

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Departments of International Relations and Political Science

Fall Semester 2011

Course Offering CLA IR 550/PO525

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9:30 -11:00 am
Location: IRC 220

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO525

Prof. Vivien A. Schmidt

As the Chinese curse goes: May you live in interesting times. And these are interesting times indeed for the European Union. The Eurozone has been roiled by the sovereign debt crisis since the beginning of 2010, having managed well through the banking crisis of 2008 and the crisis in the real economy of 2009. And it now faces an existential crisis with regard to either deepening integration further, or risking disintegration of the Eurozone under the pressures of the markets. By contrast, the incursion in Libya so far seems to have been a great success—but it has been a NATO operation led by Britain and France under the UN rather than a Common Security and Defense Policy initiative of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty, finally ratified in 2009, bringing to a close the Constitutional crisis that followed the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty by referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, was supposed to have provided new leadership under the new positions of Council President—to speak in one voice for the EU--and High Representative—to coordinate foreign policy. The jury is still out as to whether this has done anything more than add another two voices to the cacophony. Moreover, these reforms did little to address the question of the EU's 'democratic deficit,' a topic of increasing concern since the early 1990s and the main reason for the launching of the Constitutional process in 2000. Although Enlargement—arguably the EU's greatest achievement, which occurred on May 1 2004 with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU—is not in question, further enlargement is. Euroskepticism, moreover, is becoming more generalized in many European Union member-states, along with the rise of a populist right that contests the open borders of Schengen—another great EU achievement—as well as the bailouts and loan guarantees to member-states in the Southern periphery.

And yet, despite all of this, the European Union remains the largest market economy in the world, bigger than the US, and is a force to be reckoned with not only in Europe but around the world, helping set the agenda for international trade and finance along with the United States. Moreover, the EU goes on integrating in quiet ways, below the radar and off the front page, through the economic policies of the Single Market and the social policies focused on improving the environment, gender equality, and labor rights. EU member-states have adapted institutionally to the EU as they have adopted EU policies throughout a range of areas—but they have had very different experiences in so doing, given their own differing institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics. And they also have very different visions of Europe and its political future, by contrast with a more common vision of its economic future. In short, the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, cannot be separated by the process *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

The unique history, make up, and current circumstances of the European Union make it

an especially interesting case for study. This course, as a graduate-level seminar on the institutions, politics, and history of the European Union, will do more than examine ‘what happened’ or even ‘why it happened’ and how. We will also be trying to understand and theorize what kind of political entity the EU is and will be in the future within the context of theories of international organization. The European Union is more economically and politically integrated than any other international institution and, as such, is one of the most challenging and complex organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. It is a real time experiment testing what we think we know about politics, power, and interests. Why have sovereign states ‘pooled’ part of their sovereignty over time? How should we classify and analyze the EU in a broader context? What is the relationship between European integration, national identities, and a broader European identity? Why is the EU more successful in some policy areas than others? What impact have market and monetary integration had on European political integration? What is the role of EU enlargement in the integration process over time? What has been the impact of public opinion on EU integration? And what has been the impact of the EU been on the member state economies and institutions? We will investigate these issues through the framework of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is broader than can be covered well in a single semester, but the seminar is designed along the key debates and lenses for understanding the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues and policies through your own research.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we will consider first the governance of the EU, focusing in turn on the institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics as well as the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Then, we will explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, agriculture, cohesion policies, employment, environment, telecommunications, transport, citizenship, immigration, policing, external trade, foreign and security policy, and enlargement. And finally, we will consider individual country experiences more closely. Throughout, we will consider not only the ways in which particular member-states have influenced the construction of the EU as both an economic and political entity but also the ways in which the EU has affected the economies and politics of its member-states.

COURSE READINGS:

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bulmer, Simon and Lequesne, Christian (2005) *The Member States of the European Union* New York: Oxford.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette (2006) *Debates on European Integration* London: Palgrave Macmillan

Hix, Simon and Hyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union* 3rd edition Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Hix, Simon (2008) *What’s Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It* Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Vachudova, Milada (2005) *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford University Press.
- Leonard, Mark (2005) *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* (New York: Harper).
- Menon, Anand (2008) *Europe: The State of the Union* London: Grove Atlantic Books.
- Schmidt, Vivien (2006) *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

All the books are available in the bookstore: Barnes and Noble. They will also be on reserve in the library.

Students are strongly encouraged to get a subscription to the daily Financial Times and the weekly The Economist. Sign-up information will be provided.

Other readings are available via ejournals, on the internet, on reserve at the library, or through email.

