

EU430 - Europeanisation

What has the European Union ever done for us? Consequences of European Regional Integration.

Dr. Miriam Sorace
European Institute, LSE

Course Overview

The course aims at familiarising students with the conceptual and methodological problems in the study of Europeanisation. Furthermore, the course will explore various outcomes of EU memberships, and notably: effects on policies, effects on regimes/institutional frameworks, effects on political behaviour (with particular focus to attitudes, voting and identity formation). The various theories of Europeanisation will provide the running thread, and will therefore be put to the test looking at outputs ranging from policies to institutions to political behaviour.

The course will be delivered as a 10 week series of 2 hour classes, starting with an interactive part (plenary discussions and group work) and ending with a formal short lecture. Students are required to read the required readings for the relevant week.

The main topics are:

1. Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Europeanisation Literature
2. Europeanisation Theory: The Case of Compliance with EU Law
3. 'Output Europeanisation I': The EU's impact on the economy
4. 'Output Europeanisation II': The EU's impact on foreign and social policy
5. In-class Presentations
6. 'Europeanisation of Political Systems I': The EU's impact on democracy
7. 'Europeanisation of Political Systems II': The EU's impact on decentralization
8. 'Europeanisation of Party Systems': the EU's impact on political parties and party systems
9. 'Europeanisation of Public Opinion I': the EU's impact on attitudes and voting
10. 'Europeanisation of Public Opinion II': the EU's impact on identity

Assessment

The assessment for this course is divided into *formative* and *substantive* elements. The formative work does not count towards the final mark, and it is meant to prepare the students to complete each piece of the summative assessment.

Formative Assessment

- Presentation (in class) in week 5 on the design of the policy analysis project
- 1,000 words research design report on the final country case study paper

Summative Assessment

The first summative assessment will be a **policy analysis paper**, whereby particular hypotheses from Europeanisation theory will be tested by choosing one policy area of interest to the student. Within the policy area, it is expected that a comparison of some sort (countries – regions – local units) will be made to adequately test the hypothesis. The policy paper has to be maximum 2,000 words long and it counts towards 40% of the final grade.

The second summative assessment will be a **country case study research paper**. This is a ‘freer’ assignment, topic-wise. Students simply have to pick 1 member State of their choice and analyse the impact of the EU on a dependent variable from the 10 topics covered in the course. Again, even if the country is fixed, some form of comparison is expected: either among individuals, demographic/partisan groups, regions or policy areas. The country case study research paper has to be maximum 3,000 words long and it counts towards 60% of the final grade.

In both assessments students have to showcase their knowledge of Europeanisation theory, engage in deep literature reviews, and demonstrate good case selection and relevant, detailed analysis skills.

Detailed Course Schedule

Class 1: Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Europeanisation Literature

In this class, we’ll review key research design concepts and the comparative method. Algorithmic case selection modes will be discussed at length. Students will also be introduced with causal inference. In a second section, students will discuss the multi-dimensional concept of Europeanisation, and the methodological issues faced when studying Europeanisation.

Foundation Readings

- Graziano et al., 2008 *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* – Chapters 1, 3, 5

Required Readings

- Anderson, J.J. (2003) *Europeanization in Context: Concept and Theory* In Dyson and Goetz, *Germany, Europe and the Politics of Constraint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 37–53.
- Featherstone, K and Radaelli (2003). *The Politics of Europeanization* – Chapter 1
- Gerring, J. (2017). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press – Chapters 4-6
- Töller AE. (2012) *Causality in Quantitative Approaches*. In: Exadaktylos, Claudio M. Radaelli *Research Design in European Studies: Establishing Causality in Europeanization* Palgrave

Additional Readings

- Exadaktylos, Claudio M. Radaelli (2012) *Research Design in European Studies: Establishing Causality in Europeanization* Palgrave – Chapters 1 & 2
- Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for?. *American political science review*, 98(2), 341-354.
- Gerring, J. (2010). Causal mechanisms: Yes, but.... *Comparative political studies*, 43(11), 1499-1526.
- Graziano, P and Vink, M. P (2013) *Europeanization: Concept, Theory and Methods* in: Bulmer, S and Lesquene, C (eds.) *The Member States of the European Union* Oxford: OUP
- Holland, P. W. 1986. “Statistics and Causal Inference.” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 81: 945-960
- King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton university press.
- Levy, J.S. (2008). Counterfactual and case studies. In J.M. Box-Steffensmeier, H.E. Brady and D. Collier (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology* (pp. 627–644). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Panke, D. (2012) *Process Tracing: Testing Multiple Hypotheses with a Small Number of Cases* in: Exadaktylos, Claudio M. Radaelli *Research Design in European Studies: Establishing Causality in Europeanization* Palgrave
- Pearl, J., Glymour, M., & Jewell, N. P. (2016). *Causal inference in statistics: a primer*. John Wiley & Sons. – Chapter 1
- Pearl, J. (2009). Causal inference in statistics: An overview. *Statistics surveys*, 3, 96-146.
- Sekhon, J.S. (2008). The Neyman-Rubin model of causal inference and estimation via matching methods. In J.M. Box-Steffensmeier, H.E. Brady and D. Collier (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology* (pp. 271–299). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taagepera, R. (2008). *Making Social Sciences More Scientific. The Need for Predictive Models*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Class 2: Europeanisation Theory: The Case of Compliance with EU Law

In this class, we'll discuss Europeanisation theories and link them to major theoretical frameworks from political science such as rational choice theory, neo-institutionalism(s), and constructivism. We will categorise the various hypotheses according to whether they represent payoff, institutional or cultural constraints. We will furthermore introduce the conceptualisation and measurement of compliance and the enforcement process of the European Union.

