

The European Union: Integration, Politics & Policy

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This version of the coursebook reflects the exigencies of compliance with
accessibility requirements. An alternative is available from the course tutor.

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Introduction

Module Aims and Objectives

This course – which is offered under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Chair in Parliamentary Democracy and European Integration held by Dr Dionyssi G. Dimitrakopoulos at Birkbeck - provides a detailed examination of the politics of European integration. After exploring the origins of post-war co-operation in Europe, it concentrates on the development of the European Communities into the European Union, the examination of theoretical accounts of European integration, the institutions and the operation of the European Union as a polity. It examines decision-making at the European level and investigates EU policy development in key areas, such as the single market, economic and monetary union, foreign policy. The course also covers recent developments such as 'Brexit' and the EU's response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Students graduating from the course will:

- be familiar with the main concepts and theories applied in the study of European integration, and be able to apply them critically in the analysis of the EU;
- have detailed knowledge of post-war integration in Europe, EU institutions, and EU politics and policy;
- have developed a critical approach to current debates and issues concerning the EU;
- be familiar with documentary sources; and
- have developed transferable skills, including critical evaluation, analytical investigation, giving oral presentations, communication and teamwork.

Background Reading

If you have never encountered the EU before, S. Usherwood and John Pinder's *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (4th edition, Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2018) is the best place from which to start.

Useful textbooks, which will be used throughout the course, are R. Coman *et al.* (eds) *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*, Cambridge U.P., 2020 which covers several policies of the EU (the new edition of the volume edited by H. Wallace *et al.* *Policy Making in the European Union* published by Oxford U.P. will also be useful once it has appeared in early 2021) and, on institutions and processes, the fourth edition of Oxford U.P.'s volume entitled *The Institutions of the European Union*. These are available in the College library as is A. Wiener *et al.* (eds.) (2019) *European integration theory* (3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford U.P.) which offers an excellent overview of the major theoretical approaches in this field. The *Oxford Encyclopedia in European Union Politics* is an important e-resource published by Oxford U.P. You can gain access to it via the College's e-library. It will be a very useful resource throughout this course. The same applies to 'explainers' written by academic experts for the ESRC's The UK in a Changing Europe programme. These are available [online](#) as well as via the course's site on Moodle.

Students are encouraged to keep up to date with EU current affairs by reading esteemed publications such as the Financial Times and the Economist, and using online news resources such as www.euractiv.com, and the EU's own official website, www.europa.eu. Foreign language sources such as Die Zeit, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Le Monde and Libération can be particularly useful, as can some influential and informative blogs (see the course's site on Moodle for the relevant links). Among the UK daily newspapers, the FT and the Guardian currently have the best UK correspondents in Brussels. You can also find them on Twitter where they are active (see your tutor's BXL correspondents' list on [Twitter](#)).

Moodle

This module uses a virtual learning environment known as Moodle, which contains electronic copies of module-related materials, such as PowerPoint presentations and selected readings. Moodle will also provide the principal means of electronic communication between lecturers and students and provide a platform for essay submission and marking. The Moodle base for this module can be accessed [online](#) by logging on with your ITS username and password (which you should receive when you have enrolled at Birkbeck).

Module Syllabus

This table has been removed for reasons of compliance with accessibility requirements.

Reading List

Part I: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives

Important notes

1. The academic literature on the EU is vast. As a result, this reading list cannot be exhaustive. Its purpose is to *guide* the students who take this course. Additional lists of academic and other work can be found on the course web site. These lists are organised thematically and are meant to help you identify the material that you ought to use for essays, seminar presentations and, EU-related dissertations. In other words, the present reading list and the addenda that can be found on the course web site are meant to be used *jointly* as *research tools*.
2. Unless otherwise stated, **the items that appear in the 'essential reading' parts of this list are available from one or more of the following sources:** (i) electronically from the course site on Moodle, (ii) electronically from the e-library of the College, (iii) in hard copy in the Reading Room Collection of the same library (please check the library's catalogue).

Key

(C): Classic
(E): Essential
(I): Important
o/o: on order

BLPES: British Library of Political and Economic Science at the LSE (has a very useful European Documentation Centre which contains the official publications – including the legislation – of the European Union)

5 October 2020

Lecture (the first of two given in week 1): The history of the idea of a united Europe and early integration

Is the idea of a 'united Europe' really new? If not, where does it come from? Has it evolved over time? What form did the first steps take in the process of European integration?

Background reading

- Pagden, A. (ed.) (2002) *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center and Cambridge U.P.). Ch. 1.
- Wilson, K. and van der Dussen, J. (eds.) (1993) *The History of the Idea of Europe* (London: Routledge).
- Heater, D. (1992) *The Idea of European Unity* (Leicester: Leicester U.P.).
- Milward, A. S. (1984) *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51* (London: Methuen).
- _____. (1994) *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (London: Routledge). Chps. 1-2.
- Leiden University, Department of History: History of European Integration [Site](#)
- Whittle, Michael *et al.*, (eds.) (2002) *Ideas of Europe since 1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- The early stages of integration*
- Schuman Declaration. In [English](#) Video [here](#)
- Deighton, A. (ed.) (1995) *Building Post-War Europe: National Decision-Makers and European Institutions, 1948-63* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
- Dinan, D. (ed.) (2006) *Origins and Evolution of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.). Chps. by Martin and Vanke.
- Giauque, J.G. (2000) 'The United States and the political union of Western Europe, 1958-63'. *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 93-110.

Gillingham, J. (2003) *European Integration 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.). Chps. 2 and 4.

5 October 2020

Lecture (second of two given in week 1): From the Schuman Declaration to the Treaty of Lisbon

Background reading

Overview

- Dinan, D. (ed.) (2006) *Origins and Evolution of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).
- Deighton, A. (ed.) (1995) *Building Post-War Europe: National Decision-Makers and European Institutions, 1948-63* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
- Gillingham, J. (2003) *European Integration 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.). Chps. 2 and 4.
- Commission of the European Communities (1985) COM (85) 310 final - White Paper on the Single Market.
- Moravcsik, A. and Nicolaïdis, K. (1999) 'Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, influence, institutions'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 59-85.
- Gray, M. and Stubb, A. (2001) 'Keynote Article: The Treaty of Nice - Negotiating a Poisoned Chalice?'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. Annual Review, pp. 5-23.
- Galloway, D. (2001) *The Treaty of Nice and Beyond. Realities and Illusions of Power in the EU* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Craig, P.P. (2010) *The Lisbon Treaty: Law, Politics, and Treaty Reform*, Oxford: Oxford U.P.
- Piris, J.-C. (2010) *The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.
- The texts of all EU treaties are available both on Europa (the EU's web site) and (through it) Moodle.

12 October 2020

Lecture: Explaining integration – theories, critics and critiques

What theories do political scientists use for the analysis of the process of integration? Are they convincing? If not, why not? Have these theories evolved over time and why?

Background reading

General overviews

Wiener, Antje, Tanja A. Börzel, and Thomas Risse, eds. 2019. *European Integration Theory*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Functionalism and neo-functionalism

- (C) Haas, E.B. ([1958] 1968) *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957* (Stanford, California: Stanford U.P.).
- (C) Mitrany, D. (1946) *A Working Peace System. An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization* (London: National Peace Council).
- Mitrany, D. (1948) 'The Functional Approach to World Organization'. *International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 350-63.

Intergovernmentalism and liberal intergovernmentalism

- (C) Hoffmann, S. (1966) 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe'. *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3, pp. 862-915.
- (C) Moravcsik, A. (1993) 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 473-524.

(C) Moravcsik, A. (1998) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U.P.). Chps. 1-2.

Institutionalism(s)

(E) Pierson, P. (1996) 'The path to European integration. An historical institutionalist analysis'. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 123-63.

Pollack, M.A. (1997) 'Delegation, agency and agenda setting in the European Community'. *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 99-134.

Constructivism

Christiansen, T., Jørgensen, K.E. and Wiener, A. (eds) (2001) *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage). Chps. 1 and 2. Or special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4, including A. Moravcsik's response.

Multi-level governance

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2001) *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield).

(E) Marks, G., Hooghe, L. and Blank, K. (1996) 'European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 341-78.

EU construction as state formation and comparative federalism

Bartolini, S. (2005) *Restructuring Europe: Centre formation, system building, and political structuring between the nation state and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).

Menon, A. and Schain, M. (eds) (2006) *Comparative Federalism* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).

Seminar: a) Comparative politics v. international relations?

What is at stake in the debate between the advocates of these schools of thought?

STUDENT: _____

Seminar: b) Neofunctionalism

What are the strengths and weaknesses of neofunctionalism?

STUDENT: _____

The volume of this seminar's reading simply reflects not only the nature and the size of the literature but also the centrality of your understanding of theory as a means to gain a better grasp of European integration. Students who do not have the time to do all the reading ahead of the seminar should (a) concentrate on Hix (1994); Haas (1958[1968]) and (b) leave the rest for the November reading week.

Essential reading for a)

Hix, S. (1994) 'The study of the European Community: the challenge to comparative politics'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 1-30.

Hurrell, A. and Menon, A. (1996) 'Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 386-402.

Hix, S. (1996) 'CP, IR and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 802-4.

Essential reading for b)

Haas, E.B. ([1958] 1968) *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957* (Stanford, CA: Stanford U.P.). Chps. 1-2.

Further reading for a)

Schmidt, V. A. (2018) 'Rethinking EU Governance: From 'Old' to 'New' Approaches to Who Steers Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(7), 1544-61.

Caporaso, J.A., Marks, G., Moravcsik, A. and Pollack, M. (1997) 'Does the European Union represent an n of 1?' [ECSA Review Vol. X No. 3 \(Fall 1997\) pp.1-5.](#)

Hix, S. (1998) 'The study of the European Union II: The 'new governance' agenda and its rival'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 38-65.

- Pollack, M. (2005) 'Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Policy or New Governance?' *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 8 pp. 357-98.
- Pollack, M. (2001) 'International relations theory and European integration'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 221-44.
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1996) 'Exploring the nature of the beast: International relations theory and comparative policy analysis meet the European Union'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 53-80.

19 October 2020

Lecture: The European Commission

What is the European Commission? The EU's government or a mere secretariat? How autonomous is it? How does it affect the EU policy process and the development of European integration?

Background reading

Overviews

Nugent, Neill, and Mark Rhinard (2015) *The European Commission*. 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Commission autonomy in theory and practice

Hartlapp, Miriam, Julia Metz, and Christian Rauh (2014) *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

Nugent, Neill, and Mark Rhinard (2016) "Is the European Commission Really in Decline?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*:n/a-n/a. doi: 10.1111/jcms.12358.

Pollack, M.A. (1997) 'Delegation, agency and agenda setting in the European Community' *International Organization* Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 99-134.

Dimitrakopoulos, D. (ed.) (2004) *The Changing European Commission* (Manchester: Manchester U.P.) with emphasis on the Prodi Commission.

Trondal, J. (2008) 'The anatomy of autonomy: reassessing the autonomy of the European Commission'. *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 467-88.

Appointment and accountability

Featherstone, K. (1994) 'Jean Monnet and the 'Democratic Deficit' in the European Union'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 149-70.

Majone, G. (1993) 'The European Community: an independent fourth branch of government?' European University Institute Working Papers SPS No. 93/9.

Majone, G. (2002) 'The European Commission: The limits of centralization and the perils of parliamentarization', *Governance* Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 375-92.

Hix, S (1997) 'Executive selection in the European Union: does the Commission President investiture procedure reduce the democratic deficit?' [European Integration On-line Papers](#).

Role

Mendrinou, M. (1996) 'Non-compliance and the European Commission's role in integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-22.

Bauer, M.W. (2006) 'Co-managing programme implementation: conceptualising the European Commission's role in policy execution', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 717-35.

Camis o, I. and Guimar es, M. H. (2017) 'The Commission, the Single Market and the Crisis: The Limits of Purposeful Opportunism', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(2), 223-39.

Schmidt, S.K. (2000) 'Only an agenda setter? The European Commission's power over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 37-61.

Schmidt, S.K. (1998) 'Commission activism: subsuming telecommunications and electricity under European competition law', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 169-84.

Smyrl, M. E. (1998) 'When (and how) do the Commission's preferences matter?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 79-99.

Schafer, J. (2014) 'European Commission Officials' Policy Attitudes'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 911-27.

The Commission as an organisation

Page, E.C. (2001) 'The European Union and Bureaucratic Mode of Production' in A. Menon and V. Wright (eds) *From the Nation State to Europe? Essay in Honour of Jack Hayward*, Oxford.

- Smith, A. (2003) 'Why European Commissioners Matter'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 137-55.
- Smith, A. (ed.) (2004) *Politics and the European Commission: Actors, Interdependence, Legitimacy* (London: Routledge).
- Bürgin, A. (2018) 'Intra- and Inter-Institutional Leadership of the European Commission President: An Assessment of Juncker's Organizational Reforms', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(4), 837-53.

Inside the Commission

- Hustedt, T. and Seyfried, M. (2018) 'Inside the EU Commission: Evidence on the Perceived Relevance of the Secretariat General in Climate Policy-Making', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(2), 368-84.
- Coombes, David (1970) *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community: A Portrait of the Commission of the EEC* (London: Allen & Unwin).
- Page, Edward C. (1997) *People Who Run Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssis G. and Hussein Kassim (2005) 'Inside the European Commission: preference formation and the Convention on the Future of Europe'. *Comparative European Politics* 3 (2, special section on Preference Formation and the Institutions of the EU edited by D. G. Dimitrakopoulos and Hussein Kassim):180-203.
- Hartlapp, M. et al. (2014) *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

Seminar: (liberal) intergovernmentalism, critics and critiques

What are the strengths and weaknesses of liberal intergovernmentalism and its critiques? Group discussion.

