

Course Outline

Course: Democracy and the European Union

Code: EU1141

Semester: Spring 2017

Responsible Instructor: Jonathan Polk

Aim

The aim of the course is to provide a deeper understanding of European integration and the democratic quality of European governance in the European Union's (EU) internal and external relations. Students will learn about the institutions and practices of the EU and gain an overview of, and ability to critically reflect upon (orally and in written form), current theory and research on the relationship between European integration and democracy within the social sciences.

Core Lectures and Seminars "Democracy and the European Union"

The course consists of core lectures that present the institutional structure and political processes of the European Union as they relate to the concepts of democratic accountability and legitimacy. The lectures focus on the nature of democracy in the EU by tracking four major themes: 1) the developments of the institutions within the union, 2) the interactions between political parties and European politics, 3) public opinion and voting behavior of European citizens at the EU level, and 4) the role of democracy in the EU's external policies.

Requirements

Students are required to complete the assigned readings (see full reference below) before each lecture. An additional list of complementary readings is also provided. Core lectures are followed by a seminar that will explore similar themes in more detail. Students are expected to actively participate in discussions of the readings and the theme during seminar meetings. All students are further required to bring a memo to each seminar that includes three discussion points, which may be raised in the discussion (the memos will be collected afterwards.)

Each student will deliver one 10-12 minute oral presentation. These presentations will take place in the seminars, and should be thematically related to the topic of the seminar. If, for example, the topic of the seminar is political parties and European integration, the presentation(s) in that seminar should be clearly connected to this subject matter. The presenter is otherwise free to choose the specific content, but students are expected to deliver an argument that addresses an important aspect of the EU and its relationship to democracy for either a single country or the EU as a whole. Students are encouraged to use technical assistance equipment such as power point for their presentations. Furthermore, all students in the audience are expected to engage the speaker with questions and comments on the content and implications of the presentation, and continue a discussion on the raised topics during the remainder of the class.

Students are required to submit two essays on the major themes of the course; each essay must consist of at least 5000 but no more than 7000 characters, including spaces. These essays must include fully cited references, but the reference list and cover page do not count towards the overall character total of the essays. Students must upload each essay to GUL on the due date.

Essay 1 – EU integration history, European citizenship, and the democratic deficit debate [Due 6 March 2017]

Essay 2 – Public opinion, political parties, and the EU or democracy and EU external relations [Due 24 March 2017]

Essays should be structured by three questions: What research problem is dealt with in this theme? How do the authors address this problem? What are they finding? A good essay analyzes rather than describes the literature, and at the same time demonstrates that the student is well aware of its content. If appropriate, the analysis may be evaluative (the student may for example claim that the authors are right or wrong on some aspect). In that case it is important that the student gives grounds for his/her arguments and not just delivers opinions.

Current Events

We will discuss and reference current events within the European Union and its member states throughout the course. It is therefore essential that students keep up with EU news. Some options for news on Europe in English include: *BBC News*, *Der Spiegel* (international version), *The Economist*, *EU Observer*, *Euractiv*, *The Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*.

Grading

The entire course is worth 7,5 higher education credits (hec) and it is examined through: 1) two essays (4 hec, total), 2) an oral presentation (1,5 hec), and 3) active participation in seminars (1,5 hec). Students must pass all elements in order to pass the course.

Essays 60% (30% each) (4 hec total) Two essays on the major themes of the course. Again, each essay must consist of at least 5000 but no more than 7000 characters, including spaces, and must include fully cited references. To earn a "high pass" (pass with distinction) for the entire course, students must receive an average essay grade of A (7) or B (6) on the ECTS scale. To earn a "pass" for the entire course, a student must also receive a "pass" grade for both essays. In order to earn a "pass" on an essay, the student should demonstrate the ability to present the general characteristics of the research area; relate the research theme to the broader topic of the course; reflect and critically evaluate the research in question, and present a well-structured essay. To earn a "high pass" the student should, in addition to the "pass" criteria, show analytical strength and independence, as well as an ability to synthesize the research evaluated in the essay.

