

**POL40970**  
**POLITICS OF EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE**  
**2022**

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

**Module Description**

The European Union (EU) currently consists of 27 European countries. It has evolved into a political community that deeply affects the daily lives of its citizens. How can we explain the process of European integration? What does the political structure of the EU look like? What are the EU's effects on citizens' attitudes and political parties' positions? The module surveys the development of European integration and introduces students to the EU's political system. We will discuss theories of European integration, how the EU's institutions operate, how the EU influences citizen attitudes and party positions, and the debate over whether the EU suffers from a democratic deficit debate. The module is research lead, in that it focuses upon the political science literature that seeks to explain various aspects of European integration. This is reflected in the extensive reading list provided with the module. The module is aimed at those wanting a full and detailed introduction to (1) the history and theories of European integration; (2) the political institutions of the EU and its policy-making process; and (3) how the EU influences both citizens and political parties. The module does not assume any prior knowledge of the EU or EU politics.

**Learning Outcomes**

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

- Explain the historical development of the European integration project from its beginnings as the European Coal and Steel Community to the institution we see today;
- Understand the major theories of EU integration and use them to analyse European integration;
- The contemporary politics of the EU, including the objectives and functioning of its institutions;
- How the EU has influenced both public opinion and the positions taken by political parties;
- Discuss the current and future challenges facing the EU in light of the theories discussed throughout the module;
- Critically engage with academic writings and theories; and
- Explain key concepts about integration to others both verbally and in writing.

### **Seminars**

The module follows a seminar format. This means that the module will be a discussion-focused module, where I will be moderating and directing the group's discussions, rather than presenting significant amounts of information to the class (as in a lecture-based format). Thus, the module requires you to come to the seminar prepared to discuss and critically analyse the readings, and to respectfully and constructively engage with the points made by your peers. To be able to do this requires you to read a considerable amount of material and think about what you have read prior to the seminar. Each week, students will be randomly allocated to prepare a series of questions or problems that arise from that week's readings, and to present these to the class. These questions/problems will then help to inform the direction discussion will take for the remainder of the seminar. Consequently, there is a significant element of self-directed learning to seminars, with discussion revolving around what the students find interesting and important, as far as possible. All students are required to attend all seminars, unless prior notification and a certified excuse is presented to the module lecturers. Students also need to demonstrate that they have completed the readings and have thought about the issues involved. The success of the module depends on the commitment of its students.

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

The seminars will be held on Friday 10am - 12pm (Room J104 in ART).

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

### **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 (**POL40970**) in the subject line.

## **Assessment**

Students taking this module are evaluated using five different components:

- 1) Discussion Points/Questions (15%)
- 2) Presentation (10%)
- 3) Proposal Outline (10%)
- 4) Peer Review (15%)
- 5) Final Research Proposal (50%)

### **Discussion Points/Questions (15%)**

At the beginning of term, I will randomly allocate every student **one week where they will need to submit discussion points**. For the week the student is allocated, by 11:59pm on Wednesday (i.e. the day before the seminar) they are required to submit **5 discussion points or questions** on Brightspace. Here you are **not** asked to provide a detailed discussion or analysis of the required reading(s). You are simply required to raise some interesting points or questions about the week's required readings that will form the basis of in-class discussion. These should be in the form of 5 numbered points/questions; each should be **a paragraph or two in length**. I will be looking for originality in your insights, reference to theoretical debates you have engaged with elsewhere, sharp critiques of the evidence or theory employed, etc. Consider what points/questions will make for an interesting discussion in the seminar. Think of applying questions like: Are the arguments logically coherent? How do the authors defend their cases? Do the papers use qualitative or quantitative evidence and how well executed are the empirical analysis? How do the results/theories of one paper challenge another? Are there some particularly important implications of the reading(s) that should be probed further? Outline your own critical assessment and the avenues you believe are open for further interrogation. Across all 5 points, students will need to **engage with each of the required readings** for that week.