Foundation Readings

- Goetz, Klaus H., and Simon Hix, eds. (2000). *Europeanised Politics? European Integration and National Political Systems*. London: Frank Cass. – Chapter 1
- Smith, M. (2010). Centralized Enforcement, Legitimacy and Good Governance in the EU, Routledge, Oxon – Introduction
- Treib, O. (2006). Implementing and complying with EU governance outputs. *Living Reviews in European Governance* 1(1)

Required Readings

- Bayram, A. B. (2017). Good Europeans? How European identity and costs interact to explain politician attitudes towards compliance with European Union law. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(1), 42-60.
- Hartlapp, M., & Leiber, S. (2010). The implementation of EU social policy: the 'Southern Problem' revisited. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(4), 468-486.
- Thomson, R. (2009). Same effects in different worlds: the transposition of EU directives. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(1), 1-18.
- Toshkov, D. (2007). In search of the worlds of compliance: Culture and transposition performance in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14(6), 933-959.

Additional Readings

- Angelova, M., Dannwolf, T., & König, T. (2012). How robust are compliance findings? A research synthesis. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(8), 1269-1291
- Borzel, Tanja A., and Julia Langbein, eds. (2012). 'Convergence without Accession? Explaining Policy Change in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Special Issue.
- Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2012). When Europeanisation meets diffusion: Exploring new territory. *West European Politics*, 35(1), 192-207

- Börzel, T. A. (2001). Non-Compliance in the European Union: pathology or statistical artefact? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8, 803-824.
- Börzel, T. A. (2006). Participation Through Law Enforcement: The Case of the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, 128-152
- Dörrenbächer, N., Mastenbroek, E., & Toshkov, D. (2015). National Parliaments and Transposition of EU Law: A Matter of Coalition Conflict? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 1010-1026.
- Checkel, J. T. (2001). Why comply? Social learning and European identity change. *International organization*, 55(3), 553-588.
- Hartlapp, M. & Falkner, G. (2009). Problems of Operationalization and Data in EU Compliance Research. *European Union Politics*, 10.
- Falkner, G., Hartlapp, M., Leiber, S., & Treib, O. (2004). Non-Compliance with EU directives in the Member States: Opposition through the Backdoor?. *West European Politics*, 27(3), 452-473.
- Falkner, G., & Treib, O. (2008). Three worlds of compliance or four? The EU-15 compared to new member states. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(2), 293-313.
- Finke, D., & Dannwolf, T. (2015). Who let the dogs out? The effect of parliamentary scrutiny on compliance with EU law. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-21.
- Franchino, F. (2004). "Delegating Powers in the European Community." *British Journal of Political Science* 34:284-286
- Jupille, J., Caporaso, J.A. and Checkel, J.T. (2003) 'Integrating institutions: rationalism, constructivism, and the study of the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 36(1-2): 7-40.
- König, T. & Luetgert, B. (2008). Troubles with Transposition: Explaining Trends in Transposition Delay. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39.
- Mastenbroek, E. (2017). Guardians of EU law? Analysing roles and behaviour of Dutch legislative drafters involved in EU compliance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(9), 1289-1307.
- Pollack, M. A. (2007). Rational choice and EU politics. *Handbook of European Union Politics*, 31-55.
- Slapin, J. B. (2015). How European Union membership can undermine the rule of law in emerging democracies. *West European Politics*, 38(3), 627-648.
- Steunenbergh, B., & Toshkov, D. (2009). Comparing transposition in the 27 member states of the EU: The impact of discretion and legal fit. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(7), 951-970.
- Tallberg, J. (2003). *European Governance and Supranational Institutions: making states comply*, London, Routledge.
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual review of political science*, 2(1), 369-404.
- Thomson, R. (2010). Opposition through the back door in the transposition of EU directives. *European Union Politics*, 11(4), 577-596.
- Thomson, R. (2011). *Resolving Controversy in the European Union* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 11
- Thomson, R., R. Torenvlied, et al. (2007). "The Paradox of Compliance: Infringements and Delays in Transposing European Union Directives." *British Journal of Political Science* 37:685- 686
- Toshkov, D. (2008). Embracing European law: Compliance with EU directives in Central and Eastern Europe. *European Union Politics*, 9(3), 379-402.

- Warkotsch, A. (2008). Non-compliance and instrumental variation in EU democracy promotion. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15(2), 227-245.

Class 3: ‘Output Europeanisation I’: The EU’s impact on the economy

In this class we’ll review the impact that EU cohesion, monetary and environmental policies have had on national policies and economic performance. We’ll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation.