Swedish grade:	ECTS grade:
U ("fail")	F (0-2)
G- ("weak pass")	E (3)
G ("pass")	D (4)
G+ ("strong pass")	C (5)
VG - ("weak high pass")	B (6)
VG ("strong high pass")	A (7)

This means that:

High pass = 6 -7

Pass = 3 - 5,99

Fail = 0 - 2,99

Example:

If a student gets the following grades:

Essay 2: 6 (B)

Essay 3: 4 (D)

The total grade will be "strong pass" in the Swedish/HEC-grade system not a "high pass", since:

$$6 + 4 = 10$$

$$10/2 = 5 \text{ average grade of the essays}$$

Oral presentation (2 hec) One 10-12 minute oral presentation. The presentation should be on a topic that is specific enough to provide deeper understanding of a particular aspect of democracy and the European Union, but must also demonstrate a clear connection to the relevant theme of the seminar in which it is delivered. Further, all presentations must include a question that motivates a discussion within the seminar.

Seminar (1.5 hec) Each student is expected to have completed and reflected upon the assigned readings for each class and to actively participate in seminar discussions. Evaluation of this requirement will emphasize the quality rather than only the quantity of student participation.

The oral presentations and seminars and will be graded either C (pass) or F (fail).

	Swedish system	ECTS
Oral presentation 2 hec	Fail - Pass	C and F
Seminars 1,5 hec	Fail - Pass	C and F

Again, students must pass each component of the course. A component that is not passed must be resubmitted before the end of the course.

Missing Seminars

Active participation is expected from all students in the seminars. Should you fail to attend any of the seminars you will be required to complete an extra assignment. As an extra assignment you are requested to (in addition to the required essay assignment) write an essay on one of the texts on the additional reading list. It should be 3500-4000 characters (including spaces) and have the same structure as the regular essay.

Rules and requirements regarding cheating and plagiarism

Cheating on examinations is considered a **serious offence**. Proved or suspected cheating will be reported to the Disciplinary Committee. This procedure is also employed by teachers and advisors in project work, individual papers and theses. Copying material from the Internet, from books, journals, reports or from a fellow student and then presenting it as one's own without source references is plagiarism and is **strictly forbidden**. Please note that plagiarism includes the use of material downloaded from electronic sources such as the Internet. Plagiarism is theft of someone else's work and will result in immediate fail of the assignment. Please note that the inclusion of a source in a bibliography list is not in itself sufficient attribution of another's work. All student work is screened with a program called Urkund, which compares a student's written work with published materials (including everything published on the internet) and all the work from prior students to detect plagiarism. It is the student's responsibility to keep an electronic and hard copy of each item of work that is submitted. The consequences may be severe for a student if found guilty. A student may be suspended from classes and other university activities for a determined time period (usually 6 weeks). Suspension from the university will result in a temporary suspension of all financial aid (including CSN) and may jeopardize a student's residence permit status.

SCHEDULE FRAME

Democracy and the European Union

Week	Date	Time	Teaching form at	Teacher	Topic
8	Feb 20	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	JP	EU History
8	Feb 22	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	MA	European Identity
8	Feb 23	13-15	Lecture 2 hours	MJ	EU Institutions
9	Feb 27	13-14 14-15	Seminar 2 x 1 hour	JP	EU History and Inst. Seminars
9	Feb 28	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	KJ	Defining Democracy
9	Mar 1	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	JP	Democratic Deficit Lecture
9	Mar 2	10-11 11-12	Seminar 2 x hour	JP	Democratic Deficit Seminars
10	Mar 7	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	JP	Political Parties and the EU
10	Mar 8	13-14 14-15	Seminar 2 x hour	JP	Parties and the EU seminars

Week	Date	Time	Teaching format	Teacher	Topic
10	Mar 10	10-12	Lecture 2 hours	AA	Gender and the EU
11	Mar 13	10-12	Seminar 2 x hour	JP	EP Elections Seminars
11	Mar 15	13-15	Lecture 2 hours	AJ	Ext. Democracy Promotion
11	Mar 16	10-12	Seminar 2 x hour	JP	EU Referenda Seminars
12	Mar 20	10-11 11-12	Seminar 2 x hour	JD	Ext. Democracy Promotion Sems.
12	Mar 21	10-11 11-12	Seminar 2 x hour	MJ	EU Enlargement Seminars
12	Mar 22	11-12	Lecture 1 hour	JP	Conclusion

JP= Jonathan Polk; MA= Mats Andrén; MJ = Markus Johansson; KJ = Katarzyna Jezierska; AKJ= Ann-Kristin Jonasson; AA = Amy Alexander, JD = Jonas Bergan Draege

Feb 20 – The history of European integration

Today's European Union emerged from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the aftermath of World War II. This lecture explains how the ECSC evolved into the European Community and then the European Union through major intergovernmental treaties and other more incremental forms of integration. Special attention will be given to the changing role of democracy during the early years of the European project.