### **Presentation (10%)**

In most fields that students will seek to enter after their Masters, presenting their work to an audience, and trying to convince that audience of the merit of their position, is going to be a key skill. This is a skill that may require practice to develop. Consequently, for the week that students have been assigned to submit discussion questions, they will also be required to present **three** of their discussion points to the class. The choice of which three points to discuss is up to the student. The presentation should be a **maximum of 10 minutes**. If you wish to use slides, please **email them to me before the beginning of the seminar**. In this presentation, you are expected to convey to the audience what your three discussion points are. Students will be assessed on the clarity and coherence of their presentation, their ability to stick to the time limit, and the design of their slides (if these are used).

## **Proposal Outline & Peer Review (25%)**

Students will be required to submit an outline of their research proposal to Brightspace by **11:59pm on Friday 28th October 2022**. This outline should be no longer than **1,500 words** (excluding the bibliography). Please see the next section on what is required for a research proposal.

The double-blind peer review process is central to publishing work in academia. Part of your assessment for this module will therefore involve peer reviewing one each others' work. This review will be double-blind in that students will be randomly allocated two outlines to review, and both the outline and reviewer will be anonymised. The draft outlines will then be distributed for peer review on **Monday 31st October**. Each student is required to write a **review of two papers**. These reviews are due by **11:59pm on 11th November 2022**, after which they are graded by the instructor and then returned to the authors. The advantage of this approach is that students can use these reviews to improve their work when redrafting their final research paper for submission. 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 outline.

The word count for the peer review of both outlines is **strictly 1,000 words** (excluding the bibliography, if included).

The **outline will count for 10%** of the grade, and the **peer review will count for 15%**.

## **Final Research Proposal (50%)**

Students will submit a single, well-developed research proposal on a topic relevant to European integration. This paper should be **no longer than 5,000 words** (excluding the bibliography), and should analyse an issue of importance relating to the EU or European integration that merits academic research. The analysis should be original and should include an evaluation of approaches to understanding, resolving, or further investigating the question. This paper is not a literature review and marks will be awarded for applying original ideas or approaches to established thoughts on the issue. The lecturer will provide plenty of advice and help in choosing a topic and an appropriate research methodology. It is important that students begin to think about the topic they wish to write about immediately, as this is not a trivial undertaking. Identifying a good research question from the start will save much work down the line. The deadline for the final paper is **23:59pm on Friday 9th December 2022**. The research paper will be submitted through Brightspace.

I will provide a discussion of what is expected from a research proposal and how it should be structured during the seminar on **30th September** (i.e., during Week 3).

## 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](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/usis/!W\\_HU\\_MENU.P\\_PUBLISH?p\\_tag=GD-DOCLAND&ID=137](https://hub.ucd.ie/usis/!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.

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/>

## Week 1: Introduction and History of the EU

### Required Readings:

- 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.
- 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.

### Recommended Readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 1-3.
- Dougan, Michael (2008). 'The Treaty of Lisbon 2007: Winning Minds, Not Hearts', *Common Market Law Review*, 45, 617-703.
- Gray, Mark and Stubb, Alexander (2001). 'Keynote Article: The Treaty of Nice - Negotiating a Poisoned Chalice?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39:s1, 5-23.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 1.
- Magnette, Paul and Nicolaïdis, Kalypso (2004). 'The European Convention: Bargaining in the Shadow of Rhetoric', *West European Politics*, 27:3, 381-404.

## Week 2: Theories of EU Integration 1

### Required readings:

- Haas, Ernst B. (1961). 'International Integration: The European and the Universal Process', *International Organization*, 15:3, 366-292.
- 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.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: Routledge. Chapter 1. \*(OR his 1993 article in recommended readings).\*
- Schmitter, Philippe C. (2005). 'Ernst B. Haas and the Legacy of Neofunctionalism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 255-272.
- Stone Sweet, Alec and Sandholtz, Wayne (1997). 'European Integration and Supranational Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4:3, 297-317.



