

**University of Oxford**  
**European Governance**  
**Graduate Seminar**  
**2006-07**

**Course Provider**

Dr. Katrin Auel (Mansfield College), Tel. (2) 78704

Please contact Dr Auel with suggested additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

**Other Tutors:**

Dr. Andreas Busch (Hertford College), Dr. Anne Deighton (Wolfson College), Dr. David Hine (Christ Church, on leave 2006/7) Dr. Sara Hobolt (Lincoln College), and Dr. Jan Zielonka (St. Antony's College, on leave HT and TT 2007)

**Course Syllabus**

The formal rubric for the paper is set out in the current edition of the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*.

The course is offered as a core paper for first year students studying for the M Phil in European Politics and Society.

**Aims of the Course**

- Explore and discuss the principal theoretical and methodological debates in the study of European politics and society
- Compare different states in Europe and identify differences between nation states and other political and legal units
- Examine current debates in comparative European politics in such fields as democracy, political economy and public policy
- Analyze different levels and modes of governance in Europe
- Establish how and why integration has progressed the way it has
- Explore why different member states have different perspectives on and have pursued different strategies towards the European Union

**Intended Learning Outcomes**

**The general purposes of the course are:**

- to meet the needs of an international group of first-year postgraduate students who may wish to proceed to doctoral research, further study, or employment in such fields as government, politics, business or journalism across the world;
- to contribute to the overall learning experience of the MPhil course;

- to develop key skills relating to an understanding of complex conceptual issues and scholarly debates; an ability to write papers; to participate constructively in group discussions

**The specific student learning outcomes and experiences are:**

- to understand the development and workings of nation states in Europe
- to comprehend the nature of European integration and become familiar with policy making in the European Union
- to understand the relationship between developments at the European and national levels;
- to become familiar with the key literature on European integration and comparative European politics.

**Teaching Arrangements**

The course is taught by 20 two-hour classes starting in Michaelmas term and ending in Trinity term. 8 tutorial meetings are also envisaged for which students will be asked to submit 4 short essays.

Topics of the Course:

1. The state in Europe: from nation state to European “state”
2. Theories of European integration
3. Institutional theories in the study of European states
4. Models of democracy in Europe
5. Political economy in Europe
6. Constitutions, courts and politics
7. Government structures: legislatures and executives
8. Electoral and party systems
9. Party families and ideologies
10. Public Policy: modes of governance
11. Partisan differences in public policy
12. How the EU works
13. Deepening Europe: from Coal and Steel Community to EU
14. Widening Europe: from Six to Twenty-Five
15. Comparing federal and unitary systems
16. Elections, Public Opinion and Parties in the EU
17. International system in Europe
18. Governance outside EU borders: CFSP/ESDP
19. External trade relations of the EU
20. Europe in search of legitimacy

**Assessment**

Formal assessment for this course is by a three-hour unseen examination that will take place at the end of the Trinity term. To pass the MPhil, students must achieve a mark no lower than 60 points. Students may be asked to answer questions in a finals viva voce examination if necessary.

These examinations are conducted according to the provisions established in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations 2005*, a copy of which has been issued to each M Phil student in the Politics Department. Further details are available in the *Notes of Guidance for Graduate Students in Politics*, copies of which have also been issued to each MPhil student and are also available on the Politics Department's web-site.

## **Reading**

### **General Information:**

Reading materials can be located in a number of places. The Politics and Social Studies Library at Manor Road is a good place to start. Official documents are available at the European Documentation Centre. You will also find Nuffield College library a particularly useful resource.

You *are not* expected to read everything on this list. However, items with a star \* are particularly recommended.

The reading list is neither total nor fully comprehensive, but provides the basis from which you can pursue further independent reading at a more specialised level. Many of the readings are relevant to more than one class topic.