Required Readings

Marks, Gary. (2012) "Europe and Its Empires: From Rome to the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 1-20.

Waldron, Jeremy. (2015) "The Vanishing Europe of Jürgen Habermas" *The New York Review of Books*, October 22, 2015 Issue.

Feb 22 – European citizenship and identity

(Mats Andrén – Professor, History of Ideas)

The lecture we will focus on the concept of European identity, including the European identity policy of the EU and the battle of European identity among scholars and intellectuals. This will be framed with some aspects from the concept of identity and from the history of the idea of Europe.

Required Readings

Andrén, Mats. (forthcoming) "The Controversial Concept of European Identity"

Delanty, Gerard. (1997) "Models of citizenship: Defining European identity and citizenship" *Citizenship Studies*, 1(3): 285-303.

Feb 23 – The institutions of the European Union

(Markus Johansson, Lecturer, Political Science)

A complex multi-level governance structure creates, implements, and enforces EU policy. This lecture looks at the relationships between the most prominent institutions within the EU, such as the Commission, Council of the European Union, the European Parliament, and European Court of Justice. The lecture focuses on how questions of democratic legitimacy and accountability apply to each institution, and to their interactions among one another in the EU policy-making process.

Familiarize yourself with all European institutions (particularly the Commission, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament and European Court of Justice). http://europa.eu/abc/panorama/howorganised/index_en.htm

Required Readings

- Bickerton, Christopher J., Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. (2015) "The new intergovernmentalism: European integration in the post-maastricht era." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 703-722.
- Dinan, Desmond. (2010) "Institutions and Governance: A New Treaty, a Newly Elected Parliament, and a New Commission." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(1): 95-118.

Feb 27 – EU history, institutions and identity seminar

Required Reading

- Mitchell, Kristine. (2015) "Rethinking the 'Erasmus Effect' on European Identity" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(2): 330-348.
- Stoekel, Florian. (2016) "Do Erasmus students develop a European identity? How social interactions change the way citizens think about Europe" *LSE EUROPP Blog*, available here: <http://bit.ly/2dwCfvO>

Recommended readings on specific institutions that may be useful for presentations, papers, etc.

- Hix, Simon and Bjørn Høyland. (2013) 'Empowerment of the European Parliament', *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 171-189.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. (2012) "Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive their Institution's Role" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 87-111.
- Naurin, Daniel. (2015) "Generosity in intergovernmental negotiations: The impact of state power, pooling and socialisation in the Council of the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.12104.
- Pollack, Mark. 2013. "The New EU Legal History: What's New, What's Missing?" *American University International Law Review*.
- 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.

Feb 28 – Conceptions of democracy

(Katarzyna Jezierska – Post-doc, Political Science)

In order to make sense of the debate around a democratic deficit in the EU (presented in the subsequent lecture), this lecture critically discusses central notions of "democracy" and "representation". It introduces different theoretical models of democracy and relates them to the EU.

Required Readings

- Dahl Robert A., (1999) "Can international organizations be democratic? A sceptic's view", (eds) Shapiro, Ian & Hacker-Cordón, Casiano. *Democracy's edges* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.19-36.
- Habermas, Jürgen. (1994) "Three Normative models of democracy" *Constellations* 1(1): 1-10.

Mar 1 – The democratic deficit debate

For several decades now, scholars, pundits, and various interested parties have argued that the European Union suffers from a "democratic deficit," but others claim that these alleged shortcomings are either overblown or actually important features of the EU needed to provide collectively beneficial outcomes. This lecture explains the background and key questions in this ongoing debate.

Required Readings

- Moravcsik, Andrew. (2002) "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 603-24.
- Føllesdal, Andreas and Simon Hix. (2006) "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik" *Journal of Common Market Studies* (44)3: 533-62.