## Recommended readings:

### On intergovernmentalism:

- Bickerton, Christopher J., Hodson, Dermot, and Puetter, Uwe (2014). 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53:4, 703–22.
- Hix, Simon (2018). 'When Optimism Fails: Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Citizen Representation', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:7, 1595–1613.
- 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 (1993). 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31:4, 473-524.
- Naurin, Daniel (2018). 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism in the Councils of the EU: A Baseline Theory?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:7, 1526–1543.
- Puetter, Uwe (2016). 'The Centrality of Consensus and Deliberation in Contemporary EU Politics and the New Intergovernmentalism', *Journal of European Integration*, 38:5, 601-615.
- Puetter, Uwe and Fabbrini, Sergio (2016). 'Catalysts of Integration – The Role of Core Intergovernmental Forums in EU Politics', *Journal of European Integration*, 38:5, 633-642.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2015). 'What's the News in 'New Intergovernmentalism'? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53:4, 723-730.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2018). 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:7, 1578–1594.

### On neofunctionalism and supranationalism:

- 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.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2018). 'European Integration (Theory) in Times of Crisis: A Comparison of the Euro and Schengen Crises', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:7, 969-989.
- 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.

## Week 3: Theories of EU Integration 2

### Required readings:

- Aspinwall, Mark D. and Schneider, Gerald (2000). 'Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutional Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration', *European Journal of Political Research*, 38:1, 1-36.
- Checkel, Jeffrey T. and Moravcsik, Andrew (2001). 'A Constructivist Research Program in EU Studies?', *European Union Politics*, 2:2, 219-249.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2008). 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science*, 39:1, 1-23.
- 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.

### Recommended readings:

#### General readings:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.
- Pollock, Mark A. (2005). 'Theorizing the EU: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?', *Annual Review Political Science*, 8, 357–398.

#### On institutionalism:

- Garrett, Geoffrey & Tsebelis, George (1996). 'An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism', *International Organization*, 50:2, 269-99.
- 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.
- North, Douglass C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 3-10; 83-104.

#### On constructivist approaches:

- Finnemore, Martha and Sikkink, Kathryn (2001). 'Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4:1, 391-416.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2001). 'The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union', *International Organization*, 55:1, 47-80.

## Week 4: Executive Politics - The Commission and European Council.

### Required readings:

- 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.
- Nugent, Neill and Rhinard, Mark (2016). 'Is the European Commission Really in Decline?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54:5, 1199-1215.
- Pollack, Mark A. (1997). 'Delegation, Agency, and Agenda-Setting in the European Community', *International Organization*, 51:1, 99-134.
- Tallberg, Jonas (2008). 'Bargaining Power in the European Council', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46:3, 685-708.
- Wonka, Arndt (2007). 'Technocratic and Independent? The Appointment of European Commissioners and its Policy Implications', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14:2, 169-189.

### Recommended readings:

For an introduction to this topic:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapters 10 and 11 (part about European Council).
- Gallagher, Michael, Laver, Michael, and Mair, Peter (2011). *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (5th ed.). London: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 5.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 2.

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, 213-229.
- da Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia (2016). 'Why the European Commission is Not the "Unexpected Winner" of the Euro Crisis: A Comment on Bauer and Becker', *Journal of European Integration*, 38:1, 95-100.
- Bauer, Michael W. and Becker, Stefan (2016). 'Absolute Gains Are Still Gains: Why the European Commission Is a Winner of the Crisis, and Unexpectedly So. A Rejoinder to Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt', *Journal of European Integration*, 38:1, 101-106.
- Christensen, Johan (2015). 'Recruitment and Expertise in the European Commission', *West European Politics*, 38:3, 649-678.
- Egeberg, Morten (2006). 'Executive Politics as Usual: Role Behaviour and Conflict Dimensions in the College of European Commissioners', *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:1, 1-15.
- Egeberg, Morten (2014). 'The European Commission: From Agent to Political Institution', *Public Administration*, 92:1, 240-246.
- Egeberg, Morten, Trondal, Jarle., and Vestlund, Nina M. (2015). 'The Quest for Order: Unravelling the Relationship between the European Commission and European Union Agencies', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22:5, 609-629.