Foundation Readings

- Graziano et al 2008 *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* – Chapters 16, 17, 18 & 21
- De Grauwe, P. (2016). *Economics of monetary union*. Oxford university press. Chapters 1-4

Required Readings

- Di Cataldo, M. (2016). Gaining and losing EU Objective 1 funds: Regional development in Britain and the prospect of Brexit. Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS%20Discussion%20Paper%20Series/LEQSPaper120.pdf>
- De Grauwe, P., & Ji, Y. (2014). How much fiscal discipline in a monetary union?. *Journal of Macroeconomics*, 39, 348-360.
- Huliaras, A. , Petropoulos S. (2016). European Money in Greece: In Search of the Real Impact of EU Structural Funds. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54:6, 1332-1349
- Liefferink, D., & Jordan, A. (2005). An ‘ever closer union’ of national policy? The convergence of national environmental policy in the European Union. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 15(2), 102-113.

Additional Readings

- Ágh, A., & Kovács, A. (2016). 25. EU Cohesion policy in the Eastern Partnership region: a case of external Europeanisation. *Handbook on Cohesion Policy in the EU*, 399.
- Alesina, A., Perotti, R., and Spolaore, E. (1995). Together or separately? Issues for political and fiscal unions. *European Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings* 39: 751–8.
- Bachtler, J., & Ferry, M. (2015). Conditionalities and the performance of European structural funds: A principal–agent analysis of control mechanisms in European union cohesion policy. *Regional Studies*, 49(8), 1258-1273.
- Bachtler, J., & Mendez, C. (2016). *EU Cohesion Policy and European integration: The dynamics of EU budget and regional policy reform*. Routledge.
- Bailey, I. (2017). *New environmental policy instruments in the European Union: politics, economics, and the implementation of the packaging waste directive*. Taylor & Francis.
- Braun, M. (2016). *Europeanization of environmental policy in the New Europe: Beyond conditionality*. Routledge.
- Ardagna, S., & Caselli, F. (2014). The political economy of the Greek debt crisis: A tale of two bailouts. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 6(4), 291-323.
- Featherstone, K. (2015). External conditionality and the debt crisis: the ‘Troika’ and public administration reform in Greece. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(3), 295-314.

- Hallerberg, M. (2004). European Union Fiscal Policy Coordination and Domestic Budget Making. In: *Domestic budgets in a united Europe: fiscal governance from the end of Bretton Woods to EMU*. Cornell University Press
- Kaarlejarvi, J. (2007). Fiscal policy without a State in EMU. *Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan*.
- Marks, Gary (1996). 'Exploring and Explaining Variation in EU Cohesion Policy', in Liesbet Hooghe (ed.), *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 388–422.
- Medeiros, E. (2014). Assessing territorial impacts of the EU Cohesion Policy: The Portuguese case. *European Planning Studies*, 22(9), 1960-1988.
- Schelkle, W. (2006). The theory and practice of economic governance in EMU revisited: What have we learnt about commitment and credibility?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(4), 669-685.
- Terracciano, B., & Graziano, P. R. (2016). EU Cohesion Policy Implementation and Administrative Capacities: Insights from Italian Regions. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 26(3), 293-320.
- Verdun, A. (2015). A historical institutionalist explanation of the EU's responses to the euro area financial crisis. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(2), 219-237.
- Wurzel, R. (2002). *Environmental policy-making in Britain, Germany and the European Union: The Europeanisation of air and water pollution control*. Manchester University Press.
- Theodoropoulou, S., & Watt, A. (2015). An Evaluation of the Austerity Strategy in the Eurozone: Was the First Greek Bailout Programme Bound to Fail?. In *The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece in the Eurozone Crisis* (pp. 71-90). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Class 4: 'Output Europeanisation II' : The EU's impact on foreign and social policy

In this class we'll review the impact that EU gender equality, immigration and foreign policies have had on national policies and performance. We'll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation. We'll also engage in a research design exercise, by trying to re-run the studies in the required reading using different methods, case selection and measures.

Foundation Readings

- Graziano et al 2008 *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* – Chapters 19, 22, 23 and 24
- Smith, M. E. (2000). Conforming to Europe: the domestic impact of EU foreign policy co-operation. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(4), 613-631.

Required Readings

- Avdeyeva, O. (2010). States' compliance with international requirements: Gender equality in EU enlargement countries. *Political Research Quarterly*, 63(1), 203-217.
- Fagan, C., & Rubery, J. (2018). Advancing gender equality through European employment policy: the impact of the UK's EU membership and the risks of Brexit. *Social Policy and Society*, 17(2), 297-317.
- Grimm, S., & Mathis, O. L. (2018). Democratization via aid? The European Union's democracy promotion in the Western Balkans 1994–2010. *European Union Politics*, 19(1), 163-184.

