

**University of Oxford**  
**MPhil in European Politics and Society**  
**Core Seminar Syllabus**  
**European Governance**

The course is offered as a core paper for first year students studying for the MPhil in European Politics and Society. The formal rubric for the paper is set out in the current edition of the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*.

**The aims of the course are to:**

- explore and discuss the principal theoretical and methodological debates in the study of European politics and society over time
- compare different states in Europe and identify differences between nation states and other political and legal units
- examine current debates in comparative European politics in such fields as democracy, political economy and public policy
- analyze different levels and modes of governance in Europe
- establish how and why integration has progressed the way it has
- explore why different member states have different perspectives on and have pursued different strategies towards the European Union

**Intended Learning Outcomes**

The general purposes of the course are:

- to meet the needs of an international group of first-year postgraduate students who may wish to proceed to doctoral research, further study, or employment in such fields as government, politics, business or journalism across the world;
- to contribute to the wider learning experience of the MPhil course;
- to develop key skills relating to: an understanding of substantive and conceptual issues, and scholarly debates; an ability to research and write essays; an ability to engage in group discussions

The specific student learning outcomes and experiences are:

- to understand the development and workings of nation states in Europe
- to understand the nature of European integration and become familiar with policy-making procedures in the European Union
- to understand the relationship between developments at the international, European, national and sub-national levels;
- to become familiar with the key literature on European integration and comparative European politics.

**Assessment**

Formal assessment for this course is by a three-hour unseen examination that will take place at the end of the Trinity term.

**Reading**

**General Information:**

Please note that you *are not* expected to read everything on this list! However, items with a star \* are particularly recommended. The reading list is not fully comprehensive, but provides the basis from which you can pursue further independent reading. Reading materials can be located in a number of places. The

Social Studies Library at Manor Road is a good place to start, and the University's web-based access systems are indispensable. Official documents are available at the European Documentation Centre, many are on the web. Many of the readings are relevant to more than one class topic. Some web sites are useful, including those of some think tanks, and newspapers. Various ministries of European states have their own sites, for instance, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office site is: <http://www.fco.gov.uk> . For a guide to the institutions of and recent developments in the EU, see: <http://europa.eu/> . Working Papers of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute are available at <http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Publications/>

This is an area of rapid change, so it is important to keep abreast of current developments. The easiest way to do this is to read *The Economist* and *Financial Times* regularly. The FT also has its own web site and archive which provides past issues and a good search engine.

## **Topics:**

### **MT**

- 1. Week 1. War, peace, and transnational cooperation in Europe**
- 2. Week 2. Deepening Europe: from ECSC to EU**
- 3. Week 3. Theories of European integration**
- 4. Week 4. How the EU works**
- 5. Week 5. Widening Europe: from Six to Twenty-Seven**
- 6. Week 6. Integration without membership: EU relations with neighbours**
- 7. Week 7. Europe's global agenda**
- 8. Week 8. Comparative Welfare States in Europe**

### **HT**

- 9. Week 1. Elections and Parties**
- 10. Week 2. Models of democracy in Europe**
- 11. Week 3. The power of non-majoritarian institutions**
- 12. Week 4. EU in search of legitimacy: public opinion**
- 13. Week 5. Media and the European public sphere**
- 14. Week 6. Coalition formation and governance in Europe**
- 15. Week 7. Parliaments in European democracies**
- 16. Week 8. Europeanisation and national party competition**

### **TT**

- 17. Week 1. Europeanisation: How governments adapt to European integration**
- 18. Week 2. Policy implementation in the European Union**
- 19. Week 3. Economic governance in the European Union**
- 20. Week 4. Capacity, accountability, transparency, ethics**

## War, peace, and transnational cooperation in Europe (MT week 1)

This first seminar introduces students to the wider context of the course, in particular the twentieth century historical setting of wars, and then efforts to secure a just and lasting peace. It covers the rise of international organisations in Europe to manage and mediate the politics of the European and global international state system; provide security; enhance trade and the economy; institutionalise human rights. The current crisis of monetary and political integration is analysed from a broader historical perspective. Students are requested to read the suggested literature before the seminar session.

### Questions:

1. Why did the League of Nations system fail to keep the peace between European states after World War One?
2. Why, and with consequences for European security was Germany divided after World War Two?
3. 'Effective multilateralism'? Why were so many international organisations created for Europe in the late 1940s? (include Brussels Treaty Organisation, OEEC, NATO, Council of Europe.)
4. Do we witness the end of European integration? Analyse and discuss.