- 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.
- Quittkat, Christine (2011). 'The European Commission's Online Consultations: A Success Story?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:3: 653-674.
- 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
- Thomson, Robert (2008). 'National Actors in International Organizations: The Case of the European Commission', *Comparative Political Studies*, 41:2, 169-192.
- Wonka, Arndt (2008). 'Decision-Making Dynamics in the European Commission: Partisan, National or Sectoral?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:8, 1145–63.

On the Council:

- 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.

## Week 5: Legislative Politics - The Council of Ministers and European Politics

### Required readings:

- 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.
- 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, 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.
- 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.
- 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:

For an introduction to this topic:

- 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.
- Gallagher, Michael, Laver, Michael, and Mair, Peter (2011). *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (5th ed.). London: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 5.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 3.

On the Council of Ministers:

- Wrátil, Christopher (2018). 'Modes of Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council Negotiation Positions', *European Union Politics*, 19:1, 52-74.
- Huhe, Narisong, Naurin, Daniel, and Thomson, Robert (2018). 'The Evolution of Political Networks: Evidence from the Council of the European Union', *European Union Politics*, 19:1, 25-51.
- 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:

- Aldrich, Andrea S. (2018). 'National Political Parties and Career Paths to the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:6, 1283-1304.
- Beach, Derek, Hansen, Kasper M., and Larsen, Martin V. (2018). 'How Campaigns Enhance European Issues Voting During European Parliament Elections', *Political Science Research and Methods*, 6:4, 791-808.

- Braun, Daniela, Hutter, Swen, and Kersch, Alena (2016). 'What Type of Europe? The Salience of Polity and Policy Issues in European Parliament Elections', *European Union Politics*, 17:4, 570-592.
- Costello, Rory and Thomson, Robert (2010). 'The Policy Impact of Leadership in Committees: Rapporteurs' Influence on the European Parliament's Opinions', *European Union Politics*, 11:2, 1-26.
- Franklin, Mark N. and Hobolt, Sara B. (2011). 'The Legacy of Lethargy: How Elections for the European Parliament Depress Turnout', *Electoral Studies*, 30:1, 67-76.
- Hix, Simon, Raunio, Tapio, and Scully, Roger (2003). 'Fifty Years on: Research on the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41:2, 191-202.
- Hix, Simon and Marsh, Michael (2007). 'Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections', *Journal of Politics*, 69:2, 495-510.
- 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.
- 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.
- Schulte-Cloos, Julia (2018). 'Do European Parliament Elections Foster Challenger Parties' Success on the National Level?', *European Union Politics*, 19:3, 408-426.

On co-decision:

- Rasmussen, Anne and Reh, Christine (2013). 'The Consequences of Concluding Codecision Early: Trilogues and Intra-institutional Bargaining Success', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:7, 1006-1024.
- Rasmussen, Anne (2012). 'Twenty Years of Co-decision Since Maastricht: Inter-and Intra-institutional Implications', *Journal of European Integration*, 34:7, 735-751.
- Brandsma, Gijs Jan (2015). 'Co-decision after Lisbon: The Politics of Informal Trilogues in European Union Lawmaking', *European Union Politics*, 16:2, 300-319.

## Week 6: The European Court of Justice

### Required readings:

- 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.
- Pavone, Tommaso (2022). *The Ghostwriters: Lawyers and the Politics Behind the Judicial Construction of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Phelan, William (2015). *In Place of Inter-State Retaliation: The European Union's Rejection of WTO-style Trade Sanctions and Trade Remedies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.
- 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.

### Recommended readings:

For an introduction to this topic:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 13.
- Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 4.