Essential reading

- Moravcsik, A. (1993) 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 473-524
- OR** Moravcsik, A. (1998) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U.P.), chps. 1-2.
- Pierson, P. (1996) 'The path to European integration. An historical institutionalist analysis'. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 123-63.

Further reading

- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2009) 'A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus'. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 1-23
- or** Marks, G., Hooghe, L. and Blank, K. (1996) 'European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 341-78.
- Manners, I. and Richard Whitman (eds.) (2016) 'Special Issue 2016: Another Theory is Possible: Dissident Voices in Theorising Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(1).
- Kleine, M. and Pollack, M. (eds) (2018) 'Special issue on liberal intergovernmentalism', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(7). In particular, see the contributions by Hix, Moravcsik, Schimmelfennig and the editors.

26 October 2020

Lecture: The European Council

What is the European Council? How does it affect the EU policy process and the development of European integration? In what way does it relate to the European Commission?

Background reading

Overviews

- Wessels, Wolfgang (2016) *The European Council*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

de Schoutheete, P. and Wallace, H. (2002) *The European Council* ([Paris: Notre Europe](#))

Further reading

Taulègne, B. (1993) *Le Conseil européen* (Paris: PUF).

Puetter, Uwe (2014), *The European Council and the Council: New Intergovernmentalism and Institutional Change* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).

Naurin, D. (2018) 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism in the Councils of the EU: A Baseline Theory?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 7, pp. 1526–43.

Fabbrini, S. (2016). The executive deficit of the European Union. openDemocracy, 8 April.

Carammia, M., Princen, S. and Timmermans, A. (2016) 'From Summitry to EU Government: An Agenda Formation Perspective on the European Council', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 809-25.

Seminar: The European Commission

What are the main duties of the European Commission and what affects its involvement in EU politics?

STUDENT: _____

Required reading

Nugent, Neill, and Mark Rhinard. 2019. 'The 'political' roles of the European Commission.' *Journal of European Integration* 41 (2):203-220.

Hartlapp, Miriam, Julia Metz, and Christian Rauh (2014) *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.) Ch. 11.

Wonka, A. (2008) 'Decision-making dynamics in the European Commission: partisan, national or sectoral?'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 8, pp. 1145-63.

Further reading

Bocquillon, P. and Dobbels, M. (2014) 'An elephant on the 13th floor of the Berlaymont? European Council and Commission relations in legislative agenda setting'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(1):20-38.

Egeberg, Morten, Gornitzka, Åse, and Trondal, Jarle (2014), 'A Not So Technocratic Executive? Everyday Interaction between the European Parliament and the Commission', *West European Politics*, 37 (1), 1-18

Kassim, H. and Dimitrakopoulos, D.G. (2007) 'The European Commission and the future of Europe'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 8, special issue on Political agency in the constitutional politics of the European Union edited by Derek Beach and Thomas Christiansen), pp. 1249-70 **or** Christiansen, T. (2002) 'The Role of Supranational Actors in EU Treaty Reform'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 33-53.

Hartlapp, M. *et al.* (2014) *Which Policy for Europe? Power and Conflict inside the European Commission* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

European Political Strategy Centre. (2018a). *Building on the Spitzenkandidaten Model: Bolstering Europe's Democratic Dimension* Brussels: European Commission.

European Political Strategy Centre. (2018b). *A Double-Hatted President: A New Way of Governing for a Union of 27* Brussels: European Commission.

2 November 2020

Lecture: The Council

What role does the Council of Ministers play in the process of European integration? What position does it occupy in the EU's institutional architecture?

The Council of Ministers ('Council of the EU')

Overview

Hayes-Renshaw, F. (2017) 'The Council of Ministers: Conflict, Consensus, and Continuity' in D. Hodson and J. Peterson (eds) *The Institutions of the EU* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 4th edn). See also the chapter by Lewis in the same volume.

Decision making

- (I) Hayes-Renshaw, F., W. Van Aken, Wim and H. Wallace. 2006. When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (1):161-94.
- (E) Novak, S. (2013) 'The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(6):1091-107.
- (I) Häge, Frank M. (2013), 'Coalition Building and Consensus in the Council of the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science*, 43 (3), 481-504.
- Naurin, D. and H. Wallace (2008) (eds.), *Unveiling the Council of the European Union. Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave)
- Hagemann, S., Hobolt, S. B., & Wrátil, C. (2016). Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence From Council Voting. *Comparative Political Studies*, pp. 1-27.
- Hayes-Renshaw, F. and Wallace, H. (1995) 'Executive power in the European Union: the functions and limits of the Council of Ministers'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 559-82.
- Lewis, J. (2003) 'Informal integration and the supranational construction of the Council'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 6, pp. 996-1019.
- Hosli, M., Kreppel, A., Plechanovová, B., and Verdun, A. (eds) (2013) 'Decision-Making in the European Union before and after the Lisbon Treaty'. *West European Politics* 36(6 (special issue on Decision-Making in the European Union before and after the Lisbon Treaty)
- Bailer, Stefanie, Mikko Mattila, and Gerald Schneider (2015) Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (3):437-56.
- Bølstad, J. and Cross, J. P. (2016) 'Not all Treaties are Created Equal: The Effects of Treaty Changes on Legislative Efficiency in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 793-808.
- Killermann, K. (2016) 'Loose Ties or Strong Bonds? The Effect of a Commissioner's Nationality and Partisanship on Voting in the Council', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1367-83.
- Mühlböck, M. and Tosun, J. (2018) 'Responsiveness to Different National Interests: Voting Behaviour on Genetically Modified Organisms in the Council of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(2), 385-402.
- Bailer, S., Mattila, M. and Schneider, G. (2015) 'Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 437-56.

Council secretariat, COREPER and working groups

- Christiansen, Thomas and Vanhoonacker, Sophie (2008) 'At a critical juncture? Change and continuity in the institutional development of the council secretariat'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 751-70.
- Bostock, D. (2002) 'COREPER Revisited', *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 215-34.
- (I) Beyers, J. and Dierickx, G. (1998) 'The working groups of the Council of the European Union: Supranational or Intergovernmental negotiations?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 289-317.

Socialisation in the Council

- Beyers, J. (2005) 'Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials', *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 899-936.
- Lewis, J. (2005) 'The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union', *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 937-71.

Seminar: the European Council

What is the role of the European Council within the EU?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- de Schoutheete, P. (2017) 'The European Council: A Formidable Locus of Power', in D. Hodson and J. Peterson (eds) *The Institutions of the EU* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 4th edn).
- (E) Puetter, Uwe (2013), *The European Council – the new centre of EU politics* (Stockholm: SIEPS).

No class on 9 November 2020 (reading week)

Workshop week I: part a) Monday 16 November 2020

In 2020-21, two 'Saturday schools' will be held during term I (as part of the first 'workshop week'). The first will take place on 16 November 2020 (6-7 p.m.) and will focus on the dissertation which is an essential part of the MSc programme in European politics and policy. The second will take place on Saturday 28 November 2020 (see below). While the former (16 November) is compulsory for all students on the MSc in European Politics & Policy, the latter (28 November) is compulsory for all students on this particular module.

23 November 2020

Lecture: The European Parliament

What role does the EP play in the EU policy process and the wider process of European integration? Is it a forum or an actor in its own right?

Background reading

General overviews

- Ripoll Servent, Ariadna (2018) *The European Parliament*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- (E) Shackleton, M. (2017) 'The European Parliament: The Power of Democratic Ideas' in D. Hodson and J. Peterson (eds) *The Institutions of the EU* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 4th edn).
- Hix, S, Raunio, T., Scully, R. (2003) 'Fifty years on: research on the European Parliament'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 191-202.
- Rittberger, Berthold (2012), 'Institutionalizing Representative Democracy in the European Union: The Case of the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (supplement 1), 18-37.
- Costa, O., & Magnette, P. (2003) 'Idéologies et changement institutionnel dans l'Union européenne. Pourquoi les gouvernements ont-ils constamment renforcé le Parlement européen?' *Politique Européenne*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 49-75.
- Bressanelli, Edoardo, and Nicola Chelotti (eds). 2019. "Special issue on the European Parliament and the post-Lisbon crises in the EU." *Journal of European Integration* 41 (3).
- Crum, Ben. 2003. "Legislative-Executive Relations in the EU." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41 (3):375-95.
- De Feo, Alfredo, and Michael Shackleton, eds. 2019. *Shaping Parliamentary Democracy: Collected Memories from the European Parliament*. Cham: Springer.

The EP and the legislative process

- Kreppel, Amie (2013), 'Legislative Implications of the Lisbon Treaty: The (Potential) Role of Ideology', *West European Politics*, 36 (6 (special issue on Decision-Making in the EU before and after the Lisbon Treaty)), 1178-98.
- Burns, Charlotte, Rasmussen, Anne, and (eds.), Christine Reh (2013), Special issue on twenty years of legislative codecision in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20 (7).
- Ripoll Servent, Ariadna. 2015. *Institutional and Policy Change in the European Parliament: Deciding on Freedom, Security and Justice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Politics and decision making within the European Parliament

- (E) Hix, Simon, A. G. Noury, G. Roland, (2007), *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*, (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.)
- Bowler, Shaun and McElroy, Gail (2015), 'Political group cohesion and 'hurrah' voting in the European Parliament', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22 (9), 1355-65.
- Ringe, Nils (2009) *Who Decides, and How? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament*, Oxford U.P.

- Roger, Léa and Winzen, Thomas (2014), 'Party groups and committee negotiations in the European Parliament: outside attention and the anticipation of plenary conflict', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22 (3), 391-408.
- Héritier, Adrienne and Reh, Christine (2012), 'Codecision and Its Discontents: Intra-Organisational Politics and Institutional Reform in the European Parliament', *West European Politics*, 35 (5), 1134-57.
- Mühlböck, Monika (2012), 'National versus European: Party Control over Members of the European Parliament', *West European Politics*, 35 (3), 607-31.
- Neuhold, Christine (2001), 'The "legislative backbone" keeping the institution upright? The role of European Parliament committees in the EU policy-making process', [European Integration online Papers](#), 5 (10)
- Settembri, Pierpaolo and Neuhold, Christine (2009), 'Achieving Consensus Through Committees: Does the European Parliament Manage?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47 (1), 127-51.
- Stie, Anne Elizabeth (2010), *Co-decision – the panacea for EU democracy?* (ARENA Report Series, 10/1; Oslo: ARENA).
- Yordanova, Nikoleta (2009), 'Plenary 'Amendments' to Committee Reports: Legislative Powers of the European Parliament Committees', *2009 annual meeting of APSA* (Toronto, Canada).

Early agreements and trilogues

- Burns, Charlotte. 2013. "Consensus and compromise become ordinary but at what cost? A critical analysis of the impact of the changing norms of codecision upon European Parliament committees." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(7):988-1005.
- Burns, Charlotte, Anne Rasmussen and Christine Reh (eds.). 2013a. "Special issue on twenty years of legislative codecision in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(7).
- Burns, Charlotte, Anne Rasmussen and Christine Reh. 2013b. "Legislative codecision and its impact on the political system of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(7):941-952.
- Costa, Olivier, Renaud Dehousse and Aneta Trakalová. 2011. *La codécision et les «accords précoces»: Progrès ou détournement de la procédure législative?* Paris: Notre Europe.
- de Ruiter, Rik and Christine Neuhold. 2012. "Why Is Fast Track the Way to Go? Justifications for Early Agreement in the Co-Decision Procedure and Their Effects." *European Law Journal* 18(4):536-554.
- Farrell, Henry and Adrienne Héritier. 2004. "Interorganizational Cooperation and Intraorganizational Power: Early Agreements under Codecision and Their Impact on the Parliament and the Council." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(10):1184-1212.
- Héritier, Adrienne and Christine Reh. 2012. "Codecision and Its Discontents: Intra-Organisational Politics and Institutional Reform in the European Parliament." *West European Politics* 35(5):1134-1157.
- Rasmussen, Anne and Christine Reh. 2013. "The consequences of concluding codecision early: trilogues and intra-institutional bargaining success." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(7):1006-1024.
- Reh, Christine. 2014. "Is informal politics undemocratic? Trilogues, early agreements and the selection model of representation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(6):822-841.
- Reh, Christine, Adrienne Héritier, Edoardo Bressanelli and Christel Koop. 2013. "The Informal Politics of Legislation: Explaining Secluded Decision Making in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(9):1112-1142.
- Roederer-Rynning, Christilla and Justin Greenwood. 2015. "The culture of trilogues." *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(8):1148-1165.
- Delreux, T. and T. Laloux. 2018. "Concluding Early Agreements in the EU: A Double Principal-Agent Analysis of Trilogue Negotiations". *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(2):300-17.

The EP and (a) treaty reform, (b) the EU budget, (c) the ECB, (d) international negotiations

- Servent, Ariadna Ripoll (2014), 'The role of the European Parliament in international negotiations after Lisbon', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21 (4), 568-86.
- (E) Hix, S. (2002) 'Constitutional Agenda-Setting Through Discretion in Rule Interpretation: Why the European Parliament Won at Amsterdam'. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 259-80.

