

Theory and Research Design: Applications in Research on the European Union

Ph.D. Political Science, International Relations Track; Fall 2004/05

Lecturer: Uli Sedelmeier

Course Objectives

The main aim of this course is to help students with the research design for their Ph.D. research prospectus. It does so by examining the role of theory in research on specific aspects of the European Union. This course is thus particularly recommended for students who intend to conduct research on issues related to the EU, but is also relevant for research design in social science more broadly.

The course first outlines key aspects of the use of theory in social science research. The second part provides an overview of theoretical concepts in the disciplines of International Relations and Comparative Politics that are relevant for the study of the EU. The third and main part of the course examines theoretically informed work on specific aspects of the EU. Its emphasis is on the *application* of theoretical concepts. Thus the question is not so much on how various authors explain EU integration and how their particular arguments help us to understand the EU. Instead, for the particular purpose of this course we examine how authors use theoretical concepts in their research, in particular how they approach questions of research design and methodology; how they generate hypotheses and operationalise key variables; and how they use empirical evidence.

Course Requirements

NB: The requirements might be changed depending on the number of course participants.

1. Seminar participation (10%)

You are required to attend each seminar and regularly participate in discussions.

2. Written summaries and questions on the required reading (10%)

You are expected to write a *brief* summary of the required readings (about 200 words) and 3 critical questions for each of the seminars. The questions should document that you have thoughtfully read and reflected on the required texts. They might also serve as a basis for seminar discussions. E-mail the summaries and questions to me at <sedel@ceu.hu> by 9am on the morning of the seminar at the latest.

3. Seminar presentations (40%)

You will have to make two oral presentations – one on the theoretical background and one on the applications of these theoretical concepts to particular case studies. The subjects will be allocated at the beginning of the course. You should consult with me when preparing the presentation, since you will be expected to cover more ground than the required reading. The ‘further reading’ is an indication of useful literature. You should also prepare a short (1-2 pages) handout for the presentation.

4. Term Paper (40%)

You will have to submit a term paper of approximately 4000 words. You can choose a topic which particularly interests you within the framework of the course, but you are strongly advised to consult with the tutor about your choice.

Please make sure that you are absolutely clear about what is expected from you in the assignments. If this short summary and explanations in the seminar are not entirely clear to you, ask until you are sure what the requirements are.

Course Outline

Introduction: Theory and Social Science Research

Seminar 1 The Research Prospectus and the Role of Theory in Writing a Ph.D. Thesis

Seminar 2 Ranking Game: Contrasting Views of the EU

Seminar 3 The Relevance of Theoretical Concepts in Social Science Research

Seminar 4 The Use of Theory for Explanation

Seminar 5 Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodological Preferences

Seminar 6 Research Design

The Theoretical Background: Theories in International Relations, Comparative Politics and the Study of the EU

Seminar 7 The Debates in IR: (Neo-)Realism and its Critics

Seminar 8 Neofunctionalism, Intergovernmentalism, Interdependence and the EU

Seminar 9 The Debate in IR and CP: The Link between Domestic and International Politics

Seminar 10 Liberal Intergovernmentalism in the Study of the EU

Seminar 11 Multi-level Governance in the Study of the EU

Seminar 12 The 'Ideational Turn' in IR and CP

Seminar 13 The 'New Institutionalism' in the Study of the EU

Seminar 14 Social Constructivism and the Study of the EU

Seminar 15 Beyond Rationalism vs. Constructivism in EU Studies?

Applications of Theoretical Concepts in Research on EU Policy

Seminar 16 The Single Market Programme

Seminar 17 Regional Policy

Seminar 18 The Common Agricultural Policy

Seminar 19 Trade Policy

Seminar 20 Economic and Monetary Union

Seminar 21 Common Foreign and Security Policy

Seminar 22 EU Enlargement

Conclusions

Seminar 23 Discussion

Seminar 24 Conclusions

Course Outline and Reading

Week 0 (21 September): **General Introduction**

- Overview of the course structure, course objective and assignments
- Use for background reading on the EU

Background reading:

Desmond Dinan (2004): *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (Palgrave).