For more on the ECJ:

- 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.
- Garrett, Geoffrey (1995). 'The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union', *International Organization*, 49:1, 171-181.
- Garrett, Geoffrey, Kelemen, R. Daniel, and Schulz, Heiner (1998). 'The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union', *International Organization*, 52:1, 149-176.
- Jaremba, Urszula and Mayoral, Juan A. (2019). 'The Europeanization of National Judiciaries: Definitions, Indicators and Mechanisms', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:3, 386-406
- 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.
- Mattli, Walter & Slaughter, Anne-Marie (1995). 'Law and Politics in the European Union: A Reply to Garrett', *International Organization*, 49:1, 183-190.
- Peritz, Lauren (2018). 'Obstructing Integration: Domestic Politics and the European Court of Justice', *European Union Politics*, 19:3, 427-457.
- 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.
- 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.

For comparisons between the ECJ and other regional courts:

- Alter, Karen J., and Helfer, Laurence R. (2010). 'Nature or Nurture? Judicial Lawmaking in the European Court of Justice and the Andean Tribunal of Justice', *International Organization*, 64:4, 563-592.
- Phelan, William (2015). 'Enforcement and Escape in the Andean Community: Why the Andean Community of Nations is Not a Replica of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53:4, 840-856.

On transposition and 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.
- Heidebreder, Eva G. (2017). 'Strategies in Multilevel Policy Implementation: Moving Beyond the Limited Focus on Compliance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:9, 1367-1384.
- 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.
- Luetgert, Brooke and Dannwolf, Tanja (2009). 'Mixing Methods: A Nested Analysis of EU Member State Transposition Patterns', *European Union Politics*, 10:3, 307-334.
- Scholten, Miroslava (2017). 'Mind the Trend! Enforcement of EU Law has been Moving to 'Brussels'', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:9, 1348-1366
- 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.
- Toshkov, Dimitar (2008). 'Embracing European Law: Compliance with EU Directives in Central and Eastern Europe', *European Union Politics*, 9:3, 379-402.
- Zhelyazkova, Asya (2013). 'Complying with EU Directives' Requirements: The Link between EU Decision-making and the Correct Transposition of EU Provisions', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:5, 702-721.
- Zhelyazkova, Asya and Yordanova, Nikoleta (2015). 'Signalling Compliance: The Link between Notified EU Directive Implementation and Infringement Cases', *European Union Politics*, 16:3, 408-428



## Week 7: Multilevel Governance & Regional Policy

### Required readings:

- 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 and Marks, Gary (2003). 'Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance', *American Political Science Review*, 97:2, 233-243.
- Huggins, Christopher (2018). 'Subnational Government and Transnational Networking: The Rationalist Logic of Local Level Europeanization', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:6, 1263-1282.
- 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 readings:

- Breidenbach, Philipp, Mitze, Timo, and Schmidt, Christoph M. (2019). 'EU Regional Policy and the Neighbour's Curse: Analyzing the Income Convergence Effects of ESIF Funding in the Presence of Spatial Spillovers', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57:2, pp. 388-405.
- 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.
- 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.

## Week 8: Reading Week

## Week 9: Public Opinion - European Identity & Opposition

### Required readings:

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Lutz, Philipp (2021): 'Loved and Feared: Citizens' Ambivalence Towards Free Movement in the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28(2), pp. 268-288.
- Ringlerova, Zuzana (2022): 'The Impact of Immigration on Attitudes toward the EU: Evidence from a Three-Country Survey Experiment', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(2), pp. 391-407.

### Recommended readings:

For a general introduction to the topic:

- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 15.
- Hix, Simon and Høyland, Bjørn (2011). *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 5.

Public opinion overview:

- Anderson, Christopher J. and Hecht, Jason D. (2018). 'The Preference for Europe: Public Opinion about European Integration since 1952', *European Union Politics*, 19:4, 617-638.
- 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.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary (2006). 'Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration', *European Union Politics*, 6:4, 419-443.
- Kopecký, Petr and Mudde, Cas (2002). 'The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe', *European Union Politics*, 3:3, 297-326.
- Schafheitle, Simon, Weibel, Antoinette, Meidert, Nadine, and Leuffen, Dirk (2020). 'The Road to Trust: A Vignette Study on the Determinants of Citizens' Trust in the European Commission', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58:2, 256-275.