- Héritier, Adrienne, Catherine Moury, Magnus G. Schoeller, Katharina L. Meissner, and Isabel Mota. 2015. *The European Parliament as a Driving Force of Constitutionalisation*. Study for the AFCO committee of the European Parliament. PE536.467. Brussels: European Parliament.
- Kietz, D. and Maurer, A. (2007) 'The European Parliament in Treaty reform: predefining IGCs through interinstitutional agreements'. *European Law Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 20-46.
- Hagemann, Sara (2014), *The EU Budget and Balance of Powers between the European Parliament and the EU Governments* (European Policy Analysis; Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies).
- Rittberger, Berthold (2014), 'Integration without Representation? The European Parliament and the Reform of Economic Governance in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52 (6), 1174-83.
- Maricut-Akbik, Adina. 2020. "Contesting the European Central Bank in Banking Supervision: Accountability in Practice at the European Parliament." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (5):1199-1214.
- Jančić, D. (2016) 'The Role of the European Parliament and the US Congress in Shaping Transatlantic Relations: TTIP, NSA Surveillance, and CIA Renditions', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 896-912.

European elections, turnout, support

- Farrell, D.M. and Scully, R. (2005) 'Electing the European Parliament: How Uniform are "Uniform" Electoral Systems', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 5, pp. 969-84.
- (E) Reift, K. and Schmitt, H. (1980) 'Nine second order national elections: a conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results', *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 8, pp. 3-44.
- (E) Marsh, M. (1998) 'Testing the second order election model after four European elections', *British Journal of Political Science*, 18:4, 591-601.
- Hogh, E. and Larsen, M. V. (2016) 'Can Information Increase Turnout in European Parliament Elections? Evidence from a Quasi-experiment in Denmark', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1495-508.
- Kentmen-Cin, C. (2017) 'What about Ambivalence and Indifference? Rethinking the Effects of European Attitudes on Voter Turnout in European Parliament Elections', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6), 1343-59.
- Clark, N. (2015) 'The Federalist Perspective in Elections to the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 524-41.

The 'Spitzenkandidaten' system

- Braun, Daniela, and Sebastian A. Popa. 2018. "This time it was different? The salience of the Spitzenkandidaten system among European parties." [West European Politics](#).
- Braun, Daniela, and Tobias Schwarzbözl. 2018. "Put in the spotlight or largely ignored? Emphasis on the Spitzenkandidaten by political parties in their online campaigns for European elections." [Journal of European Public Policy](#).
- Brok, Elmar. 2014. Factsheet: the story of the "Spitzenkandidaten". [Brussels](#).
- Cloos, Jim. 2019. Spitzenkandidaten: a debate about power and about the future development of the EU. Vol. European policy brief 56. Brussels: Egmont: Royal Institute for International Affairs.
- Dinan, Desmond. 2015. "Governance and Institutions: The Year of the Spitzenkandidaten." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (supplement 1: annual review): 93-107.
- European Political Strategy Centre. 2018. Building on the Spitzenkandidaten Model: Bolstering Europe's Democratic Dimension. Vol. 1. Road to Sibiu. Brussels: European Commission.
- Gattermann, Katjana, and Franziska Marquart. 2020. "What difference do Spitzenkandidaten make for European voters?" [LSE EUROPP blog](#). LSE. Last Modified 13 July.
- Hobolt, Sara B. 2014. "A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections." *Journal of European Public Policy* 21 (10): 1528-1540.
- Kelemen, Daniel R. 2019. "The Spitzenkandidaten Process: Requiem for a Misguided Eurodream?" [Dublin City University Brexit Institute blog]. Dublin City University. [Last Modified 19 June. Accessed 6 July](#).
- Macshane, Denis. 2017. "Time for the Spitzenkandidat to die." [Politico Europe]. Politico Europe. Last Modified 11 July. Accessed 2 January 2020.

- Mudde, Cas. 2019. "European governments are fuelling Euroscepticism." *The Guardian* (Online), 15 July.
- Pothier, Fabrice. 2017. "Why Europe needs US-style primaries." Politico Europe. Last Modified 21 December. Accessed 22 December.
- Put, Gert-Jan, Steven Van Hecke, Corey Cunningham, and Wouter Wolfs. 2016. "The Choice of Spitzenkandidaten: A Comparative Analysis of the Europarties' Selection Procedures." *Politics and Governance* 4 (1): 9-22.
- Weber, Manfred. 2019. "Five ways to fix European democracy." [Politico Europe](#). Last Modified 26 November 2019.

Seminar (a): a deficient democracy?

What is at stake in the debate on the EU's 'democratic deficit'?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Moravcsik, A. (2002) 'In defence of the 'democratic deficit': Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 603-24.
- Hix, S. and A. Føllesdal (2006) 'Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 533-62.

Further reading

- Weiler, J.H.H. with Haltern, U.R. and Mayer, F.C. (1995) 'European democracy and its critique', *West European Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 24-33.
- Duina, Francesco, and Tobias Lenz. 2017. "Democratic legitimacy in regional economic organizations: the European Union in comparative perspective." *Economy and Society* 46 (3-4):398-431.
- Føllesdal, A. (2006) 'Survey Article: The Legitimacy Deficits of the European Union'. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 441-68.
- Mair, P. (2013) *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy* (London: Verso)
- Blauberger, Michael, Sonja Puntischer Riekmann, and Doris Wydra (eds) (2014) "Symposium: Conventional Wisdoms Under Challenge – Reviewing the EU's Democratic Deficit in Times of Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Policy* 52 (6).
- Vauchez A. (2016) *Democratizing Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Karlsson, C. and T. Persson. 2018. "The Alleged Opposition Deficit in European Union Politics: Myth or Reality?". *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(4):888-905.
- Rittberger, B., Schwarzenbeck, H. and B. Zangl. 2017. "Where Does the Buck Stop? Explaining Public Responsibility Attributions in Complex International Institutions". *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4): 909-24.

Seminar (b): The question of politicisation

What is at stake in the debate regarding the politicisation of the EU? Should the EU be 'politicised', as Hix argues, and why? If not, why not?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Hix, Simon, and Stefano Bartolini. 2006. *Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?* Paris: Notre Europe.
- Magnette, Paul, and Yannis Papadopoulos. 2008. On the politicization of the European consociation: A middle way between Hix and Bartolini: EUROGOV **or** Papadopoulos, Yannis, and Paul Magnette. 2010. On the politicisation of the European Union: Lessons from consociational national polities. *West European Politics* 33 (4):711-729

Further reading

- Hix, Simon. 2008. *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*. Cambridge: Polity. This is the definitive book-length treatment of this issue.

- Bellamy, R. (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.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 1999. The making of a polity: the struggle over European integration. In *Continuity and change in contemporary capitalism*, edited by H. Kitschelt, P. Lange, G. Marks and J. D. Stephens. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

Workshop week I: part b) Saturday 28 November 2020

This special event will focus on research skills. You will be taught how to a) conduct research using the College's numerous electronic resources (which you will need both for the dissertation and essays) and b) use the EU's online and publicly available resources to construct a complete paper trail tracing the life of an EU piece of legislation (e.g. a directive) from the submission of the legislative proposal by the Commission through to its enactment by the EP and Council and its transposition into national law.

30 Nov. 2020

Lecture: The ECJ and legal integration; EU autonomous agencies

What is legal integration and what role does the ECJ play therein?

Background reading

Overviews

(C) Weiler, J.H.H. (1991) 'The transformation of Europe', *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 100, No. 8, pp. 2405-83.

Saurugger, Sabine, and Fabien Terpan (2017) *The Court of Justice of the European Union and the Politics of Law*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

The EJC as a motor of integration

(E) Weiler, J.H.H. (1993) 'Journey to an unknown destination: a retrospective and prospective of the European Court of Justice in the arena of political integration'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 417-46.

(I) Shapiro, M. (1992) 'The European Court of Justice' in A. Sbragia (ed) *Euro-Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).

Cichowski, R.A. (1998) 'Integrating the environment: The European Court and the construction of supranational policy'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 387-405.

Everson, M. (2003) 'Social Pluralism and the European Court of Justice. A Court between a Rock and a Hard Place'. *Journal of Legislative Studies* pp. 98-116 also published in Van Schendelen, R. and Scully, R. (eds.) (2003) *The Unseen Hand: Unelected EU Legislators* (London: Frank Cass).

Conceptualising the Court

Alter, K.J. (2009) 'The European Court's Political Power Across Time and Space'. ([Evanston, IL: Northwestern University](#)).

Burley, A.-M. and Mattli, W. (1993) 'Europe before the Court: A political theory of legal integration'. *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 41-76. Also see Garrett's response in Garrett, G. (1995) 'The politics of legal integration in the European Union'. *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 171-81 and their response in Mattli, W. and Slaughter, A.-M. (1995) 'Law and politics in the European Union: A reply to Garrett'. *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 183-90

Pollack, M.A. (2003) *The Engines of Integration* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.). Ch. 3.

Volcansek, M.L. (1992) 'The European Court of Justice - Supranational Policy Making', *West European Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 3.

Judicial politics

- Werner, B. (2016) 'Why is the Court of Justice of the European Union not more Contested? Three Mechanisms of Opposition Abatement', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1449-64.
- Davies, G. (2016) 'The European Union Legislature as an Agent of the European Court of Justice', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 846-61.
- Wincott, D. (1995) 'The role of law or the rule of the Court of Justice? An 'institutional' account of judicial politics in the European Community', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 4.
- Wincott, D. (2000) 'A Community of Law? 'European' Law and Judicial Politics: The Court of Justice and Beyond'. *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 3-26
- Alter, K.J. and Meunier-Aitsahalia, S. (1994) 'Judicial politics in the European Community: European integration and the pathbreaking Cassis de Dijon decision'. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 535-61.

The ECJ and the 'constitutionalisation' of the treaty

- (I) Mancini, G. (1991) 'The making of a constitution for Europe' in R.O. Keohane and S. Hoffmann (eds) *The New European Community*, Westview Press.
- Stein, E. (1981) 'Lawyers, judges and the making of a transnational constitution' *American Journal of International Law*, 75:1.
- Weiler, J.H.H. (1994) 'A quiet revolution: the European Court of Justice and its interlocutors', *Comparative Political Studies*, 26:4, 510-34.
- (I) Alter, K.J. (1996) 'The European Court's Political Power'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 458-87. See also *idem* (2001) *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law: The Making of an International Rule of Law in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).
- Vauchez, Antoine (2010), 'The transnational politics of judicialization. Van Gend en Loos and the making of EU polity', *European Law Journal*, 16 (1), 1-28.
- _____. (2010) The transnational politics of judicialization. Van Gend en Loos and the making of EU polity. *European Law Journal* 16: 1-28.
- _____. (2012) Keeping the dream alive: the European Court of Justice and the transnational fabric of integrationist jurisprudence. *European Political Science Review* 4: 51-71.
- _____. (2015) The Appeal of Independence: Non-majoritarian Institutions, Transnational Knowledge Communities and the Formation of EU Polity. *22nd International conference of Europeanists*. Sciences Po, Paris.

The ECJ and domestic actors

- Garrett, G., Kelemen, R.D. and Schulz, H. (1998) 'The European Court of Justice, national governments, and legal integration in the European Union'. *International Organization* Vol. 52, No. 1, pp. 149-76.
- Tallberg, J. (2000) 'Supranational influence in EU enforcement: the ECJ and the principle of state liability'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 104-21.
- Alter, K.J. (1998) 'Who are the "Masters of the Treaty"?: European governments and the European Court of Justice'. *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 1, pp. 121-47.
- Alter, K.J. (2000) 'The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash?' *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 489-518.
- Stone Sweet, A. and Brunell, T.L. (1998) 'The European Court and the national courts: A statistical analysis of preliminary references, 1961-95'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 66-97.
- Stone Sweet, Alec and Brunell, Thomas (2012), 'The European Court of Justice, State Noncompliance, and the Politics of Override', *American Political Science Review*, 106 (1), 204-13.
- Granger, M.-P.F. (2004) 'When governments go to Luxembourg...the influence of governments on the Court of Justice'. *European Law Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 3-31.

B. The autonomous European agencies

Background reading

- (E) Blinder, A.S. (1997) 'Is government too political?' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6, pp. 115-26.
- (E) Majone, G. (1996) *Temporal consistency and policy credibility: Why democracies need non-majoritarian institutions* ([Florence: European University Institute](#)).

- Majone, G. (2000) 'The Credibility Crisis of Community Regulation'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 273-302.
- Buess, M. (2015) 'Accountable and Under Control? Explaining Governments' Selection of Management Board Representatives', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 493-508.
- Egeberg, M. and Trondal, J. (2017) 'Researching European Union Agencies: What Have We Learnt (and Where Do We Go from Here)?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4), 675-90.

Seminar (a): What is the Council? Answer by referring to the legislative-executive and the intergovernmental/supranational tandems.

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Hayes-Renshaw, F. (2017) 'The Council of Ministers: Conflict, Consensus, and Continuity' in D. Hodson and J. Peterson (eds) *The Institutions of the EU* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 4th edn).
- Warntjen, A. (2010), Between bargaining and deliberation: decision-making in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17 (5), 665-679.
- Rozenberg, O. (2019) The Council of the EU: From the Congress of Ambassadors to a Genuine Parliamentary Chamber? Study for the AFCO Committee of the European Parliament. PE 608.855. Luxembourg: European Parliament/Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union. Introduction and section 1.

