

INRL20160
INTRODUCTION TO EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS
2022

Mr. Samuel A. T. Johnston

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Office: G314, ART

Office Hours: Wednesdays 1:30pm - 3:30pm

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Module Description

This module draws on a range of political science research on European integration and European Union politics to analyse the development of the EU and how it operates today. The course addresses one of the most important questions in the study of European politics and international organisations: why did a diverse group of states construct what is currently the world's most extensive example of international integration? This module provides an extensive overview of the contemporary EU, including its institutions and policy-making processes using approaches from modern political science. We will also assess how the EU has influenced both public opinion and party competition, and the debate concerning whether the EU suffers from a democratic deficit. By the end of this module, students will have a thorough grounding in EU politics and the manner in which EU institutions function and cooperate to make policy.

Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module, students should have an enhanced understanding of the following topics, and the relevant academic literature:

- The major theories of EU integration;
- The contemporary politics of the EU;
- The objectives and functioning of the EU's main institutions;
- How the EU has influenced both public opinion and parties;
- Critically assess the successes and failures of EU policies.

Furthermore, students should be able to:

- Listen carefully and critically to an orally-presented argument;
- Develop selective and efficient note-taking methods;
- Select relevant material for your argument;
- Be able to understand, analyse, and assess that material;
- Produce an informed and coherent argument;
- Write in a concise and cogent style.

Lectures

We will have two 50-minute lectures per week. While the lectures will mostly follow a standard lecture format, we will also have group exercises and time set aside for questions. You should come to class prepared to get involved and talk about the material. Students should understand that the lecture material is essential to your success in this module. The lecture materials are not fully covered in the textbook and not all lecture material is posted online, so attendance is in your best interest. The materials and content presented within the lecture sessions are intended solely for use in the context of teaching and learning at UCD. Slides and reading materials will be posted on Brightspace.

Unauthorized recording (video/sound/image) and reproduction of lectures is prohibited.

The lectures will be held as follows:

- Monday 2pm (Theatre N in ART)
- Wednesday: 10am (Theatre Q in ART)

Week (Date)	Lecture Topic	Assignment
1 (12 – 16 Sep)	Introduction; History of EU	
2 (19 – 23 Sep)	Theories of EU Integration	
3 (26 – 30 Sep)	Theories of EU Integration; Writing Skills Lecture	
4 (3 – 7 Oct)	Executive Politics	
5 (10 – 14 Oct)	Legislative Politics	
6 (17 – 21 Oct)	The European Court of Justice	Essay outline due by 11:59pm on 21st Oct.
7 (24 – 28 Oct)	Multilevel Governance & Regional Policy	Peer reviews allocated on 24th Oct.
8 (31 Oct – 4 Nov)	Reading Week - No Lectures!	Peer reviews due by 11:59pm on 1st Nov.
9 (7 – 11 Nov)	Public Opinion	
10 (14 – 18 Nov)	The EU & Party Competition	Essay due by 11:59pm on 18 Nov
11 (21 – 25 Nov)	Conditionality & the External Incentives Model	
12 (28 Nov – 2 Dec)	The Democratic Deficit Debate; Exam Preparation	

Additional Contact Hours and Information

Office hours will be held every Wednesday, for the period 1:30pm to 3:30pm. Please contact me prior to office hours, so that I can allocate you a precise time, depending on how busy office hours are, and your own schedule. If there is something very specific you would like to discuss (e.g., comments on an assignment that you have handed in) then it might be useful to send me an email a little in advance, so that I have the material to hand.

If you have any questions or concerns, this syllabus should be your first port of call. It should contain most of the information that you need for the module, and additional information will also be posted on Brightspace as and when required, so you should keep an eye on it. If you cannot find the answer to your question in the syllabus, then feel free to get in touch!

Whenever emailing me with regards to this module, please include the module code (**INRL20160**) in the subject line.