### General

- Armstrong, David *The rise of the international organisation: a short history*, 1982. [useful introduction to IOs]\*
- Judt, Tony 'The past is another country: myth and memory in post-war Europe' in Jan-Werner Mueller, *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies of the Presence of the Past*, (2002), pp157-183\*
- Hitchcock, William *The Struggle for Europe: the turbulent history of a troubled continent, 1945-2002*, (2003)[elegantly & clearly written general international history]\*
- Mazower, Mark *The Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, 1998 [esp. chapters 7, 9]\*
- Palmer, Michael, *European Unity: a survey of European organisations*, 1968 [useful factual intro]\*
- Young, John *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991*, (1996) [useful textbook intro]\*
- Winter, Jay 'Imagining Peace in Twentieth Century Europe' *Contemporary European History*, 17/3, August 2008, 413-23 [think-piece]
- Dinan, Desmond *Europe Recast. A History of the European Union*, 2003 [early chapters]
- Opello Walter et al, *European Politics*, 2009, ch 9, from military competition to economic cooperation After World War One
- Bell, PMH *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (3rd edition, 2007), [especially Part One]
- Heater, Derek *The Idea of European Unity*, (1992), \*Chapter 6, 'The Shadow of the Great War'+\*
- Jackson, Julian (ed) *Short History of Europe 1900-1945* [for dilemmas of European imperialism ch 6] \*
- Keynes, John M *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920) [classic & influential analysis]
- Steiner, Zara *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919-1933*, (2005), [argument summary, pp602-632]
- Stirk, Peter *A History of European Integration since 1914*, (1996), Chapters 1-4\*
- Wright, Jonathan *Germany and the origins of the Second World War* (2007) [concise and interesting background]

### After World War Two

- Deighton, Anne 'The remaking of Europe, 1945-1990', in Michael Howard and Wm Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century*, (1998, 2002pb) [concise intro] \*
- Deighton, Anne, (ed), *National Decision Makers and European Institutions 1948-1963*, 1995, esp. chapter10 (Aldrich on the US intelligence connection)
- Hanhimaki, Jussi et al, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Transatlantic Security*, (2010), chapters 1, Anne Deighton, 'Three ministers and the world they made'
- Heller, Francis H et al, *NATO: The founding of the Atlantic Alliance and the Integration of Europe*, (1992), esp. chs 8, Klaus Schwabe, 'The Origins of the US engagement in Europe, 1946-1952'; 9, Thomas A Schwartz, 'Dual containment, 1949-1952'; 11, Alan S Milward, 'NATO, OEEC and the Integration of Europe'
- Hitchcock, William *France restored: Cold War diplomacy and the quest for leadership in Europe, 1944-1954*

(1998)

- Kaplan, Lawrence, *NATO 1948: the birth of the transatlantic alliance*, 2007 [definitive intro to the topic]
- Ludlow, N. Piers ed *European integration and the Cold War : Ostpolitik -Westpolitik, 1965-73*, (2007)
- Lundestad, Gier "*Empire*" by integration : *the United States and European integration, 1945-97* (1998) [intro text]\*
- Milward, Alan S 'Was the Marshall Plan necessary?', *Diplomatic History*, Spring 1989
- Pine, Melissa 'European Integration: a meeting ground for history and political science?', *Journal of European Integration History*, 2008, special number on history and theory, 14/1[analysis of the work of Moravcsik]
- Wurm, Clemens A 'Britain and West European integration, 1948-1955: Politics and Economics', in eds Jeremy Noakes et al, *Britain and Germany in Europe, 1949-1990*, (2002)

Historical roots of the current crisis

- Berman, Sheri "European Disintegration: Warnings from History" *Journal of Democracy*, 23:4 (2012)
- Garton Ash, Timothy, "How the Union Came Together and Why It's Falling Apart," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October ), 2012
- Gros, Daniel, "The Misdiagnosed Debt Crisis," *Current History*, March 2012
- James, Harold, *Making the European Monetary Union*, 2012\*
- Majone, Giandomenico, *Europe as the Would-be World Power. The EU at Fifty*, 2009\*
- Overbeek, Henk, "Sovereign Debt Crisis in Euroland: Root Causes and Implications for European Integration," *The International Spectator*, 47:1, 2012
- Taylor, Paul, *The end of European Integration*, 2008

## Deepening Europe: from ECSC to EU (MT week 2)

This week's seminar traces the development of European institutions from the European Coal and Steel Community to the European Union. It looks at purpose and ambitions, and also at how institutional change takes place

Questions:

1. What was the initial purpose of European integration? Has this purpose altered over time?
2. Has the process of European integration been deepened primarily by Treaty changes?