Some web sites are particularly useful. Links to politics and government sites including governments, think tanks, newspapers and journals include <http://gcweb.gc.maricopa.edu/socci/polsci/links.htm> and <http://www.keele.ac.uk/deppts/por/usbase.htm>. Various ministries of European states have their own sites. For instance, the British Foreign Office site is: <http://www.fco.gov.uk>. For a guide to the institutions of and recent developments in the EU, see the Europa site: <http://europa.eu.int>. There is also an on-line journal, European Integration Online Papers (EIOP) <http://olymp.wu-wien.ac.at/eiop/>. Working Papers of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute are available at <http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Publications/>

Because this is an area of rapid change, it is important to keep abreast of current developments. The easiest way to do this is to read the Economist and Financial Times regularly. The FT also has its own web site and archive which provides past issues and a good search engine. More detailed daily information is to be found in Agence Europe, which is available on paper in the European Studies Centre seminar room at St. Antony's College.

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## Reading list

### 1. The state in Europe: from nation-state to European "state"

By Jan Zielonka

Questions:

Can you identify major historical stages in state formation and nation building?

How nation-states differ from other political units?

Does the European integration process resemble a state-building process?

- Barkley, Karen and Mark von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation Building*, 1997
- Bartolini, Stefano, *Restructuring Europe. Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union*, 2005
- \* Caporaso, James A., 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34, 1996\*
- Davies, Norman, *Europe. A History*, 1996
- Ertman, Thomas, *Birth of the leviathan : building states and regimes in medieval and early modern Europe*, 1997
- Etzioni, Amitai, *Political Unification Revisited*, 2001
- Fischer, Joschka, 'From Confederacy to Federation-Thoughts on the finality of European integration', Speech at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000, published in Christian Joerges, Yves Meny and J.H.H. Weiler, eds., *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity. Responses to Joschka Fischer*, 2000
- Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983
- Kratochwil, Friedrich V., 'Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System', *World Politics*, 39/1, 1986
- Lindberg Leon N., and Stuart A. Scheingold, *Europe's Would-be Polity. Patterns of Change in the European Community*, 1970
- Loughlin, John, 'Regional Autonomy and State Paradigm Shifts in Western Europe,' *Regional and Federal Studies*, 10/2, 2000
- \* Poggi, Gianfranco, *The development of the modern state*, 1978\*
- Puchala, Donald J., 'Of Blind Men, elephants and international integration, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 10/3, 1972
- Schmitter, Philippe C., 'Imagining the Future of the Euro-polity with the Help of New Concepts', in Gary Marks et. al, eds., *Governance in the European Union*, 1996
- Ruggie, John Gerard, 'Continuity and transformation in the world polity: towards a neorealist synthesis', *World Politics*, 35, 1983
- Rokkan, Stein, 'State Formation, National Building, and Mass Politics in Europe. The Theory of Stein Rokkan' in Peter Flora with Stein Kuhnle and Derek Urwin, eds., 1999
- Smith, Anthony, D., *The Antiquity of Nations*, 2004
- Spruyt, Hendrik *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, 1994
- Tilly, Charles, *Formation of National States in Western Europe*, 1975
- Zielonka, Jan, 'How New Enlarged Borders Will Reshape the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39/3, 2001.
- Zielonka, Jan, *Europe as Empire. The nature of the enlarged European Union*, 2006

## 2. Theories of European Integration

By Jan Zielonka

Questions:

*Has integration rescued or dismantled European nation-states?*

*Is (neo-)functionalism obstinate or obsolete?*

*Is the European intergovernmental bargaining a rational process?*

- Garrett, Geoffrey, 'International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market', *International Organization*, 46/2,1992: 533-560.
- Haas, Ernst, 'International Integration: The European and Universal Process', *IO*,1961.
- Haas, Ernst, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*, 2004 or 1958 edition
- Hix, Simon, *The Political System of the European Union*, 2005
- Hoffman, Stanley, *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe 1964-1994*, 1995
- Kelemen, R. Daniel, *The Rules of Federalism: Institutions and Regulatory Politics in the EU and Beyond*, 2004
- Kohler-Koch, Beate, *Linking EU and National Governance*, 2003
- \* Mattli, Walter, *The Logic of Regional Integration*, 1999\*
- Milward, Alan, *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2000
- Moravcsik, Andrew, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, 1998
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31/4, 1993.
- Olsen, Johan P., 'The Many Faces of Europeanization', *ARENA Working Papers*, 2002 (available [online](#))
- Pierson, Paul, 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies*, 29/2,1996
- Pollack, Mark A., *The Engines of European Integration. Delegation, Agency and Agenda-Setting in the EU*, 2003
- \*Rosamund, Ben, *Theories of European Integration*, 2000\*
- Scharpf, Fritz, 'The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration', *Public Administration* 66/3, 1988.
- Sandholtz, Wayne, and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, 1998
- Schmitter, Philippe, 'A Revised Theory of Regional Integration', *International Organization*, 24/4, 1970.
- Stone Sweet, Alec, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein, *The Institutionalization of Europe*, 2001
- Zysman, John, and Wayne Sandholtz, '1992: Recasting the European Bargain', *World Politics*, 42, 1989.

### 3. Institutional theories in the study of European politics

By Sara Hobolt

#### Questions

*Do the various 'new institutionalisms' provide competing or complementary explanations of political processes and outcomes in European states?*

*Is historical institutionalism a coherent theory or simply a half way house?*

*Does the new institutionalist literature do a better job of explaining where institutions come from or what impact they have? Why?*

*What do the different types of 'new institutionalism' bring to the study of European integration?*

#### General

- \* Hall, Peter and Rosemary Taylor, 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms', *Political Studies* 44, 1996 \*
- Immergut, Ellen, 'The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism', *Politics and Society* 26/1, 1998
- \* March, James G. and Johan P. Olson, 'The new institutionalism: organizational factors in political life,' *American Political Science Review*, 78: 734-749, 1984 \*
- March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen, 'Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions.'" *Governance* 9, 3:247-64, 1996
- March, James G. and Johan C. Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*, 1989
- Ostrom, Elinor 1995. *New Horizons in Institutional Analysis. American Political Science Review*. 89(1) 174-178.
- Peters, B. Guy, *Institutional theory in political science: the new institutionalism*, London: Continuum, 1999.

#### Historical institutionalism

- Pierson, Paul and Theda Skocpol, 'Historical institutionalism in contemporary political science,' in *Political science: the state of the discipline III*, 2002.
- Pierson, Paul. *Increasing Returns, Path Dependency, and the Study of Politics. American Political Science Review* . 94(2 June) 251-267, 2000
- Steinmo, Sven, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, ch. 1.
- \* Thelen, Kathleen 1999. *Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. Annual Review of Political Science* . 2 369-404.\*
- Thelen, Kathleen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the US and Japan*, 2004

## Rational Choice institutionalism

- Shepsle, Kenneth A., 'Studying institutions: some lessons from the rational choice approach,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1: 131-147, 1989
- \* Tsebelis, George, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*, 2002 (Chapters 1 and 2)\*
- Weingast, Barry R. 'Rational choice institutionalism,' in *Political science: the state of the discipline III*, 2002.
- Weingast, Barry R. 1997. The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of the Law. *American Political Science Review* . 91(2) 245-263, 1997

## New institutionalism and European integration

- Aspinwall, Mark D.; Schneider, Gerald, 'Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutional Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration'. *European Journal of Political Research* . 38, 1-36, 2000
- Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel. J., 'Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union', Special issue of *Comparative Political Studies*. 36/2, 2003
- \* Pierson, Paul, 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 29/2, 1996 \*
- Stone Sweet, Alec, Wayne Sandholtz and Neil Fligstein, *The Institutionalization of Europe*, 2001

## 4. Models of Democracy in Europe

By Andreas Busch

Questions:

"The value of a democracy can be measured by how much it involves the people." Discuss.