Responses to specific features of integration:

- Armingeon, Klaus and Ceka, Besir (2014). 'The Loss of Trust in the European Union During the Great Recession Since 2007: The Role of Heuristics From the National Political System', *European Union Politics*, 15:1, 82–107.
- Kleider, Hanna and Stoeckel, Florian (2019). 'The Politics of International Redistribution: Explaining Public Support for Fiscal Transfers in the EU', *European Journal of Political Research*, 58:1, 4-29.
- Matthijs, Matthias and Merler, Silvia (2020). 'Mind the Gap: Southern Exit, Northern Voice and Changing Loyalties since the Euro Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58:1, 96-115.
- Vasilopoulou, Sofia and Talving, Liisa (2018). 'Opportunity or Threat? Public Attitudes Towards EU Freedom of Movement', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:6, 1-19.

On European identity:

- Ceka, Besir and Sojka, Aleksandra (2016). 'Loving it But Not Feeling it Yet? The State of European Identity After the Eastern Enlargement', *European Union Politics*, 17:3, 482-503.
- 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.
- Delhey, Jan (2007). 'Do Enlargements Make the European Union Less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust Between EU Nationalities', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45:2, 253-279.
- Gabel, Matthew (1998). 'Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories', *The Journal of Politics*, 60:2, 333-354.
- Medrano, Juan Díez and Gutiérrez, Paula (2001). 'Nested Identities: National and European Identity in Spain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24:5, 753-778.

## Week 10: The EU & Party Competition

### Required readings:

- Brigevich, Anna (2020): 'Cueing the Radical Voter: The Impact of Economic, Immigration and Integration Cues on Public Fear of the EU', *Party Politics*, 26(6), pp. 744-759.
- Gross, Martin and Debus, Marc (2018). 'Does EU Regional Policy Increase Parties' Support for European Integration?', *West European Politics*, 41:3, 594-614.
- Marks, Gary, Hooghe, Liesbet, Nelson, Moira and Edwards, Erica (2006). 'Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39:2, 155-175.
- Nanou, Kyriaki and Dorussen, Han (2013). 'European Integration and Electoral Democracy: How the European Union Constrains Party Competition in the Member States', *European Journal of Political Research*, 52:1, 71-93.
- Schäfer, Constantin, Popa, Sebastian A., Braun, Daniela, and Schmitt, Hermann (2021): 'The Reshaping of Political Conflict Over Europe: From Pre-Maastricht to Post-'Euro-crisis'', *West European Politics*, 44(3), pp. 531-557.

### Recommended readings:

On regional funding and parties:

- Kemmerling, Achim and Bodenstein, Thilo (2006). 'Partisan Politics in Regional Redistribution: Do Parties Affect the Distribution of EU Structural Funds across Regions?', *European Union Politics*, 7:3, 373-392.
- Schraff, Dominik (2019). 'Regional Redistribution and Eurosceptic Voting', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:1, 83-105.

On different party families:

- Johnston, Samuel A. T. (2022). 'Choose Your Target Wisely: How the EU Shapes Nationalism in Contemporary Europe', *West European Politics*, forthcoming.
- Marks, Gary, Wilson, Carole J., and Ray, Leonard (2002). 'National Political Parties and European Integration', *American Journal of Political Science*, 46:3, 585-594.
- Vachudova, Milada A. and Hooghe, Liesbet (2009). 'Postcommunist Politics in a Magnetic Field: How Transition and EU Accession Structure Party Competition on European Integration', *Comparative European Politics*, 7:2, 179-212.
- Whitefield, Stephen and Rohrschneider, Robert (2019). 'Embedding Integration: How European Integration Splits Mainstream Parties', *Party Politics*, 25:1, 25-35.

## Week 11: Conditionality & the External Incentives Model

### Required readings:

- Dawson, James and Hanley, Seán (2019). 'Foreground Liberalism, Background Nationalism: A Discursive-Institutionalist Account of EU Leverage and 'Democratic-Backsliding' in East Central Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57:4, 710-728.
- Levitz, Philip and Pop-Eleches, Grigore (2010). 'Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession', *Comparative Political Studies*, 43:4, 457-485.
- Sasse, Gwendolyn (2008). 'The Politics of EU Conditionality: The Norm of Minority Protection During and Beyond EU Accession', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6, 842-860.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank and Scholtz, Hanno (2008). 'EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood: Political Conditionality, Economic Development and Transnational Exchange', *European Union Politics*, 9:2, 187-215.
- Vachudova, Milada A. (2008). 'Tempered by the EU? Political Parties and Party Systems Before and After Accession', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6, 861-879.

### Recommended readings:

- Börzel, Tanja A. and Schimmelfennig, Frank (2017). 'Coming Together or Drifting Apart? The EU's Political Integration Capacity in Eastern Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:2, 278-296.
- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 18.
- Epstein, Rachel A. and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (2008). 'Beyond Conditionality: International Institutions in Postcommunist Europe After Enlargement', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6, 795-805.
- Kelley, Judith G. (2004). *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Richter, Solveig and Wunsch, Natasha (2020). 'Money, Power, Glory: The Linkages between EU Conditionality and State Capture in the Western Balkans', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:1, 41-62.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (2020). 'The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: The External Incentives Model Revisited', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:6, 814-833.
- Vachudova, Milada A. (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

## Week 12: The Democratic Deficit Debate & Transparency

### Required readings:

- European Commission. 2019. A-Z Index of Euromyths 1992 to 2017. Read 2-3 examples from here: <https://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/euromyths-a-z-index/>.
- Follesdal, Andreas and Hix, Simon (2006). 'Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44:3, 533–562.
- Kreuder-Sonnen, Christian (2018). 'Political Secrecy in Europe: Crisis Management and Crisis Exploitation', *West European Politics*, 41:4, 958-980.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (2002). 'In Defence of the "Democratic Deficit": Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40:4, 603–624.

### Recommended readings:

On the democratic deficit more generally:

- Blatter, Joachim, Schmid, Samuel D., and Blättler, Andrea C. (2017). 'Democratic Deficits in Europe: The Overlooked Exclusiveness of Nation-States and the Positive Role of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55:3, 449-467.
- Cini, Michelle and Borragán, Nieves P. S. (2019). *European Union Politics* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press. Chapter 9.
- Crombez, Christophe (2003). 'The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing?', *European Union Politics*, 4:1, 101-120.
- Gallagher, Michael, Laver, Michael, and Mair, Peter (2011). *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (5th ed.). London: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 5.
- Karlsson, Christer, and Persson, Thomas (2018). 'The Alleged Opposition Deficit in European Union Politics: Myth or Reality?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:4, 888–905.
- Lodge, Juliet (1994). 'Transparency and Democratic Legitimacy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32:3, 343–368.
- Majone, Giandomenico (1998). 'Europe's "Democratic Deficit": The Question of Standards', *European Law Journal*, 4(1): 5-28.
- Zweifel, Thomas D. (2002). 'Who is Without Sin Cast the First Stone: the EU's Democratic Deficit in Comparison', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9:5, 812-840.

On transparency in particular:

- Brandsma, Gijs J. (2019). 'Transparency of EU Informal Trilogues through Public Feedback in the European Parliament: Promise Unfulfilled', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:10, 1464-1483.
- Cross, James P. (2013). 'Striking a Pose: Transparency and Position Taking in the Council of the European Union', *European Journal of Political Research*, 52:3, 291–315.
- Cross, James P. (2014). 'The Seen and the Unseen in Legislative Politics: Explaining Censorship in the Council of Ministers of the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21:2, 268-285.
- Levy, Gilat (2007). 'Decision Making in Committees: Transparency, Reputation, and Voting Rules', *American Economic Review*, 97:1, 150–168.
- Stasavage, David (2004). 'Open-door or Closed-door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining', *International Organization*, 58:4, 667-703.