Michelle Cini (ed.) (2003) *European Union Politics* (Oxford University Press).

Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb (ed.) (2003) *The European Union: How Does it Work?* (Oxford University Press).

Helen Wallace and William Wallace (eds.) (2000): *Policy-Making in the European Union* 4th edition (Oxford University Press).

Neill Nugent (1999): *The Government and Politics of the European Union* 4th ed. (Macmillan).

John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg (1999): *Decision-Making in the European Union* (Macmillan).

Simon Hix (1999): *The Political System of the European Union* (Macmillan).

Seminar 1 (28 September): The Research Prospectus, Theory, and the Ph.D. Thesis

Estelle M. Philipps and D. S. Pugh (1987): The Form of a PhD thesis, chapter 6 of How To Get a Ph.D. (Open University Press), 52-62.

Seminar 2 (30 September): Ranking Game: Contrasting Views of the EU

Seminar 3 (30 September): The Relevance of Theory in Social Science Research

Ben Rosamond (2000): Theories of European Integration (Macmillan), chapter 1 (Introduction).

Stefano Guzzini (2001): The Significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations, Journal of International Relations and Development, 4(2): 98-117.

Marysa Zalewski (1996): 'All these Theories and Yet the Bodies Keep Piling Up': *Theories, Theorists, Theorising*, in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysa Zalewski (eds.): *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press), 340-53.

Seminar 4 (date TBA): The Use of Theory for Explanation

Jon Elster (1989): *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences* (Cambridge University Press), 3-10.

Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith (eds.) (1990): *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 46-67.

Seminar 5 (12 October): Epistemology, Ontology and Methodological Preferences

Gerry Stoker (1995): Introduction, in: David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (eds.): *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Macmillan), 1-18.

Steve Smith (1996): *Positivism and Beyond*, in Smith, Booth and Zalewski (eds.): *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press), 11-44.

Seminar 6 (14 October): Research Design

Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba (1994): *Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Enquiry in Qualitative Research* (Princeton University Press), 115-49.

The Theoretical Background: Theories in International Relations, Comparative Politics and the Study of the EU

Seminar 7 (19 October): The Debate in IR: (Neo-)realism and Its Critics

Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph (1977): *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little and Brown), chapters 1 and 2.

Further reading:

- Keohane, Robert O. (ed.) (1986): *Neorealism and its Critics* (Columbia University Press). [esp chpt. 1]
- Nye, Joseph S. and Robert O. Keohane (1972): *Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction*, in Keohane and Nye(eds.): *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Harvard University Press) , pp. ix-xxix.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1989): *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder: Westview).

- Grieco, Joseph M. (1988): *Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism*, *International Organization*, 42:3, pp. 485-507.
- Krasner, Stephen (1983): *Regimes and the Limits of Realism: Regimes as Intervening Variables*, in Krasner, Stephen (ed.): *International Regimes* (Cornell University Press), pp. 355-368.
- Hasenclever, Andreas; Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger (1997): *Theories of International Regimes* (Cambridge University Press).

**Seminar 8 (21 October): Neofunctionalism,
Intergovernmentalism and Interdependence in EU Studies**

Rosamond, Ben (2000): Neofunctionalism, chapter 3 in *Theories of European Integration* (Macmillan), 50-73.

Rosamond, Ben (2000): Backlash, Critique and Contemplation, chapter 4 in *Theories of European Integration* (Macmillan), 74-97.