Assessment

Students taking this module are evaluated using four different components:

- 1) Essay Outline (10%)
- 2) Peer review (10%)
- 3) Essay (20%)
- 4) Exam (60%)

Essay outline (10%)

Students are required to submit an outline of their final essay, which is worth 10% of the overall grade for the module. This outline should make it clear to the reader what the student wants to argue in response to one of the two prompts below, as well as what areas they plan to discuss in order to demonstrate that their argument is correct. For this outline, students are expected to (i) outline a clear thesis statement that answers the question; and (ii) outline what they seek to discuss, and in what order, in order to reach this position. Students are free to write the outline in bullet point format, if that suits their outline best.

The word count for this essay outline is **strictly 500 words** (excluding the bibliography and cover sheet).

The deadline for the essay outline is **11:59pm on Friday 21st October**.

Peer review (10%)

To aid you in preparing your assignment, Paula Montano will provide a lecture on writing skills and the peer review process. The lecture is aimed at helping you with your assignment and will revolve around the development of a relevant thesis statement and framing a concise argument to answer your chosen question. This lecture will be held on **Wednesday 28th September** at the time of the normal lecture. After the essay outlines are submitted, they will then be assessed through blind peer-review and you will receive feedback to help you improve your essay before the final submission.

On **Monday 24th October**, each student will be assigned **five** outlines to provide feedback on. When providing feedback on the draft outlines, students are expected to (i) discuss what is good about the outline; (ii) discuss what areas are problematic or need improvement; and (iii) provide potential solutions to these problems and/or advice on how to improve the essay.

The feedback should be submitted no later than 11:59pm on **Tuesday 1st November**.

The word count for the peer review of all 5 outlines is **strictly 1,000 words** (excluding the cover sheet and bibliography, if included).

Essay (20%)

Students are required to submit an essay which is worth 20% of the overall grade for the module. They should respond to **one** of the following prompts:

1. Is neofunctionalism or liberal intergovernmentalism more useful in helping us to understand the process of European integration? Why?
2. 'The Commission's power has been declining over time, with considerable consequences for the future of European integration'. Agree or disagree.

For the essay, students are expected to (i) make and develop a point that answers all parts of the question; and (ii) draw on academic literature (academic articles and/or books), which should be correctly cited.

The word count for the essay is **strictly 1,500 words** (excluding the cover sheet and bibliography).

The deadline for the essay is **11:59pm on Friday 18 November 2022**.

Assignment format and guidelines

For all assignments, they must:

- be **strictly** under the word limit;
- this word count **does not include the bibliography or cover sheet**;
- submit a **PDF copy of your assignment electronically via Brightspace**. Google how to do this if you do not know how to do so already.
- at the front of your assignment, include the declaration of authorship form as the cover sheet, which can be found here: <https://www.ucd.ie/spire/t4media/School%20Declaration%20of%20Authorship%20form%202019%20Web.pdf>
- state the final word count;
- use proper citations and referencing (any referencing format is acceptable, so long as it is consistent throughout the essay. The UCD library has this guide - <https://libguides.ucd.ie/academicintegrity/referencingandcitation> - to help you to cite consistently);
- Include an *alphabetised* bibliography
- **No hard copy is required.**

Exam (60%)

The final assessment component for the course is a **2 hour** examination that will take place during the Autumn trimester exam period (i.e., Saturday 10th December - Thursday 22nd December). The exam will consist of **6 questions**, from which students **must answer any 2**.

The exam will be a **closed-book online** exam. More detailed instructions regarding the exam structure will be available later in the term. The final lecture on **Wednesday 30th November** will be a writing workshop on how to prepare for the exam and approach the writing of exam questions.

The timetable for the exam will be made available later in the trimester.

Policies on assessment

Submission of coursework assignments

The policy memo and essay must be submitted on Brightspace. In order to do this, you will need to have access to the module on Brightspace. **It is the responsibility of students to ensure that they are enrolled in the module and can access the course material.**

If you are not enrolled in the module, then you should contact me as a matter of urgency, and I will add you to the class.

Academic honesty and plagiarism

The university takes plagiarism very seriously. There are severe penalties associated with passing someone else's work off as one's own. Remember that careless note-taking can lead to this happening: you must enclose direct quotations in quotation marks, and even when paraphrasing, ensure that a reference is provided.