Further reading

- Häge, F.M. (2011) 'Politicizing Council Decision-Making: The Effect of EP Empowerment'. *West European Politics* 34 (1), 19-47.
- Häge, F.M. (2007) 'The Division of Labour in Legislative Decision-Making of the Council of the European Union'. *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 13 (4), 497-516.

Seminar (b): transparency in the Council

Should we care, or not, and why?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- European Ombudsman. 2018. Special Report of the European Ombudsman in strategic inquiry OI/2/2017/TE on the transparency of the Council legislative process. European Ombudsman ([Strasbourg/Brussels](#)).

Further reading

- Novak, Stéphanie, and Maarten Hillebrandt. 2019. "Analysing the trade-off between transparency and efficiency in the Council of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*:1-19. doi: 10.1080/13501763.2019.1578814.
- Cross, James P. 2013. "Striking a pose: transparency and position taking in the Council of the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* 52 (3):291-315.
- Corporate Europe Observatory. 2019. *Captured states: when EU governments are a channel for corporate interests*. Brussels: Corporate Europe Observatory.
- Kostadinova, Petia. 2015. "Improving the Transparency and Accountability of EU Institutions: The Impact of the Office of the European Ombudsman." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (5):1077-1093.

7 Dec. 2020

Lecture: Post-decisional politics: the implementation of EU policy

How is EU policy implemented? What factors affect its effectiveness and what accounts for variation across countries and sectors as well as over time?

Reviews and other readings

- Treib, Oliver. 2014. Implementing and complying with EU governance outputs. *Living Reviews in European Governance* 9 (1).
- Mastenbroek, E. (2005) 'EU compliance: still a 'black hole'?' *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 6, pp. 1103-20.
- Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssis G. 2001. "The transposition of EU law: 'Post-decisional politics' and institutional autonomy." *European Law Journal* 7 (4):442-58.
- Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssis G. 2008. *The Power of the Centre: Central Governments and the Implementation of E.U. Public Policy in Greece, France and the U.K.*, European Policy Research Unit Series. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssis G. 2017. "Party family or nation state? The post-decisional politics of supranational socio-economic regulation." *Comparative European Politics*. doi: 10.1057/s41295-017-0094-x.
- Dörrenbächer, N., Mastenbroek, E. and Toshkov, D. D. (2015) 'National Parliaments and Transposition of EU Law: A Matter of Coalition Conflict?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 1010-26.
- Prosser, T. (2017) 'Explaining Implementation through Varieties of Capitalism Theory: The Case of the Telerwork and Work-related Stress Agreements', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4), 889-908.
- Scholten, M. and Scholten, D. (2017) 'From Regulation to Enforcement in the EU Policy Cycle: A New Type of Functional Spillover?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4), 925-42.
- Tudela-Marco, L., Garcia-Alvarez-Coque, J. M. and Martí-Selva, L. (2017) 'Do EU Member States Apply Food Standards Uniformly? A Look at Fruit and Vegetable Safety Notifications', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(2), 387-405.
- Falkner, G., Treib, O., Hartlapp, M. and Leiber, S. (2005) *Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pircher, Brigitte, and Karl Loxbo. 2020. "Compliance with EU Law in Times of Disintegration: Exploring Changes in Transposition and Enforcement in the EU Member States between 1997 and 2016." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (5):1270-1287.

Seminar (a): the politics of EU policy implementation

What is the logic of the 'worlds of compliance' typology?

STUDENT: _____

Treib, Oliver (2014) Implementing and complying with EU governance outputs. *Living Reviews in European Governance* 9. Pp. 12-13.

Seminar (b): constitutional politics in the EU

Is Moravcsik's understanding of treaty reform still valid?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Christiansen, T. (2002) 'The Role of Supranational Actors in EU Treaty Reform'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 33-53.
- Christiansen, T., Falkner, G. and Jørgensen, K.E. (2002) 'Theorizing EU Treaty Reform: Beyond Diplomacy and Bargaining'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 12-32.
- ó Broin, P. (2010) *How to Change the EU Treaties: An Overview of Revision Procedures under the Treaty of Lisbon*, Brussels: CEPS.

Further reading

- (I) Dimitrakopoulos, D.G. (2008) 'Norms, Strategies and Political Change: Explaining the Establishment of the Convention on the Future of Europe'. *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 319-41.

- Closa, C. (2014) *Between a rock and a hard place: the future of EU treaty revisions*, Stockholm: SIEPS.
- (I) Moravcsik, A. and Nicolaïdis, K. (1999) 'Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, Influence, Institutions'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 59-85.
- Beach, D. (2005) *The Dynamics of European Integration: Why and When Institutions Matter*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave). Conclusion.

14 Dec. 2020

Lecture: Euroscepticism

What is 'Euroscepticism'? Is there one of many?

Overview

Leconte, Cécile. 2010. *Understanding Euroscepticism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Further reading

- Mair, P. 2013. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Taggart, Paul, and Aleks Szczerbiak. 2013. Coming in from the Cold? Euroscepticism, Government Participation and Party Positions on Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (1):17-37.
- Flood, Chris. 2009. Dimensions of Euroscepticism. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(4):911-917.
- Klingeren, Marijn Van, Hajo G. Boomgaarden and Claes H. De Vreese. 2013. Going Soft or Staying Soft: Have Identity Factors Become More Important Than Economic Rationale when Explaining Euroscepticism? *Journal of European Integration* 35(6):689-704. If you do not have enough time to read this article, read this useful [blog post](#) instead.
- Kopecký, Petr and Cas Mudde. 2002. "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe." *European Union Politics* 3(3):297-326.
- Scherer, Margarete. 2015. 'The Religious Context in Explaining Public Support for the European Union.' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4):893-909. If you do not have enough time to read this article, read [this useful blog post instead](#).
- Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33(3):363-388.
- Toshkov, D. and Kortenska, E. (2015) 'Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Integration in the European Union?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(4), 910-25.
- Tournier-Sol, K. (2015) 'Reworking the Eurosceptic and Conservative Traditions into a Populist Narrative: UKIP's Winning Formula?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), 140-56.

In-class test/revision covering term I in lieu of the weekly seminar

VACATION

11 January 2021

Lecture: The UK and the EU

What are the main features of the UK's membership of the EU? Has membership changed the institutional structures of the UK? If so, how? Is Britain a 'successful' member state? What is the contribution of the UK to the process of integration? What accounts for 'Brexit'?

Background reading

History

- Clemens, G. 2004. A history of failures and miscalculations? Britain's relationship to the European Communities in the postwar era (1945–1973). *Contemporary European History* 13 (2):223-32.
- Barker, A. 2017. Brexit: EU and UK battle over 'an accession in reverse', *Financial Times*, Brexit Long Read, 3 December.
- (E) Young, Hugo. 1998. *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. This is by far the best account on the topic.
- Lord, Christopher. 1992. Sovereign or confused? The 'great debate' about British entry to the European Community twenty years on. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 30 (4):419-36.
- Wall, Stephen. 2008. *Stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair*. Oxford: Oxford U.P. An excellent account written by a top British diplomat.
- _____. 2013. *The Official History of Britain and the European Community, Vol. II: From Rejection to Referendum, 1963-1975*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Important speeches

- Blair, Tony. 2001. Britain's role in Europe. Speech delivered at the opening of the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham, [Friday 23 November](#)
- (E) Blair, Tony. 2000. Europe's political future. Speech delivered at the Polish Stock Exchange, [Warsaw, 6 October](#).
- Howard, Michael. 2004. A New Deal for Europe. Speech to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, [12 February](#).
- (I) Thatcher, Margaret. 1988. The Bruges speech. [College of Bruges, 20 September](#)
An important speech that is too often remembered for the wrong reasons.
- (E) Cameron, David, 2013. Speech at Bloomberg, London. The text of this speech and various responses to it are available on Moodle.
- _____. (2014) Speech on immigration from the EU. [30 November](#).
- _____. Speech in Chatham House (video included), [10 November 2015](#)

Other

- Baker, David and David Seawright. 1998. *Britain For and Against Europe: British Politics and the Question of European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Garton, Ash. 2001. Is Britain European? *International Affairs* 77 (1):1-13.
- George, Stephen. 1998. *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Bevir, M., et al. (eds.). 2015a. 'Interpreting British European Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1 (special issue: Interpreting British European Policy)).
- Bevir, M., et al. 2015b. 'Introduction: Interpreting British European Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), 1-17.
- Copeland, P. and Copsy, N. 2017. 'Rethinking Britain and the European Union: Politicians, the Media and Public Opinion Reconsidered', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4), 709-26.
- Daddow, O. .2015. 'Interpreting the Outsider Tradition in British European Policy Speeches from Thatcher to Cameron', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), 71-88.
- Vail, M. I. .2015. 'Between One-Nation Toryism and Neoliberalism: The Dilemmas of British Conservatism and Britain's Evolving Place in Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), 106-22.
- Fontana, C. and Parsons, C. 2015. "One Woman's Prejudice": Did Margaret Thatcher Cause Britain's Anti-Europeanism?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), 89-105.

Political parties and European integration

- (I) Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssi G. 2011. *The Tory EU rebellion is about neo-liberalism, not British sovereignty*. openDemocracy, 26 October.
- Daddow, Oliver. 2011. *New Labour and the EU: Blair and Brown's Logic of History*. Manchester: Manchester U.P.
- (I) Daddow, Oliver. 2013. Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 15 (2):210-227.
- Kassim's chapter on Labour in Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssi G., ed. 2011. *Social Democracy and European Integration: The Politics of Preference Formation*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Daniels, Philip. 1998. From hostility to 'constructive engagement': the Europeanisation of the Labour party. *West European Politics* 21 (1):72-96
- Forster, Anthony. 2002. Anti-Europeans, anti-marketeters and Eurosceptics: the evolution and influence of Labour and Conservative opposition to Europe. *Political Quarterly* 73 (3):299-308.
- Mullen, A. 2007. *The British Left's 'Great Debate' on Europe*. London: Continuum
- Mullen, A. and B. Burkitt. 2003. European integration and the battle for British hearts and minds: New Labour and the euro. *Political Quarterly* 74 (3):322-36.
- Turner, John. 2000. *The Tories and Europe*. Manchester: Manchester U.P.
- (I) Usherwood, Simon. 2002. Opposition to the European Union in the UK: the dilemma of public opinion and party management. *Government and Opposition* 37 (2):211-30.

Seminar: Euroscepticism

What is Euroscepticism?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Leconte, Cécile. 2010. *Understanding Euroscepticism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Ch. 3 ('Varieties of Euroscepticism').
- Halikiopoulou, Daphne, Kyriaki Nanou, and Sofia Vasilopoulou. 2012. The paradox of nationalism: The common denominator of radical right and radical left Euroscepticism. *European Journal of Political Research* 51 (4):504–539.

18 Jan. 2021

Lecture: The Classic Community Method and Other Modes of EU Policy Making

What is the classic Community method? Is it in crisis? What are the other modes of EU policy making?

Introductory reading

Wallace, H. (2014) 'An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes?' in H. Wallace, M. Pollack and A. Young (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union* (7th edition, Oxford: OUP).

Further reading

Dehousse, Renaud (2011) The Community method at sixty in R. Dehousse (ed.) *The 'Community method': Obstinate or obsolete?*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 3-15

Majone, G. (2005) 'The Community Method' in *Dilemmas of European Integration* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.): 42-64.

European Commission (2001) 'European Governance: A White Paper' Brussels 25 July, COM(2001) 428 final.

Barnier, M. and Vitorino, A. (2002) The Community method. CONV 231/02, Brussels, 3 September 2002. Brussels: [Convention on the Future of Europe](#).

Habermas, J. (2013) Democracy, Solidarity and the European Crisis. Lecture delivered on 26 April 2013 at the Catholic University of Leuven. [Leuven: KUL](#).

Seminar: Explaining 'Brexit'

What accounts for this decision? Group discussion.

Essential reading

Goodwin, Matthew, and Oliver Heath. 2016. *Brexit vote explained: poverty, low skills and lack of opportunities*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kaufmann, Eric. 2016a. "Brexit Voters: NOT the Left Behind." *Fabian Review*, 24 June.

Kaufmann, Eric. 2016b. "It's NOT the economy, stupid: Brexit as a story of personal values." LSE EUROPP blog, 7 July.

McAndrew, Siobhan. 2016. "Is it the Culture, Stupid? Values and EU Referendum Vote Preference." Medium, 20 July.

Becker, Sascha O., Thiemo Fetzer, and Dennis Novy. 2016. "The fundamental factors behind the Brexit vote." VoxEU blog. 31 October.

Hanretty, Chris. 2016. "Did austerity cause Brexit?". Medium, 16 October.

Dorling, Danny. 2016. "Brexit: the decision of a divided country." [British Medical Journal \(354\)](#) If you are short of time, try the video instead (the link can be found on Moodle).

O'Rourke, Kevin. 2016. "Brexit: This backlash has been a long time coming." VoxEU blog. 7 August.

