Purpose
What today is known as the European Union was created in the 1950s, just like many other international organizations, through treaties among governments. Since then, the EU has gone from 6 to 27 member states and today stretches from Portugal to Cyprus and from Finland to Malta. National governments continue to play an important role, but the EU also has a directly elected parliament organized mostly along party lines rather than nationality, a quasi-constitutional court, and a common currency (the Euro). Moreover, when national governments meet in the "European Council" or "Council of Ministers," they take binding decisions on an increasing number of issues by majority vote, and they share executive powers with a supranational European institution, the European Commission. Today's EU is engaged in redistributive and regulatory politics, and it plays a major role in the world economy, not least thanks to its "competition policy" of antitrust enforcement, merger control, and restrictions on government subsidies. It also tries to act as one in matters of foreign policy, though military integration remains weak. How might we understand the politics and institutions of the European Union today and the historical process that led to it? Is this a super-state in the making, a new kind of transnational politics, or just traditional international politics behind the guise of an organization with lofty rhetoric?

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

PS 240 is research seminar for graduate students and advanced undergraduates (seniors and in exceptional circumstances juniors) with strong preparation for a research seminar and a willingness to take on a substantial reading load. There are no formal prerequisites, but some prior knowledge of 20th century European political-economic history and previous coursework in comparative politics or international relations is recommended. For undergraduates, the course meets the CCI, R, and SS "modes of inquiry" requirements.

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

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

Research Paper: The research paper should be 30-35 pages in length for graduate students (12,000 words ±20%, including all notes and references); about 20 pages for undergraduates (7,000 words ±20%, including all notes and references).
±20%, including all notes and references)). I encourage you to see me early and often to discuss possible research paper topics. As part of the class, we will have an introduction to the EU Documents collections at Perkins library with Christof Galli, the international organizations documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection at the end of our second class (Thursday Sep.9, from about 11:50 to 12:35). Looking through recent issues of EU-specific journals such as the Journal of Common Market Studies, the Journal of European Integration, or European Union Politics, as well as browsing EU-related sections in the library (e.g. shelves with Library of Congress call numbers starting with JN1 - JN50 and HC241.2), might also help you in selecting topics.

By Monday, Oct. 4, you must submit a memo, which states clearly (1) what your topic is, (2) why this is interesting to you and should be interesting to others, (3) what your key analytical questions are, and—very importantly—(4) how you will go about answering them. I will return the memo with comments in class on Thursday, Oct. 7.

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

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

**Readings**

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


**Financial Times Subscription**

The European Union is very much in flux. Negotiations about the next enlargements (Croatia, Turkey, etc.) are underway, and the EU is still working out the practical implications of recent changes in the institutions (such as the creation of the position of President of the Council or of de facto EU foreign minister and the changes in voting weights through the Lisbon Treaty). To keep up with the changes, students in PS240 should get a subscription to the Financial Times (FT), which reports on these developments regularly and with greater accuracy and detail than any other English-language source available in the United States. **As part of the required readings for each week**, students are expected to have followed each prior week's developments in the EU to the extent that they were reported in the FT (print or full electronic edition, not just ft.com). 15-week student subscriptions of the FT are available at a greatly discounted price via a sign-up in the first class.

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


1. Introduction: European Integration & the EU — International or Domestic Politics? (Thursday, Sep. 2)


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


2. The Early Years: From Grand Visions to Humble Reality (Thu, Sep. 9)

NOTE: At the end of today's seminar, we will get an introduction to the resources for research on the EU and European integration from Christof Galli, the international documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection.

Une certaine idée de l'Europe …


Recommended

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


Recommended

3. European Integration as Interstate Politics? (Thu, Sep.16)

Intergovernmentalism, Realist and Liberal Variants


Eurosclerosis, Re-launch, and the Intergovernmental Institutions


Recommended [more intergovernmentalism]:

Hoffmann, Stanley. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." Daedalus vol.95 no.3 (Summer 1966): 862-915.


*Recommended [more on integration re-launch]:*


4. New Places to Pursue One's Interests: Politics Beyond the Nation State (Thu, Sep. 23)

**Neofunctionalism: Changing Identities? Shifting Loyalties?**


*Recommended*


**Supranational Institutions: The European Commission and the Courts**


5. Social Science Research and Writing & the Study of European Integration (Thu, Sep. 30)

**e-res**


**online**


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


**Methodological Debates in Application to the Study of European Integration**

W&D


**Recommended:**


**RESEARCH PAPER MEMO DUE MONDAY, 4 OCT. 2010 BY 5PM!**
6. Marxist, Feminist, and Constructivist/Sociological Perspectives (Thu, Oct. 7)


online Kronsell, Annica. "Gender, Power and European Integration Theory." In *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.12 no.6 (December 2005): 1022-1040.

online Checkel, Jeffrey T. "Social Construction and Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.6 no.4 (December 1999): 545-560, esp. 545-554.


**Recommended**


Bieler, Andreas. "European Integration and the Transnational Restructuring of Social Relations: The Emergence of Labour as a Regional Actor?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.43 no.3 (September 2005): 461-484.


Shaw, Jo. "Importing Gender: The Challenge of Feminism and the Analysis of the EU Legal Order." In *Journal of European Public Policy* vol.7 no.3 (Special Issue: Women, Power and Public Policy in Europe, September 2000): 406-431.


7. Generalizing Beyond Europe: Regional Integration and State Formation Perspectives (Thu, Oct.14)


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

(Nominal Date: 10/14/2010) *Note: Nominal Date; Seminar Session Will Need to Be Re-Scheduled


Recommended


9. A Different Variety of Democratic Capitalism? Redistribution and Regulation in the EU
(Thu, Oct. 28)


Recommended:


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


Recommended:

### 10. EMU & the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) (Thu, Nov. 4)

**European Monetary Union (EMU) and Common Currency**


**The EU as an Actor in World Politics?**


**Recommended**

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


### 11. Public Opinion & EU Enlargement (Thu, Nov. 11)

**Public Opinion**


**EU Enlargement**


* + Supplemental readings TBA.

**Recommended**


**12. Research Presentations** (Thu, Nov. 18)

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

**THURSDAY, NOV. 25: HAPPY THANKSGIVING!**

**13. Research Presentations** (Thu, Dec. 2)

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

**14. Explaining and Understanding European Integration** (Thu, Dec. 9)

The EU between International Relations and Comparative Politics


**Recommended**


**Sunday, Dec 19 at 2pm: RESEARCH PAPER DUE**