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 (US). The discussion of EU studies in the US has been divided into two chapters due to the large quantity of research this field has generated in the US since 1958. This chapter concentrates on the middle and eastern regions of the US 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 US 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 US studies of the EEC/EU have evolved since the Treaty of Rome in 1958, when US-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 US. 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-US relations have evolved, there has been a re-growth of US 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 US. Despite the decline from its premier position in the field of EEC/EU (now EU) studies in the sixties, data indicate that US-based scholars and several US 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 US, 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 US studies of the EU examine teaching the EU to US students. William Andrews, formerly at SUNY Brockport was instrumental in developing simulations of the EU, which are now popular methods, used in US universities to teach about the European Union, and are important innovations for EU scholarship in the US.

2. Methodology

The findings presented in this chapter indicate the current state of European Union studies in political science in eastern and central US. 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 US, is considered to be American research. Also, US citizens and scholars, working for various periods of time in Europe and publishing both in Europe and in the US 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 US 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 US allows them to better understand and take into account the American perspective about European politics [Crepaz and Steiner, 2006]. Research produced by US publishers, both private and linked with US universities, is also considered to contribute to US scholarship, even if the authors are non-citizens.

This chapter examines the contributions of US-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 US contributions, but acknowledges that because of the large quantity of US-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 US 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 US and the reasons for its decline vis-à-vis research in the European Union and its member states.

The research concerns the evolution of US-based scholarship covering the European Union. It is organized

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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 US, and looks at the history of European studies in the US. 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 and Zeff and Shaw [2009]) 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 US are significant indicators of what US 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 a variety of different sources.

3. Traditions of European Union scholarship in the United States

This study considers the major traditions of EU research in the US and their influence on past and recent studies about European integration conducted by US-based scholars and in US institutions. Who are important players in conducting EU political research in the US, and what contributions have EU scholars based in the US made to the field of EU studies and to the understanding of the EU to Americans? EU studies in the US 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. US 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. US scholarship also provided some of the early theories of European integration, such as Ernst Haas [1958] neo-functional theories to explain European integration\(^2\), and Stanley Hoffman’s contributions to the competing intergovernmental theories. In addition, the US has traditionally provided European scholars a place to work and conduct research. Many of the early EU scholars in the US, were born and/or trained in Europe, but then came to work at US universities and live in the United States, where they conducted a major portion of their scholarship.

In the US, 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, US 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. US 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 US 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 US 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 development. The EU currently consists of twenty seven

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\(^2\) In 1997, the journal «Foreign Affairs» named Haas book as one of the 50 most influential books in international relations of the century.

\(^3\) See also John W. Kingdon [2003].
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 regulations. Sbragia has contributed to federalism and multilevel governance scholarship on the EU.

European studies in the US 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 US, 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 US 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. US professors recognize the need to include historical background so that American students appreciate better the EU’s preferences for various policies [Zeff and Shaw 2009].

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 US remains the EU27’s most important trading partner [Eurostat News Release 2009]5 and its strongest ally in defending demo-

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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
cratic 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 US 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 US, 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 US-based scholars, and US universities such as Michigan, Berkeley and Harvard housed large collections of research