25 Jan. 2021

Lecture: The EU's crises

What are the main features of the EU's reaction to the post-2008 crises? Please note that the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic will be covered in a separate session
Overviews and/or theoretical debates

- Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. 2016. "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (7):1010-34.
- White, Jonathan. 2015. "Emergency Europe." *Political Studies* 63 (2):300–318. The issues examined in this article are discussed in greater detail in the same author's excellent book: White, Jonathan. 2020. *Politics of Last Resort: Governing by Emergency in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Castells, Manuel, Olivier Bouin, Joao Caraça, Gustavo Cardoso, John B. Thompson, and Michel Wieviorka, eds. 2018. *Europe's Crises*. Cambridge: Polity.

Seminar: a) The Community method and its 'crisis'

What is the classic Community method? Is it in crisis? STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Dehousse, Renaud (2011) The Community method at sixty in R. Dehousse (ed.) *The 'Community method': Obstinate or obsolete?*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 3-15.
- Barnier, M. and Vitorino, A. (2002) The Community method. CONV 231/02, Brussels, 3 September 2002. Brussels: [Convention on the Future of Europe](#).

Seminar b): what is the essence of the 'new intergovernmentalism'?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

- Bickerton, Christopher J., Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. 2015. The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4):703–22.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2015. What's the News in 'New Intergovernmentalism'? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4):723–30.

Further reading for b)

- Bickerton, Christopher, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. 2015. Something New: A Rejoinder to Frank Schimmelfennig on the New Intergovernmentalism. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4):731–36.
- Baird, T. 2017. Non-State Actors and the New Intergovernmentalism. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6):1192-202.
- Smeets, Sandrino, and Natascha Zaun. 2020. "What is intergovernmental about the EU's '(new) intergovernmentalist' turn? Evidence from the Eurozone and asylum crises." *West European Politics*:1-21. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2020.1792203.

1 February 2021

Lecture: The Single Market

What is the single market? What are its 'boundaries'? In what sense has the EU become a regulatory state?

Introductory reading

- Young, A.R. (2014) 'The Single Market', in H. Wallace, M. Pollack and A. Young (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union* (7th edition, Oxford: OUP).
- Salter, J.-P. (2017) What is the difference between a free trade area and a single market? The UK in a Changing EU explainer, [3 February](#)
- Barnard, C. (2016) The customs union. The UK in a Changing EU explainer, [19 December](#)

Further reading

General reading

- Hix, S. and B. Høyland (2011) *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd edition) (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan): Chapter 8.

Explaining the single market

- Moravcsik, A. (1991) 'Negotiating the Single European Act: national interests and conventional statecraft in the European Community' *International Organization* Vol. 45, No. 1: 19-56.
- Sandholtz, W. and Zysman, J. (1989) 'Recasting the European Bargain' *World Politics* 42: 95-128.
- Majone, G. (1994) 'The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe' *West European Politics* 17/3: 77-101.

Seminar: from the Viking and Laval cases to the reform of the posted workers directive

What do the Viking and Laval cases tell us about the state of the single market? To what extent do the recent legislative reforms address the key issues raised by this jurisprudence?

Student: _____

Essential reading

Start from this: Eurofound (2018) Posted workers. Dublin: [Eurofound](#).

Then read the following:

- Davies, A.C.L. (2008) 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? The Viking and Laval Cases in the ECJ' *Industrial Law Journal* Vol. 37, No. 2: 126-148.
- Darvas, Z. (2017) Could revising the posted workers directive improve social conditions? Conference of think tanks on the revision of the posted workers directive, 31 January, European Parliament. Brussels: Bruegel.
- Deloitte Belgium (2018) How will the revision of the Posted Workers Directive impact your assignments? Deloitte Belgium.
- Barbière, C. (2017) Posted workers: Macron's first victory in reforming the EU. *Euractiv*, [25 October](#).

Further reading

- Fernandes, S. (2017) *Posted workers: how to ensure a fair mobility?*, Paris, Notre Europe. Institut Jacques Delors.
- Wagner, Ines. 2018. *Workers without borders: posted work and precarity in the EU*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press/Cornell University Press. Ch. 6.
- Novitz, Tonia, and Rutvica Andrijasevic. 2020. "Reform of the Posting of Workers Regime – An Assessment of the Practical Impact on Unfree Labour Relations." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (5):1325-1341.
- Joerges, C. and Rödl, F. (2008) 'Informal Politics, Formalised Law and the 'Social Deficit' of European Integration: Reflections after the Judgments of the ECJ in Viking and Laval', *European Law Journal* Vol. 15, No. 1: 1–19.
- Zahn, R. (2017). Revision of the Posted Workers Directive: A Europeanisation Perspective. *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, 19, pp. 187–210.
- Deakin, S. (2008) *Regulatory competition in Europe after Laval*, Cambridge: Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge.
- Maslauskaitė, K. (2014) *Posted workers in the EU: state of play and regulatory evolution*, Paris: Notre Europe.
- Malmberg, J. and Johansson, C. (2012) *The Commission's postings package*, Stockholm: SIEPS.
- Davies, A.C.L. (2006) 'The Right to Strike Versus Freedom of Establishment in EC Law: The Battle Commences'. *Industrial Law Journal* 35(1):75-86.
- Maricut, Adina, and Uwe Puetter. 2017. "Deciding on the European Semester: the European Council, the Council and the enduring asymmetry between economic and social policy issues." [Journal of European Public Policy:1-19](#).

8 Feb. 2021

Lecture: The EU budget

How is the EU 's budget made, financed and implemented? Should the EU have one that goes beyond the EU's running costs?

Introductory text

Benedetto, Giacomo. 2019. The history of the EU budget. In-depth analysis requested by the BUDG committee. PE 636.475. European Parliament/Policy Department for Budgetary Affairs, Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union.

Recommended readings

Benedetto, G. (2013). The EU budget after Lisbon: rigidity and reduced spending? *Journal of Public Policy*, 33(3), pp. 345-369.

_____. (2017a). Institutions and the route to reform of the European Union's budget revenue, 1970–2017. *Empirica*, 44(4), pp. 615-633.

_____. (2017b). Power, money and reversion points: the European Union's annual budgets since 2010', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(5), pp. 633-52.

Further readings

Begg, I. (2005). *Funding the European Union - A Federal Trust report on the European Union's budget* London: Federal Trust.

Citi, M. (2013). EU budgetary dynamics: incremental or punctuated equilibrium? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(8), pp. 1157-1173.

Darvas, Zsolt. 2019. "Who pays for the EU budget rebates and why?" [Bruegel blog]. Bruegel, Last Modified 4 December, accessed 18 December. Crowe, R. (2016). The European Council and the Multiannual Financial Framework. *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, 18, pp. 69-92.

Hagemann, S. (2014). *The EU Budget and Balance of Powers between the European Parliament and the EU Governments* Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies.

Kay, R. A. A. (2006). Historical-institutionalist perspectives on the development of the EU budget system. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(1), pp. 113-133.

Lindner, J. (2006). *Conflict and Change in EU Budgetary Politics* London: Routledge.

Wolff, S. (2015). EU budget support as transnational policy instrument: above and beyond the state? *Public Administration*, 93(4), pp. 922-939.

Benedetto, G. (2019) 'The European Parliament as a budgetary extractor since the Lisbon Treaty', *Journal of European Integration*, 41(329-345).

Seminar: the EU budget

What is the role of the budget of the EU?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

Stehrer, Robert, Roman Stöllinger, Gabor Hunya, Doris Hanzl-Weiss, Mario Holzner, Oliver Reiter, Margit Schratzenstaller, Julia Bachtrögler, Veronika Kubeková, and Roland Blomeyer. 2020. How EU funds tackle economic divide in the European Union. Study requested by the BUDG committee. PE 654.525: European Parliament/Policy Department for Budgetary Affairs, Directorate-General for Internal Policies.

Saturday school: 13 February 2021

Lecture: EU Macroeconomic Policy

Is this a crisis of the Euro? What are the key elements of this multi-faceted crisis and what accounts for the response that has been chosen?

Introductory reading

Hodson, D. (2014) 'Policy-Making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change, and Continuity' in H. Wallace *et al.* (eds) *Policy Making in the European Union* (7th edition, Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

Further reading

General

Brunnermeier, M. K., H. James, J.-P. Landau (2016), *The Euro and the Battle of Ideas*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P.

The Stability and Growth Pact

Hansen, Michael A. (2015), 'Explaining deviations from the Stability and Growth Pact: power, ideology, economic need or diffusion?', *Journal of Public Policy*, FirstView, [1-28](#)

EMU and Ordoliberalism

Cardwell, P. J. and Snaith, H. (2018) "There's a Brand New Talk, but it's Not Very Clear': Can the Contemporary EU Really be Characterized as Ordoliberal?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(5), 1053-69.

Nedergaard, P. and Snaith, H. (2015) "As I Drifted on a River I Could Not Control': The Unintended Ordoliberal Consequences of the Eurozone Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 1094-109.

Mulder, N. (2019) The Origins of European Neoliberalism. *N+1*. 29 April. [Online ed. New York, N.Y.](#)

Seminar: EMU and the economic crisis

How has the EU responded to the crisis and why? Group discussion

Essential reading (this is long because of the diversity of opinion and your opportunity to combine theory with facts)

Hodson, D. (2014) 'Policy-Making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change, and Continuity' in H. Wallace *et al.* (eds) *Policy Making in the European Union* (7th edition, Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

Ioannou, Demosthenes, Leblond, Patrick, and Arne Niemann (eds) (2015), 'Special issue: European integration in times of crisis: theoretical perspectives', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22 (2). Students should read one of the following articles: on (a) intergovernmentalism (by Schimmelfenig) or (b) neofunctionalism (by Niemann and Ioannou).

Sandbu, Martin. 2015. *Europe's Orphan: The Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapter 7.

Baldwin, Richard, et al. 2015. "Rebooting the Eurozone: Step 1 – Agreeing a crisis narrative." VoxEU.org, 20 November. Available [online](#). This piece will be better understood if you also read the pieces by Krugman and Wren-Lewis that are available on Moodle.

Wren-Lewis, S. 2016. The Eurozone's Flaws Are Not Intrinsic. *Intereconomics*, 51(1):20-24.

Further reading

See relevant section on Moodle where you will also find detailed material on the formal reform of the eurozone.

Müller, Henrik, Giuseppe Porcaro, and Gerret von Nordheim. 2018. *Tales from a crisis: diverging narratives of the euro area*. Brussels: Bruegel

Johnston, A. and Regan, A. (2016) 'European Monetary Integration and the Incompatibility of National Varieties of Capitalism', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(2), 318-36.

- Wasserfallen, Fabio, et al. (eds) (2019) Analysing European Union decision-making during the Eurozone crisis. *European Union Politics* 20 (1: special issue on EU decision making during the Eurozone crisis).
- Dawson, M. (2015) 'The Legal and Political Accountability Structure of 'Post-Crisis' EU Economic Governance', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 976–93.

No class on 15 February 2021 (reading week)

Workshop Week II. Two special events are being planned for the second workshop week (the inaugural Jean Monnet lecture and a high-level roundtable discussion on the handling of the crisis in the Eurozone). An announcement will be made as soon as the details have been finalised.

1 March 2021

Lecture: EU foreign policy

How does the EU make and implement 'its' foreign policy?

Introductory reading

- Giegrich, B. (2014) 'Foreign and Security Policy: Civilian Power Europe and American Leadership', in H. Wallace M. Pollack and A. Young (eds) *Policy Making in the European Union*, 7th edition (Oxford: OUP).
- Allen, D. (1998) 'Who speaks for Europe?': The search for an effective and coherent external policy, in J. Peterson and H. Sjursen (eds) *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing Visions of the CFSP*. London: Routledge, pp. 41-58.
- Smith, Michael. E. (2017) *Europe's Common Security and Defence Policy*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.)

Further reading

The ESDP

- Howorth, J. (2011) 'The EU's security and defence policy: towards a strategic approach' in C. Hill and M. Smith (eds) *International Relations and the European Union* (2nd edition, Oxford: OUP).
- Posen, B.R. (2006) 'European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?'. *Security Studies* 15(2):149-86.
- Styan, D. (2012) 'EU power and armed humanitarianism in Africa: evaluating ESDP in Chad', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(4), 651-68.

Theoretical perspectives

- Duchene, F. (1972) 'Europe's role in world peace', in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead* (London: Fontana): 32–47.
- Bull, H. (1982) 'Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21 (2): 149–64.
- Orbie, J. (2006) 'Civilian Power Europe: Review of the Original and Current Debates'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 41(1):123-8.
- Hoffmann, S. (2000) 'Towards a common European foreign and security policy?' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (2): 189–98.
- Nye, J. (2006) 'Soft Power and European-American Affairs' in T.L. Ilgen (eds.) *Hard power, soft power and the future of transatlantic relations* (London: Ashgate).

See also the seminar readings as well as those that correspond to an essay topic (see the section that contains essay questions).