If consociational democracy delivers a 'kinder, gentler' democracy (Lijphart), why do not all countries adopt the model?

Can the European Union 'democratic deficit' be fixed through institutional solutions?

## Defining and measuring democracy

- Birch, Anthony Harold, *The concepts and theories of modern democracy* 1993
- Blankart, Charles B., and Dennis C. Mueller, 'The Advantages of Pure Forms of Parliamentary Democracy over Mixed Forms' *Public Choice* 121/3-4, 2004
- \* Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, 'Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research', *World Politics* 49/3, 1997 \*
- Dahl, Robert A., *On democracy*, 1998
- Foweraker, Joe, and Roman Krznaric, 'Differentiating the democratic performance of the West', *European Journal of Political Research* 42, 2003
- Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen, 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices' *Comparative Political Studies* 35/1, 2002

## Types and performance of democracy

- Armingeon, Klaus, 'The effects of negotiation democracy: A comparative analysis', *European Journal of Political Research* 41/1, 2002
- Lijphart, Arend, *The politics of accommodation; pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands*, 1968 (Chapter VI: "The Spirit of Accommodation", Chapter VII: "The Rules of the Game")
- \* Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*, 1999 (Esp. chapters 2 and 3. See also the predecessor volume *Democracies : patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries*, 1984). \*
- Lijphart, Arend, 'Negotiation democracy versus consensus democracy: Parallel conclusions and recommendations' *European Journal of Political Research* 41/1
- Roller, Edeltraud. *Performance of Democracies*, 2005 (esp. ch. 5)
- Schmidt, Manfred G., 'Political performance and types of democracy: Findings from comparative studies', *European Journal of Political Research* 41/1, 2002

## Development of democracy in Europe

- Beyme, Klaus von, *Transition to democracy in Eastern Europe*, *Advances in political science*, 1996
- Fabbrini, Sergio, 'A Single Western State Model? Differential Development and Constrained Convergence of Public Authority Organization in Europe and America', *Comparative Political Studies* 36/6, 2003
- Hall, Peter A., 'Institutions and the Evolution of European Democracy' in *Governing Europe*, in J. E. S. Hayward and A. Menon, eds., 2003
- Moore, Barrington, *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy: lord and peasant in the making of the modern world*, 1966
- \* Scharpf, Fritz W., *Governing in Europe: effective and democratic?*, 1999 (Esp. chapter 1)\*

## Democracy in the European Union

- Bogaards, Matthijs, and Markus M.L. Crepaz, 'Consociational Interpretations of the European Union', *European Union Politics* 3/3, 2002
- Crombez, Christophe, 'The democratic deficit in the European Union: much ado about nothing?', *European Union Politics* 4/1, 2003
- Heisenberg, Dorothee, 'The Institution of 'Consensus' in the European Union: Formal versus Informal Decision-Making in the Council', *European Journal of Political Research* 44/1, 2005
- Karp, Jeffrey A., Susan A. Banducci, and Shaun Bowler, 'To Know It is to Love It? Satisfaction With Democracy in the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 36/3, 2003
- \* Scharpf, Fritz W., *Governing in Europe : effective and democratic?*, 1999 \*
- Schmidt, Manfred G., 'The consociational state. Hypotheses regarding the political structure and the potential for democratization of the European Union', *Acta Politica* 37, 2002
- Siedentop, Larry, *Democracy in Europe*, 2001

## 5. Political Economy in Europe

By Andreas Busch

Questions:

Does the growing literature about 'varieties of capitalism' imply that globalisation does not lead to convergence of economic systems?

"Independent central banks are popular not because of superior performance, but because they allow blame-shifting." Discuss.

In creating the Euro, did EU member states rationally pursue their economic self-interest, or did they have other motives?

