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 indispensible. 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
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]*
- Mazower, Mark *The Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*, 1998 [esp. chapters 7, 9]*
- 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]
- 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
- Hitchcock, William *France restored: Cold War diplomacy and the quest for leadership in Europe, 1944-1954*
Historical roots of the current crisis

- Garton Ash, Timothy, “How the Union Came Together and Why It’s Falling Apart,” Foreign Affairs (September-October), 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?

- 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
- Deutsch, Karl W., et al., Political Community and the North Atlantic Area, 1957
- Dinan, Desmond, Europe Recast: A History of the European Union, 2004
- 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 *
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?

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*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
*Hix, Simon, The Political System of the European Union, 2005
*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
*Mattli, Walter, The Logic of Regional Integration, 1999*
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:

Further reading:
(a) EU Political System
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?

- 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

- Lui, 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
- 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
- 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?

- Blockmans, S, Tough Love: The European Union’s Relations with the Western Balkans, 2007
- Featherstone, K, & C.M. Radaelli (eds), The Politics of Europeanization, Oxford University Press, 2003 (esp. chapters 1 &2 ).
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
• Búrca, Gráinne de and Joanne Scott, The EU and the WTO: legal and constitutional aspects, 2000
• *Búrca, Gráinne de, ‘Developing democracy beyond the state’ Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, 46, 2008?
• Daugbjerg, Carsten and Alan Swinbank, ‘Ideational Change in the WTO and its Impacts on EU Agricultural Policy Institutions and the CAP,’ Journal of European Integration, 31:3, 2009
• Coolsaet, Rik, ‘EU counterterrorism strategy: value added or chimera?’ International Affairs, 86:4, 2010
• Deighton, Anne, Securing Europe?: Implementing the European Security Strategy, 2006, (The 2003 European Security Strategy is also reproduced here)
• Duke, Simon, ‘Consensus Building in ESDP: the lessons of operation Artemis’, International Politics, 46, 2009, 395-412. see also other article in this special number of IP
• *Elgström, Ole and Michael Smith, eds., The European Union’s Roles in International Politics, 2006 (esp. Karen Smith ch)
• Hanhimaki, Jussi et al, eds, The Routledge Handbook of Transatlantic Security, 2010, esp part II *
• *Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith, International Relations and the European Union, 2005 *
• Kopstein, Jeffrey and Sven Steinmo, Growing Apart? America and Europe in the Twenty-First Century, 2008
• Krastev, Ivan ,Mark Leonard et al, The spectre of a multipolar Europe, 2010 (ecfr.eu)
• *Krotz, Urlich, ‘Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won’t Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon,’ JCMS, 47/3, 2009
• *Manners, Ian, ‘Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?’ JCMS, 40/2, 2002
• Mayer, Hartmut and Henri Vogt, A Responsible Europe? Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs, 2006
• Lucarelli, Sonia and Lorenzo Fioramonti, eds, External Perceptions of the European Union as a global actor, 2010, esp chs 1, 2
• Meunier, Sophie and Kalypso Nicolaidis, ‘The European Union as a conflicted trade power’, Journal of European Public Policy, 13/6, 2006
• Oberthür, Sebastian and Claire Roche Kelly, ‘EU leadership in International Climate Policy: Achievements and Challenges,’ The International Spectator, 43/3, 2008
• Schimmelfennig, F and Daniel Thomas, ‘Normative Institutionalism and EU foreign policy in comparative perspective,’ International Politics, 45, 2009, 491-504
• Simón, Luis, “CSDP, Strategy and Crisis Management: Out of Area or Out of Business?” The International Spectator, 47:3, 2012
• *Smith, Karen E., European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World, 2008
• Sjursen, Helene (ed), ‘What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective,’ Journal of European Public Policy issue 13/2, 2006*
• Wong, Reuben, and Chris Hill National and European PolicesTowards Europeanization, 2011
• Zielonka, Jan, “The EU as International Actor: Unique or Ordinary?” European Foreign Affairs Review, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2011)


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’?