The EU, defence and security

- MacFarlane, N. and Menon, A. (2014) 'The EU and Ukraine'. *Survival* 56(3):95-101.
- Menon, A. (2011) 'European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya'. *Survival* 53(3):75—90.
- Menon, A. (2012) 'Defence Policy and the Logic of 'High Politics'', in E. Jones, A. Menon and S. Weatherhill (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford U.P., pp. 66-84.
- Menon, A. (2013) 'The Other Euro Crisis - Why Europe desperately needs military collaboration', in *Foreign Affairs*, 10 December.
- Menon, A. (2014) 'The JCMS Annual Review Lecture: Divided and Declining? Europe in a Changing World'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(Special Issue: The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union in 2013).
- Braw, E. (2017) 'Germany is quietly building a European army under its command', *Foreign Policy*, 22 May.
- Ekengren, Magnus, and Simon Hollis. 2020. "Explaining the European Union's Security Role in Practice." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (3):616-635.
- Faleg, Giovanni 2017. *The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Learning Communities in International Organizations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

The EU as an international actor

- In addition to the essential seminar readings, the following are useful
- Gebert, Konstanty. 2013. *Shooting in the dark? EU sanctions policies*, Policy brief. London: European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Menon, Anand. 2013. "The Other Euro Crisis - Why Europe desperately needs military collaboration." *Foreign Affairs*, 10 December.
- Pace, Michelle. 2009. "Paradoxes and contradictions in EU democracy promotion in the Mediterranean: the limits of EU normative power." *Democratization* 16 (1):39-58.
- Visoka, Gëzim, and John Doyle. 2016. "Neo-Functional Peace: The European Union Way of Resolving Conflicts." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (4):862-877.
- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe. Forthcoming. "The EU an Actor Sui Generis? A Comparison of EU and ASEAN Actorness." [Journal of Common Market Studies](#)

The EU as a normative power

- Manners, Ian. 2002. "Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2):235-58.
- Hyde-Price, Adrian. 2006. " 'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (2):217-234. Those who have time will benefit from reading the articles by Sjørnsen and Manners in the same issue of JEPP.
- Martin-Mazé, Médéric. 2015. "Unpacking Interests in Normative Power Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (6):1285-1300.
- Pace, Michelle. 2007. "The Construction of EU Normative Power." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 (5):1041-1064.
- Renckens, S., Skogstad, G. and Mondou, M. (2017) 'When Normative and Market Power Interact: The European Union and Global Biofuels Governance', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6), 1432-48.
- Newman, Edward, and Cristina G. Stefan. 2020. "Normative Power Europe? The EU's Embrace of the Responsibility to Protect in a Transitional International Order." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (2):472-490.
- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe. 2020. "Positioning as Normative Actors: China and the EU in Climate Change Negotiations." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (5):1107-1123.
- Staeger, U. (2016) 'Africa–EU Relations and Normative Power Europe: A Decolonial Pan-African Critique', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 981-98.
- Wagner, W. (2017) 'Liberal Power Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6), 1398-414.

The EU, Russia and Ukraine

- Giumelli, F. (2017) 'The Redistributive Impact of Restrictive Measures on EU Members: Winners and Losers from Imposing Sanctions on Russia', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(5), 1062-80.
- JCMS (2017) 'Special Issue on Europe's Hybrid Foreign Policy : The Ukraine-Russia Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(1).

Gehring, T., Urbanski, K. and Oberthür, S. (2017) 'The European Union as an Inadvertent Great Power: EU Actorness and the Ukraine Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(4), 727-43.

Institutional aspects of CFSP

- Chelotti, Nicola. 2013. "Analysing the Links between National Capitals and Brussels in EU Foreign Policy." *West European Politics* 36 (5):1052-1072.
- Rosén, Guri. 2015. "EU Confidential: The European Parliament's Involvement in EU Security and Defence Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (2):383-398.
- Riddervold, Marianne. 2016. "(Not) in the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defence Policies." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (2):353-369.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. 2014. "Symbolic power in European diplomacy: the struggle between national foreign services and the EU's External Action Service." *Review of International Studies*, 40(4):657-81.
- Michalski, Anna, and August Danielson. 2020. "Overcoming Dissent: Socialization in the EU's Political and Security Committee in a Context of Crises." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58 (2):328-44.

The EU as an international trade actor

- Dür, A. and H. Zimmerman (2007) (eds) *The EU in international trade negotiations*, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45/4 (special issue).
- Lowe, Sam. 2020. *EU efforts to level the playing field are not risk-free*. London: CER.

The EU in international fora

- Oberthür, S. and Groen, L. (2015) 'The Effectiveness Dimension of the EU's Performance in International Institutions: Toward a More Comprehensive Assessment Framework', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(6), 1319-35.
- Romanyshyn, I. (2015) 'Explaining EU Effectiveness in Multilateral Institutions: The Case of the Arms Trade Treaty Negotiations', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(4), 875-92.
- Murau, S. and Spandler, K. (2016) 'EU, US and ASEAN Actorness in G20 Financial Policy-Making: Bridging the EU Studies–New Regionalism Divide', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 928-43.
- Smith, K. E. (2017) 'EU Member States at the UN: A Case of Europeanization Arrested?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(3), 628-44.

How is the EU perceived abroad? Why?

- Chaban, N., Miskimmon, A. and O'Loughlin, B. (2017) 'The EU's Peace and Security Narrative: Views from EU Strategic Partners in Asia', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6), 1273-89.
- Isani, M. and Schlipphak, B. (2017) 'The Desire for Sovereignty – An Explanation of EU Attitudes in the Arab World', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(3), 502-17.
- Keuleers, F. (2015) 'Explaining External Perceptions: The EU and China in African Public Opinion', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(4), 803-21.

Seminar: EU Foreign Policy-Making

What kind of actor is the EU in international affairs?

Student: _____

Essential reading

- Giegrich, B. 2014. 'Foreign and Security Policy: Civilian Power Europe and American Leadership', in H. Wallace M. Pollack and A. Young (eds) *Policy Making in the European Union*, 7th edition (Oxford: OUP); this provides the necessary general information that will allow you to understand the rest.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2009. "Europe: The quiet superpower." *French Politics* 7 (3-4):403-422. See also Moravcsik's pieces aimed at wider audiences on Moodle.
- Meunier, S. and Vachudova, M. A. 2018. 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(7):1631–47.

Further reading

- Menon, Anand. 2009. Empowering paradise? The ESDP at ten. *International Affairs* 85 (2): 227-46.

Orenstein, M. A., & Kelemen, R. D. (2016). Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55:1, 87-102.

Keuleers, Floor, Daan Fonck and Stephan Keukeleire. N.d. Beyond EU navel-gazing: taking stock of EU-centrism in the analysis of EU foreign policy. *Cooperation & Conflict*. This interesting review of the literature is available on Moodle in pre-publication form.

More material can be found on Moodle.

8 March 2021

Lecture: migration policy

How has the EU tried to deal with this issue over time? What does the process of institutional change in this area tell us about the evolution of the EU as a polity?

Introductory readings

Lavenex, S. (2014) 'Justice and Home Affairs: Institutional Change and Policy Continuity', in H. Wallace M. Pollack and A. Young (eds) *Policy Making in the European Union*, 7th edition (Oxford: OUP).

Wolff, S. (2020) 'Managing the Refugee Crisis: A Divided and Restrictive Europe?', in R. Coman et al. (eds) *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.)

Jeandesboz, J. (2020) Security in the Schengen Area: Limiting Rights and Freedoms?', in R. Coman et al. (eds) *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.)

Further reading

Acosta Arcarazo, D. and Geddes, A. (2013) 'The Development, Application and Implications of an EU Rule of Law in the Area of Migration Policy'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(2):179–93.

Guiraudon, V. (2000) 'European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-Making as Venue Shopping'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(2):251-71.

Guiraudon, V. (2003) 'The constitution of a European immigration policy domain: a political sociology approach'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(2):263-82.

Trauner, F. and Ripoll Servent, A. (2016) 'The Communitarization of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Why Institutional Change does not Translate into Policy Change', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1417-32.

Scipioni, M. (2018) 'De Novo Bodies and EU Integration: What is the Story behind EU Agencies' Expansion?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(4), 768-84.

Seminar: the EU and the 'migration crisis'

Has the EU been 'failing forward' in this area of policy?

STUDENT: _____

Essential reading

Scipioni, Marco. 2018. "Failing forward in EU migration policy? EU integration after the 2015 asylum and migration crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (9):1357-1375.

Lavenex, Sandra. 2018. " 'Failing Forward' Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (5):1195-1212.

Greene, M., & R. D. Kelemen. 2016. Europe's Lousy Deal With Turkey: Why the Refugee Arrangement Won't Work. *Foreign Affairs*, 29 March, online edition.

15 March 2021

Lecture: the EU and the COVID-19 pandemic

How has the EU tried to deal with this crisis? Why has its reaction changed over (and in a short period of) time?

Background reading

Dimitrakopoulos, Dionysis G., and Georgette Lalis. 2020. "The European Union's reaction to the Covid-19 pandemic – a preliminary assessment." [LSE EUROPP blog, 27 March.](#)

Seminar: the EU's reaction to the COVID-19 pandemic

What lessons can we draw from the first phase of the EU's reaction to the pandemic? Group discussion.

Essential reading

Dimitrakopoulos, Dionysis G. 2020. "The European Union's response to the COVID-19 pandemic: disintegration or 'failing forward'? Draft manuscript.

Tesche, Tobias. 2020. *The European Union's response to the coronavirus emergency: an early assessment*, LSE 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series. London: LSE European Institute.

Further reading

Tooze, Adam. 2020. 'Coronabonds' and Europe's north-south divide. Berlin: International Politics & Society Journal and Social Europe.

22 March 2021

Lecture: Disintegration - the EU's end?

What is disintegration? How is it supposed to work? Is European integration about to end?

Background reading

Eppler, Annegret, Lisa H. Anders, and Thomas Tuntschew. 2016. *Europe's Political, Social, and Economic (Dis-) Integration: Revisiting the Elephant in Times of Crisis*, IHS Political Science Series Working Papers., Vienna: University of Vienna/Institute for Advanced Studies.

Gräbner, Claudius, Philipp Heimberger, Jakob Kapeller, and Bernhard Schütz. 2020. "Is the Eurozone disintegrating? Macroeconomic divergence, structural polarisation, trade and fragility." *Cambridge Journal of Economics*. doi: 10.1093/cje/bez059.

Jones, Erik. 2018. "Towards a theory of disintegration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (3):440-451.

Krastev, Ivan. 2017. *After Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Leruth, Benjamin, Stefan Gänzle, and Jarle Trondal. 2019. "Differentiated Integration and Disintegration in the EU after Brexit: Risks versus Opportunities." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57 (6):1383-1394.

Matthijs, Matthias. 2020. "The Right Way to Fix the EU." *Foreign Affairs*, May-June.

Rosamond, Ben. 2019. "Theorising the EU in crisis: de-Europeanisation as disintegration." *Global Discourse* 9 (1):31-44.

Tooze, Adam. 2020. 'Coronabonds' and Europe's north-south divide. Berlin: International Politics & Society Journal and Social Europe.

Vollaard, Hans. 2014. "Explaining European Disintegration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (5):1142-1159.

_____. 2018. *European Disintegration: A Search for Explanations*, Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. London: Palgrave.

Webber, Douglas. 2013. "How likely is it that the European Union will disintegrate? A critical analysis of competing theoretical perspectives." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (2):341-365.

_____. 2019. "Trends in European political (dis)integration. An analysis of postfunctionalist and other explanations." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26 (8):1134-1152.

Revision (covering term II) and exam preparation in lieu of a seminar

Assessment

Students are assessed by (i) a coursework element in essay format (45%) to be submitted mid-year; (ii) an unseen written examination (45%) conducted during exam period (April-June); and (iii) a seminar mark (10%).

Essay

The essay will be **3,500 words in length (+/- 10%), including footnotes and bibliographic references**. A list of approved essay questions is provided below.

The due date for submitting the essay for this module is 12 pm (midday) on 11 January 2021. Students will receive their essay marks and accompanying feedback by February 1st, 2021.

Please do not go beyond the maximum word limit; essays that breach this limit by more than 10% might have marks deducted or might not be marked at all.

Failed essays are expected to be resubmitted by 26 April 2021. Resubmitted essays will be marked as capped at the pass grade of 50%, unless the student has an accepted mitigating circumstances claim (see section below, "Late Submissions and Mitigating Circumstances").

Coursework Submission

Students are required to submit their coursework electronically via Moodle on (or before) the essay submission date.

The deadline time for all coursework is 12 pm (midday).

Please keep an electronic and hard back-up of the essay for safekeeping.

The Department endeavours to maintain anonymity for marking. Students are asked to complete a coursework cover sheet using their student number but not their name. This form should be cut and pasted onto the first page of their essay document. **This file should also be saved using the student number, NOT the student name (e.g. 12106999.doc). This is very important. We cannot identify your submission if you do not do this.**

A coursework cover sheet is available on [Moodle](#)

Students are advised to use the Harvard system of referencing but other established systems (Chicago, APA, etc.) are acceptable provided they are correctly and consistently employed. For guidance on how to reference books, journal articles, and other material, see [material on Moodle](#).

Coursework Feedback and Results

When you submit coursework during the year you can usually expect to receive a mark and feedback on Moodle within four working weeks (please note that work submitted *after* coursework deadlines may take significantly longer to mark, depending on the time of year).

The purpose of all feedback is to help you hone your academic skills and improve your work. Feedback on assessment consists of a mark and information on how you did and suggestions for development that you can reflect on and implement in your next piece of work.

Remember to read the marker's feedback comments carefully – don't just look at the mark!

If you have failed a piece of coursework you will be expected to resubmit – please see your programme handbook for information on resubmission and retakes.

All marks are provisional until they are approved by the Politics Exam Board, which meets in July of each year. Overall module marks (including exam marks) and dissertation results are released after this July meeting of the Politics Exam Board and will be made available to you via your [My Birkbeck Profile](#) (these marks will not appear on Moodle), usually in late July/early August.