- Lavenex, S. (2017). *Revival: The Europeanisation of Refugee Policies (2001): Between Human Rights and Internal Security*. Routledge. – Chapter 4

Additional Readings

- Balzacq, T. (2008). The policy tools of securitization: Information exchange, EU foreign and interior policies. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1), 75-100.
- Bretherton, C. (2001). Gender mainstreaming and EU enlargement: swimming against the tide?. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(1), 60-81.
- Carbone, M. (2010). The European Union, Good Governance and Aid Co-ordination. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(1), 13-29.
- Cichowski, R. A. (2004). Women's rights, the European Court, and supranational constitutionalism. *Law & Society Review*, 38(3), 489-512.
- Del Biondo, K. (2015). Norms or Interests? Explaining Instrumental Variation in EU Democracy Promotion in Africa. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(2), 237-254.
- Duncan, S. (1996). Obstacles to a successful equal opportunities policy in the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 3(4), 399-422.
- Hašková, H., & Křížková, A. (2008). The impact of EU accession on the promotion of women and gender equality in the Czech Republic. *Gender Politics in the Expanding European Union: Mobilization, Inclusion, Exclusion*, 155.
- Lavenex, S., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2009). EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics. *Journal of European public policy*, 16(6), 791-812.
- Kantola, J. (2010). *Gender and the European Union*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Pace, M. (2009). Paradoxes and contradictions in EU democracy promotion in the Mediterranean: the limits of EU normative power. *Democratization*, 16(1), 39-58.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2012). Europeanization beyond Europe. *Unpublished Manuscript*.
- Smith, M. E. (2001). Diplomacy by decree: the legalization of EU foreign policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(1), 79-104.
- Smith, M. E. (2004). *Europe's foreign and security policy: the institutionalization of cooperation* (Vol. 7). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spehar, A. (2012). This far, but no further? Benefits and limitations of EU gender equality policy making in the Western Balkans. *East European Politics and Societies*, 26(2), 362-379.
- Squires, J. (2007). *The new politics of gender equality*. Macmillan International Higher Education. (esp. Chapter 1).
- Tonra, B. (2001). *The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy: Dutch, Danish and Irish Foreign Policy in the European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- van der Vleuten, A (2016) “Shifting Costs and Concepts of Gender Equality (1992–2005)” in: Van der Vleuten, A. *The price of gender equality: Member states and governance in the European Union*. Routledge.
- Whitman, R., & Wolff, S. (Eds.). (2010). *The European Neighbourhood Policy in perspective: Context, implementation and impact*. Springer.

Class 5: In-class Presentations

Each student will deliver a 5 minute presentation (3-5 slides) outlining the core design of the proposed policy analysis. They will have a further 5-minute Q&A session where they'll receive questions and feedback from the lecturer and from fellow classmates.

Class 6: 'Europeanisation of Political Systems I': The EU's impact on democracy

In this class we'll review the impact that EU membership and accession has had on national democratic performance. We'll focus on executive-legislative relations, and on the literature on Eastern Europe backsliding. We'll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation. We'll also engage in a measurement exercise, to discuss the difficulties in measuring the concept of democracy.

Foundation Readings

- Goetz, K.H., and J.H. Meyer-Sahling. 2008. The Europeanisation of national political systems: parliaments and executives. *Living Reviews in European Governance* 3,
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Sedelmeier, U. (2004). Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of European public policy*, 11(4), 661-679.
- Sedelmeier, U. (2011). Europeanisation in new member and candidate states. *Living Reviews in European Governance*.

Required Readings

- Auel, K., & Höing, O. (2014). Parliaments in the euro crisis: Can the losers of integration still fight back?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(6), 1184-1193
- Börzel, T. A., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2017). Coming together or drifting apart? The EU's political integration capacity in Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(2), 278-296.
- Johansson, K. M., & Tallberg, J. (2010). Explaining chief executive empowerment: EU summitry and domestic institutional change. *West European Politics*, 33(2), 208-236.
- Mungiu, Alina. "EU Accession Is No "End of History"." *Journal of Democracy* 18.4 (2007): 8-16.

Additional Readings

- Ágh, A. (2016). The decline of democracy in East-Central Europe: Hungary as the worst-case scenario. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63(5-6), 277-87.
- Anderson, J.J. (2002) Europeanization and the Transformation of the Democratic Polity. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(5) 793-822.
- Bäck, H., Dumont, P., Meier, H. E., Persson, T., & Vernby, K. (2009). Does European Integration Lead to a Presidentialization' of Executive Politics? Ministerial Selection in Swedish Postwar Cabinets. *European Union Politics*, 10(2), 226-252.
- Bäck, H., Meier, H. E., Persson, T., & Fischer, J. (2012). European integration and prime ministerial power: A differential impact on cabinet reshuffles in Germany and Sweden. *German Politics*, 21(2), 184-208.
- Blauburger, M., & Kelemen, R. D. (2017). Can courts rescue national democracy? Judicial safeguards against democratic backsliding in the EU. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(3), 321-336.

- Crum, B. (2013). Saving the Euro at the Cost of Democracy?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(4), 614-630.
- Epstein, R. A., & Jacoby, W. (2014). Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East–West Divide?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(1), 1-16.
- Grabbe, H. (2015). *EU's Transformative Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Held, D. (2007). *Democracy and the global order from the modern state to cosmopolitan governance*. Cambridge, U.K. ; Malden, Mass.: Polity. – Chapters 5 and 6
- Lodge, M. (2008). Regulation, the regulatory state and European politics. *West European Politics*, 31(1-2), 280-301.
- Poguntke, T. (2008). Party Government in the EU: On the Road to Presidentialization? *Working Paper EUI*.
- Pridham, G. (1991). *Encouraging democracy : The international context of regime transition in southern Europe*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Raunio, T., and S. Hix. 2001. Backbenchers learn to fight back: European integration and parliamentary government. In *Europeanised politics? European integration and national political systems*, ed. K.H. Goetz, and S. Hix, 142–68. London: Frank Cass
- Raunio, T. (2009). National parliaments and European integration: What we know and agenda for future research. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15(4), 317-334.
- Schlipphak, B., & Treib, O. (2017). Playing the blame game on Brussels: the domestic political effects of EU interventions against democratic backsliding. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(3), 352-365.
- Winzen, T. (2012). National parliamentary control of European Union affairs: A cross-national and longitudinal comparison. *West European Politics*, 35(3), 657-672.
- Winzen, T. (2013). European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions. *European Union Politics*, 14(2), 297-323.