structural, but decreasing, surplus in trade in goods with the USA. USA = 20% of EU27 exports of goods and 14% of imports. Between 2000 and 2008, the value of EU27 exports of goods to the USA grew by 5%, while imports fell by 9%. In the first half of 2009, the value of EU27 exports to the USA 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 USA in the EU27’s total external trade in goods has decreased between 2000 and 2008. EU27 exports to the USA 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 USA in the EU27’s total trade was 19.5% for exports and 14.4% for imports. The USA remained the EU27’s most important trading partner. While the share of the USA 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-US partnership is the most important economic relationship in the world». 643
on the European Community (and now on the EU). Early European integration studies in the US focused on political theories of integration, especially theories of federalism, neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism, where many comparisons were made to US integration studies. The US provided a location for neutral research with minimal interference from European national interests. Also, many European scholars attended US institutions after WWII and then often worked in these same institutions, enriching them with European influences. By the 1980s, however, the dominance of US-based scholarship on the EC 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 US, 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 US 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 US 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 US. The EU and the US embarked on a series of biannual summits and ministerial meetings. They first adopted the Transatlantic Declaration, and then in December 1995, at the US-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 US Government for all matters within EU competence. It reports on US 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 US 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 US (Harvard’s Center for European Studies/CES, for example), and greatly enriched course offerings and research done at US universities, colleges and think tanks. There are now more than 50 depository libraries across the US, 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 US [Davidson 1997, 36]. While this collection is remarkable, in the 1960s the US 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. US-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 US 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 demo-
ocratic government as well as an important trading partner. In addition to promoting quality research in the US 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 US 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 US: 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 US 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-US 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 US. 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 US 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 programming\(^8\). 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 UNC. To enable students to operate in EU studies, the

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\(^7\) See the EU’s website for more information about the Centers Activities and goals.

\(^8\) See Appendix II 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.
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 (EUS 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 US 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 [EUCE 2011].

⁹ See the Indiana EU Center for Excellence website (http://www.indiana.edu/~eucenter/).
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 US 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». 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. Stanley Hoffman, who still taught in 2010, helped found the CES and developed the early inter-governmental 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 US 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].

Other US universities have also impacted EU studies. The Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations showed that there have been seven PhD dissertations written by MIT students since 2000, which included the words «European Union» [the Networked Digital Library 2010].

10 See Harvard’s URL for more information on its CES: http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/.
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 [ibidem].

4. There is significant activity going on in US 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 US student program, 2010-2011 and 2011-2012]. For the past few years, Fulbright has awarded around 1,560 scholarships a year to US 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 scholarships 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 US, and in individual US 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 US 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 2008\(^{11}\). 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 US 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, US 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 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 mate-

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\(^{11}\) See the US International Trade Administration, Manufacturing and Services, Office of Trade and Industry Information (OTII). *TradeStats Express – State Export Data*, Washington DC: US International Trade Administration.
rials, 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 US 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, US-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 surveys, individual conversations with students, and study abroad program brochures suggest that many US 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,

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 US 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 where programs abroad are offered.
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 US professors teaching the EU try to explain its political and economic development theoretically\(^{14}\). 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 theories\(^ {15}\), 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 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 individ-

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\(^{14}\) The Bukowski [1997] book *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.
ual 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. US 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 Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks’ [2001] research on multilevel governance have made significant theoretical contributions to understanding the EU as has Vivien Schmidt’s [2002] discussion 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 US-based research [Schattschneider 1960; Baumgartner and Jones 1993; 2006].

2. Professors use a variety of theories when they teach EU courses [Zeff and Shaw 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 [Bukowski 1997; Zeff and Shaw 2009]. 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 recog-

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16 Also based on personal interviews in 2009-2010 (cf. Appendix 2).
nized 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 [Hooghe and Marks 2001]. 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 US.

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; Cameron, 2009]17. 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 US and the EU handle policies in order to exchange information [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]. Business school professors feel that it is more important for business students to get practical knowledge about the EU

17 See references to various course syllabi.
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 US universities and scholars producing?

In addition to scholarship already noted, this chapter discusses several other US-based scholars who have contributed to an understanding of European integration. Notable US-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 US 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 significant 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 US 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 US 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 (Stubbe-Finland) to some of the listed books.

Other authors, who have been particularly influential in advancing EU scholarship in the US 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 Pittsburgh, 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 Keeler. 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 US, with American authors, and as they provide the basis for many courses on European politics in the US, they are influential in bringing information about the EU to US 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, produced by European scholars, publishers, universities or consortia. While the consortia are primarily in the

18 See the citation index for more articles written by Keeler.
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 US-based, contributing to EU scholarship in the US One of the most prestigious journals, «The Journal of Common Market Studies» (JCMS) is published by Wiley, Blackwell, with offices in the US, 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 US-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, some promising new perspectives to the multi-level governance models (see Appendix I).