Further reading:

- Webb, Carole (1983): *Theoretical Perspectives and Problems*, in Wallace, Wallace, Webb (eds.): *Policy-Making in the European Community*, 2nd edition, pp. 17-38
- Rosamond, Ben (2000) *Theories of European Integration* (Macmillan), pp. 74-97.
- Haas, Ernst B. (1957): *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (Stanford University Press), esp. chapter 8: *The Expansive Logic of Sector Integration*, 283-317.
- Haas, Ernst B. (1968): *Author's Preface to 1968 edition of The Uniting of Europe*, pp. xi-xxx.
- Lindberg, Leon N. and Stuart A. Scheingold (1970): *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall). [esp. chapters 1, 3, 9]
- Sandholtz, W. and Zysman, J. (1989): *Recasting the European Bargain*, *World Politics* 42, 95-128.
- Burley, A. and Mattli, W. (1993): *Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration*, *International Organization* 47:2, 41-76.
- Hoffmann, Stanley (1966): *Obstinate or Obsolete: the Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe*, *Daedalus*, 95: 2, pp. 862-915.
- Milward, Alan S. (1992): *The European Rescue of the Nation State* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Pedersen, Thomas (1998): *Germany, France and the Integration of Europe. A Realist Interpretation* (London: Pinter).

**Seminar 9 (26 October): The Link between Domestic and
International Politics**

Putnam, Robert D. (1988): *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games*, *International Organization*, 42:3, 427-60.

Further reading:

- Evans, Peter B., Harold K. Jacobsen and Robert D. Putnam (eds.) (1993): *Double-Edged Diplomacy. International Bargaining and Domestic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press). [especially: Moravcsik, Andrew (1993): *Introduction*, 3-42]

- Robert O. Keohane and Helen Millner (eds.) (1996): *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge University Press).
- Gourevitch, P. (1978): *The Second Image Reversed*, *International Organization*, 32, 881-912.
- Katzenstein, Peter (ed.) (1978): *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States* (University of Wisconsin Press). [especially: Katzenstein: Conclusion: Domestic Structures and Strategies of Foreign Economic Policy, 295-336]
- Milner, Helen (1988): *Resisting Protectionism. Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade* (Princeton University Press).

Seminar 10 (28 October): The Study of the EU: Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Moravcsik, Andrew (1993): *Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31:4, 473-524.

Further Reading

- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998): *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell University Press).
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2004): *Liberal Intergovernmentalism*, in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds) *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press), 75-94.
- Wallace, Helen; James Caporaso, Fritz Scharpf, and Andrew Moravcsik (1999): *Review Section Symposium: The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:1, 155-79.
- Wincott, Daniel (1995): *Institutional Interaction and European Integration: Towards an Everyday Critique of Liberal Intergovernmentalism*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 33:4, pp. 597-609. (and reply by Moravcsik)

Seminar 11 (2 November): Multi-level Governance

Marks, Gary; Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank (1996): *European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-Level Governance*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34:3, 341-78.

Further Reading

- Jachtenfuchs, Markus (2001) 'The Governance Approach to European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39(2): 245-64.
- Jachtenfuchs, Markus and Beate Kohler-Koch (2004): *Governance and Institutional Development*, in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds) *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press), 97-115.
- Eising, Rainer and Kohler-Koch, Beate (1998) (eds.) *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union* (Routledge), chapters 1 and 2.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. (1994): *Community and Autonomy: Multi-level Policy Making in the European Union*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1:2, 219-42.

Seminar 12 (4 November): The 'New Institutionalism' in CP and Constructivism in IR

Hall, Peter A. and Rosemary C.R. Taylor (1996): *Political Science and the three New Institutionalisms*, *Political Studies*, 44:5, 936-57.

Jepperson, Ronald, Alexander Wendt, and Peter Katzenstein: Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security, in Katzenstein, Peter (ed.) (1996): The Culture of National Security. Norms and Identity in World Politics (New York: Columbia University Press), 33-75.

Further Reading

- Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1998): The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory (Review Article), *World Politics*, 50:2, 324-48.
- Adler, E. (1997): Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics, *European Journal of International Relations* 3:3, 319-63.
- Wendt, Alexander (1999): *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press).
- Risse, Thomas (2000): 'Let's Argue?': Communicative Action in World Politics, *International Organization*, 54:1, 1-39.
- Thelen, Kathleen and Sven Steinmo (1992): Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics, in Steinmo, Sven; Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth (eds.): *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-32.
- March, James and Johan Olsen (1989): *Rediscovering Institutions. The Organizational Basis of Politics* (New York: Free Press).
- Goldstein, Judith and Robert Keohane (1993): Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework, in Goldstein, Judith and Robert Keohane (eds.): *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 3-30.