Class 7: ‘Europeanisation of Political Systems II’: The EU’s impact on decentralization

In this class we’ll review the impact that EU membership has had on the power of regional and local administrative units. We’ll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation. We’ll also organize a structured debate where a team will defend the status quo, while a second team will propose further reforms to empower regions and decentralise. Arguments will have to be informed by the literature, and especially the literature on federalism.

Foundation Readings

- Filipov, M. P. C. Ordershook and O. Shvetsova, (2004) *A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 1
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., & Schakel, A. H. (2008). Operationalizing regional authority: a coding scheme for 42 countries, 1950–2006. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18(2-3), 123-142.
- Keating, M. (2008). A Quarter Century of the Europe of the Regions. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18(5), 629-635.

Required Readings

- Börzel, T. (2002). “Towards a framework of joint decision-making: The impact of Europeanization on the territorial institutions of Spain” in: *States and regions in the European Union institutional adaptation in Germany and Spain* Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Huwylar, O., Tatham, M., & Blatter, J. (2018). Party politics, institutions, and identity: the dynamics of regional venue shopping in the EU. *West European Politics*, 41(3), 754-778.
- Marks, G., Hooghe, L., & Schakel, A. H. (2008). Patterns of regional authority. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18(2-3), 167-181.
- Tatham, Michael (2011). ‘Devolution and EU Policy-Shaping: Bridging the Gap between Multi-Level Governance and Liberal Intergovernmentalism’, *European Political Science Review*, 3:01, 53–81.

Additional Readings

- Adshead, M. (2017). Developing European Regions? Comparative governance, policy networks and European integration. In: *Developing European Regions?* (pp. 161-188). Routledge.
- Bache, I. and Jones, R. (2000) ‘Has EU Regional Policy Empowered the Regions? A Study of Spain and the UK’. *Regional and Federal Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 1–20.
- Beyers, Jan, and Peter Bursens (2013). ‘How Europe Shapes the Nature of the Belgian Federation: Differentiated EU Impact Triggers Both Co-Operation and Decentralization’, *Regional & Federal Studies*, 23:3, 271–291.
- Bourne, Angela (2003). ‘The Impact of European Integration on Regional Power’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41:4, 597–620.
- Börzel, T. (2002). *States and regions in the European Union institutional adaptation in Germany and Spain* Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press
- Chalmers, A. W. (2013). Regional Authority, Transnational Lobbying and the Allocation of Structural Funds in the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(5), 815-831.
- Donas, Tom, and Jan Beyers (2013). ‘How Regions Assemble in Brussels: The Organizational Form of Territorial Representation in the European Union’, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 43:4, 527–550
- Dosenrode, S. (2018). *The Nordic Regions and the European Union*. Routledge.
- Elias, A. (2008). Introduction: whatever happened to the Europe of the regions? Revisiting the regional dimension of European politics. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18(5), 483-492.
- Fargion, V., Morlino, L., & Profeti, S. (2006). Europeanisation and territorial representation in Italy. *West European Politics*, 29(4), 757-783.
- Ferry, M., & McMaster, I. (2005). Implementing structural funds in Polish and Czech regions: convergence, variation, empowerment?. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 15(1), 19-39.
- Fleurke, F. and R. Willemse (2006), ‘The European Union and the autonomy of sub-national authorities: towards an analysis of constraints and opportunities in sub-national decision-making’, *Regional & Federal Studies* 16(1): 83–98.
- Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2003). Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2), 233-243
- Jeffery, C. (1997). *The Regional Dimension of the European Union. Towards a Third Level in Europe?* London: Frank Cass
- Jeffery, C. (2000). Sub-national mobilization and European integration: Does it make any difference?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(1), 1-23.

- Marks, G., Hooghe, L., & Schakel, A. H. (2008). Measuring regional authority. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18(2-3), 111-121.
- Scherpereel, J. A. (2010). EU cohesion policy and the Europeanization of Central and East European regions. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 20(1), 45-62.
- Tatham, M. (2008). Going solo: Direct regional representation in the European Union. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18(5), 493-515.
- Treisman, Daniel (2007), *The architecture of government: rethinking political decentralization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Topic 8: ‘Europeanisation of Party Systems’: the EU’s impact on political parties

In this class we’ll review the most important ways to assess party systems – e.g. fragmentation and polarization. We will reflect on the impact that the EU issue has had on national party system change, and on the impact that EU institutions – and especially the empowerment of the EP – have had on the formation of transnational party groups. We’ll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation.