The university's policy regarding plagiarism can be found at: https://hub.ucd.ie/usis/!W_HU_MENU.P_PUBLISH?p_tag=GD-DOCLAND&ID=222. The library also has a useful guide to academic integrity and how to avoid plagiarism: <https://libguides.ucd.ie/academicintegrity>.

Careless note-taking or rushing to get an assignment submitted is no excuse for committing plagiarism and where it is detected, it will be responded to with appropriate severity.

Late assignments

All late work, unless excused **in advance** by the module lecturer, will be penalised, where the penalties will follow UCD's guidelines (https://hub.ucd.ie/uisis/!W_HU_MENU.P_PUBLISH?p_tag=GD-DOCLAND&ID=137). If the work is submitted within 5 working days of the deadline, its grade will be reduced by **one grade point** (e.g., B- to C+). If the work is submitted between 5 and 10 working days of the deadline, its grade will be reduced by **two grade points** (e.g., B- C). If the work is submitted more than 10 working days after the deadline, it will **neither be accepted nor graded**. There are many reasons why a student may not be able to submit an assignment on time and I am happy to make reasonable accommodations where they are appropriate. However, it is rarely reasonable to get in touch after the assignment deadline or just a few hours beforehand to request an extension.

Please don't leave requests until the last minute!

Finally, make sure to save and back-up your work. There are many ways to ensure that you never lose your work, including Dropbox, Google Drive, or even good old-fashioned USBs. Consequently, computer crashes or failure to back up your work will not count as acceptable excuses for late submission.

Disability policy

Students with a disability that is liable to impact their ability to participate fully in all aspects of this – or any other – course are encouraged to register with the university, which will seek to support and to ensure that accommodations are made for students where they are needed.

You can find more information regarding the disability supports that are available and how to receive them here: <https://www.ucd.ie/all/ucdstudents/support/disabilitysupport/>.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

These readings may be updated over the course of the module. Where this is the case, important revisions will be signposted.

Students are responsible for reading the articles and book chapters listed under Required Readings. The recommended reading list is quite long, so you are not obligated to read all of them. Instead, consider the recommended readings as a list to dip in and out of, depending on what topics within that area interest you most. Furthermore, you are not bound by this reading list, so feel free to bring in readings from outside the list for your assignments. However, if you do bring in readings from outside the reading list, the onus is on you to ensure that they are reliable sources.

The following textbooks shall be used extensively throughout the course, so it is recommended that they are purchased:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Additionally, the following books provide a general overview of the topics that will be covered in this module:

- Wallace, Helen, Pollack, Mark A., Roederer-Rynning, Christilla, and Young, Alasdair R. (eds.) (2020). *Policy-making in the European Union* (8th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bomberg, Elizabeth, Peterson, John and Corbett, Richard (2012). *The European Union: How Does it Work?* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bache, Ian, Bulmer, Simon, George, Stephen, and Parker, Owen (2014). *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon (2013). *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix it*. Cambridge: John Wiley & Sons.
- Majone, Giandomenico (2009). *Dilemmas of European Integration: the Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodson, Dermot, Puetter, Uwe, Saurugger, Sabine, and Peterson, John (2022). *The Institutions of the European Union* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

In addition to these readings, students should keep up to date on current European affairs by reading daily newspapers, or one of the many websites devoted to EU politics. This reading is essential as it will allow you to keep up to date with current affairs in the EU and identify potential blog post topics. These websites include the following:

- <http://www.euobserver.com>
- <http://europa.eu.int>
- <http://www.eupolitics.com>
- <http://www.ft.com>
- <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/>
- <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/>

Topic 1: History of the EU

Required readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 1-3.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 1.
- Jones, Erik, Keleman, R. Daniel, and Meunier, Sophie (2016). 'Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration', *Comparative Political Studies*, 49:7, 1010-1034.

Recommended readings:

- Dougan, Michael (2008). 'The Treaty of Lisbon 2007: Winning Minds, Not Hearts', *Common Market Law Review*, 45, 617-703.
- Majone, Giandomenico (2006). 'The Common Sense of European Integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13:5, 607-626.
- Marks, Gary (2012). 'Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:1, 1-20.