States, Markets, and Globalisation

- \* Busch, Andreas, 'Unpacking the Globalization Debate: Approaches, Evidence, and Data', *Demystifying Globalization* in C. Hay and D. Marsh eds., 2000 \*
- Down, Ian, 'Central Bank Independence, Disinflation, and the Sacrifice Ratio', *Comparative Political Studies* 37/4, 2004
- Glyn, Andrew. *Capitalism Unleashed : Finance Globalization and Welfare*, 2006.
- Golden, Miriam A., 'International Economic Sources of Regime Change: How European Integration Undermined Italy's Postwar Party System' *Comparative Political Studies* 37/10, 2003
- Keefer, Philip, and David Stasavage, 'The limits of delegation: veto players, Central Bank independence, and the credibility of monetary policy' *American Political Science Review* 97/3, 2002
- McNamara, Kathleen R., 'Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation' *West European Politics* 25/1, 2002
- \* Strange, Susan, *States and markets*, 1994 (Esp. chapters 1 and 2). \*

The debate about varieties of capitalism and national diversity

- Amable, Bruno, *The diversity of modern capitalism*, 2003
- Berger, Suzanne, and Ronald Philip Dore, *National diversity and global capitalism*, Cornell studies in political economy, 1996
- \* Hall, Peter A., and David W. Soskice, *Varieties of capitalism : the institutional foundations of comparative advantage*, 2001 (Esp. chapter 1) \*
- Crouch, Colin, *Capitalist Diversity and Change : Recombinant Governance and Institutional Entrepreneurs*, 2005.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Peter Lange, Gary Marks, and John D. Stephens, eds., *Continuity and change in contemporary capitalism*, 1999
- Schmidt, Vivien Ann, *The futures of European capitalism*, 2002
- Shonfield, Andrew, *Modern capitalism : the changing balance of public and private power*, 1965

- Thatcher, Mark, 'Varieties of Capitalism in an Internationalized World: Domestic Institutional Change in European Telecommunications', *Comparative Political Studies* 37/7, 2004

Case study: the transformation (or not) of the German model

- Beyer, Jürgen, and Martin Höppner, 'The Disintegration of Organized Capitalism: German Corporate Governance in the 1990s', *West European Politics* 26/4, 2003
- Busch, Andreas, 'Globalisation and National Varieties of Capitalism: The Contested Viability of the 'German Model'', *German Politics* 14/2, 2005
- Thelen, Kathleen, and Christa Van Wijnbergen, 'The Paradox of Globalization. Labor Relations in Germany and Beyond', *Comparative Political Studies* 36/8, 2003

The politics and economics of European Monetary Union

- Bearce, David H., 'Monetary Divergence: Domestic Political Institutions and the Monetary Autonomy – Exchange Rate Stability Trade-Off', *Comparative Political Studies* 35/2, 2002
- Dyson, Kenneth H. F., *The politics of the Euro-zone : stability or breakdown?*, 2000
- Dyson, Kenneth H. F., *European states and the Euro : Europeanization, variation, and convergence*, 2002
- \* Dyson, Kenneth H. F., and Kevin Featherstone, *The road to Maastricht : negotiating economic and monetary union*, 1999 (Esp. chapters 1, 17) \*
- Jones, Erik, 'Liberalized capital markets, state autonomy, and European monetary union' *European Journal of Political Research* 42, 2003
- Pérez, Sofía A., 'Monetary Union and Wage Bargaining Institutions in the EU: Extrapolating From Some Member State Experiences', *Comparative Political Studies* 35/10, 2002

## 6. Constitutions, Courts and Politics

By Jan Zielonka

*Questions*

*Have courts across Europe increased their power in recent decades? How can this 'judicialization' best be explained?*

*Is "constitutionalism" a meaningful concept? Are constitutions a useful category for study?*

*Are judicial decisions political?*

Courts and Politics

- Alter, Karen, *Establishing the International Rule of Law in Europe*, 1999
- \* Bogdanor, Vernon, ed., *Constitutions in Democratic Politics*, 1988\*
- Ferejohn, John, 'Judicializing Politics, Politicizing Law', *Law and Contemporary Problems* 65/3, 2002