- Burgess, Michael, *Federalism and European union: the building of Europe, 1950-2000*, (2000), ch 3
- Corbett, Richard, 'The Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union', *JCMS*, XXVII/4, 1992
- Cowles, Maria Green, James Caporaso and Thomas Risse, *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*, 2001, esp. chapter11, (Risse on identities)
- De Gaulle, Charles, *Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavour*, 1971
- Deighton, Anne, (ed), *National Decision Makers and European Institutions 1948-1963*, 1995, esp. chapters 3 (Lee on W Germany), 10 (Aldrich on the US intelligence connection)
- Deutsch, Karl W., et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, 1957
- Dinan, Desmond, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union*, 2004
- Dougan, M, "The Treaty of Lisbon 2007. Winning minds, not hearts," *Common Market Law Review*, 45:3, 2008
- Duchêne, François, *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence*, 1994
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*, 2006, esp. chapters 1 and 3, and Part III \*
- Erk, Jan, "Real Constitution, Formal Constitution and Democracy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45:3, 2007
- Friend, Julius W., *The Linchpin: French-German Relations 1950-1990*, 1991

- Grant, Charles, *Delors: Inside the House that Jacques built*, 1994
- Habermas, Jürgen, *So, Why Does Europe Need a Constitution?*, EUI Policy Papers, 2001
- Judt, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, 2005, especially chapter XXII on the 1990s and beyond \*
- Kaiser, Wolfram and Brigitte Leucht 'Informal politics of integration: Christian Democratic and Transatlantic networks in the creation of ECSC core Europe', in *Journal of European Integration History*, 14:1, 2008, special number on history and theory, 14/1
- Milward, Alan, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, 1992. esp. chapters 4, 5, 6\*
- Monnet, Jean, *Memoirs*, 1978
- Moravcsik, Andrew, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power*, 1998
- Rosenthal, Glenda and Alan Cafruny (eds), *The State of the European Community: the Maastricht Debates and Beyond*, vol 2, 1993, especially for David Andrews, 'The Global Origins of the Maastricht Treaty on EMU: Closing the window of opportunity'
- Stirk, PW, *History of European Integration since 1914*, 1996
- Vanke, Jeffrey, *Europeanism and European Union*, 2009, chs 2, 3.
- Weiler, Joseph HH, *The Constitution of Europe*, 1999 \*
- Wessels, Wolfgang, 'Nice Results: The Millennium IGC in the EU's Evolution', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39/2, 2001
- Woods, Steve and Wolfgang Quaisser, *The New European Union: confronting the challenges of integration*, 2008\* [http://www.osteuropa-institut.de/ext\\_dateien/Rienner-Intro-Book9781588265531.pdf](http://www.osteuropa-institut.de/ext_dateien/Rienner-Intro-Book9781588265531.pdf)
- Wurm, Clemens (ed), *Western Europe and Germany: the Beginnings of European Integration*, 1995, esp. chapter by Schwabe (US and European integration) \*

### Theories of European integration \*\*2 (with tutorials) (MT week 3)

#### Questions:

1. *Has integration rescued or dismantled European nation-states?*
2. *Is (neo-)functionalism obstinate or obsolete?*
3. *What do the different types of 'new institutionalism' bring to the study of European integration?*
4. *Do theories of European integration shed some light on a possible disintegration?*

- Beach, Derek, *The Dynamics of European Integration: Why and when EU institutions matter*, 2005
- Bartolini, Stefano, *Restructuring Europe. Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union*, 2005
- Cini, Michelle and Angela Bourne, eds., *Advances in European Union Studies*, 2006
- Haas, Ernst, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*, 2004 or 1958 edition
- Hix, Simon, *The Political System of the European Union*, 2005
- Jones, Erik, "Europe's Threatened Solidarity," *Current History*, March 2012
- Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel. J., 'Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union', Special issue of *Comparative Political Studies*. 36/2, 2003
- Kelemen, R. Daniel, *The Rules of Federalism: Institutions and Regulatory Politics in the EU and Beyond*, 2004
- Kohler-Koch, Beate, *Linking EU and National Governance*, 2003
- Kühnhardt, Ludger, ed., *Crises in European Integration. Challenges and Responses, 1945-2005*
- \*Lambsdorff, Schmitter, Tsoukalis, Zielonka et al., "European Disintegration," *Journal of Democracy*, 23:4 (2012)
- \* Mattli, Walter, *The Logic of Regional Integration*, 1999\*
- Milward, Alan, *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, 2nd ed., 2000
- Moravcsik, Andrew, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, 1998
- Olsen, Johan P., *Europe in Search of Political Order. An Institutional Perspective on Unity/Diversity, Citizens/their Helpers, Democratic Design/Historical Drift, and the Co-Existence of Orders*, 2007