Topic 2: Theories of EU Integration

Required readings:

- Aspinwall, Mark D. and Schneider, Gerald (2000). 'Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutionalist Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration', *European Journal of Political Research*, 38:1, 1-36.
- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapters 4-6.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 1.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1993). 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31:4, 473-524.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. (2005). 'Ernst B. Haas and the Legacy of Neofunctionalism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 255-272.

Recommended readings:

More general readings:

- Marks, Gary, Hooghe, Liesbet, and Blank, Kermit (1996). 'European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34:3, 341-378.
- Stone Sweet, Alec and Sandholtz, Wayne (1997). 'European Integration and Supranational Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4:3, 297-317.

On neofunctionalism:

- Haas, Ernst B. (1961). 'International Integration: The European and the Universal Process', *International Organization*, 15:3, 366-292.
- Haas, Ernst B. (1976). 'Turbulent Fields and the Theory of Regional Integration', *International Organization*, 30:2, 173-212.
- Hoffmann, Stanley (1966). 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe', *Daedalus*, 95:3, 862-915.
- Risse, Thomas (2005). 'Neofunctionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 291-309.
- Tranholm-Mikkelsen, Jeppe (1991). 'Neo-functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC', *Journal of International Studies*. 20:1, 1-22.

On intergovernmentalism:

- Garrett, Geoffrey & Tsebelis, George (1996). 'An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism', *International Organization*, 50:2, 269-99.
- Kleine, Mareike and Pollack, Mark (2018). 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Its Critics', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:7, 1493–1509.
- Lieshout, Robert H., Segers, Mathieu L. L., and van der Vleuten, Anna M. (2004). 'de Gaulle, Moravcsik, and the Choice for Europe: Soft Sources, Weak Evidence' *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 6:4, 89-139.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: Routledge. Chapter 1.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2018). 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:7, 1578–1594.

On institutionalism:

- Hall, Peter A., and Taylor, Rosemary C. R. (1996). 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms', *Political Studies*, 44:5, 936-957.
- Jupille, Joseph and Caporaso, James A. (1999). 'Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond Comparative Politics and International Relations', *Annual Review Political Science*, 2:1, 429-44.
- Pierson, Paul (1996). 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies*, 29:2, 123-163.
- Tsebelis, George and Garrett, Geoffrey (2001). 'The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union', *International Organization*, 55:2, 357-390.

Topic 3: Executive Politics - The Commission and European Council

Required readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapters 10 and 11 (part about European Council).
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 2.
- Pollack, Mark A. (1997). 'Delegation, Agency, and Agenda-Setting in the European Community', *International Organization*, 51:1, 99-134.

Recommended readings:

On the Commission:

- Bailer, Stefanie (2014). 'An Agent Dependent on the EU Member States? The Determinants of the European Commission's Legislative Success in the European Union', *Journal of European Integration*, 36:1, 37-53.
- Bauer, Michael W. and Becker Stefan (2014). 'The Unexpected Winner of the Crisis: The European Commission's Strengthened Role in Economic Governance', *Journal of European Integration*, 36:3, 213-29.
- Franchino, Fabio (2009). 'Experience and the Distribution of Portfolio Payoffs in the European Commission', *European Journal of Political Research*, 48:1, 1-30.
- Hooghe, Liesbet (1999). 'Images of Europe: Orientations to European Integration Among Senior Officials of the Commission', *British Journal of Political Science*, 29, 345-367.
- Nugent, Neill and Rhinard, Mark (2016). 'Is the European Commission Really in Decline?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54:5, 1199-1215.
- Rasmussen, Anne (2007). 'Challenging the Commission's Right of Initiative? Conditions for Institutional Change and Stability', *West European Politics*, 30:2, 244-64.
- Schmidt, Susanne K. (2000). 'Only an Agenda Setter? The European Commission's Power Over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics*, 1:1, 37-61
- Wonka, Arndt (2007). 'Technocratic and Independent? The Appointment of European Commissioners and its Policy Implications', 14:2, 169-189.