- Finer, Samuel, Bogdanor, Vernon and Rudden, Bernard, *Comparing Constitutions – a collection of constitutions*, 1995
- Guarnieri, Carlo, and Patrizia Pederzoli, *The Power of Judges: A Comparative Study of Courts and Democracy*, 2002
- Hesse, Joachim Jens, and Nevil Johnson, *Constitutional Policy and Change in Europe*, 1995
- Kelemen, R. Dan, 'The Limits of Judicial Power', *CPS*, 34/6, 2001
- Kelemen and Sibbitt, 'The Globalization of American Law', *International Organization* 58/1, 2004
- Kommers, Donald P., *The Constitutional Jurisprudence of the Federal Republic of Germany*, 1997
- North, Douglas and Barry Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England', *Journal of Economic History*, 49/8, 1989
- Ridley, F. F. (1988) 'There is no British Constitution: a Dangerous Case of the Emperor's New Clothes' *Parliamentary Affairs* 41:3.
- Sadurski, Wojciech, Martin Krygier and Adam Csarnota, eds., *Rethinking the Rule of Law in Post-Communist Europe*, 2003 (Esp. chapter by Scheppele.)
- Sartori, Giovanni, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering*, 1994
- Schwartz, Herman, *The Struggle for Constitutional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*, 2000
- Stone Sweet, A., *The Birth of Judicial Politics in France: The Constitutional Council in Comparative Perspective*, 1992
- Stone Sweet, A., *Governing with Judges*, 2000 OR Stone Sweet A., 'Constitutional Courts and Parliamentary Democracy', *West European Politics* 25/1, 2002
- \* Stone Sweet, A., *The Judicial Construction of Europe*, 2004\*
- Tate, Neal and Vallinder, Torbjörn, eds., *The Global Expansion of Judicial Power*, 1995
- Volcansek, Mary, *Constitutional Politics in Italy: The Constitutional Court*, 2000.
- Volcansek, Mary, ed., *Judicial Politics and Policy-Making in Western Europe.*, 1992.
- Zielonka, Jan, *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe. Vol.1: Institutional Engineering*, 2001 (Esp. chapter by Elgie and Zielonka, 'Constitutions and Constitution-Building: Comparative Perspective')

## 7. Government structure: legislatures and executives

By Katrin Auel

### Questions

*Despite the general increased importance of executives in European democracies, there are still significant differences between countries with respect to how much control governments have over the legislative process. Discuss with reference to at least two countries.*

*Has European integration led to convergence in the practices and processes of national legislatures? Which other challenges affect the importance of legislators as policy actors?*

*Which factors influence the formation and survival of cabinets cross-nationally?*

## Classifying Legislatures

- \* Norton, Philip, ed., *Legislatures*, 1990, chapters by Jean Blondel, Nelson Polsby and Michael Mezey
- Norton, Philip, 'The Legislative Powers of Parliament', in Cees Flintermann, ed., *The Evolving Role of Parliaments in Europe*, 1994

## Executive-Legislative Relations

- \* Bergman, Torbjörn, Müller, Wolfgang and Strøm, Kaare, eds., *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*, 2003 (online at Oxford scholarship)
- \* Döring, Herbert, ed., *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe*, 1995
- King, Anthony, *Modes of Executive-Legislative Relations: Great Britain, France and West Germany*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 1/1, 1976
- Laver, Michael and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*, 1994
- Lijphart, Arend, ed., *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*, 1992
- Mezey, Michael, *Parliaments in the New Europe*, in Hayward, Jack E. S. and Page, Edward, *Governing the New Europe*, 1995
- Norton, Philip ed., *Parliaments and Governments in Western Europe*, 1998
- Shugart, Matthew and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*, 1992