1. • Baldwin, P The Politics of Social Solidarity-Class Bases of European Welfare States 1875-1975,1990 *
   • Castles, F G (ed.) The Comparative History of Public Policy, 1989
   • *Flora, P and Heidenheimer, A J The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America, 1981. *
   • Ritter, G Social Welfare in Germany and Britain, 1986.

Further Reading
• Ashford, D E The Emergence of the Welfare States,1986.
• Mack Smith, D Italy: A Modern History, 1969
• Samuelsson, K, From Great Power to Welfare State. 300 Years of Swedish Social Development, 1968
• Wiskemann, E, Italy since 1945, 1971.

2. • Bornschier, V,P. Ziltener ‘The Revitalization of Western Europe and the Politics of the ‘Social Dimension’’. In Thomas P. Boje et al. (eds.) European Societies: Fusion or Fission? 1999
• Esping Andersen, G et al. Why we Need a New Welfare State, 2002.
• *Falkner, G EU Social Policy in the 1990s: Towards a Corporatist Policy Community, 1998. *
• Hantrais, L Social Policy in the EU. 2000.

Further reading

3.

Further reading:
• Brubaker, W R (ed) *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*,
• Cohen, R *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour*. 1987
• Hammar, T *Democracy and the Nation State - Aliens, Denizens and Citizens in a World of International Migration*, 1990

**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:
- Cox, G.W. Making Votes Count. 1997. Chapters 2, 3, 7 (pp. 139-143), 10 (pp. 181-193) and 11.

Further reading:
(a) Electoral Systems


(b) Party Systems


• Magone, J.M. *Contemporary European Politics* chaps 3 and 4 (2011)


  • *Meguid, B.M. Party Competition between Unequals, 2008*


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?

On consociational democracy:

- Lijphart, Arend, ‘Negotiation democracy versus consensus democracy: Parallel conclusions and recommendations’ *European Journal of Political Research* 41/1
- Roller, Edeltraud, *Performance of Democracies*, 2005 (esp. ch. 5)

On democracy in the EU:

- Beyme, Klaus von, *Transition to democracy in Eastern Europe*, Advances in political science, 1996
- Moore, Barrington, *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy: lord and peasant in the making of the modern world*, 1966
- Scharpf, Fritz W., *Governing in Europe: effective and democratic?,* 1999 (Esp. chapter 1)*

On the quality of democracy:

- Scharpf, Fritz W., *Governing in Europe: effective and democratic?,* 1999 *
- Siedentop, Larry, *Democracy in Europe*, 2001

- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, ‘Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative
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
- Majone, Giandomenico, Dilemmas of European Integration. The Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth, 2005 (especially chapters 4&5)
- Sadurski, Wojciech, Martin Krygier and Adam Czarnota, eds., Rethinking the Rule of Law in Post-Communist Europe, 2003
- Sartori, Giovanni, Comparative Constitutional Engineering, 1994

On courts and the judicial system
- Sadurski, Wojciech, Rights Before Courts: A Study of Constitutional Courts in Postcommunist
On the EU’s non-majoritarian institutions
- Tsebelis, George, Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work, 2002 (Chapters 10)

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

Questions:
1. What are the means of legitimizing the EU: democracy or efficiency?
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
- **Hix, Simon and Andreas Follesdal (2006) ‘Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A
Response to Majone and Moravcsik, Journal of Common Market Studies, 44(3).


Public opinion and electoral processes

- **Marks, Gary and Steenbergen, Marco (eds.) (2004) European Integration and Political Conflict, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (esp. chapters 1, 2, 6 & 7) **
- McLaren, Lauren, Identity, interests and attitudes to European integration, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006
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?

* Baisnée, Olivier (2007) 'The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...)', pp 493-503 in European Journal of Communication 22 (4)
* Gleissner, Martin & Claes H de Vreese (2005) ‘News about the EU constitution: Journalistic challenges and media portrayal of the European Union Constitution’ pp 221-242 in Journalism 6(2)
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:

Further reading:
(a) Government formation and termination
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:

Further reading:
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:


Further reading:
