁰, Y. Yumashev and S. Kashkin. A number of scientists concentrating on specific countries joined the research in the 1960s, namely Y. Rubinsky, E. Hesin and N. Kovalsky. The topic of political integration was only touched upon in the late 1980s, the first publications were prepared by V. Baranovsky¹¹.

In the key areas of the EU studies today the contemporary research agenda is dominated by EU - Russia affairs. S. Karaganov, D. Danilov, A. Zagorsky, V. Baranovsky, M. Entin, O. Barabanov, A. Malgin, T. Yurieva, T. Bordachev and many others focus in their research on the European security and CFSP's studies in the framework of EU - Russia relations. P. Kanigin¹², N. Kaveshnikov¹³, T. Romanova¹⁴, A. Haitun, A. Belyi¹⁵ can be named among the most prominent scientists in the field of energy studies.

Some of the best work on the EU-Russia cooperation in the area of justice, liberty and security is done by O. Potemkina¹⁶, followed by O. Korneev¹⁷ and V. Voinikov¹⁸.

¹⁰ He was the first in Russia to address the law of the EEC and than of the EU as a system of sui generis law. The same approach was developed in subsequent publications: Энтин Л.М. Право Европейского Союза. Новый этап эволюции: 2009 – 2017 годы. – М.: Аксиома, 2009.

¹¹ Барановский В.Г. Политическая интеграция в Западной Европе. Некоторые вопросы теории и практики. М., 1983.

¹² Каныгин П.С. Энергетическая безопасность Европейского союза и интересы России. М., 2008.

¹³ EU-Russia relations: How to overcome the deadlock of mutual misunderstanding? - Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2003; Взаимодействие России и ЕС в энергетической сфере: сотрудничество и конкуренция / Россия - Европейский союз: на пути к четырем общим пространствам. Часть 1. Под ред. Д.А.Данилова. Доклады ИЕ РАН, № 224. - М.: ИЕ РАН, 2008.

¹⁴ Романова Т.А. Становление Европейского союза как международного актора. - СПб: Изд-во СПбГУ, 2003; Общее европейское экономическое пространство: стратегия участия России // Pro et Contra, 2003, №3.

¹⁵ Belyi A. The EU external energy policy / Roggenkamp M., Del Guayo I., Ronne A., Redgewell C. Energy law in Europe. - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

¹⁶ Потемкина О.Ю. Европейское пространство свободы,

The European neighborhood policy and the EU-Russia relations in the post-Soviet period has been the topic that attracted much interest. Nonetheless, there has not been adequate Russian research on the impact of the ENP in the «Eastern» partnership spheres. A sort of landmark in this field was a joint MGIMO-Rosa Luxembourg Foundation publication entitled *European countries of the CIS. The place in «Big Europe»* in 2005¹⁹. Another important contribution was a publication by the Institute of Europe, the AES and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation entitled *Russia and the Uniting Europe: the prospects of cooperation*²⁰. The publication touched upon ENP, conflict resolution in the CIS region, cross-border cooperation, and Kaliningrad issues.

The topic of Northern dimension with a number of papers and books written by V. Shlamin and Y. Deryabin²¹ used to be very popular but has somewhat lost significance. Nevertheless, NGOs and members of the academic com-

безопасности и правопорядка: границы, содержание, механизмы. - М., 2002; Ramifications of enlargement on the EU-Russia relations and the Schengen regime / Justice and Home affairs in the EU. Liberty and security issues after enlargement / Ed. By J. Aap. - Edward Elgar Publishing, 2004; The EU-Russia cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs. // The EU-Russia review, Brussels, November 2006, № 2; Potemkina O., Kaveshnikov N. The EU and Russia in search of strategic partnership // European Integration without the EU: Models, experiences and perspectives, EUI Working Paper, MWP 2009/10.

¹⁷ Korneev O. Primus inter Pares? Justice and Home Affairs Policies of the European Union in its Eastern European Neighbourhood // Chair In Bev Baillet-Latour EU-Russia Working Paper, March 2008.

¹⁸ Войников В. Россия-ЕС: правовые аспекты создания общего пространства свободы, безопасности и законности / Актуальные проблемы правовой реформы в России. - Калининград, 2005.

¹⁹ Европейские страны СНГ: место в «Большой Европе». - М., 2005.

²⁰ Россия и объединяющаяся Европа: перспективы сотрудничества / Под ред. В.П. Федорова, О.Ю.Потемкиной, Н.Б.Кондратьевой. - М.: Институт Европы РАН: «Русский сувенир», 2007.

²¹ Шлямин В.А. Россия в «Северном измерении». - Петрозаводск, 2002; Дерябин Ю.С. «Северное измерение» политики Европейского Союза и интересы России. - М., 2000.

munity from North-Western Russia continue to maintain a high profile for research on cross-border cooperation.

EU law studies (textbooks and manuals)²² have been highly successful and experts in that field were able to achieve international renown. Interestingly enough, the EU law experts were generally among the first Russian EU experts to show interest in purely political issues, i.e. in the EU Commission and the Council of Ministers' relations, etc. These experts are: S. Kashkin and P. Kalinichenko²³, M. Entin²⁴, A. Kapustin²⁵, L. Kablova²⁶, B. Topornin²⁷, N. Shelenkova²⁸ and T. Shashikhina²⁹.

²² Европейское право. Право Европейского Союза и правовое обеспечение защиты прав человека. Учебник для вузов / Под ред. Л.М. Энтина, 2-е изд., пересм. и доп. – М.: Изда-во НОРМА, 2005; Европейское право. Право Европейского Союза и правовое обеспечение защиты прав человека. Учебник для вузов / Под ред. Л.М. Энтина, 3-е изд., пересм. и доп. – М.: Изда-во НОРМА, 2010; Европейский Союз: Основополагающие акты в редакции Лиссабонского договора с комментариями. – М.: ИНФРА-М, 2008; Право Европейского Союза: учебник для вузов / Под ред. С.Ю. Кашкина, 3-е изд., перераб. и доп. – М.: Изд-во Юрайт; Высшее образование, 2010; Кашкин С.Ю. Введение в право Европейского Союза: учебник. – 3-е изд., перераб. и доп. / Кашкин С.Ю., Калининченко П.А., Четвериков А.О. – М.: Эксмо, 2010.

²³ Кашкин С.Ю. Будущий Договор о сотрудничестве между Россией и Европейским союзом и господство права / Взаимодополняемость ЕС и его государств-членов в области внешних действий и ОВПБ и ее влияние на отношения ЕС и Российской Федерации. - СПб: СКФ «Россия-Нева», 2008; Калининченко П.А. Новый Договор о стратегическом партнерстве – новые горизонты взаимоотношений России и ЕС / Там же; Кашкин С.Ю., Калининченко П.А., Четвериков А.О. Европейское оборонное сотрудничество. Документы и комментарии. - М., 2004.

²⁴ Entin M. Human rights protection under the Law of the European Union. – Moscow: MGIMO, 2003.

²⁵ Капустин А. Европейский союз: интеграция и право. - М., 2000.

²⁶ Каблова Л.В. Правовые аспекты европейской интеграции: Проблемы коммунитаризации в региональных составляющих Европейского союза. - Н.Новгород, 2000.

²⁷ Топорнин Б.Н. Европейские сообщества: право и институты. - М., 1992.

²⁸ Шеленкова Н.Б. Европейская интеграция: политика и право. - М., 2003.

A large number of publications contain an overview of the EU-Russia relations. Among the best examples are the works of A. Arbatov³⁰, M. Entin³¹, I. Yurgens³², Y. Shishkov³³, and V. Likhachev³⁴. An interesting paper was published by N. Yemeljanova³⁵, where the author tends to concentrate mainly on the Partnership's legal and economic aspects. Among the most recent publications is a book by S. Karaganov and I. Yurgens, which advocates the need for closer EU-Russia cooperation; the authors have tried to identify the conditions for making such cooperation sustainable and mutually beneficial³⁶. The analysis of the EU-Russia relations carried out by a working group under S. Karaganov in 2005 and 2010 is also an excellent contribution to this field of European studies³⁷.

General books (textbooks) about the EU appeared throughout the 1990s but unfortunately, the last in the list of these comprehensive works was published in 2001 with no subsequent similar publications. The book published in 2001 was edited by Y. Borko and O. Butorina and offered

²⁹ Shashikhina T. Some aspects of harmonization of Russian and EU legislation regulating business relationships: Problems and Prospects // Russian-European center for economic policy (RECEP), M., 2005.

³⁰ Арбатов А. Европейская Россия: ересь, утопия, проект? – М., 2004.

³¹ The latest one is Энтин М.Л. В поисках партнерских отношений. Т. 3: Россия и Европейский союз в 2008-2009 годах. - М.: Зебра Е, 2010.

³² Yurgens I. (ed.) Russia and the European Union: exploring opportunities for greater cooperation. - M: Institute of Contemporary Development, 2009.

³³ Пиндер Дж., Шишков Ю. Евросоюз и Россия: перспективы партнерства. - М., 2003.

³⁴ Россия и Европейский союз в международной системе (дипломатия, политика, право) 1989-2004. – Казань: Центр инновационных технологий, 2004.

³⁵ Емельянова Н.Н. Россия и Евросоюз. Соперничество и партнерство. - М: Международные отношения, 2009.

³⁶ Россия vs. Европа. Противостояние или Союз? / Под ред. С.А. Караганова, И.Ю. Юргенса. - М.: Астрель. Русь-Олимп, 2009.

³⁷ Европейская стратегия России: новый старт // Россия в глобальной политике, 2005, № 2, Март-Апрель.

a yet to be rivaled depth of analysis (in the Russian EU affairs experts' community) of the EU development³⁸. In 2003, a textbook by V. Shematnikov³⁹ appeared but the book by Y. Borko and O. Butorina seems to be more problem orientated. In 2000, a joint comprehensive study was published by IMEMO and RISS. The research was of very good quality and concentrated mainly on issues of security, economy, energy and international relations⁴⁰. Earlier in the 1990s a number of comprehensive works about the EU studies appeared⁴¹.

A number of works were devoted to the history of the EU integration, namely the books by M. Lipkin⁴², A. Brannitsky and G. Kamenskaya⁴³. A large group of Russian EU experts joined the field with the background of research of individual European country. The works of V. Verennikov⁴⁴ (Spain), Y. Derabin and N. Antushina⁴⁵ (Nordic countries), Y. Rubinski⁴⁶ (France), A. Gromyko⁴⁷ (United

³⁸ Европейский Союз на пороге XXI века: выбор стратегии развития / Под ред. Ю.А. Борко и О.В. Буториной. - М., 2001.

³⁹ Шемятенков В.Г. Европейская интеграция: учеб. пособие. - М., 2003.

⁴⁰ Россия: европейский вектор / РИСИ, ИМЭМО РАН. М.: Россия-Нева, 2000.

⁴¹ Новые контуры Западной Европы / Под ред. В.Г. Барановского и др. - М.: Мысль, 1992; Сорок лет Римским договорам: Европейская интеграция и Россия / Отв. ред. И.Е. Лешуков. - СПб., 1998; Заглядывая в XXI век: Европейский союз и Содружество Независимых Государств / Под ред. Ю.А. Борко. - М., 1998.

⁴² Липкин М.А. Британия в поисках Европы. Долгий путь в ЕС 1957-1974. - М.: Алетей, 2009.

⁴³ Браницкий А.Г., Каменская Г.В. История Европейской интеграции. - М., Нижний Новгород: ИМЭМО РАН, ФМО ННГУ, 2003.

⁴⁴ Испания в анфас и профиль. / Под ред. В.Л. Веренникова. - М.: ИЕ РАН, Изд-во «Весь мир», 2007.

⁴⁵ Северная Европа: регион нового развития / Под ред. Ю.С. Дерябина, Н.М. Антюшиной. - М.: ИЕ РАН, 2008.

⁴⁶ Франция. В поисках новых путей / Отв. ред. Ю.И. Рубинский. - М.: Весь мир, 2007.

⁴⁷ Громько Ал. А. Модернизация партийной системы Великобритании. - М., Институт Европы РАН, 2007; Великобритания. Эпоха реформ / Под ред. Ал. А. Громько. - М.,

Kingdom), V. Belov⁴⁸ and S. Pogorelskaya⁴⁹ (Germany), T. Zonova, V. Mikhailenko, O. Barabanov (Italy), K. Voronov⁵⁰ (Norway), M. Isaev, A. Chekanskiy, V. Shishkin⁵¹ (Nordic countries), V. Shveitser⁵² (small states of the EU) can be offered as best examples. A book by A. Akulshina and V. Artemjev about the role of the French-German cooperation in developing the European integration process also deserves mentioning⁵³.

The Lisbon Treaty has been mainly the topic of MGIMO and MSLA publications⁵⁴ with an outstanding article by a distinguished Russian expert I. Ivanov⁵⁵ devoted to the influence of the above mentioned treaty on the EU-Russia relations.

The subject of political parties and social movements has also attracted some interest, although such topics have never been a popular theme in the EU foreign policy studies. For example, B. Orlov⁵⁶ published extensively on the European social-democratic movement, while A. Tvedoj-

Институт Европы РАН, 2007.

⁴⁸ Германия. Вызовы XXI в. / Под ред. В.В. Белова. - М.: Весь мир, 2009.

⁴⁹ Die parteinahen Stiftungen als Akteure und Instrumente der deutschen Aussenpolitik // Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Bonn, 2002, №2; Die bedeutung der deutschen parteinahen Stiftungen für die EU-Politik gegenüber den MOE – und GUS-Staaten // ZEI-Discussionpaper, Bonn, 2006.

⁵⁰ Воронов К.В. Евроинтеграция Норвегии: особый курс малой страны. - М.: Прогресс-Традиция, 2008.

⁵¹ Исаев М.А., Чеканский А.Н., Шишкин В.Н. Политическая система стран Скандинавии и Финляндии. - М., 2000.

⁵² Государства Альпийского региона и страны Бенилюкса в меняющейся Европе / Под ред. В.Я.Швейцера. - М.: Весь Мир, 2009.

⁵³ Акульшина А.В., Артемьев В.А. Франция и Германия в европейской интеграции. – Воронеж, 2005.

⁵⁴ Какими станут внутренние и внешние политики ЕС в результате вступления в силу Лиссабонского договора (материалы международной конференции, проведенной в МГИМО (У) МИД России 22 февраля 2008 г.). - М.: Аксиом, 2009.

⁵⁵ Иванов И.Д. Лиссабонский договор и интересы России // Россия в глобальной политике, 2010, №1, Январь-Февраль.

⁵⁶ Орлов Б.С. Новая программа германской социал-демократии.

Burmuli⁵⁷ and F. Kabeshev⁵⁸ worked on the issue of the European radical right parties and movements.

A number of scientists elaborated the issues of identity and perception. Y. Borko, an outstanding Russian EU expert, published a seminal work on the European idea⁵⁹, while L.I. Gluharev⁶⁰ edited a number of volumes on European culture, identity, etc.

Several authors delved into the EU institutional research, investigating such topics as EU multi-level governance (M. Strezhneva, O. Barabanov, and S. Nozhkin), lobbying (T. Bordachev⁶¹), policy networks. Publications by E. Ahova⁶², I. Semenenko⁶³, N. Kaveshnikov⁶⁴, I. Yazbovskaya⁶⁵, and M. Strezhneva⁶⁶ can serve as valuable examples.

Still, as will be shown below, there is a problem of

⁵⁷ Тэвдой-Бурмули А.И. Европейский национализм в контексте европейской интеграции. - М., «Серия ДИЕ РАН», 1966, №22.

⁵⁸ Кабешев Ф.В. «Новые правые» на марше: Франция... Далее везде? - Н.Новгород, 1999.

⁵⁹ Борко Ю.А. От европейской идеи – к единой Европе. - М., 2003.

⁶⁰ Большая гуманистическая Европа. Роль университетов / Отв. ред. Л.И. Глухарев. - М. 1996.

⁶¹ Representing private interests to increase trust in EU – Russia relations // *Russie. NEI. Visions.* - P.: IFRI, 2006.

⁶² Ахова Е.В. Трансформация политических институтов ЕС: современные тенденции и перспективы. – Ставрополь, 2005.

⁶³ Семенов И.С. Группы интересов на Западе и в России. Концепции и практика. - М.: ИМЭМО РАН, 2001; И.С.Семенов. Представительство интересов в Европейском союзе и опыт России. Синтез моделей или синтез концепций? / С.П. Перегудов, Н.Ю. Лапина, И.С. Семенов. Группы интересов и Российское государство. - М., 1999.

⁶⁴ Кавешников Н.Ю. Институциональная реформа ЕС и Ниццкий договор: ответы или вопросы? - М., «Серия ДИЕ РАН», 2002, №87.

⁶⁵ Яжборовская И.С. Европейский союз на путях политической интеграции. - М. 2004.

⁶⁶ Стрежнева М.В. Структурирование политического пространства Европейского союза // МЭиМО, Декабрь 2009 - Январь 2010; Стрежнева М.В. Сетевой компонент в политическом устройстве Евросоюза // *Международные процессы*, 2005, Т. 3, № 3 (9); Стрежнева М.В. В сетях управления // *Pro et Contra*, 2003, Spring, Т. 8, № 2.

sustainability of Russian research on the EU institutions and the EU internal political development. There is little demand for such studies and experts are discouraged from taking up new research topics. Russian works on multi-level policies or Europeanization made few attempts to turn to aspects of theory-testing or empirical research.

The topic of the EU enlargement has obviously been of great interest to Russian experts, although the level of this interest has understandably declined. Numerous MGIMO publications⁶⁷, e.g. a key volume by N. Arbatova, V. Gutnik, E. Hesin, Y. Yudanov⁶⁸, articles B. Pichugin⁶⁹, K. Vorontsov⁷⁰ can be listed among a plethora of other papers. A general tendency amongst these works was an increasingly critical tone, both in terms of seeing Russian interests compromised and the questionable consequences that such a widening of the EU would necessarily entail. Russian studies tend to have become more critical of the EU policies.

During the second half of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s the topic of the EU regional policy and regionalism was very popular, with publications by I. Busygina⁷¹, I. Ivanov⁷², N. Kondratieva⁷³, O. Barabanov and S. Nozh-

⁶⁷ Расширение Европейского союза и Россия. – М., МГИМО МИД РФ, Институт Европы РАН, 2006.

⁶⁸ Расширение ЕС на восток: предпосылки, проблемы, последствия / Отв. ред. Н.К. Арбатова, В.П. Гутник, Е.С. Хесин, Ю.И. Юданов. - М., 2003.

⁶⁹ Пичугин Б. Россия и расширение ЕС на восток // Международная жизнь, 1996, №2; Пичугин Б. Расширение ЕС на восток и экономические интересы России. – М., «Серия ДИЕ РАН», 1996, №14.

⁷⁰ Воронцов К. Четвертое расширение ЕС: тормоз или стимул интеграции //МЭМО, 1996, №8.

⁷¹ Бусыгина И.М. Стратегия европейских регионов в контексте интеграции и глобализации. - М., 2002; Бусыгина И.М. Региональная политика Европейского союза и возможности использования ее опыта для России. - М., «Серия ДИЕ РАН», 1995, №17.

⁷² Иванов И.Д. Европа регионов. - М., 1998.

⁷³ Кондартьева Н.Б. Регионы России и Европейского союза на пути к строительству Общего экономического пространства. - М.: Русский сувенир, Институт Европы РАН (Доклад Института № 223),

kin concentrating not only on economic issues but touching upon the political influence of the EU consultative bodies, e.g. Committee of the Regions, etc.

A few authors devoted their work to studying various EU policies, i.e. agriculture (V. Nazarenko⁷⁴), competence-sharing (S. Bartenev⁷⁵), social policy (L. Tserkasevich⁷⁶, M. Kargalova and E. Egorova⁷⁷).

A relatively new EU topic is the «value-interests» interplay studies within the context of the EU-Russia relations through the concept of discourse and post-structuralist philosophy in general, i.e. works of V. Morozov⁷⁸ and A. Makarychev⁷⁹.

Specialization and differentiation of Russian-EU studies have indeed grown both in scale and quality, with the analysis of EU-Russian agenda (energy issues among the top priorities), EU foreign policy and conflict resolution in the post-Soviet space and CEFSP/ESDP decision-making, among those worth mentioning.

3. *Quality assessment and key research problems*

The field of EU studies has been very strongly biased

2008.

⁷⁴ Назаренко В.И. Теоретические основы аграрной политики на Западе и Россия. - М.: Институт Европы РАН, Изд-во «Русский сувенир».

⁷⁵ Бартнев С.А. Европейский союз и государства-члены: разграничение компетенции. М.: Изд-во «Юрлитинформ», 2009.

⁷⁶ Церкаевич Л.М. Современные тенденции социальной политики в странах Европейского Союза. – СПб., 2002.

⁷⁷ Каргалова М. Опыт становления европейской социальной модели в контексте повышения эффективности социальной политики России. - М., 2007; Каргалова М., Егорова Е. Социальная политика ЕС. – М.: Аксиом, 2010.

⁷⁸ Morozov V. Can Russia become a Baltic country? // Post-Cold War Identity politics. Northern and Baltic experiences. - L. Portland: Frank Cass, 2003.

⁷⁹ Makarychev A. Russia and the new security architecture in Europe // CEPS Working document № 310, 2009, February.

towards international relations with much less interest in the fields of comparative politics and/or public administration. In his overview of Russian EU studies V. Avdonin⁸⁰ claimed that the internal political development of the European Union has been largely left on the periphery of the EU studies in Russia. According to V. Avdonin, Russian researchers lacked knowledge of specific methods and tools of research. Hence, studies of the EU's internal political development have not developed into a specific school of thought but were highly reminiscent of a kind of «discourse». Russian knowledge of the EU external policies is incomparably better than that of its internal development. This point of view was initially expressed in 2006 but is still partially valid at the end of 2010.

This is not necessarily a disadvantage, although it may provide a cause for concern in the long run. In order to achieve a new level of quality Russian EU studies have to overcome certain obstacles. They are mainly linked to infrastructure problems, namely the need to provide a wider access to online libraries and catalogues (i.e., EBSCO Academic search primer, JSTOR, CEEOL, access to the databases of Taylor and Francis, Sage Publishing, WAO database of the German Information Network International Relations and Area Studies, ERPA). The problem is not only to provide technology ensuring access to these databases. What is more important is to create conditions that would encourage lecturers, researchers and students to integrate these materials into their daily work. Knowledge of EU think-tanks should be also more widespread. While organizations like CEPS and EPC are possibly the best-known ones, no less influential and efficient think tanks like the German SWP, Swedish SIEPS or Danish DIIS, etc. also deserve being taken into consideration by the Russian EU experts.

Secondly, although peer review for academic publica-

⁸⁰ Авдонин В. Российские исследования политики Европейского союза. - Рязань: Изд-во РГУ, 2006.

tions does exist, it has to be applied more rigorously to ensure the quality of published materials. Thirdly, a very frequent problem is a certain disregard for method. It is necessary not just to apply one theory of EU integration or another, but to use a more focused approach to conducting research and scientific inquiry, formulating research design and questions. More attention and training in this domain would be very beneficial, especially for young scholars who don't possess an understanding of the «ways of doing things» as their older and more distinguished colleagues do. Financial support is the last but obviously not least amongst the list of problems. Dependence on the EU grants isn't bad as such but special-purpose funding by the Russian state or private sources for short-term research trips, small-scale grants, etc. would be highly beneficial.

Somehow, a large number of topics in the field of Russian EU studies are left underdeveloped despite being able to yield practical results and increase the international standing of the Russian EU studies. For example, the topic of the EU institutions has not been sufficiently researched to elevate it to the international level. Relations between the supranational and intergovernmental institutions aren't studied to a level comparable with that of the EU. High quality research in this field requires financial support and external demand (be it for lobbying or else) but its necessity isn't accorded due recognition. Surprisingly, leaving the issues of NATO, CFSP/ESDP and "Berlin+" aside, not much is done to study transatlantic relations in a wider perspective, despite the fact that the recent Airbus-Boeing trade wars and the EU-US agreement on SWIFT give ample ground for academic research. The topic of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the EU relations with the post-Soviet states are mainly examples of «macro-level analysis», concentrating on energy, security and geopolitics. This interest is perfectly justified but it results in neglecting issues that seem even more important in order to analyze the EU's influence in the region. For example, the realization of the Action Plans, adoption of the acquis

communautaire by the post-Soviet states and the role of the civil society in the ENP, are left out, which denies Russian experts a more nuanced knowledge of ENP. As K. Smith⁸¹, a renowned expert on the EU issues, puts it, research on ENP should pay more attention to the prospects of partner-states. Here lies a fruitful opportunity for Russian researchers to contribute to this field of study. The topic of the EU-ACP relations is left on the margins while the EU-China relations could also be a promising venue for future research.

Another salient issue is that Russian EU research has to be translated more rigorously into European languages. That would not only contribute to a more fruitful academic exchange but make Russian views and perceptions more understandable to the EU partners. Such a move would entail a rigorous quality control but that is indispensable if we want Russian EU studies to be part of global research.

Regardless of these shortcomings, members of the Russian expert and academic community have excellent knowledge of the issues pertaining to the EU-Russia agenda, be it issues of energy or justice, liberty and security, as well as trade issues, etc. It might be counterintuitive to label this huge branch «narrow» but somewhat naturally the EU studies became dominated by issues of the EU-Russia relations agenda. Still, when the EU-Russia relations have reached a point of «mutual fatigue», it is likely to spill into the field of academic research, thus affecting the interest (and willingness) to finance studies devoted to various aspects of the EU-Russia relations. In order not to become a hostage of this possible trend, Russian EU studies should try to adopt a wider approach and develop a larger portfolio of research topics.

Generally speaking, the number of EU experts and their geography has increased, the domain is now more

⁸¹ Smith K.E. The EU in the world: Future research agendas // LSE European Foreign Policy Unit Working Paper, № 2008/1, February 2008.

specialized but there is a need to be more reflexive about the methods of research used in order to enhance communication and integration of young scholars.