- Pierson, Paul, 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies*, 29/2, 1996
- \*\*Rosamund, Ben, *Theories of European Integration*, 2000\*
- Scharpf, Fritz.W., 'The Joint-Decision Trap Revisited', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44/4, (2006), 845-864.
- \*Soros, George, "The tragedy of the European Union and how to resolve it?" *New York Review of Books*, September 2012: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/sep/27/tragedy-european-union-and-how-resolve-it/?pagination=false>
- Stone Sweet, Alec, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein, *The Institutionalization of Europe*, 2001
- Tsebelis, George, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*, 2002 (Chapters 11)
- Warleigh-Lack, Alex and Rosamond, Ben, 'Across the EU Studies—New Regionalism Frontier: Invitation to a Dialogue', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (2010), 993–1013

## How the EU works \*\* (essay due for week 8) (MT week 4)

### Questions

1. Is the EU a 'separation of powers' or 'fusion of powers' political system? Does it have a government? Does it have a legislature?
2. How do the powers of EU institutions vary under different legislative procedures?

### Essential reading:

- Hix, S. and Hoyland, B. (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Chapters 1, 2 and 3.
- Tsebelis, G., Jensen, C.B., Kalandrakis, A. and Kreppel, A. (2001) 'Legislative Procedures in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis'. *British Journal of Political Science*. 31: 573-99.
- Kreppel, A. (2002) 'Moving Beyond Procedure: An Empirical Analysis of European Parliament Legislative Influence', *Comparative Political Studies* 35(7): 784-813.

### Further reading:

#### (a) EU Political System

- \*Crum, B. (2003) 'Legislative-executive relations in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41, 2003, 375-395.
- \*Hix, S., A. Noury and G. Roland, *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- \*Pollack, M. A. (2003) *The engines of European integration* Oxford: OUP, 2003.
- \*Richardson, Jeremy, ed., *European Union: Power and Policy-making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2005 (esp. chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8).
- Franchino, F. (2007) *The Powers of the Union: Delegation in the EU*. CUP
- Hayes-Renshaw, F. and H. Wallace (2004) *The Council of Ministers*, Palgrave.
- Hooghe, L. (1999) 'Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Political Orientations of Senior Commission Officials to European Integration', *Comparative Political Studies* 32:4.
- Majone, G. (1996) *Regulating Europe*, 1996.
- Nugent, N. (2001) *The European Commission*, 2001.
- Pollack, M. 'Control Mechanism or Deliberative Democracy?: Two Images of Comitology', *Comparative Political Studies* 36, 2003.
- Rittberger, Berthold, *Building Europe's Parliament: Democratic Representation Beyond the Nation State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Wallace, H., Nugent, N., Paterson, W.E., Naurin, D. (2008) *Unveiling the Council of the European Union: Games Governments Play in Brussels*, Palgrave macmillan.

Wallace, W., H. Wallace, and M. Pollack (eds.) (2005) *Policy-Making in the European Union*.

## (b) EU Legislative Process

\*Crombez, C. (2001) 'Institutional Reform and Co-Decision in the EU', *Constitutional Political Economy* 11:1.

\*König, T. and Pöter, M. (2001) 'Examining the EU Legislative Process: The Relative Importance of Agenda and Veto Power', *European Union Politics* 2(3): 329-51.

\*Moser, P. (1996) 'The European Parliament as a Conditional Agenda-Setter: What Are the Conditions? A Critique of Tsebelis (1994)', *American Political Science Review* 90(4): 834-8\*

Shackleton, M. (2000) 'The Politics of Codecision', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(2): 325-42\*

Tsebelis, G. (1994) 'The Power of the European Parliament as a Conditional Agenda Setter', *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 128-42. \*

Tsebelis, G. and G. Garrett, (2000) 'Legislative Politics in the European Union', *European Union Politics*, 1(1)\*

Tsebelis, G. and G. Garrett, (2001) 'The institutional foundations of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism in the European Union', *International Organization*, 55: 357-390. \*

Tsebelis, G. and\* Garrett, G. (1997) 'Agenda-setting, Vetoes and the European Union's Co-decision Procedure'. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 3(3): 74-92. \*

Crombez, C. (1996) 'Legislative Procedures in the European Community', *British Journal of Political Science* 26: 199-218.