8. Comparison and conclusions

European Union studies are holding on in the US, and US scholars are continuing to contribute to EU scholarship. While perhaps not equal to the significance of earlier EU studies of the 1960s and 70s, US-based scholarship is still adding to the growing body of research on and knowledge about the EU. As before, the most influential US-based research is still theoretical, done at the macro level of analysis, and even in the policy studies’ field, US 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 US and EU27, and continue developing the field of EU studies. Recent US 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 US 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 US-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 US 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 US 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 US

Books on the European Union

Baum, M.J.
Baumgartner, F.R., Green-Pedersen, C. and Jones, B.D. (eds.)
Bomberg, E., Peterson, J. and Stubb, A.
Chang, M.
Cowles, M.C., Caporaso, J. and Risse, T.
Cowles, M.C. and Dinan, D. (eds.)
Cowles, M.C. and Smith, M.
Dinan, D.
Dinan, D. (ed.)
Eichengreen, B.
Frankland, G. (ed.)
Gilbert, M. 

Ginsberg, R. 
2010 *Demystifying the European Union*, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.

Green, D.M. 

Haas, E. 

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. 
2001 *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.

Keeler, J and Grant, W.P. 

Keeler, J. and Howorth, J. 

Keeler, J. and Schain, M.A. 

McCormick, J. 


Moravcsik, A. 

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.

Poole, P.

Rosamond, B.
2000 Theories of European Integration, New York, St Martin’s Press.

Ross, G.

Sandholtz, W. and Sweet, A.S.
1998 European Integration and Supranational Governance, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sbragia, A.

Sbragia, A. (ed.)

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.)
Urwin, D.W.

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.

Zeff, E. and Pirro, E.

**Widely read textbooks on general European Politics with sections on the European Union**

Almond, G. Dalton, R.J., Powell, G.B. and Strøm, K.

Hancock, M.D. *et al.*

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 US institutions, one is in Scotland and one in Ireland).

Tiersky, R.

Vachudova, M.

**Case Studies and Book Chapters**

Buonanno, L. and Deakin, A.
2004 *European Identity*, in *European Enlargement*, edited

Dinan, D.

Zeff, E.

Some Influential Journal Articles and Reviews

Dinan, D.

Keeler, J.

Moravcsik, A. and Vachudova, M.A.

Tsebelis, G.

Weiler, J.H.H.
2002 A Constitution for Europe? Some Hard Choices, in
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»
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 US

  • 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 EUSA? 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 US, and if so, how much time during the semester do you spend on EU/US 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 US?

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Cameron, D.
2009  *European Politics Syllabus*, Yale University, unpublished (see for a very complete listing of books and Journal articles on recent developments in the EU).
Chang, M.
Colomer, J. (ed.)
Crepaz, M.L. and Steiner, J.
Davidson, J.
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2011  Research and Academic Resources. Awards to Euro-


European Politics and Society Section (EPS) of the American Political Science Association, newsletters and the European Syllabi Bank.


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Grabbe, H.


Haas, E.


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2010 Harvard University, Center for European Studies, http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/

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.  
Hooghe, L. and Marks, G.  
2001 *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield.  
Kennedy, M.  
2008 *Survey of Central and Eastern Europe and the Enlarged European Union*, Course Syllabus, University of Michigan, winter.  
Kingdon, J.  
McCormick, J.  
Network of European Union Centers  
Nugent, N.  
Princen, S.  
Putnam, R.  
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2010 *American Rhodes Scholars for 2010 are announced*.  
Rosamond, B.  
2000 *Theories of European Integration*, New York, St Martin’s Press.  
Ross, G.  

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Saffron
Sbragia, A.
Tsebelis, G.
Wallace, H., Wallace, W., Pollack, M. (eds.)
Zeff, E. and Shaw, K.
2009  *Teaching the EU Survey*, unpublished (approved by Drake’s IRB Board), sent to EU professors (middle to East Coast regions) through: Online Surveys powered by Survey Gizmo.