On the European Council:

- Fabbrini, Sergio and Puetter, Uwe (2016). 'Integration without Supranationalism: Studying the Lead Roles of the European Council and the Council in post-Lisbon EU Politics', *Journal of European Integration*, 38:5, 481-495.
- Häge, Frank M. (2008). 'Who Decides in the Council of the European Union?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46:3, 533-58.
- Häge, Frank M. (2016). 'Political Attention in the Council of the European Union: A New Dataset of Working Party Meetings, 1995-2014', *European Union Politics*, 17:4, 683-703
- Slapin, Jonathan B. (2006). 'Who Is Powerful?: Examining Preferences and Testing Sources of Bargaining Strength at European Intergovernmental Conferences', *European Union Politics*, 7:1, 51-76.
- Tallberg, Jonas (2008). 'Bargaining Power in the European Council', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46:3, 685-708.

Topic 4: Legislative Politics - The Council of Ministers and European Parliament

Required readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapters 11 (part about Council of Ministers), 12, and 16.
- Cross, James P. (2013). 'Everyone's a Winner (Almost): Bargaining Success in the Council of Ministers of the European Union', *European Union Politics*, 14:1, 70-94.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 3.
- Reif, Karlheinz and Schmitt, Hermann (1980). 'Nine Second-Order National Elections - A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results', *European Journal of Political Research*, 8:1, 3-44.

Recommended readings:

On the Council of Ministers:

- Bailer, Stefanie, Mattila, Mikko, and Schneider, Gerald (2015). 'Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53:3, 437-456.
- Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona, Van Aken, Wim, and Wallace, Helen (2006). 'When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44:1, 161-194.
- Mattila, Mikko (2009). 'Roll Call Analysis of Voting in the EU Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement', *European Journal of Political Research*, 48:6, 840-857.

On the European Parliament:

- Hix, Simon, Noury, Abdul, and Roland, Gérard (2005). 'Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001', *British Journal of Political Science*, 35:2, 209-234.
- Hix, Simon and Marsh, Michael (2011). 'Second-order Effects plus Pan-European Political Swings: An Analysis of European Parliament Elections Across Time', *Electoral Studies*, 30:1, 4-15.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Wittrock, Jill (2011). 'The Second-order Election Model Revisited: An Experimental Test of Vote Choices in European Parliament Elections', *Electoral Studies*, 30:1, 29-40.
- Lefkofridi, Zoe and Katsanidou, Alexia (2018). 'A Step Closer to a Transnational Party System? Competition and Coherence in the 2009 and 2014 European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:6, 1462-1482.
- McElroy, Gail and Benoit, Kenneth (2007). 'Party Groups and Policy Positions in the European Parliament', *Party Politics*, 13:1, 5-28.
- McElroy, Gail and Benoit, Kenneth (2010). 'Party Policy and Group Affiliation in the European Parliament', *British Journal of Political Science*, 40:2, 377-398.

Topic 5: The European Court of Justice

Required readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 13.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 4.
- Phelan, William (2012). 'What is Sui Generis about the European Union? Costly International Cooperation in a Self-Contained Regime', *International Studies Review*, 14, 367-385.

Recommended readings:

The ECJ and neofunctionalism:

- Alter, Karen J. (2000). 'The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash?', *International Organization*, 54:3, 489-518.
- Burley, Anne-Marie & Mattli, Walter (1993). 'Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration', *International Organization*, 47:1, 41-76.
- Garrett, Geoffrey (1995). 'The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union', *International Organization*, 49:1, 171-181.
- Mattli, Walter & Slaughter, Anne-Marie (1995). 'Law and Politics in the European Union: A Reply to Garrett', *International Organization*, 49:1, 183-190.

Understanding the ECJ's role:

- Kelemen, R. Daniel, and Pavone, Tommaso (2018). 'The Political Geography of Legal Integration: Visualizing Institutional Change in the European Union', *World Politics*, 70:3, 358-397.
- Pavone, Tommaso (2022). *The Ghostwriters: Lawyers and the Politics Behind the Judicial Construction of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Phelan, William (2015). 'The Troika: The Interlocking Roles of Commission v. Luxembourg and Belgium, Van Gend en Loos and Costa v. ENEL in the Creation of the European Legal Order', *European Law Journal*, 21:1, 116-135.
- Stone Sweet, Alec & Brunell, Thomas (1998). 'Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community', *American Political Science Review*, 92:1, 63-81.