4. Influence on public opinion/decision-making

It's highly debatable whether the academic community shapes decision-making and public opinion to a significant degree. Lately the institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences have ceased to receive requests for policy papers on a regular basis. Nevertheless the influence of main think tanks in Russia is growing. Scholars of MGIMO and its affiliated structures, as well as the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy (with S. Karaganov as its president) probably possess the best channels for promoting their expertise. The Institute of Modern Development (INSOR), headed by I. Yurgens, is seen as one of the vehicles of the modernization project launched by Russian President Dmitry Medvedev. This organization has shown a growing interest in the EU affairs and may indeed facilitate uploading the views of the academic community to the governmental bodies.

5. Integration into the international arena

Membership in the European Community Study Association (ECSA) has been very beneficial for establishing and maintaining international contacts, although relations with national ECSA bodies have to be upgraded in order to make a qualitative leap in Russian EU studies.

Various international organizations have been very helpful in sustaining the EU studies in Russia, especially German foundations, namely the Friedrich Ebert and Konrad Adenauer's. A number of short and long-term research grant opportunities were provided by the EU member-states, a notable example being the Belgian Chair In

Bev Baillet-Latour which supported EU-Russia studies.

Joint MA programmes have been opened with the EU universities, a notable example being the MGIMO exchange program with *Sciences Po* (Paris) and the *Freie Universität* (Berlin).

Russian experts participate in high-profile conferences, like the ones organized by the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) and the UACES. Nonetheless, the knowledge about these bodies has to be more widespread within the expert and academic community. Participation of PhD students and post-docs in such high-standing forums has to be encouraged more rigorously in order to make Russian EU studies more sustainable and competitive in the long run.

In conclusion, we would like to underline that the expert community on the EU studies in Russia is now well formed and institutionalized. It has strong connections with both Russian political decision-makers and the EU partners. It became a real driving force to promote the pro-European trend in the Russian foreign policy and the long-term strategic partnership between Russia and the European Union.

ELEANOR E. ZEFF AND KELLY B. SHAW

A MAPPING OF EUROPEAN STUDIES EAST OF
THE MISSISSIPPI: POLITICAL SCIENCE

The primary goal and mandate of this study are to map the development of European Economic Community (EEC), now European Union (EU) studies (EEC/EU) in political science in the United States (U.S.). The discussion of EU studies in the U.S. has been divided into two chapters due to the large quantity of research this field has generated in the U.S. since 1958. This chapter concentrates on the middle and eastern regions of the U.S. where proximity to Europe has promoted interest in European politics and scholarship on European integration and EEC/EU development. There is another chapter focusing primarily on political science studies of the EU in the western U.S. region, and also a chapter on teaching the EU. The chapters on political science scholarship focusing on the EU form part of a larger body of scholarship mapping EU studies around the world.

1. *A brief overall mapping of the literature on European studies in the United States*

This chapter looks at how U.S. studies of the EEC/EU have evolved since the Treaty of Rome in 1958, when U.S.-based, political theorists such as Ernst Haas at Stanford and Stanley Hoffman at Harvard, and other political science scholars and American universities were at the forefront of this scholarship and were generating the major theories to explain European integration. These theories included both intergovernmental and neo-functional explanations. By 1980, the study of the EEC/EU seemed less relevant for American students, and political science studies of the EU declined in the U.S. At the same time Euro-

pean universities began to recognize the need to develop their own EU scholars and research centers.

More recently, as the EU has grown to twenty seven member states (EU27), and EU-U.S. relations have evolved, there has been a re-growth of U.S. scholarship on the EEC/EU. Political scientists such as Andrew Moravcsik at Princeton and Gary Marks at the University of North Carolina have been influential in advancing the newer multilevel governance theories, now frequently used to explain European integration. The EU actively encourages new research, which now includes both economic and political studies, through the development of EU Centers of Excellence in the U.S. Despite the decline from its premier position in the field of EEC/EU (now EU) studies in the sixties, data indicate that U.S.-based scholars and several U.S. universities, including Miami, North Carolina, Michigan and Indiana, among others in the eastern and mid-west regions, are continuing to generate original research and theories about the EU, even as European scholarship in the EU member-states advances. In the U.S., there has been a noticeable shift in EU studies from the early intergovernmental and neofunctional theories to the study of institutions and more recently to the study of multilevel governance with a focus on policy. Other areas of particular importance to U.S. studies of the EU examine teaching the EU to U.S. students. William Andrews, formerly at SUNY Brockport was instrumental in developing simulations of the EU, which are now popular methods, used in U.S. universities to teach about the European Union, and are important innovations for EU scholarship in the U.S.

2. Methodology

The findings presented in this chapter indicate the current state of European Union studies in political science in eastern and central U.S. For the purposes of this paper, research done or funded by American universities and colleges and by researchers at these institutions, who are resid-

ing primarily in the U.S., is considered to be American research. Also, U.S. citizens and scholars, working for various periods of time in Europe and publishing both in Europe and in the U.S. are considered to be contributing to American scholarship about the EU. When a researcher is teaching or working at an American University, he/she is considered to be contributing to U.S. scholarship on the EU, as they are teaching to primarily American audiences. Many, of course, may have been born in Europe or may travel back and forth to Europe for their research, but living and working in the U.S. allows them to better understand and take into account the American perspective about European politics [Crepaz and Steiner2006]¹. Research produced by U.S. publishers, both private and linked with U.S. universities, is also considered to contribute to U.S. scholarship, even if the authors are non-citizens.

This chapter examines the contributions of U.S.-based research and theories to the field of EU studies and to the development of further EU scholarship in the United States. It also attempts to assess some of the major U.S. contributions, but acknowledges that because of the large quantity of U.S.-based research only a partial accounting is possible. This partial listing is intended to present a sampling of the recent research that has developed in U.S. institutions and of its importance for an understanding of how the EU functions and how European integration is proceeding. It is also intended to generate discussion about ongoing EU research in the U.S. and the reasons for its decline vis-à-vis research in the European Union and its member states.

The research concerns the evolution of U.S.-based scholarship covering the European Union. It is organized

¹ Both authors are European natives (from Austria and Switzerland) with long experience of teaching European politics to American students. They both believe, and teach, that learning about European politics should also contribute to the understanding of political science and its relevance to their lives. Another of their goals is to address why the study of European politics should matter to American students and to get them to ask «so what» and normative political questions.

around several key topics concerning the political development of the European Union. It examines various EU and European politics syllabi and recent publications, both books and scholarly articles; analyzes programs, courses and funding from the EU Commission's Centers of Excellence and other centers throughout the U.S., and looks at the history of European studies in the U.S. This chapter also looks at several syllabi for courses on both European politics in general as well as on the politics of the EU and its institutions. The research also uses and analyzes a survey (see the Appendices) sent to many practicing EU scholars, to supplement other findings, as well as at historical documents, EU publications, press releases, scholarly research and recent publications. The survey, syllabi and personal discussions with EU scholars in the U.S. are significant indicators of what U.S. scholars consider to be important recent EU research. Including survey responses, individual conversations with EU specialists, syllabi collections and printed or published material, the research presented here includes information from about forty different sources.

3. Traditions of European Union scholarship in the United States

This study considers the major traditions of EU research in the U.S. and their influence on past and recent studies about European integration conducted by U.S.-based scholars and in U.S. institutions. Who are important players in conducting EU political research in the U.S., and what contributions have EU scholars based in the U.S. made to the field of EU studies and to the understanding of the EU to Americans? EU studies in the U.S. have traditionally been housed in political science departments, with expertise focused especially on Western Europe. They have been concentrated at the macro and meso levels of analysis with emphasis on EU integration theories and EU institutions. U.S. scholarship was important to the field of EU studies because it provided a neutral and supportive base

where impartial theories could develop, with fewer national biases to interfere. U.S. scholarship also provided some of the early theories of European integration, such as Ernst Haas neo-functional theories to explain European integration², and Stanley Hoffman's contributions to the competing intergovernmental theories. In addition, the U.S. has traditionally provided European scholars a place to work and conduct research. Many of the early EU scholars in the U.S., were born and/or trained in Europe, but then came to work at U.S. universities and live in the United States, where they conducted a major portion of their scholarship.

In the U.S., the old emphasis on European research appears to be shifting to regions of the world such as Asia and the Middle East, and academic departments are becoming issue and policy oriented. Like their counterparts in Europe, U.S. universities have adapted their European political research focus to include policy studies, such as the environment, economic cooperation, democracy, or immigration, which are relevant to EU studies but which also have wider audiences. U.S. researchers now do more micro level research in addition to the earlier focus on macro-level theories. Despite a decline in overall research on the EU in U.S. universities, American influences are evident in the newer policy-focused research. Much of the research on policies in the EU originated from research done on American policy-making and agenda-setting [Schattschneider 1960; Baumgartner and Jones 1993; 2006]³. There has also been a tradition of using U.S. federalism as a model for studying the EU. Often, researchers try to compare the political development of the European Union to that of the United States [Fabbrini 2007], but the EU is not a «United States» of Europe, so theories of federalism have not been very successful in explaining the EU's

² Ernest Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-57*, second edition, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1958. In 1997, the journal «Foreign Affairs» named this book as one of the 50 most influential books in international relations of the century.

³ See also John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*, second edition, New York, HarperCollins, 2003.

development. The EU currently consists of twenty seven still quite sovereign states, each with its own foreign policy. Alberta Sbragia [2009], a noted EU scholar, mentor and current chair of the EU Center of Excellence at the University of Pittsburgh, remarked that European member states have not given up their sovereignty over external affairs, or several other policy areas, but yet they have high levels of compliance with the EU's domestic regulations⁴. Sbragia has contributed to federalism and multilevel governance scholarship on the EU.

European studies in the U.S. continue in many academic fields, but they are strongest in political science, comparative politics and political economy disciplines. Recently, they have expanded into business and economic disciplines, but the focus of these specialized fields is more practical and less theoretical. Sbragia, in her spring 2006 syllabus, has suggested a course in European integration should include not only studying about the political institutions of the EU and the member states, but must also look at the history and economies of both entities. Traditionally in the U.S., professors teaching EU politics often devote a significant amount of time to European history. A course on European integration may be one of the few chances U.S. students have to study the history of Europe. Most European integration courses start with European history, usually post-WWII, but often with references to the Roman Empire, Napoleon or Hitler, where European integration was a goal. U.S. professors recognize the need to include historical background so that American students appreciate better the EU's preferences for various policies [survey, 2009-2010; individual student comments].

Despite disagreements over issues such as capital punishment, the Iraq war, and a reduced EU27 surplus in trade in goods and services in 2008-9, the U.S. remains the EU27's most important trading partner [Eurostat 2009]⁵

⁴ See also the Commission's records of member state compliance as well as Sbragia's class syllabus.

⁵ A publication of the Eurostat Press Office states that: the EU has a

and its strongest ally in defending democratic principles around the world. These interests often require political understandings and meetings among the various leaders and country delegations, both at national and regional levels of government. Continuing needs for cooperation and the long-standing traditions of European scholarship in the U.S. work in favor of maintaining a good working relationship with the EU and keeping up quality research. Americans and European still need to understand the culture and institutions of their respective political entities.

4. History of European Union scholarship in the United States

In the U.S., early research on the European Community (EC) inspired such notable political scholars as Karl Deutsch at Yale, Ernst Haas at Berkeley and Leon Lindberg at the University of Wisconsin to focus on developing theories of European integration. Ideas about how European states would integrate originated with these and other U.S.-based scholars, and U.S. universities such as Michigan, Berkeley and Harvard housed large collections of re-

structural, but decreasing, surplus in trade in goods with the U.S.A. U.S.A = 20% of EU27 exports of goods and 14% of imports. Between 2000 and 2008, the value of EU27 exports of goods to the U.S.A grew by 5%, while imports fell by 9%. In the first half of 2009, the value of EU27 exports to the U.S.A fell to 101 bn compared with 127 bn in the first half of 2008, and imports decreased to 85 bn from 94 bn. In relative terms, the share of the U.S.A in the EU27's total external trade in goods has decreased between 2000 and 2008. EU27 exports to the U.S.A fell from 28.0% of total EU27 exports in 2000 to 19.1% in 2008, and imports declined from 20.8% to 11.9% over the same period. In the first half of 2009, the share of the U.S.A in the EU27's total trade was 19.5% for exports and 14.4% for imports. The U.S.A remained the EU27's most important trading partner. While the share of the U.S.A in EU27 trade in services has fallen in recent years, it is still by far the EU27's largest partner, accounting for 26% of EU27 exports of services and 30% of imports. [<http://europa.eu/eurostat>]

EU-insight states that: «even in challenging times, the EU-U.S. partnership is the most important economic relationship in the world».

search on the European Community (and now on the EU). Early European integration studies in the U.S. focused on political theories of integration, especially theories of federalism, neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism, where many comparisons were made to U.S. integration studies. The U.S. provided a location for neutral research with minimal interference from European national interests. Also, many European scholars attended U.S. institutions after WWII and then often worked in these same institutions, enriching them with European influences. By the 1980s, however, the dominance of U.S.-based scholarship on the EC⁶ had begun to decline and European institutions were developing their own expertise.