Foundation Readings

- Ladrech, R. (2006) The European Union and Political Parties. In: Katz, R. S and Crotty, W (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics* Sage.
- Crotty, W. (2006) Party Transformations: The United States and Western Europe. In: Katz, R. S and Crotty, W (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics* Sage.
- Mair, P. (2000). The limited impact of Europe on national party systems. *West European Politics*, 23(4), 27-51.

Required Readings

- Hobolt, S. B., & De Vries, C. E. (2015). Issue entrepreneurship and multiparty competition. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(9), 1159-1185.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., and Frey, T. (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45, 921–56.
- Hix, S. & Noury, A. (2009). After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34, 159-174.
- McElroy, G., & Benoit, K. (2012). “Policy positioning in the European Parliament”. *European Union Politics*, 13(1), 150-167.

Additional Readings

- Baun, M., Dürr, J., Marek, D., & Šaradín, P. (2006). The Europeanization of Czech politics: the political parties and the EU referendum. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(2), 249-280.
- De Vries, C. E., & Hobolt, S. B. (2012). When dimensions collide: The electoral success of issue entrepreneurs. *European Union Politics*, 13(2), 246-268.
- De Wilde, P. (2011). No polity for old politics? A framework for analyzing the politicization of European integration. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(5), 559–75.

- Gabel, M., & Hix, S. (2002). Defining the EU political space: An empirical study of the European elections manifestos, 1979-1999. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8), 934-964.
- Gaffney, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Political parties and the European Union*. Routledge.
- García Lupato, F. (2014). Talking Europe, using Europe: The EU and parliamentary competition in Italy and Spain (1986–2006). *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 20(1), 29-45.
- Garry, J. (1995). The British conservative party: divisions over European policy. *West European Politics*, 18(4), 170-189.
- Ezrow, L., & Hellwig, T. (2014). Responding to voters or responding to markets? Political parties and public opinion in an era of globalization. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(4), 816-827.
- Hellwig, T. (2016) The Supply Side of Electoral Politics How Globalization Matters for Party Strategies in: Vowles, J., & Xezonakis, G. (Eds.). *Globalization and Domestic Politics: Parties, Elections, and Public Opinion*. Oxford University Press.
- Hix, S. (1999). Dimensions and alignments in European Union politics: Cognitive constraints and partisan responses. *European Journal of Political Research*, 35(1), 69-106.
- Hix, S. (2001). Legislative behaviour and party competition in the European Parliament: An application of nominate to the EU. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(4), 663-688.
- Hix, S., Noury, A., & Roland, G. (2006). Dimensions of politics in the European Parliament. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 494-520.
- Hobolt, S. B., & De Vries, C. E. (2015). Issue entrepreneurship and multiparty competition. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(9), 1159-1185.
- Höglinger, D. (2016). *Politicizing European Integration: Struggling with the Awakening Giant*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hooghe, L. (2002) 'Euro-Socialists or Euro-Marketeers? Contention about European Capitalism among Senior Commission Officials', *Journal of Politics*, 62 (2002), 430–54.
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., & Wilson, C. J. (2002). Does left/right structure party positions on European integration?. *Comparative political studies*, 35(8), 965-989.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British journal of political science*, 39(1), 1-23.
- Hooghe, L., and Marks, G. (2017). Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan and the transnational cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(7), 1–28.
- Hutter, S., Grande, E., and Kriesi, H. (eds) (2016). *Politicizing Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klingemann, H. D., Volkens, A., McDonald, M. D., Budge, I., & Bara, J. (2006). *Mapping policy preferences II: estimates for parties, electors, and governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003* (Vol. 2). Oxford University Press.
- Kriesi, H. (2007). The role of European integration in national election campaigns. *European Union Politics*, 8(1), 83-108.
- Ladrech, R. (2002). Europeanization and political parties: towards a framework for analysis. *Party politics*, 8(4), 389-403.
- Ladrech, R. (2007). National political parties and European governance: The consequences of 'missing in action'. *West European Politics*, 30(5), 945-960.
- Lewis, P., & Mansfeldová, Z. (Eds.). (2006). *The European Union and Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe*. Springer.
- Lynch, P., & Whitaker, R. (2013). Rivalry on the right: The Conservatives, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the EU issue. *British Politics*, 8(3), 285-312.

- Lynch, P., and Whitaker, R. (2013). Where there is discord, can they bring harmony? Managing intra-party dissent on European integration in the Conservative Party. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 15(3), 317–39.
- Mair, P. (2013). *Ruling the void: The hollowing of Western democracy*. London: Verso
- Marks, G., & Wilson, C. J. (2000). The past in the present: A cleavage theory of party response to European integration. *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3), 433-459.
- Marks, G., Wilson, C. J., & Ray, L. (2002). National political parties and European integration. *American Journal of Political Science*, 585-594.
- Marks, G., Steenbergen, M.R (2004). *European integration and political conflict* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marks, G., L. Hooghe, M. Nelson, and E.E. Edwards. (2006). Party competition and European integration in the east and west: different structure, same causality. *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 2: 155–75
- Mattila, M., & Raunio, T. (2012). Drifting further apart: National parties and their electorates on the EU dimension. *West European Politics*, 35(3), 589-606.
- Raunio, T. (2002). Why European integration increases leadership autonomy within political parties. *Party Politics*, 8(4), 405-422.
- Taggart, P., & Szczerbiak, A. (2004). Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(1), 1-27
- Szczerbiak, A., & Taggart, P. (Eds.). (2008). *Opposing Europe?: The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*. Oxford University Press
- Vachudova, M. A. (2008). Tempered by the EU? Political parties and party systems before and after accession. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15(6), 861-879.