Crombez, C. (1997) 'The Co-Decision Procedure in the European Union', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22(1): 97-119.

Golub, J., 'In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community', *International Organization*, 53:4, 1999.

Kreppel, A. (1999) 'What Affects the European Parliament's Legislative Influence? An Analysis of the Success of EP Amendments', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37 (3): 521-538.

Rittberger, B. (2000) 'Impatient Legislators and New Issue-Dimensions: A Critique of the Garrett-Tsebelis 'standard version' of Legislative Politics', *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(4): 554-75.

Steunenberg, B. (1994) 'Decision-making under different institutional arrangements: Legislation by the European Community', *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 150: 642-69.

Tsebelis, G. and Yataganas, X. (2002) 'Veto Players and Decision-making in the EU After Nice: Policy Stability and Bureaucratic/Judicial Discretion'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 40(2): 283-307.

## Widening Europe: From Six to Twenty-Seven (MT week 5)

### Questions:

1. Which objectives have guided the EU's enlargement into post-communist Europe?
2. Has the increased diversity within the enlarged EU paralysed its institutions?
3. Are there territorial limits to further EU's enlargements?

● \*Bechev, Dimitar, "The Periphery of the periphery: the Western Balkans and the euro crisis," ECFR Policy Brief, September 2012: [http://ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR60\\_WESTERN\\_BALKANS\\_BRIEF\\_AW.pdf](http://ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR60_WESTERN_BALKANS_BRIEF_AW.pdf)

● Cremona, Marise, ed., *The Enlargement of the European Union*, 2003

● Czarnota, Adam, Martin Krygier and Wojciech Sadurski, eds. *Spreading Democracy and the Rule of Law? The Impact of Enlargement on the Rule of Law, Democracy and Constitutionalism in Post-Communist Legal Orders*, 2006

● Epstein, Rachel and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Beyond Conditionality: international institutions in post-communist Europe after enlargement," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15/6, 2008

● Hertz, Robin and Leuffen, Dirk, 'Too big to run? Analysing the impact of enlargement on the speed of EU

decision-making', *European Union Politics*, 12, (2011), 169-191.

- Haughton, Tim, 'Half Full But Also Half Empty: Conditionality, Compliance and the Quality of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe', *Political Studies Review*, 9, (2011), 323-333
- Kux, Stephan, and Elf I. Sverdrup, 'Fuzzy Borders and Adaptive Outsiders: Norway, Switzerland, and the EU', *Journal of European Integration*, 22/3, 2000
- Luif, Paul, *On the Road to Brussels: The Political Dimension of Austria's, Finland's, and Sweden's Accession to the EU*, 1995
- Mair, Peter, and Jan Zielonka, eds., *The Enlarged European Union. Diversity and Adaptation; (Special Issue of Western European Politics)*, 2002
- Müftüler-Bac, Meltem and Aylin Güney, 'The European Union and the Cyprus Problem 1961-2003,' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 41/2, 2005
- Pentland, Charles, "Enlargement: Expanding the Realm of European Governance," in Ingeborg Tömmel and Amy Verdun, *Innovative Governance in the European Union*, 2008
- Schimmelfenning, Frank, 'Entrapped again: The way to EU membership negotiations with Turkey', *International Politics*, 46, (2009), 413-431.
- Sedelmeier, Ulrich and Frank Schimmelfennig, *The politics of European Union enlargement: Theoretical approaches*, 2005.
- Sissenich, Beate: *Building States without Society European Union Enlargement and the Transfer of EU Social Policy to Poland and Hungary*, 2006
- Sjursen, Helene, *Questioning EU Enlargement: Europe in Search of Identity*, 2006
- Tsoukalis, Loukas, *The European Community and Its Mediterranean Enlargement*, 1981
- \*Vachudova, Milada, *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism*, 2005
- Wade, Jacoby, *The Enlargement of the European Union and NATO: Ordering from the Menu in Central Europe*, 2004
- Wilkes, George, (ed.), *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community, 1961-6: The Enlargement Negotiations and Crises in European, Atlantic, and Commonwealth Relations*, 1997
- Young, Hugo, *The Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair*, 1998
- \*Zielonka, Jan "Europe as Empire, 2007
- Zielonka, Jan, *Europe Unbound: Enlarging and Reshaping the Boundaries of the European Union*, 2002

## **Integration without membership: EU relations with neighbours (MT week 6)**

### *Questions:*

1. Is enlargement the only effective means for coping with the volatile and impoverished EU neighborhood? Discuss with reference to Arab countries.
2. Does the SAA process represent a plausible policy to cope with the Western Balkans?
3. Is the EU's policy towards Turkey effective and just?
4. Does the EU's 'Eastern Partnership' with former Soviet states improve or hamper relations with Russia?