Readings with an * are recommended readings.

Also, please also check out the internet. Look at my website for 'links' to a great variety of sources: <http://people.bu.edu/vschmidt> In addition, the EU has a very elaborate site, with a great deal of information. Check it out at www.eurunion.org There is a short guide for Americans at www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm . Another address of use is the EU's own *Europa* website at : www.europa.org and *Eupolitix* at <http://www.eupolitics.com>. The semi-weekly newsletter *European Report* has detailed coverage of the EU, and is available through the Lexis-Nexis database. The best English-language daily newspaper coverage of the EU can be found in the Financial Times, which has a good web site at <http://www.ft.com>, and offers special rates for students during the semester. The Economist also has regular EU coverage. The news service "Euronews" provides video footage on a large number of European politics issues, including EU institutions and policies: <http://www.Euronews.net>.

Finally, there are growing numbers of EU-oriented think-tanks that generate policy papers on specific topics that might be useful in your research. These include:

- European Policy Centre: www.epc.eu
- Center for European Policy Studies: www.ceps.be
- EU Institute for Security Studies: www.iss.europa.eu
- Centre for European Reform: www.cer.org.uk
- European Council on Foreign Relations: www.ecfr.eu

For individual countries, check out the government sites, both the general and the ministry concerning the policy of greatest interest to you. For working papers on topics of interest, try Harvard's Center for European Studies, the European University Institute site (iue.it), the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Arena in Oslo, among others. Also check out EUSA.org, the European Union Studies Association, which will have links to other sites as well, such as the ten regional EU centers.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them.

1. Weekly readings of 150-200 pages.
2. Participation in class discussions (including discussions of the required readings as well as the current events) (10% of the grade);
3. One oral presentation (two for graduate students) on the reading material assigned for the day (10% of grade). The oral presentation will be a report based on readings from the syllabus and presented in class (10-15 minute presentation). You will sign up for the presentations the first week of the course.
4. Three brief essays (about 1000 words) responding to the weekly readings, turned in at the beginning of class. These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings. Students may select any three topics between the second week of class and Thanksgiving break, subject to the condition that at least two of the papers must be completed during the first eight weeks of the course. Late papers will not be accepted (5% per paper, for 15% of the grade); and
5. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, using primary and secondary research sources, and considering an EU policy areas and its relationship to one or two (in particular for graduate students) member-states, to be undertaken in three stages:
 - a 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on October 26th (10% of the grade);
 - an oral presentation on your draft research paper the last three sessions of class (approx 10 minutes plus question-and-answer session with fellow students, 10% of the grade);
 - the final draft of the research paper (15-20 pages, 20-25 for graduate students), including citations and bibliography (45% of the grade), due on or before the last class session.

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Tuesday Oct. 11. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Wednesday, Nov. 11. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

Academic Honesty

Without exception, students are expected to adhere to the Boston University CAS Academic Code. Please read the Boston University Academic Conduct Code. Accordingly, all instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the CAS Academic Conduct Committee. Please see <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code/>

COURSE OUTLINE

9/6

Introduction: Course Organization, Course Themes, and a brief history of the EU

- The European Union: A Guide for Americans
<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>
- “Key facts and figures about the EU” EU Commission download from:
http://europa.eu.int/abc/keyfigures/index_en.htm
- “Europe in twelve lessons” EU Commission download from:
http://europa.eu.int/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm
- Plus, check out the rest of the site of ‘Europe at a glance’ for background information: http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm The general site is: http://europa.eu.int/index_en.htm
- Also check out youtube videos on the EU: <http://www.youtube.com/user/eutube>
<http://www.youtube.com/user/EUXTV>

A. THE EU PROJECT

1. The Past and Future of the EU

9/8 a. EU Integration and Enlargement: How Far can it go?

Anand Menon, “The Paradox of Integration” and “From Peace to Prosperity,” *Europe: The State of the Union* Chapter 1 & 2: pp.1-69

*Lauren M. McLaren. 2007. “Explaining Opposition to Turkish Membership of the EU.” *European Union Politics* 8(2): 251-278. (ejournals)

9/13

b. The EU as Economic Failure?

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1-78, 165-172.

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2010) "The European Union's Eurozone Crisis and What (not) to do about it" *Brown Journal of World Affairs* vol. XVII, issue I (Fall/Winter 2010), pp. 199-214. (will email)

*“Who is rescuing whom and why? The Euro, the banks, the debt crisis.” Bertelsmann
<http://www.fortunatelyunified.eu/>

**Completing the Eurozone Rescue: What more needs to be done?* Eds. Richard Baldwin, Daniel Gros, and Luc Laeven VOXEU
<http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/5194>

9/15

c. The EU as Global Leader?