Seminar 13 (9 November): The New Institutionalisms in the Study of the EU

Aspinwall, Mark and Gerald Schneider (eds.) (2001): *The Rules of Integration: Institutional Approaches to the Study of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Further Reading:

- Pollack, Mark (2004): The New Institutionalisms and European Integration, in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds) *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press), 137-56.
- Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso (1999): Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 429-44.
- Aspinwall, Mark and Gerald Schneider (eds.) (2001): *The Rules of Integration: Institutional Approaches to the Study of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Pierson, Paul (1996): The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Perspective, *Comparative Political Studies*, 29:2, 123-63.
- Peterson, John (1995): Decision-making in the European Union: Towards a Framework for Analysis, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2:1, 69-93.
- Bulmer, Simon (1997): New Institutionalism and the Governance of the Single European Market, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5:3, 365-86.

Seminar 14 (11 November): Social Constructivism in the Study of the EU

Risse, Thomas (2004): Social Constructivism and European Integration, in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds) *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press), 159-75

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1999): Social Construction and Integration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4, 545-60.

Further Reading:

- Christiansen, Thomas; Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Antje Wiener (1999): The Social Construction of Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4; 528-44.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1999): Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark? Constructivism and European Integration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4; 669-81.
- Thomas Risse and Antje Wiener (1999): 'Something Rotten and the Social Construction of Social Constructivism, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:5; 775-82.
- Steve Smith (1999): Social Constructivism and European Studies: A Reflectivist Critique, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4; 682-91.
- Jørgensen, Knud Erik (ed.) (1997): *Reflective Approaches to European Governance* (Macmillan).

Seminar 15 (16 November): Beyond Rationalism vs. Constructivism in EU Studies?

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

Further Reading:

- Pollack, Mark (2001): International Relations Theory and European Integration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(2): 221-44.
- Checkel, Jeffrey and Andrew Moravcsik (2001): A Constructivist Research Programme in EU Studies?, *European Union Politics* 2(2): 219-49.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998): International Norms Dynamics and Political Change, *International Organization* 52:4, 887-917.

Applications of Theoretical Concepts in Research on EU Policy

Seminar 16 (18 November): The Single Market Programme

Moravcsik, Andrew (1991): Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community, *International Organization*, 45:1, 651-88.

Further Reading

- Sandholtz, Wayne and John Zysman (1991): 1992: Recasting the European Bargain, *World Politics*, 42:1, 95-128.
- Cowles, Maria Green (1995): Setting the Agenda for a New Europe: The ERT and EC 1992, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 33:4, 501-26.
- Garrett, Geoffrey and Barry Weingast (1993): Ideas, Interests and Institutions: Constructing the EC's Internal Market, in Goldstein, Judith and Robert Keohane (eds.) (1993): *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 173-206.
- Geoffrey Garrett (1992): International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market, *International Organization*, 46:2, 533-60.

Seminar 17 (23 November): Regional Policy

Marks, Gary (1993): Structural Policy and Multi-level Governance in the European Community, in Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal (eds.): *The State of the European Community (Vol.2): The Maastricht Debates and Beyond* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 391-410.

Further Reading

- Ian Bache (1999): The Extended Gatekeeper: Central Government and the Implementation of the Regional Policy in the UK, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:1, 28-45.
- Mark Pollack (1995): Regional Actors in an Intergovernmental Play: The Making and Implementation of EC Structural Policy, in Carolyn Rhodes and Sonja Mazey (eds): *The State of the European Union, Vol. 3: Building a European Polity?* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), 361-90.
- Marks, Gary; Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank (1996): European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-Level Governance, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34:3, 341-78.
- Keating, Michael and Liesbet Hooghe (1996): By-Passing the Nation State? Regions and the EU Policy Process, in Jeremy Richardson (ed.): *European Union. Power and Policy Making* (London: Routledge), 216-29.