Late Submission and Mitigating Circumstances

College policy dictates how the Department treats work that is due for assessment but submitted after the submission deadline.

Any piece of assessment that is submitted late and for which no application for consideration of mitigating circumstances (see below) has been accepted will be awarded a mark of no more than the pass mark of 50%. As a courtesy, you should tell your module seminar leader and your administrator if you are going to submit an essay late. However, staff cannot give extensions.

Where an assessment has not been submitted or attended and no application for consideration of mitigating circumstances has been accepted a mark of zero will be awarded.

If your essay or essays are submitted late because of illness or other mitigating factors, you are advised to submit a claim for mitigating circumstances to be considered.

The mitigating circumstances form and procedure is available [online](#) (please read the policy and guidance carefully). If your evidence is regarded as compelling, penalty marks will be revoked, and the 'merited' mark substituted.

It is very important that you submit your mitigating circumstances claim within **two weeks** of the assessment deadline for the element of assessment to which the claim relates. **We are unable to consider any claims that are not accompanied by independent documentary evidence** – for details on what is appropriate here please see pages 10-12 of the mitigating circumstances [policy](#)

Update made on 24 September 2020

- **There is a two-week cut-off for late submissions;**
- **And a 10% deduction for any assignment submitted up to 7 days late, after which it will be capped as usual;**
- **If submitted later than two weeks the assignment will not be considered for marking**

Exams

The take-home exam requires students to answer three questions from a list of ten. The questions will be released on Moodle at midday on Monday 26 April 2021 and answers should be uploaded by midday on 28 April 2021. There is a word limit of 1,000 words per question. As this is an open book assessment, you are allowed to consult notes, texts, journal articles, books etc. However, answers should be written as they would be in a closed exam, referring to authors' names where appropriate but avoiding direct quotations from the academic literature. A list of references does not need to be provided, except if direct quotes are used. References count towards the word limit. Answers will be checked for assessment offences, including plagiarism, in the usual way. Students must avoid using directly material already used in essays, and must neither plagiarise nor 'self-plagiarise', i.e. use - verbatim - material previously submitted for summative assessment.

More guidance on the conduct of take-home exams is available under the Assessment tile of the Moodle base for this module. Past exams are available [online](#).

An opportunity to do a practice (mock) exam will be available at the end of the spring term. A question paper will be released on Friday 19 March and answers should be uploaded by Monday 22 March. You may choose to sit a practice exam for any module on which you are due to be examined in the summer. Students must register in advance. For details, please [go online](#).

Students who fail or do not take the exam in a module may be allowed a re-sit in August (based on a different set of exam questions). Re-sit marks are capped at the passing grade of 50% unless the student has an accepted mitigating circumstances claim.

Seminar mark

This will be allocated on the basis of attending an in-class test that will cover the material examined in term I. This test will take place at the end of term I and is compulsory.

Essay Questions

Please note the following: normally this Department's postgraduate courses include approximately 15 teaching weeks. This means that the vast literature on the EU cannot be covered in its entirety. As a result, a) this particular course includes extra sessions/weeks (so that we can cover more issues and materials) and b) the list of essay questions is meant to offer students the opportunity to engage with some parts of the literature that cannot be included in the course. The questions that fall in this category are followed by key sources in the list that appears below. The remainder is supported by literature that appears in the main body of this coursebook.

1. How has Whitehall organised its involvement in EU policy process? Why?

- James, S. (2010) 'Managing European policy at home: Analysing network adaptation within the core executive'. *Political Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 5, pp. 930-50.
- Kassim, H. (2000) 'The United Kingdom', in H. Kassim, B. G. Peters, and V. Wright (eds) *The National Co-ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).
- James, S. (2009) 'Taming the 'awkward state'? The changing face of European policy-making under Blair'. *Public Administration*, Vol. 87, No. 3, pp. 604-20.
- Bulmer, S. and Burch, M. (2005) 'The Europeanization of UK government: From quiet revolution to explicit step-change?' *Public Administration*, Vol. 83, No. 4, pp. 861-90.
- Kassim, H., Menon, A., Peters, B.G. and Wright, V. (eds.) (2001) *The National Co-ordination of EU Policy: The European Level* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.). Esp. introduction and conclusion.
- Kassim, H., Peters, B.G. and Wright, V. (eds.) (2000) *The National Co-ordination of EU Policy: The Domestic Level* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.). Esp. introduction and conclusion.
- Kassim, H. and Wright, V. (1991) 'The Role of National Administrations in the Decision-Making Processes of the European Community'. *Rivista Trimestrale di Diritto Pubblico*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 832-50.

2. Why is the Eurogroup often seen as a highly deficient (in terms of transparency and accountability) part of EMU's institutional architecture?

- Braun, Benjamin, and Marina Hübner. 2019. *Vanishing act: the Eurogroup's accountability*. Brussels: Transparency International EU.
- Craig, Paul. 2017. "The Eurogroup, power and accountability." *European Law Journal* 23 (3-4):234-249.
- Michel, Hélène. 2018. "La transparence dans l'Union européenne : réalisation de la bonne gouvernance et redéfinition de la démocratie." *Revue française d'administration publique* (165):109-126.
- Varoufakis, Yanis. 2020a. "Euroleaks." Diem25, [accessed 15 March](#).
- Varoufakis, Yanis. 2020b. Why #Euroleaks and why now? Because there is no transparency in the EU. Greece: Diem25.

3. **What are the ECJ's main contributions to the process of European integration?**
4. **How have national parliaments sought to cope with the exigencies of membership of the EU?**

- Ahlbäck Öberg, Shirin, and Ann-Cathrine Jungar. 2009. "The Influence of National Parliaments over Domestic European Union Policies." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 32 (4):359-381.
- Arter, David. 1995. "The Folketing and Denmark's 'European policy': The case of an 'authorising assembly'?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 1 (3):110-123.
- Auel, Katrin, and Thomas Christiansen 2015. "Special issue - After Lisbon: National Parliaments in the European Union." *West European Politics* 38 (2).
- Auel, Katrin, and Arthur Benz. 2005. "The politics of adaptation: The Europeanisation of national parliamentary systems." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11 (3/4):372-393.
- Auel, Katrin, Olivier Rozenberg, and Angela Tacea. 2013. "National parliaments are not the losers of EU integration – at least not anymore." [Democratic Audit blog, 13 April.](#)
- Barrett, Gavin. 2011. *The Oireachtas and the European Union: the Evolving Role of a National Parliament in European Affairs*. Dublin: The Houses of the Oireachtas.
- Benz, Arthur. 2004. "Path-dependent institutions and strategic veto players: national parliaments in the European Union." *West European Politics* 27 (5):875-900.
- Blom-Hansen, Jens, and Ingvild Olsen. 2015. "National Parliamentary Control of EU Policy: The Challenge of Supranational Institutional Development." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 21 (2):125-143.
- Calliess, Christian, and Timm Beichelt. 2014. *The Europeanization of the Bundestag: From Observer to Player?* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Cooper, Ian. 2006. "The Watchdogs of Subsidiarity: National Parliaments and the Logic of Arguing in the EU." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (2):281-304.
- Cooper, Ian. 2012. "A 'Virtual Third Chamber' for the European Union? National Parliaments after the Treaty of Lisbon." *West European Politics* 35 (3):441-465.
- Cooper, Ian. 2019. "National parliaments in the democratic politics of the EU: the subsidiarity early warning mechanism, 2009–2017." *Comparative European Politics* 17 (6):919-939.
- Dimitrakopoulos, Dionyssis G. 2001. "Incrementalism and path dependence: European integration and institutional change in national parliaments." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (3):405-422.
- Finke, Daniel, and Tanja Dannwolf. 2013. "Domestic scrutiny of European Union politics: Between whistle blowing and opposition control." *European Journal of Political Research* 52 (6):715-746.
- Gostyńska-Jakubowska, Agata. 2019. *Boosting the Role of National Parliaments in EU Democracy*. Brussels: Carnegie Europe.
- Haroche, Pierre. 2018. "The inter-parliamentary alliance: how national parliaments empowered the European Parliament." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (7):1010-1028.
- Heffler, Claudia, Christine Neuhold, Olivier Rozenberg, and Julie Smith, eds. 2015. *The Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments and the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Laursen, Finn. 2005. "The role of national parliamentary committees in European scrutiny: Reflections based on the Danish case." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11 (3/4):412-427.
- Neuhold, Christine, and Rik de Ruiter. 2010. "Out of REACH? Parliamentary Control of EU Affairs in the Netherlands and the UK." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 16 (1):57–72.
- Norton, Philip (ed.). 1995. "Special Issue on National Parliaments and the European Union." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 1 (3).
- Pollak, Johannes, and Peter Slominski. 2014. "The Silence of the Shepherds: How the Austrian Parliament Informs its Citizens on European Issues." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20 (1):109-124.
- Puntscher Riekmann, Sonia, and Doris Wydra. 2013. "Representation in the European State of Emergency: Parliaments against Governments?" *Journal of European Integration* 35 (5):565-582.
- Raunio, Tapio. 2005. "Holding governments accountable in European affairs: Explaining cross-national variation." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11 (3/4):319-342.
- Raunio, Tapio. 2009. "National Parliaments and European Integration: What We Know and Agenda for Future Research." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 15 (4):317-334.
- Raunio, Tapio. 2011. "The Gatekeepers of European Integration? The Functions of National Parliaments in the EU Political System." *Journal of European Integration* 33 (3):303-321.

Rozenberg, Olivier. 2020. *The French Parliament and the European Union: Backbenchers Blues*. Cham: Springer/Palgrave.

5. What accounts for the domestic pattern of transposition of the EU's directives? Discuss with reference to the directive and the country of your choosing.

6. What lessons can we learn from the EU's action in relation to the protection of the rule of law in the member states?

Kochenov, D., Amichai Magen and Laurent Pech (eds) (2016) 'JCMS Symposium 2016: The Great Rule of Law Debate in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(5).

Kelemen, R. D. (2017) 'Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union', *Government and Opposition*, 1-28. 10.1017/gov.2016.41

Müller, J.-W. (2013) 'Defending Democracy within the EU', *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2), 138-49.

Pech, L. and Scheppele, K. L. (2017) 'Illiberalism Within: Rule of Law Backsliding in the EU', *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, 19, 3-47.

Sedelmeier, U. (2014) 'Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(1), 105-21.

Dawson, J. and Hanley, S. (2019) 'Foreground Liberalism, Background Nationalism: A Discursive-institutionalist Account of EU Leverage and 'Democratic Backsliding' in East Central Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(4), 710-28.

Iusmen, I. (2015) 'EU Leverage and Democratic Backsliding in Central and Eastern Europe: the Case of Romania', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 593-608.

Oliver, P. and Stefanelli, J. (2016) 'Strengthening the Rule of Law in the EU: The Council's Inaction', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(5), 1075-84.

Magen, A. (2016) 'Cracks in the Foundations: Understanding the Great Rule of Law Debate in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(5), 1050-61.

Davies, M. (2017) 'Regional organisations and enduring defective democratic members', *Review of International Studies*, 44(1), 174-91.

Meijers, M. J. and van der Veer, H. (2019) 'MEP Responses to Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Poland. An Analysis of Agenda-Setting and Voting Behaviour', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(4), 838-56.

7. 'EU regional policy is a necessary adjunct to the Single Market'. Is it?

Bachtler, J. and C. Mendez (2020) 'Cohesion and the EU Budget: Is Conditionality Undermining Solidarity?' in R. Coman et al. (eds) *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.)

Dellmuth, L. M., Schraff, D. and Stoffel, M. F. (2017) 'Distributive Politics, Electoral Institutions and European Structural and Investment Funding: Evidence from Italy and France', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(2), 275-93.

Houliaras, A. and Petropoulos, S. (2016) 'European Money in Greece: In Search of the Real Impact of EU Structural Funds', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1332-49.

Zimmermann, K. (2016) 'Local Responses to the European Social Fund: A Cross-City Comparison of Usage and Change', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(6), 1465-84.

Bache, I. (2014) 'Cohesion Policy: A New Direction for New Times?' in H. Wallace et al. (eds), *Policy Making in the European Union*, 7th edition (Oxford: Oxford U.P.)

Hodson, D. (2014) 'Regional and Structural Funds' in E. Jones, et al. (eds) *Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford U.P.).

Delors, J. (1989) 'Regional implications of economic and monetary integration' (Brussels: Committee for the Study of Economic and Monetary Union).

8. What kind of neighbour is the EU?

Economides, S. and Ker-Lindsay, J. (2015) 'Pre-Accession Europeanization': The Case of Serbia and Kosovo', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 1027-44.

Huszka, B. (2018) 'Human Rights on the Losing end of EU Enlargement: The Case of Serbia', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(2), 352-67.