## Parliaments in the EU

- \* Andersen, Svein S. and Tom Burns, 'The European Union and the Erosion of Parliamentary Democracy: A Study of Post-parliamentary Governance', in Svein S. Andersen and Kjell A. Alliasen, eds., *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?*, 1996
- Auel, Katrin and Arthur Benz, eds, 'Europeanisation of Parliamentary Democracy', special issue of *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11/3-4, 2005
- Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton, *The European Parliament*, 2000
- Hix, Simon, 'Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting-Defection in the European Parliament', *World Politics* 56, 2004
- \* Maurer, Andreas and Wolfgang Wessels, eds., *National Parliaments on their Ways to Europe: Losers or Latecomers?*, 2001. (available online at: [aei.pitt.edu/archive/00001476/01/National\\_Parliaments\\_Losers\\_or\\_Latecomers.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/archive/00001476/01/National_Parliaments_Losers_or_Latecomers.pdf))
- Moravcsik, Andrew, *Why the European Community Strengthens the State: Domestic Politics and International Cooperation*, Center for European Studies Working Paper Series 52, 1994. (online: [www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/working\\_papers/Moravcsik52.pdf](http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/working_papers/Moravcsik52.pdf))
- Tsebelis, George and G. Garrett, *Legislative Politics in the European Union*, *European Union Politics* 1/1, 2000

## Executives

- Blondel Jean, and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, eds., *Cabinets in Western Europe*, 1997.
- Blondel, Jean and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, eds., *Cabinets in Eastern Europe*, 2001.
- Elgie, Robert, *Models of Executive Politics: a Framework for the Study of Executive Power Relations in Parliamentary and Semi-Presidential Regimes*, *Political Studies*, XLV/2, 1997

- Jones, George W., ed., *West European Prime Ministers*, 1991. Also special issue of *West European Politics*, 1991
- Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle, *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*, 1995

## 8. Electoral and Party Systems

By Katrin Auel

Questions

*What propositions about the causal effects of electoral laws have been reliably established by comparative political inquiry, and what remain contestable or indeterminate?*

*Compare, in any two European countries, the impact of the shape of the party system on the legitimacy of the political process.*

*How many dimensions do we need to analyse competition among European parties? On which of these dimensions would European integration issues be placed?*

*How important is the recent challenge to the established parties from the greens/new left, on the one hand, and from the extreme right, on the other?*

Electoral systems

- \*Benoit, Kenneth, 'Models of Electoral System Change', *Electoral Studies* 23, 2004\* available online at [http://www.politics.tcd.ie/Staff/Kenneth.Benoit/files/benoit\\_MES.pdf](http://www.politics.tcd.ie/Staff/Kenneth.Benoit/files/benoit_MES.pdf)
- Boix, Carles, 'Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies', *APSR* 93/ 3, 1999
- Lijphart, Arend, 'The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws' *APSR* 84/2 (1990): 481-496
- Sartori, Giovanni, 'The Party-Effects of Electoral Systems', in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds, *Political Parties and Democracy*, 2001.

Parties and Party Systems

- \* Broughton, David and Mark Donovan, *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe*, 1999
- Daalder, Hans and Peter Mair, eds., *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*, 1983
- Evans, Jocelyn A. 'In Defence of Sartori: Party System Change, Voter Preference Distribution and Other Competitive Incentives.' *Party Politics* 8, no. 2 (2002): 155-74.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, 'European party systems: Continuity and change', in Rhodes, Martin, Paul Heywood and Vincent Wright, eds., *Developments in West European politics*, 1997
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski and Gabor Toka, *Post-communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-party Cooperation*, 1999
- Ladrech, Robert, 'Europeanization and political parties', *Party Politics* 8/4, 2002

- Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, 1967
- Mair, Peter, ed., *The West European Party System*, 1990 (a collection of key essays)
- Mair, P. *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Ware, Alan, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, 1996. Warwick, Paul V. 'Toward a Common Dimensionality in West European Policy Spaces.' *Party Politics* 8, no. 1 (2002): 101-22.
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### New challenges to European party systems