- Biscop, Sven, Rosa Balfour & Michael Emerson, eds., *An Arab Springboard for EU Foreign Policy?*, Egmont Papers 53, January 2012: <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/paperegm/ep54.pdf>.
- Blockmans, S, *Tough Love: The European Union's Relations with the Western Balkans*, 2007
- Checkel, Jeffrey, 'International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework', *International Organization*, 59/4, 2005.
- \*Del Sarto, R.A. & T. Schumacher, T., 'From Brussels with love: leverage, benchmarking, and the action plans with Jordan and Tunisia in the EU's democratization policy', *Democratization*, 18/4, (2011)
- \*Emerson, Michael, "Just Good Friends? The European Union's Multiple Neighbourhood Policies" *The International Spectator*, 46:4, 2011
- Featherstone, K, & C.M. Radaelli (eds), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press, 2003 (esp. chapters 1 & 2).



- Gerrits, Andre, *The European Union and Russia: Perceptions and Interest in the Shaping of Relations*, 2008
- Gordon, C., G. Sasse, S. Sebastian, *EU Policies in the Stabilisation and Association Process*, Specific Report of the EU Framework 6-funded MIRICO report, 2008; see: [http://www.eurac.edu/NR/rdonlyres/B11246A4-097C-421F-83C2-12F570566BDE/0/24\\_SAP.pdf](http://www.eurac.edu/NR/rdonlyres/B11246A4-097C-421F-83C2-12F570566BDE/0/24_SAP.pdf)
- Huber, Daniela, "[Mixed Signals" Still? The EU's Democracy and Human Rights Policy Since the Outbreak of the Arab Spring](#)," IAI Working Papers, 12-13, May 2012.
- Hughes, J, G. Sasse, C. Gordon, *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe. The Myth of Conditionality*, 2004.
- Johansson-Nogués, E; "The Decline of the EU's 'Magnetic Attraction'? The European Union in the eyes of neighbouring Arab countries and Russia," *European Foreign Policy Unit Working Paper No. 2011/1*: <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/centresandunits/EFPU/EFPUpdfs/EFPUworkpaper2011-1.pdf>.
- \* Kelley, J, 'New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reforms through the New European Neighbourhood Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44/1, 2006.
- Kopstein, Jeffrey, and David Reilly. 'Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World'. *World Politics* 53/1 (2000).
- LaGro, E, & K.E. Jorgensen (eds) *Turkey and the European Union*, 2007
- Lavenex, Sandra. 'A Governance Perspective on the European Neighbourhood Policy: Integration beyond Conditionality?' *Journal of European Public Policy* 15/6 (2008).
- Müftüler-Bac, Meltem, "The European Union's Accession Negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign Policy Perspective," *Journal of European Integration*, 30/1, 2008
- Pace, Michelle, Peter Seeberg, and Francesco Cavatorta. (ed.) 'The EU's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean: A Critical Inside-Out Approach'. *Democratization* 16/1, (2009), 3–19.
- Parker, Neil, *The Geopolitics of Europe's Identity: Centers, Boundaries, and Margins*, 2008
- Sasse, Gwendolyn, 'The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbours', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 6/2, 2008.
- Serfaty, Simon, "The Middle East will Test Europe," *Current History*, March 2012
- Schimmelfennig, F & U. Sedelmeier (eds) *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, 2005 (introductory chapter with theoretical framework)
- Smith, Karen, 'The outsiders: the European neighbourhood policy.' *International affairs* 81/4, 2005.
- \*Tocci, Natalie, "The EU and Conflict Resolution in Turkey and Georgia: Hindering EU Potential Through the Political Management of Contractual Relations," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46/4, 2008.
- Weller, M., D. Blacklock and K. Nobbs, *The Protection of Minorities in Wider Europe*, 2008
- \*Whitman, R.G., and Wolff, S., eds., *The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective: Context, Implementation and Impact*, 2010.
- Wolczuk, Kataryna, 'Implementation without Coordination: The Impact of EU Conditionality on Ukraine under the European Neighbourhood Policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61/2, (2009), 187-211
- \*European Commission: DG Enlargement; see: [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/countries-on-the-road-to-membership/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/countries-on-the-road-to-membership/index_en.htm) (esp. on Western Balkans)