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21st Century* pp. 1-98.

- *Charles Grant, "Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?" with a response by Robert Cooper, *Centre for European Reform essays* (London: Centre for European Reform, July 2009). <http://www.policypointers.org/Page/View/9746>
- *Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney, *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2 November 2009, available at: http://ecfr.3cdn.net/cdb1d0a4be418dc49c_2em6bg7a0.pdf.

2. Explaining European Integration

9/20

a. The EU as International Regime, Federal or Confederal System?

- Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, "For a Free and United Europe. A Draft Manifesto" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 37-42
- Ernst Haas, "The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 105-116.
- Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 134-159

9/22 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

b. The EU as Supranational, Intergovernmental, or Multi-Level System

- Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 204-225.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 264-303.
- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 357-377.
- Giandomenico Majone, "The Rise of the Regulatory State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 378-392.
- *Mark A. Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? Annual Review of Political Science 2005. 8:35, 98 (ejournals)

9/27 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

c. The EU as a New Kind of Supranational Region?

- Vivien A. Schmidt, "The European Union as Regional State" *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 8-45.
- Anand Menon, "The State of the European Union," *The European Union* Chapter 7, pp. 212-246
- *Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861." *International Organization* 49(02): 191-228. 1995. Available at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4310888>
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire*, Introduction & Chapter 6. (on reserve)

9/29 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

d. Ideas, Constructivism, and Discourse in European Integration

Vivien Schmidt, "Theorizing Democracy in Europe" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 219-266

*Jupille, Joseph, James Caporaso and Jeffrey Checkel. 2003. "Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(1/2): 7-41. (ejournals)

Mark Gilbert, "Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 46, no. 3 (2008): 641-62. (ejournals)

B. INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

10/04

1. Who is in Charge? The Role of National Governments

Anand Menon, "The Fragile Union", *Europe: The State of the Union* Chapter 3, pp. 70-111.

Jolyon Howorth, "The 'New Faces' of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman van Rompuy on the Global Stage," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16 (2011): 303-323. (ejournals or will email)

Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Institutions" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 46-101.

*Helen Wallace, "Exercising Power and Influence in the European Union: The Roles of Member States" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 25-44

10/06

2. EU Institutions

a. The European Union Commission

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland "Executive Politics" in *The Political System of the European Union*, pp. 27-71.

John Petersen. 1999. "The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative, Historical and Theoretical Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(1):46-65. (ejournals)

10/11

b. The European Parliament

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Legislative Politics" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Selck, Torsten J. and Bernard Steunenbergh. 2004. "Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process." *European Union Politics* 5:25-46.

Mair, Peter; Thomassen, Jacques (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(1): 20-35 (ejournals)

10/13

c. The Court of Justice of the European Union

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Judicial Politics," in *The Political System of the European*

Union.

Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-93

*Lisa Conant, "Review Article: The Politics of Legal Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (2007): 45-66. (ejournals)

3. Issues of EU Governance

10/18 (Reschedule or Guest lecturer)

a. Who matters in policymaking? Interest and Contentious Politics in the EU

Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Policymaking" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 102-155.

*Amandine Crespy (2010) "When 'Bolkestein' is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse : A discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of EU multi-level politics", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(8), 1253-1270. (ejournals)

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Interest Representation" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Cornelia Woll. 2006. "Lobbying in the European Union: From Sui Generis to a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 3: 456-70. (ejournals)

10/20 (Reschedule or Guest lecturer)

b. Who matters in politics? Parties, elections, and EU democracy

Vivien Schmidt, "The EU and National Politics" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 155-218.

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Public Opinion' and "Democracy, Parties, and Elections," in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg & de Wilde, Pieter (2009) "Denouncing EU integration: Euroscepticism as reactive identity formation." RECON online working paper 2009/10

http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597

10/25

c. What solutions to the EU's political and institutional problems?

Hix, Simon (2008) *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Schmidt, Vivien (2009) "Re-Envisioning the European Union: Identity, Democracy, Economy," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 47 Annual Review (2009): 17-42 (ejournals)

(research paper proposals due)

C. EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES

1. The Internal Market and the Euro

10/27

a. Constructing a Single Market

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Regulation of the Single Market" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. chapter on Competition Policy, pp. 143-194

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 79-134.