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## 9. Party Families and Ideologies

### By Andreas Busch

#### Questions:

*How similarly have social democratic parties responded across Europe and at the European level to the pressures of globalization and neo-liberalism?*

*What unites the European People's Party?*

*Does the radical right have any describable as a programme?*

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## 10. Public Policy: Modes of Governance

By **Andreas Busch**

*Questions*

*Does the focus on 'governance' mean that government has become less powerful?*

*Does the veto player theorem teach us anything that institutional theory couldn't have accounted for?*

*"Multi-level governance means a decrease in democratic accountability." Discuss.*

*"Corporatism has unjustly been given a bad name by neo-liberals. In fact it delivers better economic performance." Discuss.*

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## 11: Partisan differences in public policy

**By Andreas Busch**

*Questions:*

*Is a redistributive, 'leftist' policy still possible under conditions of globalisation?*

*"In a world of capital mobility, policy makers have no choice but to engage in a 'race to the bottom'."*

*Discuss.*

*In accounting for policy outcomes, which influence is greater: that of partisan will, or that of institutional structures?*

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## 12. How the EU Works

By Sara Hobolt

Questions:

*How have the relative policy-making influence of the Commission, the Council and the Parliament shifted in recent decades and what does this tell us about the emerging character of the EU?*

*"The European Commission lacks the resources to be an effective administrative executive and lacks the legitimacy to be an effective political executive." Discuss.*

*Does the EU have a bi-cameral legislature? Does it have a government?*

*How has the European Court of Justice contributed to the process of European integration?*

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### 13. Deepening: From Coal and Steel Community to European Union

By Anne Deighton

Questions:

*What was the initial purpose of European integration? Has the purpose of integration changed over the years?*

*Has deepening of European integration progressed through successive treaties or through other measures?*

*Does Europe need a constitution?*

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#### 14. Widening: From Six to Twenty-Five

By Anne Deighton

Questions:

*Which objectives have guided the EU's enlargement into post-communist Europe?*

*Can the increased diversity within the enlarged EU paralyse its institutions?*

*Are there territorial limits to further EU's enlargements?*

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## 15. Comparing Government Structures: Federal and Unitary Systems

By Sara Hobolt

*Questions:*

*Why have several European states adopted federal arrangements and other forms of decentralization' in recent years?*

*Is federalism inherently unstable? What institutions encourage stability in a federation?*

*What explains movements along the continuum between centralization and decentralization?*

*What impact does federalism have on public policy? Does it undermine or enhance efficiency?*

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## 16. Elections, Public Opinion and Parties in the EU

By Sara Hobolt

Questions:

What role does public opinion play in the European integration process?

Are European Parliament elections nothing more than national opinion polls on the government?

What determines national differences in public support European integration?

Are referendums on the EU really about 'Europe'?

To what extent are party positions on European integration related to the left-right dimension of politics?

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## 17. International System in Europe

By Anne Deighton

Questions:

What are the major characteristics of the Westphalian order in Europe?

Has the European integration transformed the pattern of inter-state relations and if so how?

How does Europeanisation impact the domestic politics of member states?

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## 18. Governance outside EU borders: CFSP/ESDP

By Anne Deighton

Questions:

*Why do national governments resist transferring power to supranational institutions in this field?*

*Is the EU a civilian or military power?*

*Does a successful European foreign and defence policy require American endorsement and cooperation?*

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## 19. External trade relations of the EU

By Sara Hobolt and Kalypso Nicolaidis

Questions:

Can you describe the evolution of the trade competencies of the EU?

Is the EU an agent of protectionism or open trade?

What is the pattern of conflict and cooperation between major trading blocs: EU vs US.

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## 20. Europe in search of legitimacy

By David Hine

Questions:

*What are the means of legitimizing the EU: democracy or efficiency?*

*Does the progressive creation of a Euro-polity require a European demos?*

*Can the Union be made more transparent and accountable and if so how?*

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