## Europe's global agenda (MT week 7)

### Questions:

1. Why, and with what success, has the EU become a, 'all-round' global security actor during the last decade?
2. Does the EU coordinate its material and normative agendas in its external policies? Why should it try to?
3. Is the US or China Europe's prime global rival?
4. How does the crisis of monetary and political integration affect Europe's global role and status?

- \*Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 2006

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## Comparative Welfare States in Europe (MT week 8)

### Questions:

1. How well do major theoretical approaches explain why welfare state institutional arrangements were so varied?
2. What are the possibilities for the development of social policies at the EU level?
3. Does an expanding 'multiracial' approach undermine traditional solidarity models of EU member states, in particular those based on 'social citizenship'?

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#### Elections and Parties (HT Week 1)

##### Questions:

1. What impact does the electoral system have on the shape of the party system?
2. Are European party systems still based on social cleavages? How many dimensions do we need to analyse competition among European parties?

Essential reading:

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## Models of democracy in Europe (HT Week 2)

### Questions:

1. Is there a methodology for assessing the quality of democracy?
2. If consociational democracy delivers a 'kinder, gentler' democracy (Lijphart), why do not all countries adopt the model?
3. Can the European Union 'democratic deficit' be fixed through institutional solutions?

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- Siedentop, Larry, *Democracy in Europe*, 2001
  
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- Foweraker, Joe, and Roman Krznaric, 'Differentiating the democratic performance of the West', *European Journal of Political Research* 42, 2003
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## **The power of non-majoritarian institutions (HT Week 3)**

Questions:

1. Why do democracies need non-majoritarian institutions?
2. Have courts across Europe increased their power? How can this 'judicialization' best be explained?
3. Are the European Commission, the European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank democratically accountable?
4. Does the continuous expansion of the constitutional pillar to the detriment of the popular one generate growing dissatisfaction with democracy in Europe?

On the rule of law and constitutionalism

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- \*Lord, Christopher, 'The European Parliament and the legitimation of agencification,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18/6 (2011), 909-25
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- Tsebelis, George, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*, 2002 (Chapters 10)
- Heisenberg, D and Richmond, A., 'Supranational institution-building in the EU: a comparison of the European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank' *Journal of European Public Policy* vol. 9, no. 2 2002

## **EU in search of legitimacy: public opinion (HT Week 4)**

Questions:

1. *What are the means of legitimizing the EU: democracy or efficiency?*
2. *"Strengthening the European Parliament will impede rather than enhance democracy in the European Union". Discuss.*
3. *Are referendums on the EU really about 'Europe'?*
4. *What role does public opinion play in the European integration process? And what explains variations in public support for the EU?*

Legitimacy and the democratic deficit

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- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2009). 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39 (1): 1-23.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2005) 'Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration', *European Union Politics*. Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 419-443
- \*\*Marks, Gary and Steenbergen, Marco (eds.) (2004) *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (esp. chapters 1, 2, 6 & 7) \*\*
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## Media and the European public sphere (HT week 5)

### Questions:

1. A functioning European public sphere is necessary to address the democratic deficit of the EU". Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Analyse and discuss.
2. What role(s) is media assumed to play in the formation of a European public sphere?
3. What are the key national similarities and differences in how media in Europe cover politics in general and European politics in particular?

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in *Journalism Practice*, 1(1)

- Statham, Paul (2007) 'Journalists as Commentators on European Politics: Educators, Partisans or Ideologues?', pp 461-477 in *European Journal of Communication* 22 (4)
- Statham, Paul & Emily Grey (2005) 'The Public Sphere and Debates about Europe in Britain: Internalized and conflict-driven?', pp 61-81 in *Innovation* 18 (1)
- Trenz, H-J., (2008) 'Understanding media impact on European integration: enhancing or restricting the scope of legitimacy of the EU', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp.291-309.