Recommended Reading

Bellamy, Richard. (2010) "Democracy without Democracy? Can the EU's Democratic 'Outputs' Be Separated from the Democratic 'Inputs' Provided by Competitive Parties and Majority Rule?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(1): 2-19.

Mar 2 – Democratic deficit seminar

Required Readings

Majone, Giandomenico. (2014) "From Regulatory State to a Democratic Default" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(6): 1216-1223.

Cheneval, Francis, and Frank Schimmelfennig. (2013) "The Case for Democracy in the European Union." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(2): 334-350.

Mar 7 – Political parties and European integration

Despite declining membership numbers, political parties remain the central organizations connecting citizens and governments in most EU member states. This lecture provides an overview of the relationship between political parties and the EU. It will explore how European integration relates to national-level party competition, and examine the diverse sources of party-based skepticism to integration.

Required Readings

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. (2009) 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus' *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1): 1-23.

Mair, Peter, and Jacques Thomassen. (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(1): 20-35.

Recommended Readings

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer. (2011) "A giant fast asleep? party incentives and the politicisation of european integration." *Political Studies* 60(1): 115-130.

Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards. (2006) "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality" *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 155-75.

Mar 8 – Political parties and European integration seminar

Required Reading

McElroy, Gail and Kenneth Benoit. (2012) "Policy Positioning in the European Parliament." *European Union Politics* 13(1): 150-167

Recommended Reading

Rose, Richard, and Gabriela Borz. "Aggregation and representation in European Parliament party groups." *West European Politics* 36, no. 3 (2013): 474-497.

Mar 10 – Gender and the European Union

(Amy Alexander, Assistant Professor, Political Science)

The European Parliament (EP) is recognized as one of the most gender-equal elected bodies in the world. What is particularly notable in this regard is the EP's higher levels of female office-holders compared to that of its member countries' lower houses. This lecture examines the drivers of EP exceptionalism, the implications for women's inclusion across other EU decision-making bodies and the impact on female candidate selection for the EP among new member states.

Required Readings

Kantola, Johanna. 2009. "Women's Political Representation in the European Union." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 15: 379 – 400.

MacRae, Heather. 2012. "Double-Speak: The European Union and Gender Parity." *West European Politics* 35: 301 – 318.

Chiva, Cristina. 2014. "Gender, European Integration and Candidate Recruitment: The European Parliament Elections in the New EU Member States." *Parliamentary Affairs* 67: 458-494.

Mar 13 – Public opinion and political behavior seminar

Required Readings

Hobolt, Sara B. and de Vries, Catherine E. (2016) Public Support for European Integration *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19, 413-432.

Recommended Reading

Hix, Simon. (2013) "Why the 2014 European Elections Matter: Ten Key Votes in the 2009-2013 European Parliament" *European Policy Analysis* 15: 1-16.

Hobolt, Sara. (2015) "The 2014 European Parliament Elections: Divided in Unity?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(1): 6-21.

Hobolt, Sara. (2015) "A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections." *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(10): 1528-1540.

Loveless, Matthew and Robert Rohrschneider. (2011) "Public perceptions of the EU as a system of governance", *Living Rev. Euro. Gov.* 6(2) <http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2011-2>

Marsh, Michael and Slava Mikhaylov. (2010) "European Parliament Elections and EU Governance" *Living Reviews in European Governance* 5, 4. <http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2010-4>

Schmitt, Hermann, Sara Hobolt and Sebastian Popa. (2015) 'Does Personalization increase turnout? Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections.' *European Union Politics* 16(3): 347-368.

van Elsas, Erika and Wouter van der Brug. (2015) "The changing relationship between left-right ideology and euroscepticism, 1973-2010." *European Union Politics* 16(2): 194-215.

Mar 15 – The EU's external promotion of democracy

(Ann-Kristin Jonasson, Political Science)

The lecture seeks to make an analysis of the means employed by the EU to promote democracy in third countries, and the problems attached to these. The EU has assumed a high profile when it comes to democracy promotion, but the evidence suggests that the impact of its efforts has been poor. Why is this and what are the prospects for different means of democracy promotion to be successful in the future? These issues will be discussed in the lecture, with focus on EU democracy promotion policies towards the Mediterranean.