Seminar 18 (25 November): The Common Agricultural Policy

Patterson, Lee Ann (1997): Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community: A Three-Level Game Analysis, *International Organization*, 51:1, 135-65.

Further Reading

- Paarlberg, Robert (1997): Agricultural Policy Reform and the Uruguay Round: Synergistic Linkage in a Two-Level Game?, *International Organization*, 51:3, 413-44.
- Skogstad, Grace (1998): Ideas, Paradigms and Institutions: Agricultural Exceptionalism in the European Union and the United States, *Governance*, 11:4, 463-90.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten (2003): Policy Feedback and Paradigm Shift in EU Agricultural Policy: the Effects of the MacSharry Reform on Future Reform, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10:3, 421-37.
- Kay, Adrian (2003): Path Dependency and the CAP, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10:3, 405-20.
- Scharpf, Fritz (1988): The Joint Decision-Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration, *Public Administration*, 66:3, 239-78.

Seminar 19 (30 November): Trade Policy

Sophie Meunier (2000): What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations, *International Organization*, 54:1, 103-35.

Further Reading

- Sophie Meunier and Kalypso Nicolaidis (1998): Who Speaks for Europe? The Delegation of Trade Authority in the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37:3, 477-501.
- Alasdair Young (2004): The Incidental Fortress: The Single European Market and World Trade, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42:2, 393-414.
- Keeler, John (1996): Agricultural Power in the European Community: Explaining the Fate of the CAP and GATT Negotiations, *Comparative Politics* 28:2, 127-49.
- Joseph Jupille (1999) The European Union and International Outcomes, *International Organization*, 53:2, 409-25.

Seminar 20 (2 December): Economic and Monetary Union

Wayne Sandholtz (1993): Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht, *International Organization*, 47:1, 1-40.

Further Reading

- Grieco, Joseph (1995): The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neorealist Research Program, *Review of International Studies*, 21, 21-41.
- Thomas Risse *et al.* (1999): To Euro or Not To Euro? The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union, *European Journal of International Relations*, 5(2): 147-87.
- Kathleen McNamara (1999): Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in Monetary Integration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37:3, 455-76.
- David Cameron (1995): Transnational Relations and the European Economic and Monetary Union, in Thomas Risse-Kappen (ed.): *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions* (Cambridge University Press), 37-78.

Seminar 21 (7 December): Common Foreign and Security Policy

Michael E. Smith (2004) 'Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation', *European Journal of International Relations*, 10:1, 95-136.

Further Reading

- Phillip Gordon (1998): The Limits of Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy, in Andrew Moravcsik (ed.): *Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe faces the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy* (New York: Council on Foreign Economic Relations), 159-85.
- Manners, Ian (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 234-58.
- Ben Tonra (2003): Constructing the Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Utility of A Cognitive Approach, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41:4, 731-56.
- Mathias Koenig-Archibugi (2004): Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy, *International Organization*, 58: 137-74.

Seminar 22 (9 December): EU Enlargement

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2001) 'The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union', *International Organization*, 55(1): 47-80.

Further Reading

- Fierke, Karin and Antje Wiener (1999): Constructing Institutional Interests: EU and NATO Enlargement, *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (5): 721-742.
- Ulrich Sedelmeier (2000): The EU and Eastern Enlargement: Risk, Rationality and Role-Compliance, in Maria Green-Cowles and Michael Smith (eds.): *Risks, Reforms, Renewals and Revival: The State of the European Union, Volume 5* (Oxford University Press).
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada Vachudova (2003): National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement, *East European Politics and Societies* 17:42-57.
- Helene Sjursen (2002): Why Expand? The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU's Enlargement Policy, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40:3, 491-513.

Seminar 23 (17 December): Discussion

Seminar 24 (19 December): Conclusion