

FONTI E STUDI SUL FEDERALISMO
E SULL'INTEGRAZIONE EUROPEA

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SENT
Thematic Network of European Studies

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ANALYZING EUROPEAN UNION
POLITICS

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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 Tovas.

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.

CONTENTS

The Development of European Integration Studies in Political Science: An Introduction, <i>by Federiga Bindi and Kjell A. Eliassen</i>	p. 13
Early Approaches to European Integration, <i>by Jonathon W. Moses</i>	23
Who Produces European Studies? A Bibliometric Study, <i>by Matti Wiberg</i>	49
Political Science and the Study of European Inte- gration in Austria, <i>by Gerda Falkner</i>	61
European Studies as an Example of a Multi- and Inter-disciplinary Education Model in the Baltic States, <i>by Tatjana Muravska</i>	79
The Governance Turns in EU Studies in Belgium, <i>by Arnout Justaert, Edith Drieskens, Karoline Van den Brande and Tom Delreux</i>	93
Analyzing European Union Politics in Bulgaria, <i>by Ivan Nachev</i>	115
EU Studies in Denmark and Sweden, <i>by Salla Gar- ski, Knud Erik Jorgensen and Ian Manners</i>	135
Little Ado About Little: European Studies in Finland, <i>by Matti Wiberg</i>	155

The State of EU Studies in France, <i>by Olivier Costa</i>	p. 195
German EU Studies <i>Oder</i> EU Studies in Germany?, <i>by Tanja Börzel and Torben Heinze</i>	219
Greek Political Science on Europe: a Scholarly Outline, <i>by George Contogeorgis and Dimitris N. Chryssoschoou</i>	271
European Integration Studies in Political Science in Hungary, <i>by Edina Ocsko</i>	291
The Development of European Studies in Italy, <i>by Federiga Bindi and Serena Giusti</i>	307
The Development of European Integration Studies in Political Science: the Netherlands, <i>by Hylke Dijkstra and Maarten Vink</i>	355
The Study of the European Union from Outside: European Integration Studies in Norway and Iceland 1990-2010, <i>by Kjell A. Eliassen, Marit Sjøvaag Marino and Eirikur Bergmann</i>	381
The Development of European Integration Studies in Political Science: the Case of Poland, <i>by Katarzyna Pisarska</i>	411
Mapping European Integration in Portuguese Political Science, <i>by Paulo Vila Maior and Claudia Toriz Ramos</i>	435
European Integration Studies in Romania, <i>by Irina Angelescu</i>	465

European Studies in Spain, <i>by Francesc Morata and Aizea Ollora</i>	p. 485
The Awkward Subject? The Study of European Union Politics in the UK and Ireland, <i>by Nick Sitter</i>	505
The Development of European Integration Studies in Political Science in Canada, <i>by Sarah Dunphy and Finn Laursen</i>	545
Research and Teaching the European Union in Latin America: Background, Context, Trends and a Bibliographical Selection, <i>by Joaquín Roy</i>	575
EU Studies in Russia Today, <i>by Alexander Strelkov, Mark Entin and Oleg Barabanov</i>	615
A Mapping of European Studies East of the Mississippi: Political Science, <i>by Eleanor Zeff and Kelly B. Shaw</i>	637
EU Studies on the West Coast of the USA, <i>by David M. Andrews</i>	675
Conclusions: Towards European EU Studies?, <i>by Federiga Bindi, Kjell A. Eliassen and Irina Angelescu</i>	687

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 contributions 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 bib-

liographies after each chapter and not an integrated comprehensive 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: «Journal of Common Market Studies», «European Union Politics» and «Journal of European Public Policy».

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 Eirikur 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 Aizea 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, Joaquín 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 thanks in particular to Marco Amici and Elena Cantiani for the precious

administrative and organizational support and to Irina Angelescu for her invaluable editing work. We would also like to thank Pavlina Peneva for her help in the early phases of this project. This book could have not seen the light without the precious co-financing of the European Commission: the ERASMUS Multilateral Networks program for the chapters about European countries and the Jean Monnet Action for the chapters about non-European countries.