Required Readings

Jonasson, Ann-Kristin. (2013) *The EU's Democracy Promotion and the Mediterranean Neighbours: Orientation, ownership and dialogue in Jordan and Turkey*. Routledge. Pp. 181-205.

Teti, Andrea, Darcy Thompson, and Christopher Noble. (2013) 'EU Democracy Assistance Discourse in its New Response to a Changing Neighbourhood.' *Democracy and Security* 9(1-2): 61-79.

Mar 16 –European referenda seminar

Required Readings

Hobolt, Sara. (2016) "The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent, *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(9): 1259-1277.

Recommended Readings

Detlef Jahn & Ann-Sofie Storsved (1995) Legitimacy through referendum? The nearly successful domino-strategy of the EU-referendums in Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway, *West European Politics*, 18:4, 18-37.

Hobolt, Sara. (2006) "Direct Democracy and European Integration", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(1): 153-166.

Moravcsik, Andrew. (2005) "Europe without Illusions," and the responses by Larry Siedentop, John Kay, Sunder Katwala, Charles Grant and Philippe Legrain. Available online at *Prospect*: <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2005/07/europewithoutillusions/>

Widfeldt, Anders. (2004) Elite Collusion and Public Defiance: Sweden's Euro Referendum in 2003, *West European Politics*, 27:3, 503-517.

Mar 20 – Democracy promotion and future EU enlargement seminar

Required Readings

- Karakas, Cemal. (2013) "EU-Turkey: Integration without Full Membership or Membership without Full Integration? A Conceptual Framework for Accession Alternatives." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(6): 1057-1073.
- Freyburg, Tina, Sandra Lavenex, Frank Schimmelfennig, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel. (2009) "EU promotion of democratic governance in the neighbourhood." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(6): 916-934.

Recommended reading

- Lavenex, Sandra, and Frank Schimmelfennig. (2009) "EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics." *Journal of European public policy* 16(6): 791-812.

**Mar 21 –EU Eastern enlargement seminar
(Markus Johansson, Lecturer, Political Science)**

Required Reading

- Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada Vachudova. (2003) "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement." *East European Politics and Societies* 17, 1 (Winter): 42-57.

Recommended Reading

- Schimmelfennig, Frank. (2001) "The community trap: Liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the Eastern enlargement of the European Union." *International organization*, 55(01), 47-80.
- Epstein, Rachel and Wade Jacoby. (2014) "Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West Divide?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52: 1-16.

Mar 22 – Concluding lecture and class reflections on democracy and the EU

Required Readings

- Hobolt, Sara. (2012) "Citizens satisfaction with democracy in the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 88-105.

The academic literature on various aspects of the European Union can be quite extensive. The articles and books below are a non-exhaustive list of recommended material that may be useful when writing your essays or if you would like to read further on some of the topics we cover in this course.

European Union institutions

- Alter, Karen. (1998) "Who are the Masters of the Treaty?" *International Organization* 52(1): 121-147.
- Alter, Karen. (2000) "The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash?" *International Organization* 54(3): 489-518.
- Burley, Anne Marie and Walter Mattli. (1993) "Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration" *International Organization* 47(1): 41-76.
- Carruba, Cliff, Matthew Gabel and Hankla (2008) "Judicial Behavior under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice" *American Political Science Review* 102(4): 435-452.
- Carrubba, Clifford J., Gabel, Matthew and Hankla, Charles. (2012) "Understanding the Role of the European Court of Justice in European Integration." *American Political Science Review* 106(01).
- Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton. (2003) "The European Parliament at Fifty: A View from the Inside." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(2): 353-373.
- Häge, Frank. (2008) "Who Decides in the Council of the European Union?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 533-558.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. (2006). "Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 494-520.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Rolland. (2005) "Power to the parties: cohesion and competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001." *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. (2012) "Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive their Institution's Role" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 87-111.
- Jensen, Christian, Sven-Oliver Proksch and Jonathan B. Slapin (2013) "Parliamentary Questions, Oversight, and National Opposition Status in the European Parliament" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(2).