In 1997, Jonathon Davidson, then Head of Academic Affairs at the Delegation of the European Commission in Washington D.C., noted the concern of Europeans and Americans about a cooling of transatlantic relations and the dwindling interest in EU politics. Sidney Tarrow [1993] noted that in 1989, American students knew little about the EC, European politics or European history, in contrast to the post-war era of the 1950s and 60s. In the mid-nineties, there was concern that European studies in the U.S., and interest in the development of the EU as a model for regional integration was waning. The Cold War ended and European issues, apart from the transitions in east/central Europe seemed less pressing than wars in Rwanda and Bosnia, terrorism and drugs. The stagnation of the EC in the 1970s and early 80s and the failure of neofunctional and intergovernmental theories to explain European integration, led to falling interest in Europe.

The European Community Studies Association (EC-SA, now European Union Studies Association/EUSA) held a roundtable discussion at its 1997 Biennial Meeting in Seattle, and the Institute of International Studies at Bradley University later published the findings [Bukowski 1997].

⁶ The European Community officially became the European Union (EU) in 1992 with the Maastricht Treaty, also known as the Treaty on European Union (TEU).

Panelists at the conference worried that American students did not understand how the EU functioned politically. William Andrews at SUNY, Brockport, Desmond Dinan at George Mason University and Roy Ginsberg at Skidmore were among the panelists who worried about the future of EU political studies at U.S. institutions. They felt that American students and professionals needed the vital collaboration, trade and support that the EU could provide [Bukowski 1997]. In order to compete with newer fields of study in political science, these scholars and others [McCormick 2001] recognized that the focus of EU studies in the U.S. had to evolve.

The European Union currently contributes its own resources and expertise to convince Americans of its importance to them. One of the responses to solving the problem of Americans' general lack of knowledge about the EU was to improve transatlantic cooperation. In order to promote education about the European Community, this relatively new organization needed a more visible presence in the U.S. The EU and the U.S. embarked on a series of biannual summits and ministerial meetings. They first adopted the Transatlantic Declaration, and then in December 1995, at the U.S.-EU Summit in Madrid, the two parties signed the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA) with a Joint Action Plan to improve relations and communication about the goals and workings of the EU. In 1998, they launched the Transatlantic Economic Partnership (TEP) to help tackle trade issues [eurunion.org].

The EU's former information office became a Delegation with full diplomatic privileges and immunities in 1971. In 1990, the head of Delegation gained full ambassadorial status, and most recently, with the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon in December 2009, it became the Delegation of the European Union. The Delegation in Washington, D.C., represents the European Union in dealings with the U.S. Government for all matters within EU competence. It reports on U.S. developments to Brussels and functions like an embassy. While this organization existed before the mid 1990s, it had not been very active. In 1998,

it helped start the EU Centers, and in 2005-6, the Centers of Excellence in the U.S. The Delegation dedicates much energy to promoting student and professor exchanges as well as holding conferences and supporting scholarly research through these Centers, which are run through the EU's Commission Offices in Washington, D.C. The new Centers added to previously existing, but not EU-directed, Centers of European Studies in the U.S. (Harvard's Center for European Studies/CES, for example), and greatly enriched course offerings and research done at U.S. universities, colleges and think tanks. There are now more than 50 depository libraries across the U.S., providing Americans with access to EU publications in English. The Delegation of the EU in Washington, D.C., has a library and an audio-visual department, which together, and along with the Centers of Excellence, house the most complete collection of EU documents in the U.S. [Davidson 1997, 36]. While this collection is remarkable, in the 1960s the U.S. had larger library collections on the EU than were available in Europe.

In 2010, new EU research is focused around policies, such as public health, and issue areas, like democracy, in addition to the earlier emphasis on theories, and institutions. Professors include EU topics in economic, business, history, environment and sociology courses in addition to the traditional political science focus. U.S.-based scholars and EU/European Studies' Centers work to revive older theories [Rosamond 2001; Sandholtz and Sweet 1998] or develop new ones, such as multilevel governance, to explain the EU's growth and its evolving political institutions.

5. *Practices*

Because of the weakening of ties between Europe and the U.S. during the 1970s and 1980s, both sides of the Atlantic have attempted to improve relations and increase the quality and quantity of educational research and programs. The EU works to educate Americans about the importance

of the EU as a model for regional integration and democratic government as well as an important trading partner. In addition to promoting quality research in the U.S. and the development of new theories about European integration, both sides have made efforts to improve the transatlantic relationship and increase Americans' knowledge about how the EU functions.

1. The European Community Studies Association (ECSA): now the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) serves as the premier organization in the U.S. organizing the study of the EU. It provides European scholars with outlets and audiences for their scholarly endeavors, and continues to offer American scholars and students ways to interact with European scholars, and enrich and present their own research. Most of the biennial conferences are held in the U.S.: the most recent ones including Los Angeles (2009) and Boston (2011). At the 2009 conference, the primary authors of 64 papers, out of a total of 251 submitted papers, were scholars working or studying at U.S. institutions of higher learning, one of the largest national representations [EUSA website 2009].

2. *In another significant development:* the EU launched its network of European Union Centers in 1998 to promote the study of the EU, its institutions and policies and improve EU-U.S. relations through teaching programs, scholarly research and outreach activities in local and regional communities and at American universities. Currently this program is in its fourth cycle (2008-2011). As in 2005-2008, the 11 universities that received awards have been designated Centers of Excellence to show appreciation for the high quality and variety of their programming [EU Centers of Excellence 2009]. The European Commission funded the EU Centers' initiative with the idea that these Centers would eventually be self-sustaining. The Centers encourage quality research on the EU and the development of new theories. Most Centers now have specific degree programs with a EU focus, or they have EU concentration programs [Network of European Union Centers 2003]. Grants totaling 3.42 million Euros will finance activities for a three-year

period (2010-2013) at the following universities (Research and Academic Research, 2008-2011):

- University of California - Berkeley
- University of Colorado
- Florida International University and the University of Miami
- Georgia Tech
- University of Michigan
- University of North Carolina (UNC)
- University of Pittsburgh
- University of Washington (Seattle)
- University of Wisconsin
- Washington, DC, Consortium (American University, George Mason University, George Washington University, Georgetown University, The Johns Hopkins University)⁷

* The University of North Carolina (UNC) serves as Network and Outreach Coordinator for the Centers, with the goal of promoting cooperation and sharing best practices within the network.

The Centers are geographically distributed across the U.S. Each Center is located in a PhD granting university, but universities are located in both urban and rural areas, so EU member states can collaborate with U.S. counterparts on issues from food safety to urban development. The Centers try not to duplicate programs. The University of Miami and FIU tackle issues pertaining to Cuba, and Latin America and their relationship with the EU. The Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan emphasize rural development programs, among other programming⁸. Examples of the diversity of programming and the growth of new major fields focusing on the EU include:

a. UNC's EU Center promotes an undergraduate major in Contemporary European Studies (EURO). This EURO major is housed in the Center for European Studies at

⁷ See the EU's website for more information about the Centers Activities and goals.

⁸ See Appendix I for a shortened listing of the diversity of EU events and sponsored talks at some of the Centers. For a complete listing, refer to each Center's web pages.

UNC. To enable students to operate in EU studies, the EURO major has a requirement of six semesters of the same European language, plus a quantitative analysis requirement. Two core courses in 20th century European history and European politics are required and the remaining six courses cover three themes. Noted EU scholars such as Brent Nelsen and Milada Vachudova contribute to EU scholarship at UNC.

b. The University of Miami, together with Florida International University (FIU), awards a European Studies Certificate (EU.S. Certificate) for its EU studies program, and it supports research on Cuban and Latin American links to the EU. These universities granted several EU-related PhD degrees since 2005, and many theses dealt with Latin American and EU relations [the Networked Digital Library 2010]. As Director of this EU Center, Professor Joaquin Roy has developed the field of EU-Latin American studies in the U.S. and has contributed to understanding the EU's relations with Latin America.

c. The Washington Consortium sponsors activities, including publishing books and arranging conferences. It works with the Johns Hopkins University, the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and the Center for Transatlantic Relations in supporting publications. The Consortium member schools have individual as well as collaborative activities. The Consortium also supports a «Model EU», for students to re-create EU policy-making and institutions.

d. The EU Center at Indiana University serves as a resource to provide information regarding the EU to the community, to K-12 teachers, government officials, media, business, and civic groups. This Center sponsors the Midwest Model EU, and, like the other Centers, works with PhD and Masters' students. Since 2005, Indiana University's records indicate eleven candidates have received PhD degrees or are working on them (ABDs), and 26 students have written Masters' theses on the EU⁹ [EU Centers of

⁹ See the Indiana EU Center for Excellence Center website (2010).

Excellence 2005 and 2009].

e. The EU Centers at the Universities of Michigan, Pittsburgh and Wisconsin all encourage EU research and produce quality PhD and Masters' candidates, especially in the field of political science [the Networked Digital Library 2010].

3. There is continuing research on the EU at Centers and U.S. Universities not connected with the EU Centers: «The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) at Harvard University supports Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) graduate student dissertation research, hosts European academics and public figures, and workshops, encourages individual and group research, conducts --- study groups and organizes conferences»¹⁰. Center associates studied the transitions in Eastern Europe, the re-growth of nationalism and religion, which neo-functionalists thought would disappear with European integration, the institutional development of the European Union, new concepts of citizenship, as well as long-term historical changes [the CES at Harvard 2010]. Stanley Hoffman, who still taught in 2010, helped found the CES and developed the early intergovernmental theories of European integration. CES also has a «Working Papers Series» edited by Andrew Martin, and reflecting the newer inter-disciplinary nature of European studies in the U.S. In 2009, the Center celebrated its 40th anniversary with discussions to explore how the study of Europe has changed. Peter Hall, a noted Europeanist, remarked on some significant changes in the study of European politics. In 1969, researchers were concerned with leftist and Communist parties and ideologies, whereas in 2009, the concern was with far right and anti-immigration ideologies [Hall 2009 speech].

Other U.S. universities have also impacted EU studies. The Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations showed that there have been seven PhD dissertations writ-

¹⁰ See Harvard's URL for more information on its CES: <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/>

ten by MIT students since 2000, which included the words «European Union» [the Networked Digital Library 2010]. This list does not include other European-oriented MIT theses, which did not specifically use «European Union» in their titles. During the same period, UC Davis, Cornell and Delaware University, non EU Centers, also granted PhD degrees for work on European political issues [Ibid.] ⁴. There is significant activity going on in U.S. based professional organizations: The American Political Science Studies Association (APSA) has an active European Politics and Society section (EPS), which publishes a newsletter and awards outstanding papers and research. For 2009, the Ernst B. Haas Best Dissertation Award went to Joerg Timo Weishaupt (PhD, University of Wisconsin-Madison) for *The Emergence of a New Labor Market Policy Paradigm? Analyzing Continuity and Change in an Integrating Europe* [Winter 2010 Newsletter EPS section APSA]. These awards demonstrate that research on European integration is occurring in American universities.

5. Study in Europe after graduating from an American University/college: For the 2010-2011 year, American university graduates received 335 Fulbright full grants to study in EU27 countries, and an additional 304 Fulbright Teaching grants for Teaching in EU27 countries. Fulbright also awarded eleven grants, both in 2009-2010 and in 2010-2011 for specific study about the EU [Fulbright, 2010-2011 and 2011-2012]. For the past few years, Fulbright has awarded around 1,560 scholarships a year to U.S. citizens to study overseas [Fulbright, 2010-2011 and 2011-2012]. There are also research grants for professionals and professors at Universities throughout Europe. Fulbright provides American scholars opportunities to study and work in European Union member states.

Great Britain grants Marshall and Rhodes scholarships to Americans. In 2010, Rhodes Scholars were selected from more than 300 different American colleges and universities". Up to 40 Marshall Scholarships are awarded annually to young Americans for study at any British university in any field. These two programs offer quality scholar-

ships to Americans for study in Europe. Germany also offers Americans several opportunities for advanced study. The DAAD program grants student fellowships for research or the pursuit of a doctoral degree in Germany.

6. There are also EU related activities occurring at some national organizations throughout the U.S., and in individual U.S. states.

a. Individual states have relations with the EU and have established trade agreements and other exchanges, requiring expertise and ongoing research concerning how the EU functions and how the U.S. and the EU can collaborate effectively. States such as Iowa have established links in the energy fields to develop alternate forms of renewable energy sources. Iowa's exports to EU27 represented 17.4% of its total exports in 2008¹¹. Many other states also have similar exchanges. EU27 was the number one foreign investor in Iowa, Wisconsin and Massachusetts among other states in 2006 [Hamilton and Quinlan 2009]. These kinds of exchanges and contacts impact how Americans think about European integration at the grass-roots level.

b. Publishers also contribute to the growth of literature published in the U.S. about the EU. Cornell University in Ithaca, New York has an excellent reputation for publishing books on the EU. Examples include: Peter Katzenstein's edited book, *Tamed Power: Germany in Europe* [1997]; Lynne Rienner in Boulder, Colorado publishes books on the EU and on European politics in general and also sponsors the series «Studies on the European Polity» edited by Brent Nelsen; Rowman and Littlefield, U.S. based publishers, support a series entitled «Governance in Europe» originally edited by Gary Marks; the Johns Hopkins University has a long tradition of publishing on European politics and now regularly publishes books on

¹¹ See the U.S. International Trade Administration, Manufacturing and Services, Office of Trade and Industry Information (OTII). *TradeStats Express – State Export Data*, Washington DC: U.S. International Trade Administration.

the EU.