## **Coalition formation and governance in Europe** (HT week 6)

### *Questions*

1. *What factors explain the process of coalition formation in Europe?*
2. *How are bargaining and delegation problems resolved by coalition governments?*

### Essential reading:

- Dunleavy, P. with S. Bastow (2001) 'Modelling Coalitions that Cannot Coalesce: A Critique of the Laver-Shepsle Approach' *West European Politics* 24(1): 1-26.
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#### (a) Government formation and termination

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- Andeweg, R.B., de Winter, L. And Dumont, P. (2011) *Puzzles of Government Formation: Coalition Theory and Deviant Cases*. Routledge.
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## (b) Coalition Governance

- \*Martin, L.W. and Vanberg, G. (2011) *Parliaments and Coalitions: The Role of Legislative Institutions in Multiparty Governance*. Oxford: OUP.
- \*Strøm, K., Müller, W.C. and Bergman, T. (2008) *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe*. Oxford: OUP.
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- Martin, L.W. (2004) 'The Government Agenda in Parliamentary Democracies' *American Journal of Political Science*, 45: 33-50.
- Martin, L.W. and Vanberg, G. (2005) 'Coalition Policymaking and Legislative Review'. *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 93 - 106
- Moury, C. (2011) *Coalition Government and Party Mandate: How Coalition Agreements Constrain Ministerial Action*. Routledge.
- Müller, W.C. and Strøm, K. (2000) *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*. OUP.
- Strøm, K. and Müller, W.C. (1999) 'The Key to Togetherness: Coalition Agreements in Parliamentary Democracies', *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 5(3/4): 255-82.
- Timmermans, A. (1998) 'Conflicts, Agreements, and Coalition Governance', *Acta Politica*, 33: 409-32.
- Timmermans, A. (2006) 'Standing Apart and Sitting Together: Enforcing Coalition Agreements in Multiparty Systems' *European Journal of Political Research*. 45: 263-83.

## Parliaments in European democracies (HT week 7)

### Questions:

1. What is the main political job of parliaments in Europe?
2. Why are some European parliaments more majoritarian than others?

### Essential reading:

- Laver, M. (2006) 'Legislatures and Parliaments in Comparative Context'. In Weingast, B.R. and Wittman, D.A. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. OUP.
- Powell, G. P. (2000) 'Constitutional Designs as Visions of Majoritarian or Proportional Democracy' in *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. Yale.
- Zubek, R. (2011) 'Negative Agenda Control and Executive-Legislative Relations in East Central Europe', *Journal of Legislative Studies* 17(2): 172-192.

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- \*Haggard, S. and M. McCubbins (2001) *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy*. Cambridge: CUP. Chapter 2 by Cox & McCubbins.
- \*Shugart, M.S. (2006) 'Comparative Executive-Legislative Relations' in Rhodes, R.A.W, Binder, S. and Rockman, B. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. OUP.
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- Arter, D. (2006) (ed) *Comparing and Classifying Legislatures*. Special Issue. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 12(3–4).
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- McGann, A., 2006b. Social Choice and Comparing Legislatures: Constitutional versus Institutional Constraints. *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 12 (3–4), 443–461.
- Norton, P. (ed.) (1998) *Parliaments and Governments in Western Europe*, London: FrankCass. Introduction and Conclusion.
- Norton, P. and Olson, D.M. (2007) (eds) *Post-communist and Post-Soviet Parliaments: The Initial Decade*. Routledge. Introduction and Conclusion.
- Polsby, N.W. (1975) 'Legislatures' in F.I. Greenstein and N.W. Polsby (eds) *Handbook of Political Science*. Addison-Wesley. Reprinted in Philip Norton (1990) (ed.) *Legislatures*. Oxford: OUP.
- Rasch, B. and Tsebelis, G. (2010) (eds) *The Role of Governments in Legislative Agenda Setting*. Routledge.
- Shugart, M.S. and Carey, J.M. (1992) *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*, Cambridge: CUP. Chapter 1.
- Taylor, A.J., 2006. Size, Power, and Electoral Systems: Exogenous Determinants of Legislative Procedural Choice. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 31 (3), 323–345.

## Europeanisation and national party competition (HT week 8)

### Questions:

1. What has been the impact of European integration on national party competition?
2. How can one explain the positions that national parties take on Europe?

### Essential reading:

- Carter, E. and Poguntke, T. (2010) 'How European Integration Changes National Parties: Evidence from a 15-Country Study'. *West European Politics* 33(2): 297-324.
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2002) 'Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration'. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(8): 965–89.
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- \*Marks, G., Hooghe, L., Nelson, M., Edwards, E. (2006) 'Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39 (2): 155-175
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- Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2004). 'Contemporary euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(1): 1-28.