Topic 9: ‘Europeanisation of Public Opinion I’: the EU’s impact on attitudes and voting

In this class we’ll review the impact that the EU issue has had on electoral behaviour in European countries (issue voting, economic voting, voting for the radical right). In so doing, we will review core voting behaviour theories. We’ll furthermore reflect on the concept and measure of Euroscepticism. We’ll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation. Students will split into groups and prepare a policy brief to the European Commission on the causes and consequences of Euroscepticism, and propose solutions to tackle it.

Foundation Readings

- Hobolt, S. B., & de Vries, C. E. (2016). Public support for European integration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 413-432.
- Gabel, M. (1998). Public support for European integration: An empirical test of five theories. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(2), 333-354.
- Vowles, J., & Xezonakis, G. (Eds.). (2016). *Globalization and Domestic Politics: Parties, Elections, and Public Opinion*. Oxford University Press. – Introduction and Conclusion

Required Readings

- Anderson, C. D. (2006). Economic voting and multilevel governance: A comparative individual-level analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 449-463.
- De Vries, C. E., & Tillman, E. R. (2011). European Union issue voting in East and West Europe: The role of political context. *Comparative European Politics*, 9(1), 1-17.

- De Vries, C. E. (2017). Benchmarking Brexit: How the British decision to leave shapes EU public opinion. *JCMS: The Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(S1), 38–53.
- Swank, D., & Betz, H. G. (2003). Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe. *Socio-Economic Review*, 1(2), 215-245.

Additional Readings

- Anderson, C. J. (1998). When in doubt, use proxies: Attitudes toward domestic politics and support for European integration. *Comparative political studies*, 31(5), 569-601.
- Anderson, C. J., and Reichert, M. S. (1995). Economic benefits and support for membership in the EU: A cross-national analysis. *Journal of Public Policy*, 15(3), 231–49.
- Arzheimer, K. (2009). Contextual factors and the extreme right vote in Western Europe, 1980–2002. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 259-275.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., Schuck, A. R., Elenbaas, M., and De Vreese, C. H. (2011). Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support. *European Union Politics*, 12(2), 241–66.
- Copsy, N., and Haughton, T. (2009). The choices for Europe: National preferences in new and old member states. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(2), 263–86
- De Vries, C. E. (2007). Sleeping giant: Fact or fairytale? How European integration affects national elections. *European Union Politics*, 8(3), 363-385.
- De Vries, C. E. (2009). The impact of EU referenda on national electoral politics: The Dutch case. *West European Politics*, 32(1), 142-171.
- De Vries, C. E. (2010). EU issue voting: Asset or liability? How European integration affects parties' electoral fortunes. *European Union Politics*, 11(1), 89-117.
- De Vries, C. E. (2017). The cosmopolitan–parochial divide: What the 2017 Dutch election result tells us about party and electoral competition in the Netherlands and beyond. *Journal of European Public Policy*
- De Vries, C. E. (2018). *Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration*. Oxford University Press.
- De Vries, C. E., Van der Brug, W., Van Egmond, M. H., & Van der Eijk, C. (2011). Individual and contextual variation in EU issue voting: The role of political information. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1), 16-28.
- De Wilde, P., and Trenz, H. J. (2012). Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as polity contestation. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 15(4), 537–54.
- Franklin, M. (2006). European elections and the European voter. *European Union: power and policy-making*, 3, 227-246.
- Franklin, M., Marsh, M., and McLaren, L. (1994). Uncorking the bottle: Popular opposition to European unification in the wake of Maastricht. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32(4), 455–72.
- Hakhverdian, A., Van Elsas, E., Van der Brug, W., & Kuhn, T. (2013). Euroscepticism and education: A longitudinal study of 12 EU member states, 1973–2010. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 522-541.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2012). Citizen satisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(S1), 88–105
- Hobolt, S. B., & Spoon, J. J. (2012). Motivating the European voter: Parties, issues and campaigns in European Parliament elections. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(6), 701-727.
- Hobolt, S. B., & Wratil, C. (2015). Public opinion and the crisis: the dynamics of support for the euro. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(2), 238-256