7. How do Americans learn about the EU? From information gathered from course syllabi, surveys of EU experts, individual conversations and various published materials¹², it is evident that American students study the EU first as a political organization. Sbragia, among others, has taught a course over the years entitled, «The Politics of the European Union» (2005, 2008). Because the EU is a political and economic organization that came together through political discourse and written treaties, most EU courses are located in political science, comparative and international politics or economics departments. Although the EU is often called an economic giant and a political dwarf, its economic institutions and policies are administered and implemented politically. Until the Lisbon Treaty, several politically developed Treaties have held the member states together. A look at the recent papers from the Los Angeles EUSA conference in 2009 indicates that out of the 64 papers presented by authors working or teaching at U.S. institutions, 52 of them dealt with political science topics. Even papers focusing on the euro or immigration policies included the political aspects of managing these policies. Despite its economic status, U.S.-based scholars primarily study the EU as a political body.

8. Why do Americans study the EU? What is their interest in the EU? Information gathered from a number of the surveys, individual conversations with students, and study abroad program brochures¹³ suggest that many U.S.

¹² As background for this paper, we collected EU and European Politics syllabi from colleagues, and from various syllabi banks, notably the European syllabi bank from the EPS section of the American Political Science Association. We also conducted a survey among EU specialists and together with the syllabi and personal contacts and conversations, we gathered course information and opinions about teaching the EU in U.S. educational institutions from roughly 40 sources.

¹³ The responses from professors to the survey question about why American students take courses on the EU and/or Europe, and also brochures for study abroad programs such as CIEE, IES, AIFS provide useful feedback about why student want to study and/or visit European countries. The study abroad brochures also provide listings of countries

citizens still want to visit and study about European countries. There are many reasons for the continuing interest in European studies: a desire to learn a European language, interest in other forms of democratic governance, greater choice of programs, ability of the study abroad programs to incorporate new fields of policy study into their more traditional areas of study, ease of travel in Europe, better chance to get an internship, health problems which may preclude travel to lesser developed areas, the large variety of European countries to visit, word of mouth, friends/relatives living or traveling in EU27. Policy-makers are promoting EU studies by giving grants and by increasing the number of courses and majors at numerous universities.

6. Theories

1. From the surveys and several course syllabi [EPS syllabi bank 2009; Bukowski 1997], it is evident that U.S. professors teaching the EU try to explain its political and economic development theoretically¹⁴. The emphasis on theories has changed over time from reliance on functional or inter-governmental explanations [Ross 1995; Haas 1958] to discussions about Europeanization and multilevel or constructivist theories¹⁵, and most recently to policy-study theories, but some kind of discussion about EU theory is usually included in courses on the EU. Besides the history and institutional components, the theoretical component is important to understanding the EU. Survey results and individual conversations suggest that most professors found the use of theories to be very helpful in explaining the EU to students. With twenty seven member states, when it is impossible to discuss each member-state individually in

where programs abroad are offered.

¹⁴ The Bukowski book (1997) *Teaching the EU*, also contains some good syllabi on various EU courses in politics, law, business, and for both graduate and undergraduate students.

¹⁵ A look at EU books and syllabi over the years from 1958 to 2010 indicates this trend.

depth, the use of theories allows students to understand why European integration is important for individual European states and how it functions.

The use of theoretical explanations identifies individual and collective reasoning for European integration as well as reasons why certain aspects of the EU work for some states but not for others. Cowles, Caporoso and Risse have influenced this research with their «goodness of fit» theories. While many state policies reflect the individual state ideology, there are now several common policies (the Common Agriculture and Transport policies for example), and it is evident that states also have common needs. Theories try to identify the problems of integration and find the best way to overcome them. U.S. scholars have been very prominent in developing theories about European integration, and this prominence extends into present research. Andrew Moravcsik's *The Choice For Europe* [1998] and Gary Marks' [2001] research on multilevel governance have made significant theoretical contributions to understanding the EU as have Vivien Schmidt's [2002] discussions on European capitalism and use of discourse theory. Even much of the recent emphasis on policy studies and agenda setting [Princen 2009] has its theoretical origins in U.S.-based research [Schattschneider 1960; Baumgartner and Jones 1993; 2006].

2. Professors use a variety of theories when they teach EU courses [faculty survey 2010; course syllabi 2009]: These theories include: functionalism, neo-functionalism and intergovernmental perspectives on integration; multilevel governance [Hooghe and Marks 2001]; institutionalism, historical approaches, federalism, constructivism; Europeanization «goodness of fit»; combinations of theories; governance studies, policy-making theories; historical institutionalism; and varieties of capitalism and welfare. These are just some of the theories professors listed when they discussed their courses [survey 2009; personal interviews 2009-2010; and syllabi review, Bukowski 1997]. Liesbet Hooghe, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, a noted EU scholar who was born European but has been at UNC

since 2000, reflects some of the changes occurring in the thinking about appropriate theories to describe the EU's development. She is the current Chair of EUSA and well recognized for her work on multilevel governance and institutions in the EU. She has done much work with her UNC colleague Gary Marks on multilevel governance in the EU and federalism. In addition to the books co-authored with Marks she has published on the EU in leading journals such as «American Political Science Review», «British Journal of Political Science», «Comparative Political Studies», and «International Organization». Her work illustrates the shift in EU studies from institutions to the study of multi-level governance. As a result, her career is a microcosm of the trends seen in EU studies in the U.S.

European scholarship has moved away from the study of political institutions. Policy-making is currently the hot topic of EU studies and theories [Rosamond 2000; Sbragia 1992; course syllabi 2005 and 2008]¹⁶. Whereas earlier courses focused on how the EU developed institutionally, more recent courses and research focus on how policy is made and at what level of government. Both topics are political in nature. However, even courses that stress policy-making start with presenting the historical and social setting of the individual state, in order to understand why certain policies work in some countries and not in others. New books are being published about specific EU policies, such as John McCormick's *Environmental Policy in the European Union* [2001], and Michelle Chang's book [2009] on monetary integration, so policy studies are now commonly used to explain the EU's development [EUSA 2009]. Many studies examine the commonalities between how the U.S. and the EU handle policies in order to exchange information [survey results; Princen 2009].

Some professors only use a brief introduction to theories on European integrations, especially with undergraduate courses, because they want to focus on policies, institutions and the EU's background [survey 2009-2010].

¹⁶ See various course syllabi.

Business school professors feel that it is more important for business students to get practical knowledge about the EU rather than learn all the theoretical perspectives, which may not be useful for conducting business. One professor felt that studying varieties of capitalism and welfare systems would help students understand that European states have different mentalities, and that the development of integration is a result of competing visions and interests [survey 2009].

7. *Quality assessment*

7.1. *What kind of research are U.S. universities and scholars producing?*

In addition to scholarship already noted, this chapter discusses several other U.S.-based scholars who have contributed to an understanding of European integration. Notable U.S.-based scholars include: George Ross, who retired in 2009 from Brandeis, but is still quite active in EU studies and research. Ross previously served in many administrative roles at European centers on the East Coast, including the European Union Center at Harvard. Much of his work has an institutional focus, but he is moving in the policy direction, particularly political economy, monetary policy, and labor policy. A recent manuscript is entitled *Brussels in Crisis: What European Elites Think About the European Union*. Martin Schain, at NYU, is also an EU scholar, whose work looks at policy issues and at EU regionalism/federalism. He is particularly interested in center-periphery relations, trade unions, and immigration in the EU. He has published a number of books on European politics, most recently *The U.S. and EU in Comparative Perspective* [2006] and *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain, and the United States* [2008]. Schain also has many journal articles, most recently dealing with immigration policy in the EU.

American based authors have contributed to signifi-

cant publications on the EU. One of the most influential books on the EU is *Transforming Europe* [2001] by Maria Cowles Green, James Caporaso and Tomas Risse. Two of the three authors teach at U.S. Universities and their book has added to the newer theories explaining European integration. Cowles-Green is a past vice president of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) and a founding member of the American Consortium on European Union Studies (ACES), so her influence extends beyond her research. Some of her contributions and works by other notable EU scholars are listed in the citation index. This list is by no means comprehensive, but the inclusion of these books on several syllabi is an indication that many professors in the U.S. consider these researchers to have made valuable contributions to the field of EU studies. It appears that American or British publishers are producing most of the books that American students read. The books and case studies listed in the index and the bibliography are gathered from syllabi submitted for this project or have been pulled from various syllabi banks, such as from the European Studies Section of the American Political Science Association (APSA). Many authors are American or British, but there are Europeans who have contributed (Stubb-Finland) to some of the listed books.

Other authors, who have been particularly influential in advancing EU scholarship in the U.S. include: Desmond Dinan, whose research interests and influence extends into areas of the historiography of European integration; institutions and governance of the EU; enlargement of the EU; and regional integration in the context of globalization; J.H.H. Weiler, who teaches European law and justice courses at NYU, but has also taught in numerous universities in Europe and helped co-draft the European Parliament's Declaration of Human Rights; George Tsebelis [2002], a professor of political science at the University of Michigan, who developed the theory of veto players, which has been very influential for understanding how the EU's institutions work; John T.S. Keeler, at the University of Pittsburg, currently dean and professor at the University of

Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. Prior to going to Pittsburgh, Keeler was Director of the Center for West European Studies and European Union Center of Excellence at the University of Washington (Seattle). His focus has been on policy-making, in particular agricultural policy in the EU. He has published on policy and politics in France and on security policy. In addition to a number of books on French policy and agricultural policy in the EU, published by presses such as Oxford University Press, Palgrave Macmillan, and St. Martin's, he is also published in the «Journal of Common Market Studies», «Comparative Politics», «Comparative Political Studies», and «West European Politics». Like Hooghe, Keeler's publications illustrate the movement away from theory to institutions to policies. Keeler also served as the Chair of EUSA from 2005 to 2007 See the citation index for more articles written by Keeler¹⁷. 4. Some edited books on European Politics are also listed in the index. The Kesselman ET. Al., Hancock and Almond ET. Al. books are major books on European politics, and each contains sections on the European Union. These books are all published in the U.S., with American authors, and as they provide the basis for many courses on European politics in the U.S., they are influential in bringing information about the EU to U.S. students. For example, Milada Vachudova is fast becoming one of the most influential writers on Eastern European integration into the EU.

7.2. *Where do American scholars and professors get their information and what are some major influences on their research?*

Associations, journal articles, reviews and sponsored book series are very important sources for EU scholarship: The short list of journal articles indicates that American scholars and students have access to articles, in English,

¹⁷ See the citation index for more articles written by Keeler.

produced by European scholars, publishers, universities or consortiums. While the consortiums are primarily in the UK, the boards are diverse and make an effort to solicit European and American authors.

a. The University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES), along with various publishers, provides forums for debate about European affairs. UACES is involved in promoting research and teaching in European studies as well as bringing academics and practitioners together. Since 1969, UACES has become the largest European Studies association [UACES website]. It works with publishers, like Routledge, part of the Taylor Francis Group, which publishes books on the EU, as well as the «Journal of European Public Policy». Routledge and UACES are working together on a Politics/IR series, «Contemporary European Studies» to provide a research outlet for EU experts. Although mostly political, the Routledge journal encourages authors with interdisciplinary perspectives to submit books. Palgrave/MacMillan publishers also have a «European Union» series and the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) sponsors a «State of the European Union» book series on the EU.

b. *There are journals, both European and U.S.-based, contributing to EU scholarship in the U.S.* One of the most prestigious journals, «The Journal of Common Market Studies» (JCMS) is published by Wiley, Blackwell, with offices in the U.S., and the UK. This journal works with UACES. «The Journal of Common Market Studies» publishes high quality articles on European integration issues. For 40 years it has provided a site to evaluate theoretical and empirical issues concerning European integration. JCMS works for a balance between political science, economics and international relations, including sub disciplines such as international political economy. Each year, JCMS devotes a special book issue, «The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union», to a comprehensive review of the EU's activities for the previous year. There are also policy study journals publishing articles and theories about policy development in the EU. These include:

«Comparative Political Studies», «European Journal of International Relations», «International Organization», «Journal of Common Market Studies», and the «Journal of European Public Policy». In addition, there are regional European journals such as the «Slavic Review», published by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, which actively publishes articles about the EU and its newer member states. These journals are read by U.S.-based scholars and promote trans-Atlantic collaboration and cross-fertilization of theories.

A lot of information on the EU is found in book sections and case studies; some examples: *Laurie Buonanno at Buffalo State University is developing, with Neil Nugent at Manchester University, a promising new theory to counter the multi-level governance ideas (see Appendix I).*

8. *Comparison and conclusions*

European Union studies are holding on in the U.S., and U.S. scholars are continuing to contribute to EU scholarship. While perhaps not equal to the significance of earlier EU studies of the 1960s and 70s, U.S.-based scholarship is still adding to the growing body of research on and knowledge about the EU. As before, the most influential U.S.-based research is still theoretical, done at the macro level of analysis, and even in the policy studies' field, U.S. contributions rest in the theoretical bases they have given to European research and policy development studies [Princen 2009]. It appears that much of this growth and development has been encouraged by the EU itself and even funded by EU monies, with the hope that Americans would again see the importance of strong connections between the U.S. and EU27, and continue developing the field of EU studies. Recent U.S. inspired development in European integration theory includes multilevel governance and policy studies' theories.