*Howarth, David and Sadeh, Tal (2010) "The ever incomplete single market: differentiation and the evolving frontier of integration," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17 Issue 7, p922-935 (ejournals)

*Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). On reserve (but recommended for purchase)

11/1

b. Constructing a Single Currency

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Economic and Monetary Union" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Jabko, Nicolas (2010) "The hidden face of the euro" *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 17 Issue 3, p318-334 (ejournals)

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 134-164.

11/03

c. National Impact of Constructing a Single Market

Vivien A. Schmidt, "The Europeanization of National Economies?" in *Member States of the European Union*, pp. 360-387. (or will email updated version)

*Cameron, David, "Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs* vol. 25, no. 1 (2009): 1-39 (ejournals)

Caporaso, James and Tarrow, Sidney (2008) "Polanyi in Brussels: European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society." RECON Online Working Paper 2008/01 <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2008.html>

Höpner, Martin and Schäfer, Armin (2007) "A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe." MOIFG Discussion Paper no. 07/4. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=976162>

2. EU Policy Domains

11/08 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

a. Internal EU Security: Justice and Home Affairs, Border Security, and Immigration Policy

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Interior Policies" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

- *Adam Luedtke and Terri Givens, 2004. "The Politics of European Union Immigration Policy: Institutions, Salience, and Harmonization." *Policy Studies Journal*, 32, 1: 145–165. (ejournals)
- *Andrew Neal. 2009. "Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The Origins of FRONTEX*." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(2): 333–356. (ejournals)
- Andrew Geddes, "Il Rombo des Cannoni? Immigration and the Centre-right in Italy," *Journal of European Public Policy* no. vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 349-366 (ejournals)
- Sally Marthaler, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy," vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 382-397 (ejournals)

11/10 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

b. EU Enlargement

- Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press). Chapters 1-3, 5, 8, plus one of the remaining chapters (4, 6, 7).
- *Moravcsik, Andrew, and Milada Vachudova. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement. (<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/vachudova.pdf>)
- *Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2002). "Theorising EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(4): 500-528

11/15

c. EU Trade Policy and Common Foreign and Security Policy

- Simon Hix, "Foreign Policies" in the Political System of the European Union, pp. 374-405.
- Jacoby, Wade and Meunier, Sophie, (2010) "Europe and the Management of Globalization," *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:3 April 2010: 299–317 (ejournals)
- *Sbragia, Alberta (2010) "The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17 Issue 3, p368-382
- *Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June/July 2002), pp. 3-28.
- *Robert Cooper, "The European Answer to Robert Kagan," *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. (2003), pp. 19-24.
- *Anand Menon, Kalypso Nicolaïdis, and Jennifer Welsh, "In Defence of Europe: A Response to Kagan," *Journal of European Affairs*, September 2004.

11/17

d. EU Common Defense and Security Policy

- Anne Deighton, "The European Security and Defence Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2002), pp. 719-41.
- Richard Whitman, "Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-15
- Howorth, Jolyon (2009) "The Case for an EU Grand Strategy," *Egmont Papers*, no. 27: 15-24

11/29

D. EUROPEANIZATION

1. Europeanization

- Tanja A. Börzel, “Europeanization: How the European Union Interacts with its Member States” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 45-76
- *Börzel, Tanja A., Member State Responses to Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, (2002) pp. 193-214 (ejournals)
- Hussein Kassim, “The Europeanization of Member State Institutions” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 285-316
- Fritz Scharpf, “The Asymmetry of European Integration or why the EU cannot be a Social Market Economy”. Mss 2009-08-02 (will email)

12/01

2. France, the UK, and Germany (and presentations)

- Richard Balme and Cornelia Woll, “France: Between Integration and National Sovereignty” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 97-118.
- David Allen, “The United Kingdom: A Europeanized Governing in a non-Europeanized Polity” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 119-142.
- Jeffrey J. Anderson, “Germany and Europe: Centrality in the EU” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 77-96.

12/06

3. Other Member-States (and presentations)

Read two of the following chapters

- Gerda Falkner and Brigid Laffan, “The Europeanization of Austria and Ireland” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 209-228.
- Morten Egeberg, “The EU and the Nordic Countries: Organizing Domestic Diversity?” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 185-208.
- Klaus H. Goetz, “The New Member States and the EU: Responding to Europe” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 254-284
- Erik Jones, “The Benelux Countries: Identity and Self-Interest,” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp.164-184.
- Federiga Bindi with Manuela Cisci, “Italy and Spain: A Tale of Contrasting Experiences” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 142-163.
- Béatrice Hibou, “Greece and Portugal: Convergent or Divergent Europeanization?” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 229-253.

12/08 **Final Discussion (and presentations)**
(Papers Due)