- Lindstädt, René, Jonathan B. Slapin, Ryan J. Vander Wielen (2011) "Balancing Competing Demands: Position Taking and Election Proximity in the European Parliament." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(1).
- Mattila, Mikko. 2009. "Roll Call Analysis of Voting in the European Union Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement." *European Journal of Political Research* 48(6): 840-857.
- Mattila, Mikko and Lane, Jan-Erik. (2001) "Why Unanimity in the Council? A Roll-Call Analysis of Council Voting." *European Union Politics* 2(1): 31-52.
- Pollack, Mark. (2013) "The New EU Legal History: What's New, What's Missing?" *American University International Law Review*.
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver and Jonathan B. Slapin (2011) "Parliamentary Questions and Oversight in the European Union" *European Journal of Political Research* 50(1).
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver and Jonathan B. Slapin (2010) "Position-Taking in European Parliament Speeches." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(3).
- Slapin, Jonathan B. and Sven-Oliver Proksch (2010) "Look Who's Talking: Parliamentary Debate in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 11(3).
- Smith, Andy. (2003) "Why European Commissioners Matter" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(1): 137-155.
- Stone Sweet, Alec. (2010). "The European Court of Justice and the judicialization of EU governance", *Living Rev. Euro. Gov.* 5,2. <http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2010-2>
- Stone Sweet, Alec, and Brunell Thomas L. (2012) "The European Court of Justice, State Noncompliance, and the Politics of Override." *American Political Science Review* 106(01): 204-13.
- Wonka, Arndt. (2007) "Technocratic and Independent? The appointment of the European Commissioners and its policy implications." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(2): 169-189.
- Yordanova, Nikoleta. (2011) "The European Parliament: In need of a theory." *European Union Politics* 12(4): 597-617.

The democratic deficit debate

- Crombez, C. (2003) 'The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing'. *European Union Politics*, 4(1): 101-20.
- Decker, Frank. (2002) "Governance Beyond the Nation-State. Reflections on the Democratic Deficit of the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(2): 256-272.
- Gandrud, C. and Hallerberg, M. (2014), Does Banking Union Worsen the EU's Democratic Deficit? The Need for Greater Supervisory Data Transparency. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. doi: 10.1111/jcms.12226
- Habermas, J. (1992) 'Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future of Europe'. *Praxis International*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-19.
- Höpner, Martin and Armin Schäfer. (2012) "Embeddedness and Regional Integration: Waiting for Polanyi in a Hayekian Setting." *International Organization* 66(3): 429-455.
- Kohler-Koch, B. and Rittberger, B. (2007) *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield).
- Majone, Giandomenico. (1994) "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe" *West European Politics* 17(3).
- Majone, G. (1998) 'Europe's "Democratic Deficit": The Question of Standards'. *European Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Majone, G. (2000) 'The Credibility Crisis of Community Regulation'. *JCMS*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 273-302.
- Majone, Giandomenico. (2010) "Transaction-Cost Efficiency and the Democratic Deficit." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(2): 150-175.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. (2008) "The Myth of Europe's Democratic Deficit" *Intereconomics: Journal of European Public Policy*, Nov-Dec: 331-340.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. (2002) "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government" *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 463-75.
- Weiler, J.H.H., Haltern, U.R. and Mayer, F. (1995) 'European Democracy and Its Critique'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 4-39.

Political parties and European integration

- Baker, David, Andrew Gamble, Steve Ludlam and David Seawright. (1993) "Conservative Splits and European Integration" *Political Quarterly*, 64: 420-35.
- de Vries, Catherine and Erica Edwards. (2009) 'Taking Europe to its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroskepticism', *Party Politics*, 15.

- Evans, Geoffrey. 1998. "Euroscepticism and Conservative Electoral Support: How An Asset Became a Liability" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 28: 573–90.
- Helbling, Marc, Dominic Hoeglinger, and Bruno Wüest. (2009) "How political parties frame European integration." *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 495-521.
- Hix, Simon and Christopher Lord. (1997) *Political Parties in the European Union* (New York: St Martin's).
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. (2002) "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 965–89.
- Johansson, Karl Magnus. (2002) "Party Elites in Multilevel Europe: The Christian Democrats and the Single European Act" *Party Politics* 8: 423–39.
- Klüver, Heike and Jae-Jae Spoon. (forthcoming). "Bringing salience back in: Explaining voting defection in the European Parliament" *Party Politics*, Published online, doi:10.1177/1354068813487114.
- Klüver, Heike and Toni Rodon (2013) "Explaining policy position choice of Europarties: The effect of legislative resources" *British Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 629-650.
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