Compliance:

- Angelova, Mariyana, Dannwolf, Tanja, and König, Thomas (2012). 'How Robust are Compliance Findings? A Research Synthesis', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:8, 1269-1291.
- Carrubba, Clifford J., Gabel, Matthew, and Hankla, Charles (2008). 'Judicial Behavior Under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice', *American Political Science Review*, 102:4, 435-452.
- König, Thomas and Mäder, Lars (2014). 'The Strategic Nature of Compliance: An Empirical Evaluation of Law Implementation in the Central Monitoring System of the European Union', *American Journal of Political Science*, 58:1, 246-263.

- Stone Sweet, Alec and Brunell, Thomas (2012). 'The European Court of Justice, State Noncompliance, and the Politics of Override', *American Political Science Review*, 106:1, 204-213.
- Thomann, Eva, & Sager, Fritz (2017). 'Moving Beyond Legal Compliance: Innovative Approaches to EU Multilevel Implementation', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:9, 1252-1268.
- Thomson, Robert (2010). 'Opposition through the Back Door in the Transposition of EU Directives', *European Union Politics*, 11:4, 577-596.

Topic 6: Multilevel Governance & Regional Policy

Required reading:

- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2003). 'Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance', *American Political Science Review*, 97:2, 233-243.
- Massetti, Emanuele and Schakel, Arjan H. (2021). 'From Staunch Supporters to Critical Observers: Explaining the Turn towards Euroscepticism Among Regionalist Parties', *European Union Politics*, 22:3, 424-445.
- Tatham, Michaël (2018). 'The Rise of Regional Influence in the EU – From Soft Policy Lobbying to Hard Vetoing', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:3, 672-686.

Recommended reading:

- Benz, Arthur and Eberlein, Burkard (1999). 'The Europeanization of Regional Policies: Patterns of Multi-level Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:2, 329-348.
- Hooghe, Liesbet (1996). 'Introduction: Reconciling EU-Wide Policy and National Diversity', in Liesbet Hooghe (ed.) *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-24.
- Huggins, Christopher (2018). 'Subnational Government and Transnational Networking: The Rationalist Logic of Local Level Europeanization', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:6, 1263-1282.
- Keating, Michael (2008). 'A Quarter Century of the Europe of the Regions', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18:5, 629-635.
- Stephenson, Paul (2013). 'Twenty Years of Multi-level Governance: 'Where Does it Come From? What is it? Where is it Going?''', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:6, 817-837.

Topic 7: Public Opinion - European Identity & Opposition

Required reading:

- Bruter, Michael (2004). 'On What Citizens Mean by Feeling 'European': Perceptions of News, Symbols and Borderless-ness', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30:1, 21-39.
- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 15.
- Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 5.

Recommended reading:

On European identity:

- Caporaso, James A. and Kim, Min-hyung (2009). 'The Dual Nature of European Identity: Subjective Awareness and Coherence', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16:1, 19-42.
- Citrin, Jack and Sides, John (2004). 'Can Europe Exist Without Europeans? Problems of Identity in a Multinational Community', *Advances in Political Psychology*, 1, pp. 41-70.
- Gabel, Matthew (1998). 'Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories', *The Journal of Politics*, 60:2, 333-354.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2004). 'Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?', *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 37:3, 415-420.
- Medrano, Juan Díez and Gutiérrez, Paula (2001). 'Nested Identities: National and European Identity in Spain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24:5, 753-778.

Attitudes to EU integration:

- Boomgaarden, Hajo G., Schuck, Andreas R. T., Elenbaas, Matthijs, and De Vreese, Claes H. (2011). 'Mapping EU Attitudes: Conceptual and Empirical Dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU Support', *European Union Politics*, 12:2, 241-266.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and de Vries, Catherine E. (2016). 'Public Support for European Integration', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19:1, 413-432.
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Recommended reading:

On regional funding and parties:

- Gross, Martin and Debus, Marc (2018). 'Does EU Regional Policy Increase Parties' Support for European Integration?', *West European Politics*, 41:3, 594-614.
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Topic 10: The Democratic Deficit Debate

Required reading:

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