EU studies must compete with an increasing number of countries and issues and must incorporate many new

and very different worldviews. It is no wonder that both Europeans and Americans cannot believe that the EU will endure. Since it is a relatively new organization, there are few models that can help predict what the EU will look like in 50 years, or if it will develop politically. Studies of EU institutional development at the meso level of analysis are still needed in the U.S. because these institutions are very different from other national or international institutions. Gone are the days of a Western European dominance even in the EU itself. The EU's Eastern expansion has forced Europeans to develop new philosophies and ways of looking at their countries, but it has also encouraged more freedom and successful democratization than elsewhere around the world.

Much of what American students read and learn about the EU comes from American and British publications. This English bias may influence Americans' way of thinking about the EU and encourage the British type of Euro-skepticism. Yet the EU has developed some very good own-sources to help promote its development and has an excellent press department to publish current information about the EU in English, thus Americans have recourse to excellent news and information about the EU that comes directly from EU27 sources. With this assessable information, it is possible for U.S.-based researchers to do important studies on the EU from a neutral position and to make significant contributions to EU research. In addition to providing a «view from the top» without European member state nationalist bias, the U.S. continues to serve as a good place for European scholars to work, especially when there might not be a place for them in a European university. As the EU moves to doing more policy study research, it is natural for scholars based in the EU to conduct significant research. EU member states have a bigger stake in the policies made by EU institutions than Americans do. Yet even though policy studies are developing rapidly to explain European integration, these studies originated from U.S. scholarship to explain American politics, and so should encourage continued scholar and cultural exchanges.

Appendices

Appendix I: Citation Index: Notable contributions to EU scholarship in the U.S.

Books on the European Union:

Baum, M.J.

2000 *A Wider Europe*. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.

Baumgartner, F.R., Green-Pedersen, C. and Jones, B.D. (eds.)

2006 *Special Issue: Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas*, in «Journal of European Public Policy» Vol. 13, n. 7.

Bomberg, E., Peterson, J. and Stubb, A.

2008 *The European Union: How Does it Work?*, second edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Chang, M.

2009 *Monetary Integration in the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Cowles, M.C. and Smith, M.

2000 *The State of the European Union*, vols. 1-5, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Cowles, M.C., Caporaso, J. and Risse, T.

2001 *Transforming Europe*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Cowles, M.C., Dinan, D. (eds.)

2004 *Developments in the European Union 2*, New York, Palgrave/Macmillan.

Dinan, D.

2010 *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, fourth ed. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Dinan, D. (ed.)

2006 *Origin and Evolution of the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Eichehgreen, B.

2007 *The European Economy Since 1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

- Frankland, G. (ed.)
2009 *Europe: Annual Editions*, tenth edition, McGraw Hill.
- Gilbert, M.
2003 *Surpassing Realism: The Politics of European Integration Since 1945*, Lanham, Md., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Ginsberg, R.
2010 *Demystifying the European Union*, second edition, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Green, D.M.
2007 *The Europeans*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Haas, E.
1958 *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-57*, second edition, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G.
2001 *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Keeler, J. and Howorth, J.
2003 *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, London and New York, Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Keeler, J and Grant, W.P.
2000 *Agricultural Policy, Volume I: Agricultural Policy in Western Europe. Volume II: Agricultural Policy in Global Perspective*, Edward Elgar, 2000.
- Keeler, J. and Schain, M.A.
1996 *Chirac's Challenge: Liberalization, Europeanization and Malaise in France*, St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- McCormick, J.
2007 *The European Superpower*, New York, Palgrave/MacMillan.
- 2005 *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, New York, Palgrave/ McMillan.
- Moravcsik, A.
1998 *The Choice For Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press.

- Nelsen, B.F. and Stubb, A.
 2003 *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.
- Piper, R.J.
 2005 *The Major Nation-States in the European Union*, New York, Pearson/Longman.
- Poole, P.
 2003 *Europe Unites: The EU's Eastern Enlargement*, Westport, Connecticut, Praeger.
- Rosamond, B.
 2000 *Theories of European Integration*, New York, St Martin's Press.
- Ross, G.
 1995 *Jacques Delors and European Integration*, Cambridge, England, Polity Press.
- Sandholtz, W. and Sweet, A. S.
 1998 *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Sbragia, A.
 2005 *Territory, Electorates, and Markets In the United States: The Construction of Democratic Federalism and Its Implications for the European Union, and Post-National Democracy as Post-National Democratization*, in *Democracy and Federalism in the EU and U.S.: Exploring Post-National Governance*, edited by S. Fabbrini, London, Routledge.
- Sbragia, A. (ed.)
 1992 *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community*, Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press.
- Schmidt, V.
 2002 *The Futures of European Capitalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Sweet, A.S., Sandholtz, W. and Fligstein, N.
 2001 *The Institutionalization of Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Tömmel, I. and Verdun, A. (eds.)
 2009 *Innovative Governance in the European Union: The*

- Politics of Multilevel Policymaking*. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.
- Urwin, D. W.
2002 *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*, Longman.
- Wells, S.B.
2007 *Pioneers of European Integration and Peace 1945-1963: A Brief History with Documents*, Bedford, St. Martin.
- Wood, S. and Quaisser, W.
2008 *The New European Union*, Boulder CO, Lynne Rienner.
- Zeff, E. and Pirro, E.
2001 *The European Union and the Member States*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Widely read textbooks on general European Politics with sections on the European Union:

- Almond, G. Dalton, R.J., Powell, G. B. and Strøm, K.
2010 *European Politics Today*, fourth edition, New York, Longman.
- Hancock, M.D. et al.
2007 *Politics in Europe*, fourth edition, Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Kesselman, M. and Krieger, J. (eds.)
2009 *European Politics in Transition*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. (Out of twelve contributing authors to this book, ten are teaching at U.S. institutions, one is in Scotland and one in Ireland).
- Tiersky, R.
2004 *Europe Today*, third edition, New York, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Vachudova, M.
2005 *Europe Undivided, Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Case Studies and Book Chapters

Dinan, D.

2007 *Building Europe: The European Community and the Bonn-Paris-Washington Relationship, 1958-1963*, in *The Strategic Triangle: France, Germany, and the United States in the Shaping of the New Europe*, edited by H. Haftendorn, G. Soutou, S. Szabo and S. Wells, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins University Press.

Buonanno, L and Deakin, A.

2004 *European Identity, in European Enlargement*, edited by N. Nugent, New York: Palgrave, MacMillan.

Zeff, E.

2008 *Power Plays: Safeguarding Privacy While Fighting Terrorism*, «PEW Case Study on the EU», Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Washington D. C., 2008.

Some Influential Journal Articles and Reviews

Dinan, D.

2008 *Fifty Years of European Integration*, in «Fordham International Law Journal» Vol. 31, n. 5, pp. 1118-1142.

2009 *Saving the Lisbon Treaty: An Irish Solution to a European Problem*, in «Journal of Common Market Studies» Annual Review 2009 Vol. 47, pp. 1113-132.

Keeler, J.

1993 *Opening the Window for Reform: Mandates, Crises and Extraordinary Policymaking*, in «Comparative Political Studies» Vol. 25, pp. 433-486.

Moravcsik, A. and Vachudova, M.A.

2003 "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement" in «East European Politics and Societies» Vol. 17, n. 1, pp. 42-57.

Tsebelis, G.

2008 *Thinking about the Recent Past and the Future of the EU*, in «Journal of Common Market Studies», Vol. 46, n. 2, pp. 265-292.

Weiler, J.H.H.

2002 *A Constitution for Europe? Some Hard Choices*, in «Journal of Common Market Studies», Vol. 40, Issue 4, pp. 563–580.

Appendix 2

Calendar List of Some Events at three Centers of Excellence for April 2010

April 2010 (partial listing): University of Miami and Florida International University

- Wed, Apr. 7: 12:00 - 1:30 pm Successful and Genuine Failures: France and Germany in the History of 'Multi-Speed' European Political Integration
- Fri, Apr. 9: 2:00 - 3:30 pm MEUCE Lecture on the Lisbon Treaty (University of Miami)
- Mon, Apr. 19: 5:00 - 6:00 pm MEUCE Lecture on Spain and the EU (University of Miami)
- Wed, Apr. 21: 12:00 - 1:30 pm Public Lecture by Christoffer Green-Pedersen: A Giant Fast Asleep? Party Competition and Politicization of European Integration
- Mon, Apr. 26: 5:00 - 6:00 pm MEUCE Book Presentation: The Cuban Revolution: Relations with Spain, the European Union and the United States (University of Miami)
- Wed, Apr. 28: 12:00 - 1:00 pm Transatlantic Leaders Forum Event José María Aznar Former President of the Government of Spain
- Thurs, Apr. 29: 10:00 - 11:00 am Transatlantic Leaders Forum Event with Miroslav Lajčák Foreign Minister of Slovakia "Central and Eastern Europe Two Decades after the Collapse of Communism"
- Thurs, Apr. 29: 2:15 - 3:45 pm Transatlantic Leaders Forum Event with Jerzy Buzek President of the European Parliament.

April 2010 (partial listing): University of Pittsburgh

- Mon, Apr. 5: 12:00 - 1:30 pm Turkey's New Foreign Relations: Implications for Europe and the U.S. Bottom of Form
- Fri, Apr. 30: 12:00 - 2:00 pm Obama and Europe: Year Two
- Fri, Apr. 30: 4:30 - 6:00 pm Detlef Junker, "A Widening Atlantic: Market Gap - War Gap - God Gap"

April 2010: University of Wisconsin, Madison (sample listing)

- Tues, Apr. 6: 7:00 - 8:30 pm Philip Booth, "Planning and the Common Law Tradition: Planning, Property and Administration in Britain"
- Wed, Apr. 14: 8:00 am - 3:00 pm Symposium: Strategies for Import Safety: Regulatory and Market Approaches
- Fri-Sat, Apr. 30 - May 1: Workshop: "The Transcultural Atlantic: Constructing Communities in a Global Context"

EU Studies Survey

EU Studies Survey: Questionnaire: Answer the questions that best fit/explain your courses on the European Union (EU) and your institution's approach to studying the EU. You do not have to answer all the questions.

1. How many European Union (EU) or European Union related courses does your department offer (history, political science, economics, law)? _____?
2. What is the size of your institution: Large University _____; Medium-Small University _____: Private College or University _____?
3. In what region of the United States is your institution located?
East _____: West _____: North: _____
South _____?

4. What is the average class size for a course on the European Union in your department/university/college?
_____?
5. What is the average number of course, contact hours for a course on the European Union at your institution? _____?
6. Does your institution offer graduate programs on the European _____ Union?
_____?
7. Do you know of undergraduates who have gone on to study the EU at the graduate level?
_____?
8. Does your institution/department offer a certificate or a major or minor in EU Studies?
_____?
9. Does your university (department or individuals within your department) have institutional or individual links with EU institutions/ universities or EU scholars outside of EU.S.A? What kinds of links?
10. What topics/issues should a course on the politics of the European Union cover?
11. If you teach a general course on European Politics, how much time do you devote to the study of the European Union as opposed to teaching about individual European states and their policies/institutions/laws?
12. Do your individual courses emphasize institutions or policies or both?
13. In a course on the EU, do you devote time to study the relations between Europe, or the EU, and the U.S., and if so, how much time during the semester do you spend on EU/U.S. relations?
14. How much emphasis do you put on understanding theories to understand the European Union?

15. What approaches do you use when you teach EU courses? Do you emphasize theories, policies or institutions, for example?
16. Do you use active learning techniques in your class on the EU: Model EU simulations, other role-playing or case studies, etc. for example?
17. What are the major reasons your students have for taking courses on the European Union?
18. What ideas do you discuss in class to make European Union Studies more relevant to American students?
19. What European countries do you include in a course on the European Union?
20. From your perspective, what do you want your (mostly American) students to learn from a course on the European Union?
21. Is there anything you would like to add which you feel is important for understanding the state of EU Studies in the U.S.?

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1997 *Teaching the EU*, Peoria, IL: Institute of International Studies, Bradley University.
- Cameron, D.
2009 *European Politics Syllabus*, Yale University (see for a very complete listing of books and Journal articles on recent developments in the EU).
- Chang, M.
2009 *Monetary Integration in the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

- Colomer, J. (ed.)
2002 *Political Institutions in Europe*, London, Routledge.
- Crepaz, M.L. and Steiner, J.
2007 *European Democracies*, sixth edition, New York, Pearson.
- Davidson, J.
1997 *Promoting Knowledge of the EU and the Transatlantic Partnership: The European Commission in the United States*, in *Teaching the EU*, edited by J. Bukowski, Peoria, IL, Institute of International Studies, Bradley University, pp. 30-43.
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2007 *Coping Without the Constitutional Treaty*, in «Journal of Common Market Studies» Annual Review 2006/2007 Vol. 45, pp. 67-87.
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- European Politics and Society Section (EPS) of the American Political Science Association, newsletters and the European Syllabi Bank.
- European Union websites: http://eurunion.org/eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1746&Itemid=1...
- Eurostat News Release.
- 2009 *EU27 Surplus in Trade and Goods With the U.S.A Down By Half in the First Six Months of 2009*, October 30. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=STAT/09/155&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=fr>
- EUSA
2009 Website for papers delivered at the Los Angeles conference: <http://www.unc.edu/euce/eU.S.a2009/papers.php?sort=author>
- Fabbrini, S.
2007 *Compound Democracies: The Growing Similarities Between the U.S. and Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Fulbright U.S. Student Program (2010-2011) New York, NY: Institute of International Exchange.
- Grabbe, H.
2006 *The EU's Transformative Power*, New York, Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Hall, P.
2009 Opening Address to Panel 1: the Social Sciences, «For-

- ty Years On: Europe, The Disciplines, and the World», Anniversary Conference, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Oct. 14.
- Hamilton, D. S. and Quinlan, J. P.
2009 *The Transatlantic Economy 2009*, Washington D.C. Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Center for Transatlantic Relations.
- Hix, S.
2005 *The Political System of the European Union*, second edition. Basingstoke, England, Macmillan.
2008 *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*, Cambridge, England, Polity Press.
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2001 *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.
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2008 *Survey of Central and Eastern Europe and the Enlarged European Union*, Course Syllabus, University of Michigan, winter.
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2003 *Impact Report of the Network of European Union Centers in the United States*, European Commission.
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2006 *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, sixth edition, Durham, Duke University.
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2009 *Agenda Setting in the European Union*, Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics, London, Palgrave/Mac Millan
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DAVID M. ANDREWS

EU STUDIES ON THE WEST COAST OF THE
USA

The European Union is a remarkable experiment in multinational governance; little wonder, then, that it has attracted considerable scholarly attention. But most of that attention has been in Europe and by Europeans. The other chapters in this volume demonstrate the remarkable expansion of scholarly research about the European Union undertaken in different European states. In the United States, by contrast, EU studies are at best holding their ground, particularly when it comes to graduate-level research. The present chapter explores this phenomenon, using the study of the European Union by students and scholars on the west coast of the United States as a microcosm of the field's development in the United States more generally.

The west coast of the United States is home to more than 70 million people and scores of institutions of higher learning. These latter include several of the world's top-rated universities, with many of these institutions hosting scholars who are actively engaged in studying the EU. At one time or another the Claremont Colleges, Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of California at San Diego, the University of California at Irvine, the University of Southern California and the University of Washington have all hosted programs or institutes deeply involved in EU studies¹. Of these, the University of California at Berkeley (UCB, or Cal) has demonstrated the most sustained interest.

¹ Throughout this chapter I use the terms «EU studies», «EU scholarship», and «EU research» to refer to the academic study of European integration efforts since World War Two, despite the fact that the European Union per se did not exist until the 1990s.

In fact Cal was once a hotbed of EU research: its faculty included one of the early leaders of the field, Ernst Haas, and during the late 1950s and 1960s it produced a cohort of graduates who pursued careers focused on the study of the European Union. In more recent decades the human and institutional resources dedicated to the study of the European Union have increased considerably, and to this day Berkeley remains a major player in EU studies (at least relative to other U.S. institutions). But Berkeley was once not just a national but an international focal point for research on the EU, with far more exciting work on the subject being done there than was the case anywhere in Europe. This is no longer the case. As documented in the rest of this volume, EU studies in European states has taken off in the last generation. The situation in the United States is altogether different: despite considerable past and present investments, EU studies as a field of academic inquiry is stable at best.

Indeed, by the time that the European Union Studies Association of the USA (EUSA-USA) convened its twentieth anniversary conference in Marina del Rey in April 2009 — the first time that any of its meetings were held in California — the event served primarily as a meeting place for scholars from Europe. That episode was illustrative: while California retained its convening power, it was no longer an incubator of the world's top EU scholarship. In fact Berkeley and the University of Washington in Seattle are the only two major research universities in the entire western United States that presently maintain substantial resources dedicated to European Union studies in any form.

In this chapter I provide a close examination of the Berkeley experience to argue that the study of the European Union in the United States has been considerably hollowed out. Berkeley trained several generations of graduate students in EU studies, some of whom went on to make substantial contributions of their own to the field. Tracing the careers of these students reveals how the study of the European Union in the United States developed, blossomed, and in recent decades has at least partly faded—at

the same time that EU studies was enjoying a boom period in Europe.

1. *EU studies at Berkeley*²

The first generation of EU scholarship in the United States centered on the teaching, scholarship, and training of graduate students by three giants in the field: Ernst Haas at Berkeley, Karl Deutsch at MIT, and Stanley Hoffmann at Harvard. Each had a distinctive interpretation of European integration, as well as an institutional base from which to propagate that view³. For Haas, that interpretation was neofunctionalism, a perspective emphasizing the role of economic interest groups in pressuring governments (under certain circumstances) to cede some aspects of sovereign authority to international organizations⁴. Berkeley soon gained a reputation as a leading center for the propagation of neofunctionalist theory and the training of neofunctionalist scholars.

Perhaps the most influential of Haas' early students, at least with respect to the study of European integration, were Philippe Schmitter and Leon Lindberg, who together turned neofunctionalism into a growth industry⁵. Indeed, for a long time this interpretation was the dominant approach to the scholarly study of European integration. With the United States leading the world in terms of inte-

² In this portion of the chapter I rely upon my own observations supplemented by conversations and correspondence with a number of Berkeley faculty and graduates.

³ Of the three, only Deutsch failed to spend most of his professional career at a single institution: he spent more than ten years each at MIT, Yale, and Harvard.

⁴ Haas articulated this perspective most famously in *The Uniting of Europe* [1958]. He returned to the question of (neo)functionalism and international organizations in his *Beyond the Nation-State* [1964], but without an explicit focus on European integration.

⁵ See for example Lindberg and Scheingold [1970]; Schmitter [1969; 1970].

gration studies, and neofunctionalism among the most influential academic interpretations of European integration, Berkeley could therefore rightly lay claim to being among the most important centers — perhaps even the single most important center — for the academic study of what would later become known as the European Union⁶.

The series of European political crises manufactured by Charles de Gaulle during the 1960s, together with the difficulties faced by Europe during the 1970s, eventually took the shine off integration as a political phenomenon and as a field of study⁷. Likewise neofunctionalism lost much of its allure. Over time Haas lost interest in European integration as a specific phenomenon and in neofunctionalism as an explanation thereof, preferring instead to understand regionalization in Europe and elsewhere as part of a broader phenomenon of internationalization (or, to use a later term, globalization)⁸. This change in philosophy was reflected in his teaching and advising. Certainly by the 1980s even students writing on European subjects — Wayne Sandholtz, for example — were encouraged to address their research within this larger analytical framework⁹. This was probably the case during the 1970s as well.

⁶ The website for the Institute for European Studies at UCB identifies Harvard and Columbia as Berkeley's chief U.S. rivals in the field of EU studies (see <http://ies.berkeley.edu/about/history.html>, accessed September 9, 2010). The view from Berkeley was probably much the same half a century ago.

⁷ Keeler found that, of the total number of Ph.D. dissertations granted by U.S. universities on western European topics, the fraction focusing on the European Community dropped from 17% in 1968 to 5% in 1978 to 0% in 1988 [Keeler 2005, 557]. Recalling the lag time associated with the production of a dissertation, this suggests that there was very little interest in the subject among graduate students in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

⁸ Consider, for example, the titles of two of Haas' later contributions to the field: *The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pre-Theorizing* [1975a] and *The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory* [1975b].

⁹ Sandholtz' dissertation addressed technology cooperation among western European states, all of whom happened to be members of the European Community; at Haas' urging, however, the analysis focused on

Despite this shift in Haas' intellectual agenda, Berkeley remained an exciting place to study the EU during the 1980s and 1990s. In fact by almost any measure the university as a whole became more fully engaged in the study of European integration during this period than it had been previously. Several new research centers dedicated to the study of Europe were founded, including the Center for German and European Studies (established in 1990), the Institute for European Studies (1999), and later the European Union Center at the University of California at Berkeley (2005). In addition, Cal recruited a great many scholars with real expertise on different aspects of the EU. During the 1990s and early 21st century there were several new hires in political science — for example, Chris Ansell, Jonah Levy, Paul Pierson, Steven Weber, and Nicholas Ziegler — each of whom studied the EU even if it was not their primary, ongoing interest¹⁰. There were also key additions in fields outside political science, including Neil Fligstein in sociology and Gerald Roland in economics¹¹.

During these years a wide variety of intellectual projects concerning European integration were being either conducted or presented at Berkeley. But unlike the previous surge in EU studies during the 1960s, much of the intellectual action had shifted away from the political science department and either into other departments (like sociology and economics) or into ancillary research groups (like BRIE and CGES). During the 1980s, for example, the Berkeley Roundtable for International Economics (BRIE) was particularly active. This interdisciplinary center, headed by John Zysman, undertook numerous projects concerning developments in Europe. Zysman (a member of the political science department) had an intense interest in European politics and a particular fascination with the emer-

more general concerns. This research was later published as *High-Tech Europe: The Politics of International Cooperation* [1992].

¹⁰ Ansell, Levy, Weber, Ziegler and Pierson joined Berkeley's political science department in 1993, 1994, 1989, 2001 and 2004 respectively.

¹¹ Fligstein joined the sociology department in 1991; Roland joined the economics department in 2001.

gence of the Single Market program during the Commission presidency of Jacques Delors; during this period he co-authored an article with Wayne Sandholtz on this subject that became a landmark in the field¹². Likewise during the 1990s the newly-founded Center for German and European Studies (CGES) became a locus of EU studies activities. These included sponsoring Barry Eichengreen (a Berkeley economist with a dual appointment in the department of political science) and Jeffrey Frieden (a political scientist based at UCLA through most of this period, before relocating to Harvard) as co-conveners of a cross-disciplinary working group that held periodic meetings during the 1990s examining various aspects of the political economy of European integration. This group was especially interested in monetary integration once Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) resurfaced as a major policy project, and numerous publications resulted from its collaborative efforts¹³.

By contrast, there was no great burgeoning in the number of political science dissertations focusing on EU topics despite the increase in in-house expertise. The Sandholtz-Zysman article on the origins of the Single Market, for example, did not result in a dissertation and in fact turned out to be a one-off collaboration; and Haas, who was still teaching and directing dissertations until the late 1990s, encouraged several of his most promising students to move away from EU-oriented dissertation topics¹⁴. Elsewhere in the department, it is true that more and more dissertations were being written on European topics, and that many of these display a subtle understanding of the policy environment created by the existence of the EU — a very positive consequence of the enormous expansion of European expertise in the department that began in the 1990s.

¹² Sandholtz and Zysman [1989].

¹³ See, e.g., Eichengreen and Frieden [1994 and 1998], and Eichengreen, Frieden and von Hagen [1995a and 1995b].

¹⁴ In addition to examples cited earlier, Keith Darden (Berkeley Ph.D. in 2000, currently at Yale) reduced the EU component of his dissertation on post-Soviet republics on the advice of Haas [2000].

However, very few of these dissertations focused on the history, institutions, policies or practices of the European Union as their central subject. Instead, if the EU figures in the analysis at all it does so mostly in the background, while the main narrative of the dissertation is focused on some other topic.

The dissertations of Craig Parsons and Nicolas Jabko, who graduated in 1999 and 2001 respectively, are notable exceptions to this rule¹⁵. But the rule itself seems well-established. For example, among the more recent graduates of the department, Jane Gingrich (now at the University of Minnesota), Julia Lynch (University of Pennsylvania), Raahsaan Maxwell (University of Massachusetts), Frédéric Mérand (the University of Montreal), Brian Rathbun (University of Southern California), Sarah Wiliarty (Wesleyan), and Daniel Ziblatt (Harvard) all wrote dissertations and subsequently published books with distinguished university presses on European topics¹⁶. But of this group, only Mérand did so on a subject focusing primarily on either the history, institutions, policies or practices of the European Union. For the rest, the EU features as a background component to a study focusing on some other subject.

In short, the political science department at Cal has considerably expanded its EU expertise in recent decades, and also benefits from the institutional resources devoted to EU studies on the Berkeley campus. Together these have prompted a great deal of scholarly activity, and facilitated a

¹⁵ Parsons examined French policy toward integration, and Jabko the strategies of integrationists. Parson's dissertation was later published as *A Certain Idea of Europe* [2003]; Jabko's appeared as *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* [2006].

¹⁶ These books are, respectively, *Multiple Markets in the Welfare State* [Gingrich 2011]; *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers and Children* [Lynch 2006]; *Integration Tradeoffs: Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France* [Maxwell forthcoming]; *European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State* [Mérand 2008]; *Partisan Interventions: European Party Politics and Peace Enforcement in the Balkans* [Rathbun 2004]; *The CDU and the Politics of Gender in Germany: Bringing Women to the Party* [Wiliarty 2010]; and *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy, Germany, and the Puzzle of Federalism* [Ziblatt 2006].

graduate education that pays close attention to the influence of the EU on its member states. But it has not resulted in any substantial increase in the number of political science dissertations focused on the EU itself, including its institutions, policies and practices.

2. Conclusions

By almost any standard, UCB remains one of the leading centers for EU-related research in the United States. There has also been a marked increase in the human and institutional resources dedicated to the study of the EU at Berkeley. But there has not been a corresponding increase in the number of political science dissertations focusing on the EU. True, the department continues to produce graduates who are interested in European integration, including several who have gone on to make substantial contributions to the field; but this has been true since the 1960s. For quite some time now, that fraction of the department's Ph.D. candidates who write about the EU at all have done so primarily in the context of research focusing on one or more of the EU's member states; dissertations about the history or theory of European integration, or the institutions, policies, and practices of the European Union, have been relatively rare.

The relative paucity of graduate research in Berkeley's political science department on the European Union is not unusual among U.S. universities. To the extent the department's experience is remarkable, that is because it has maintained a commitment to the study of Europe at a time when many of its most prestigious U.S. counterparts have abandoned any pretense of doing so. Across the San Francisco Bay, for example, the political science department at Stanford University made no attempt to rebuild an EU expertise among its faculty upon the departure of Philippe Schmitter. By contrast, the political science department at Berkeley remains home to a remarkable wealth of expertise on the European Union — a wealth that has expanded in

recent decades. Moreover, graduate training for Europeanists in the department includes sustained attention to how participation in the European Union influenced politics and society within particular states, and a fairly steady output of dissertations focused on European cases reflects this training. For the most part, however, even at Berkeley the subject of European integration *per se* remains peripheral to the department's graduate instruction and research; and in this respect Berkeley's experience is not unusual among U.S. universities.

The resulting erosion of European expertise in U.S. institutions has coincided with the development of rich research programs in EU studies based in Europe. This is of course a fairly natural development. Scholars based in Europe have a pronounced locational advantage in conducting research about the EU, whether in terms of access to (and development of) empirical data sets, elite interviewing, or performing public opinion surveys. In addition, European educational institutions have solid incentives for supporting such research — including but not limited to the substantial financial support directed to them by the European Commission for doing so. Little wonder, then, that European scholarship about Europe has tended to displace U.S. scholarship about Europe.

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FEDERIGABINDI, KJELL A. ELIASSEN
AND IRINA ANGELESCU

TOWARDS EUROPEAN EU STUDIES?

This book represents a unique attempt to map the state of the art of European integration studies in political science worldwide. In so doing, we have mapped most of the EU member states (the only missing ones are Cyprus, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovakia, Slovenia and the Czech Republic), as well as non-EU European countries, like Norway, Iceland and Russia and, in addition to them, Canada, the U.S., Central and Latin America.

First and foremost, the book illustrates the enormous variation in the current state of European integration studies in political science in the world and also the quite different focus of the research activities. This discipline may have been a relatively well defined area of research a decade ago, but today it is impossible to succinctly characterize the literature analyzed in the various chapters according to the dimensions put forward in our introduction. This variation is also illustrated by the shift in focus of European integration studies, which before the mid 1990s mostly conceptualized the EU as an international organization to today, when the EU is analyzed as a nascent state or a fourth level of government. At the same time, EU politics and policies became more an extension of national political agendas and less a foreign policy issue – but always with a distinct touch of foreign policy. Thus, given the complexity of all these factors, we will not attempt to take up the full challenge of giving in the few pages of this chapter a comprehensive comparative analysis of European integration studies for the past few decades. Therefore, we will only highlight some observations from the historical and comparative perspectives addressed in this collection of chapters.

A number of major trends emerged from the analyses of European integration studies in the various contribu-

tions in this volume.

First, EU studies have historically developed for the most part on the other side of the Atlantic, in the U.S. This is due to the fact that in the early years of the European integration process, the 1950s, the U.S. administration was supporting the EU integration process and the EU was a political priority. Therefore, the U.S. invested money to foster research in this field.

In the pioneer years of European studies (roughly from the late 1950s to the early 1980s), the main scholarly challenge was to describe the new institutional setting, to explain how it came into being and to foresee possible future developments. From the mid to the late 1980s, the focus moved to explaining the changes introduced by the Single European Act (1987), what that meant in institutional terms and what to expect in the future. Since the early 1990s, European studies have proliferated and differentiated in so many ways that one book alone could never cover all the necessary angles.

Ernst Haas, a German-born American political scientist, was fascinated by the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC) and decided to spend one year in Luxembourg to study developments in the field. In *The Uniting of Europe* [1958], Haas elaborated the concepts of «political integration», «supranationality» and «spill-over», thus giving birth to the so-called *neofunctionalist* movement. Haas also analyzed the decision-making processes of the new institutions and their relations with economic and social groups. He identified two main factors at the basis of the supranational process: (a) the capability of central institutions to generate strong expectations – be they positive or negative; (b) the tendency of economic and social forces to unite beyond national borders and to create common policies. In the 1960s and 1970s, other scholars had more skeptical approaches to the process of integration: Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye [1975] doubted the overall validity of the theory of integration, while Stanley Hoffman [1966 and 1982] believed that nation states maintained

firm control over the decision-making processes. Eventually, with the crises of the 1970s severely affecting the construction of a unified Europe, European studies were ignored for the most part by scholars in general and political scientists in particular.

The *second* historical trend concerns the approach vis-à-vis European integration. Prior to the enlargement and «deepening» of the EU in 1980s and 1990s, the limited amount of European integration studies carried out in Europe developed in disciplines like law, history and international relations. Today we find EU studies not only in most social science disciplines, but also in several different disciplines in humanities, as shown in the SENT project this book is part of. In political science it is possible today to find a nearly unlimited amount of theoretical approaches to the study of European integration and we will not attempt to make a comprehensive map for this here.

There were historically different waves in the development of EU studies. After looking at the grand picture of institutional development and European integration, EU scholars went on to study individual EU institutions and actors (e.g. the European Parliament and Commission, interest groups), then EU policies (e.g. agriculture, telecommunication, foreign policy, environment, immigration) and, more recently, EU governance and the relations between the EU and its member states.

Early scholars preferred to focus on the macro-picture and the nature of this emerging institution. According to Alberta Sbragia [1992] the European Community was «unique in its institutional structure [...] neither a state nor an international organization [...] a part-formed political system»¹. The EC/EU has been defined as «a loose federation»², «une entité post-étatique»³, «un objet politique non

¹ A. Sbragia, *Euro-politics: Institutions and Policy-making in the «New» European Community*, Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press, p. 257.

² See W. Wallace (ed.), *The Dynamics of European Integration*, London, Pinter.

*identifié*⁴, «a multi-tiered system of governance»⁵, «a multi-tier negotiating system»⁶, «a multi-level European system»⁷, «a mixed polity»⁸, «a polity creating process in which authority and policy-making influence are shared across multiple levels of government»⁹. Calling the EEC a «network form of organization», in which Commission technocrats, members of national bureaucracies, transnational lobby groups, and multinational companies were all involved, Robert Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann concluded that the old theories were no longer valid [Keohane and Hoffman 1990, 276-300]. They could not explain the new and complex EEC decision-making process, during which informal and formal structures interacted at different levels. A new literature trend was thus launched, around the concept of «multi-level governance». Alongside the works of Hellen and William Wallace, studies by Marks [1993], Scharpf [1994], Bulmer [1994], Peterson [1995] and Kohler-Koch [1996] merit mention. Common among such authors were themes such as:

- (1) Preferences and results as shaped by institutions;
- (2) The complexity of *policy-making* and how it has spread over several levels;
- (3) Member states' efforts to make use of the EEC to achieve national goals. Governments essentially sought to maintain control over *inputs* and *outcomes*, but success rates varied

³ See H. Wallace and W. Wallace (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

⁴ M. Telò, *L'Italia nel processo di costruzione europea*, in *Storia dell'Italia Repubblicana*, vol. 3, Torino, Einaudi, p. 5.

⁵ J.-L. Quermonne, *Existe-t-il un modèle politique européen?*, in «Revue Française de Science Politiques», April 1992.

⁶ J. Lodge, *Institutions and Policies of the European Community*, London, Frances Pinter, 1995, p. 249.

⁷ B. Kohler-Koch, *Catching up with Change: the Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, in «Journal of European Public Policy» Vol. 3, n. 3, September 1996, p. 360.

⁸ F. Scharpf, *Community and Autonomy: Multilevel Policy-Making in the European Union*, in «EUI Working papers of the Robert Schuman Center» RSC 94/1, 1994.

⁹ S. Andersen and K.A. Eliassen (eds.), *The European Union. How Democratic is it?*, London, SAGE, 1996, p.69.

according to the policy areas involved [Wallace 1996, 445].

Nevertheless, not all scholars shared this approach. For instance, according to the Alan Milward school, «neo-functionalism failed the test of history because it did not ask the crucial question about where the locus of power lay in the post-war period and, in its enthusiasm for a theory, practically did away with the nation-state as the central unit of political organization» [Milward, Lynch, Romero, Ranieri and Soresen 1993, 3-4]. Milward's analysis of the origins of the Community was characterized by a reading of rational choices by nation states.

Andrew Moravcsik's analysis also started from the assumption that states are rational actors. According to his *liberal intergovernmentalism* theory, European integration was the result of a series of rational choices made by political leaders. Those choices are determined by the constraints and the opportunities created by domestic economic interests, by the relative weight of each state in the international system and by the role of the international institutions in supporting the credibility of inter-state commitments. Liberal intergovernmentalism holds that European integration was a series of rational adaptation by national leaders to constraints and opportunities.

At present, scholars are no longer concerned by the «nature of the beast», but rather take the EU for granted, and focus on analyzing its functioning and impact over its member states and other international actors. Likewise, most of the innovative research on the EU does no longer take place in the U.S., but rather in the various EU member states. The one time most important conference on European studies, EUSA (European Union Studies Association) is progressively being challenged by the ECPR Standing Group on European Integration's conference, while Columbia University's Council for European Studies felt the need to move its conference to Barcelona to ease attendance by scholars.

In this sense, one can say that the European studies in the first decade of this century have definitely come home to Europe.

The *third* trend which emerges from the various contributions to this volume suggests that there is no uniformity over the kind and amount of research on the EU undertaken in the member states. In this sense, some of the «old» members, such as Germany, the Benelux and the UK, lead the way, whereas some of the «new» members, like Poland, Bulgaria and Romania, limit themselves to assessing the impact of the EU on their countries after accession. However, this is not an absolute rule. For example, Scandinavian countries – including non-EU member states such as Norway and Iceland – are increasingly breaking grounds on EU research, whereas founding members like France and Italy do not stand out for their production. One explanation for this is the linguistic barrier, another is a parochial-oriented recruiting system in the national academic environments. There is in fact definitely one common trend among the leading countries in EU studies: the countries which excel are those which are willing and able to attract international scholars. Examples include Germany – Tanja Börzel's and Thomas Risse's program at the Free University of Berlin, Belgium - the IEE at the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (ULB) – with Mario Telò and others – and the University of Leuven, all of which have traditionally attracted many international students and scholars. The UK and Ireland are also traditionally very open academic environments: alongside British-born renowned scholars such as Helen and William Wallace, Simon Hix, Hussein Kassim, William Wright, a number of foreign well-known EU scholars have found a productive nest in the UK's and Ireland's universities and colleges, ranging from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) to the Universities of Glasgow, Bath, Sussex, Dublin, etc. Scandinavia, another traditionally open area, is also a fertile ground for European studies. Surprisingly enough, Norway first stood out as a major center of discussion in the early 1990s with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI – under the leadership of Martin Saeter), Centre for European and Asian Studies at BI - Norwegian School of Business in Oslo (with the director Kjell A. Eliassen, Svein S. Andersen

and others) and, more recently, with the ARENA project (directed by Johan P. Olsen), which for more than 15 years now has boosted European studies in Scandinavia and beyond, not mainly on the topic of Norway and the EU, but on core questions in the European integration debate in member countries on democracy, multi-level governance, legitimacy and influence.

Despite an exponential growth of EU studies, however, in many member states – both «old» and «newer» ones - EU studies as such still do not really exist in many countries. This is the case, for instance, of founding members like Italy and France, but also of new members like the Baltics, Bulgaria and Romania. In other countries, EU studies are studies under the discipline umbrella of international relations, sociology, history or economics. In Italy, Spain and Portugal, European studies first appeared in EU law and only later did they spread in political science. In many EU member states, the political science approach to the study of the EU is an emerging trend, consistent with the fact that political science itself is a relatively young discipline.

In the U.S., EU studies are no longer a priority today. In this country, the analysis of foreign policy traditionally follows the geopolitical priorities of the administration. This is due to the strong connection between academics and decision-makers and to the massive funds that the U.S. administration puts on the issues that it believes need to be studied to better conduct its foreign policy. Consequently, on the West Coast, once the home of Ernest Haas, EU studies have almost disappeared, having been heavily challenged by Asian area studies. But even on the East Coast, where strongholds of EU studies still exist in Princeton, Washington, DC, North Carolina and Florida, the pressure to focus on other areas is increasingly strong, with less and less funds devoted to EU studies.

Speaking of which, the *fourth* and last, but definitely not least, conclusion coming out of this book is the link between funding and research. If in the last three decades EU studies could develop and grow, both in Europe and

beyond, this is undoubtedly thanks to EU grants and various other initiatives of the European Commission. In reality, «grand grants» such as FP7 and its predecessors have proved far less productive in developing EU studies than the more «modest», but definitely less bureaucratically-complicated Jean Monnet action programs, along with the various ERASMUS initiatives. After all, even this book (and the other volumes in the SENT series) are the result of four years of joint work of over one hundred scholars worldwide that could not have existed without two small grants from the Life Long Learning Program (Jean Monnet and ERASMUS).