- Hobolt, S. B., & De Vries, C. (2016). Turning against the Union? The impact of the crisis on the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies*, 44, 504-514.
- Gabel, M. J. (1998). Economic integration and mass politics: Market liberalization and public attitudes in the European Union. *American Journal of Political Science*, 936-953.
- Gabel, M. (1998). *Interests and Integration: Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- Jasiewicz, K. (2009). “The Past Is Never Dead” Identity, Class, and Voting Behavior in Contemporary Poland. *East European Politics and Societies*, 23(4), 491-508.
- Inglehart, R., Rabier, J. R., & Reif, K. (1987). The evolution of public attitudes toward European integration: 1970–1986. *Journal of European Integration*, 10(2-3), 135-155.
- Inglehart, R. (2007). Postmaterialist values and the shift from survival to self-expression values. In *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*.
- Lubbers, M., and Scheepers, P. (2010). Divergent trends of euroscepticism in countries and regions of the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(6), 787–817.
- Nelsen, B. F., Guth, J. L., & Fraser, C. R. (2001). Does religion matter? Christianity and public support for the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 2(2), 191-217.
- McLaren, L. M. (2002). Public support for the European Union: Cost/benefit analysis or perceived cultural threat? *Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 551–66.
- Oesch, D. (2008). Explaining workers' support for right-wing populist parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review*, 29(3), 349-373.
- Stevenson, N. (2006). European cosmopolitan solidarity: questions of citizenship, difference and post-materialism. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(4), 485-500.
- Suine, K., and Svensson, P. (1993). The Danes and the Maastricht Treaty: The Danish EC referendum of June 1992. *Electoral Studies*, 12(2), 99–111.
- Tillman, E. R. (2004). The European Union at the ballot box? European Integration and voting behavior in the new member states. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(5), 590–610.

Topic 10: ‘Europeanisation of Public Opinion II’: the EU’s impact on identity

In this class we’ll review the impact that the EU issue has had on identity formation processes. In so doing, we will review the concept and measurement of identity. We will furthermore compare European identity with other continental identities. We’ll attempt to unearth the main hypotheses from the readings, and link them to theories of Europeanisation. Students will split into groups and prepare a policy brief to the European Commission on the most effective strategies to strengthen identification with Europe, as gathered from the empirical research.

Foundation Readings

- Duchesne, S., & Frogner, A. P. (1995). Is there a European identity? In: Niedermayer, O., & Sinnott, R. (eds) *Public opinion and internationalized governance* Oxford: OUP
- Herrmann, R., Risse, T., & Brewer, M. B (2004). *Transnational identities becoming European in the EU* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield – Ch 1 & 11
- Wendt, A. (1994). Collective identity formation and the international state. *American political science review*, 88(2), 384-396.

Required Readings

- Hartevelde, E., Van der Meer, T., and De Vries, C. E. (2013). In Europe we trust? Exploring three logics of trust in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 542–65
- Kuhn, T. (2015) Transactionalist Theory under Further Empirical Scrutiny in: Kuhn, T. (eds). *Experiencing European Integration: Transnational Lives and European Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roose, J. (2013). How European is European Identification? Comparing Continental Identification in Europe and Beyond. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(2), 281-297.
- Ruiz Jiménez, A. M., Górnica, J. J., Kandulla, M., Kiss, P., & Kosić, A. (2004). European and National Identities in the EU's Old and New Member States: Ethnic, Civic, Instrumental and Symbolic Components. *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)* 8 (11)

Additional Readings

- Bee, C. (2008). The 'institutionally constructed' European identity: citizenship and public sphere narrated by the commission. *Perspectives on European politics and society*, 9(4), 431-450.
- Bruter, M. (2003). Winning hearts and minds for Europe: The impact of news and symbols on civic and cultural European identity. *Comparative political studies*, 36(10), 1148-1179
- Bruter, M. (2005). *Citizens of Europe?: the emergence of a mass European identity*. Springer.
- Checkel, J. T., & Katzenstein, P. J. (Eds.). (2009). *European identity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carey, S. (2002). Undivided loyalties: Is national identity an obstacle to European integration? *European Union Politics*, 3(4), 387–413.
- Delanty, G. (1997). Models of citizenship: defining European identity and citizenship. *Citizenship studies*, 1(3), 285-303.
- Delanty, G. (2003). Is There a European Identity? *Global Dialogue*, 5(3/4), 76-86.
- Fligstein, N. (2008). *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press – esp. Ch 5, 6 and 8
- Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A., & Sandholtz, W. (2012). European integration, nationalism and European identity. *JCMS: journal of common market studies*, 50, 106-122.
- Fuchs, D., & Klingemann, H. D. (Eds.). (2011). *Cultural diversity, European identity and the legitimacy of the EU*. Edward Elgar Publishing. – esp. part I and part II
- Gabel MJ (1998) *Interests and Integration: Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- Green, D. M. (2007). *The Europeans: political identity in an emerging polity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Hanquinet, L., & Savage, M. (2018). Feeling European in a globalised world and the role of mobility, networks, and consumption: A comparative approach to British exceptionalism. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 1-32.
- Hooghe, L., and Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, community and cues: Public opinion on European integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(4), 419–43.
- Krzyżanowski, M. (2009). On the 'Europeanisation' of identity constructions in Polish political discourse after 1989. In *Discourse and transformation in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 95-113). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Kuhn, T. (2015). *Experiencing European Integration: Transnational Lives and European Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Neumann, I. B. (1999). *Uses of the other: "the East" in European identity formation* (Vol. 9). U of Minnesota Press.

- Recchi, E. (2014). Pathways to European identity formation: a tale of two models. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 27(2), 119-133.
- Risse, T. (2001). A European identity? Europeanization and the evolution of nation-state identities. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and domestic change*, 198-216.
- Stråth, B. (2002). A European identity: To the historical limits of a concept. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(4), 387-401.