- Katsaris, A. (2016) 'Europeanization through Policy Networks in the Southern Neighbourhood: Advancing Renewable Energy Rules in Morocco and Algeria', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(3), 656-73.
- Aydin-Düzgit, S. (2018) 'Legitimizing Europe in Contested Settings: Europe as a Normative Power in Turkey?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(3), 612-27.
- Del Biondo, K. (2015) 'Norms or Interests? Explaining Instrumental Variation in EU Democracy Promotion in Africa', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(2), 237-54.
- Del Sarto, R. A. (2016) 'Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(2), 215-32.
- Roccu, R. (2018) 'Ordoliberalizing the Neighbourhood? The EU's Promotion of Regulatory Reforms in Egypt', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(5), 1070-86.
- Burlyuk, O. (2015) 'Variation in EU External Policies as a Virtue: EU Rule of Law Promotion in the Neighbourhood', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 509-23.
- Turkina, E. and Kourtikakis, K. (2015) 'Keeping up with the Neighbours: Diffusion of Norms and Practices Through Networks of Employer and Employee Organizations in the Eastern Partnership and the Mediterranean', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(5), 1163-85.

8. What is differentiated integration and how does it operate?

- Eriksen, Erik O. 2019. *Contesting Political Differentiation: European Division and the Problem of Dominance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- European Political Strategy Centre. 2019. *A Union that Delivers: Making Use of the Lisbon Treaty's Passerelle Clauses*, EPSC brief. Brussels: European Commission.
- Fabbrini, Sergio. 2019. *Europe's Future: Decoupling and Reforming*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.
- Fägersten, Björn, and Göran von Sydow, eds. 2019. *Perspectives on the Future of the EU*. Stockholm: SIEPS.
- Gostyńska-Jakubowska, Agata , and Christian Odendahl. 2017. *A flexible EU: A new beginning or the beginning of the end?* London: CER.
- Kroll, Daniela A., and Dirk Leuffen. 2014. "Enhanced cooperation in practice. An analysis of differentiated integration in EU secondary law." *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (3):353-373.
- Leruth, Benjamin, and Christopher Lord (eds). 2015. "Special issue: Differentiated integration in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 22 (6 (special issue: Differentiated integration in the European Union)).
- Leuffen, Dirk, Berthold Rittberger, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2013. *Differentiated Integration: Explaining Variation in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Thomas Winzen. 2020. *Ever Looser Union? Differentiated European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Students interested in this topic are encouraged to watch the [video recording of Prof. Schimmelfennig's talk at NUPI, Oslo in 2019](#).

Reading Week and Workshop Week

Reading Week

Reading Week is held in both the autumn and spring terms. Lectures and seminars do not run during the Reading Week, the purpose of which is to give you an opportunity to revise the material covered in the first half of the term and to prepare for the second half. This is also an excellent opportunity for you to make a start on essays and other coursework.

Workshop Week

In Workshop Week, which is held in both the autumn and spring terms in Week 7, lectures and seminars for specific modules are replaced by general study skills sessions as well as other events, some of which are course-specific (e.g. see the event planned for 25th February 2020 in the context of this course). These sessions cover topics such as essay writing, exam

preparation and how to go about researching and writing your dissertation. Other events include outside speakers from the world of research and/or politics. The Departmental Office will provide you with details in due course. **Workshop Week is a fundamental part of your degree and attending the corresponding sessions (incl. the study skills sessions and, in particular, the special events organised under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Chair in Parliamentary Democracy and European Integration) is compulsory.**

Learning Resources, Academic Support and Student Feedback

<u>Attendance Policy</u>

Attendance is compulsory on all modules. Effective teaching and learning in seminars and lectures depends on all students attending. If you miss two or more classes in any module you may be advised to meet with your personal tutor, who will help you to address any academic problems that have arisen. Students attending fewer than three quarters of their classes on all modules will not normally be permitted to register for the written examination(s) and thus will not be able to complete the degree.

Special circumstances are always taken into consideration. If you have difficulties that prevent you from attending, it is very important that you contact the module leader and your personal tutor. The Department is fully committed to enabling our students to complete their degrees.

If you are unable to attend a class, you should contact the seminar tutor concerned to explain the circumstances and ask for any supplementary module materials you have missed — but bear in mind that such aids are no substitute for actual attendance, and that course material will not always be available, depending on the nature of the class. It is also important to find out whether you have missed any instructions or tasks for the following class.

In addition to regular class attendance, all students (both part-time and full-time) are expected to spend a number of hours per module every week in self-study, reading, seminar preparation and – at certain times of the year – completion of assignments. This means that you will need to be fully committed to your studies before starting the course, and should carefully consider whether or not you are embarking on the best mode of study in the circumstances. Birkbeck has a long history of supporting working students successfully to undertake and complete challenging degree-level study. It is important that students embarking on our programmes (especially full-time) have space enough in their week to attend class, prepare for seminars, and research and write assignments. Any student who is struggling with their study, work and life balance should always contact their personal tutor to discuss the situation so that strategies can be put in place to enable them to complete their degree. It is possible to take a break in studies and you should talk to your personal tutor about this if you are finding it difficult to attend or to do the necessary preparation and coursework.

Birkbeck Attendance [Framework](#)

During the 2020-21 academic year, depending on College measures in place as a result of COVID-19, the attendance requirement may apply only to live interactive seminars (if, for example, some lectures are pre-recorded and made available for online access).

Availability of Lecturers and Seminar Leaders

Lecturers and seminar leaders are available to answer student queries about their work or to assist where students are experiencing difficulties relating to the subject matter covered during the module. They will let you know the best way of contacting them and when they are available to see you.

Personal Tutors

As part of our programme of student support all students are assigned to a personal tutor. In postgraduate programmes, the personal tutor is normally the programme director. You can find out who your personal tutor is on your [MyBirkbeck profile](#) (click on 'Academic Support').

Your tutor is available by appointment, and can offer advice and referrals for issues affecting student progress and wellbeing.

Learning Support

Studying at Birkbeck is undoubtedly challenging. The College's Learning Development Service will help you consider how you can achieve your goals, find out what studying at Birkbeck is like and improve your study skills through a range of online tutorials and events. For more details, please visit the [corresponding page](#).

Birkbeck offers a range of academic development workshops for students. Some courses are initially only available to first year undergraduates, but other students can join a standby list. All workshops are free of charge unless stated otherwise. [Topics covered include:](#)

- Moodle
- Reading skills
- Note-taking
- Time Management
- Essay writing
- Academic English

Visit our [Learning Skills module on Moodle](#) for resources that will help you build academic skills and increase academic performance.

You should also check out the College guidance about [learning online](#)

Problems Affecting Your Studies

If difficulties arise at work or with family, money, health or anything else that may affect your study, please let someone in the Department know, and we will do our best to help. You are welcome to approach the director of your module, or the director of your programme.

If you wish to speak to a member of staff who is not teaching you, you might contact the Student Experience Officer, Dr Lisa Tilley (l.tilley@bbk.ac.uk) or the Head of the Department of Politics, Dr Samantha Ashenden (s.ashenden@bbk.ac.uk).

Alternatively, you can contact the Students' Union [advice service](#), or any of the College services listed [on My Birkbeck](#)

Birkbeck Library

Although lectures and seminars are an essential element of the module, success in learning depends largely on the reading and research that is undertaken individually by students. Most items on the module reading lists are available via Moodle or in the Birkbeck Library, which is open seven days a week for most of the year. Essential items for modules can be found either in the Reading Room Collection of reference-only print books and photocopies, or will be made available electronically via Moodle.

Information about the Library's opening hours, layout and services, and access to the catalogue and electronic resources is available from the [web site](#)

As well as its physical holdings, the Library has a comprehensive range of electronic resources available from the eLibrary section of the web site, including thousands of electronic journals, specialist research databases (which tell you what has been written on a topic or by a particular author) and exam papers, see the [library's web page](#).

For an overview of the Library's resources for Politics, see the [corresponding page](#).

Other Libraries

In the course of your studies it is expected that you will use the research collections located near to Birkbeck. For further information, please see [the corresponding page](#).

Student Feedback

The Department believes that student feedback is important to the quality of its provision. It invites you to make your views known or to raise issues through the following formal channels:

- **Class Representatives** are elected in the second/third week of the term. They represent the class in the Students' Union and at the Student-Staff Exchange Meetings (see below), and can also approach the programme director or the Head of Department to raise issues on behalf of the class or individual classmates.
- **Student-Staff Exchange Meetings** are scheduled each term. All students are welcome, and class representatives are expected to attend. These meetings are scheduled to precede Department meetings so that staff can consider their responses to the concerns raised and report back to students on action taken.
- A **Module Evaluation Questionnaire** is completed and submitted in the Spring term. Students are asked to comment on the module and the quality of teaching. Responses are collated and summarised in a module review, presented by the module director to the Department Teaching and Learning Committee, where they are discussed. The module director examines the issues raised and identifies the follow-up action to be taken. A summary is presented by the Student Liaison Officer at the next Student-Staff Exchange Meeting.
- **Personal Tutors** (undergraduate) and the **Student Liaison Officer** (postgraduate) will communicate any concerns you have to the relevant tutor, teacher or administrator. This is a good way of giving feedback to us privately.

- Students are also encouraged to convey any concerns or complaints they have informally to module and programme directors or, if necessary, the Head of Department.

Student Support and Wellbeing Services

Student support at Birkbeck encompasses a wide range of services, aimed at not only supporting students' learning experience but also their personal development.

Disability and Dyslexia Service

At Birkbeck we welcome students with disabilities and we are committed to helping you seize the opportunities that studying here presents. Regardless of your condition, our experienced, understanding and welcoming staff are here to support you during your studies. To make an appointment, please contact the Wellbeing Team from your My Birkbeck profile by clicking on 'Ask us' and selecting 'New Ask' or call us on 020 3907 0700. Alternatively, please visit our website for information about a Study Support Plan, Disabled Students' Allowance, free dyslexia screening and more [online](#).

Access at Birkbeck

Birkbeck's main buildings have wheelchair access, accessible lifts and toilets, our reception desks and teaching venues have induction loops for people with hearing impairments, and we have large print and tactile signage. Accessible parking, lockers, specialist seating in lectures and seminars and portable induction loops can all be arranged by the Disability and Dyslexia Service. For more information, please visit [the corresponding page](#).

Advice Service

Our trained advisors are on hand to provide information and advice about many aspects of your studies at Birkbeck including but not limited to: application and enrolment process, applying for government loans and financial support from the College, and payment options. Where we cannot answer questions immediately, we will either get back to you with an answer or refer your query to a specialist team who can.

[Ask us a question](#), call us on 020 3907 0700 or come along to our drop-in sessions for help and support. Alternatively, please visit our [website](#) for further information.

Counselling Service

We offer a free, non-judgmental and confidential counselling service to support you with emotional or psychological difficulties during your time at university. To make an appointment for an initial consultation, please email counselling-services@bbk.ac.uk with your name, student ID, gender and telephone number. Alternatively, please visit our [website](#) for information about the service including a comprehensive selection of [self-help resources](#) which may be useful in gaining a greater understanding of the personal challenges you are facing and the ways in which you can think about addressing them.

Mental Health Advisory Service

We provide specialist advice and support in a safe, non-judgemental environment. Like the Counselling Service, we are here to help you when you are going through emotional or psychological difficulties. The main difference between our services is that the emphasis of our work is on practical

support, rather than therapeutic interventions, to enable you to progress through your studies. To make an appointment, please contact the Wellbeing Team from your MyBirkbeck profile by clicking on 'Ask us' and selecting 'New Ask' or call us on 020 3907 0700. For further information about the service, please visit our [website](#).

Careers and Employability Service

We provide comprehensive careers advice, events and information services both in person and online. The service is free and available to all Birkbeck students and recent graduates. To find out how we can help you to enhance your career development and employability [ask us a question](#) or visit the Students' Employability Space. Alternatively, please visit our [website](#) for further information.

Nursery Service

We understand that studying while caring for a child or children can be especially challenging. We offer an affordable, professional evening nursery service, based in our central campus, for children aged from two to six years. For further information and contact details, please visit our [website](#).

Accessing Resources Online: MyBirkbeck or Moodle?



[MyBirkbeck](#)

- ✓ Your applications and enrolments
- ✓ Your teaching timetable
- ✓ Your exam timetable
- ✓ Your modules and marks*
- ✓ Your attendance and ID card swipes
- ✓ Your payment information
- ✓ Your personal tutor details
- ✓ Your Study Support Plan, and information on the academic support we provide

**Please note that marks will only appear here once they have been officially published, usually in July.*

- ✓ Pay your fees
- ✓ Upload a photo and order your Birkbeck ID card
- ✓ Request a change to your study status
- ✓ Confirm your modules
- ✓ Submit an ASK query
- ✓ Maintain and update your contact details



[Moodle](#)

- ✓ Read your module information including handbooks, reading lists, weekly schedules and messages from tutors
- ✓ Access Library and IT skills information
- ✓ Participate in discussion groups
- ✓ Submit your coursework
- ✓ View feedback and provisional marks for your coursework*
- ✓ Enrol on study skills workshops
- ✓ Access Moodle support

**Please note that you will have to look on your MyBirkbeck profile to view exam marks and overall module marks. These are normally available in July each year.*

Appendix A: Assessment Criteria

Essays and exams are assessed using the following criteria (not in order of importance):

- **Answering the question:** the extent to which the work has dealt directly and clearly with the assigned task and provided a focused answer to the particular intellectual problem posed.
- **Structure:** the extent to which the work demonstrates coherent organization of the material and an overall argument that proceeds logically from introduction to conclusion.
- **Conceptual clarity:** the extent to which the work has understood key terms and concepts, defined ambiguous terms, and employed them correctly.
- **Analytic Content:** the extent to which the work provides a critical analysis of the problem that evaluates competing arguments and interpretations rather than a purely descriptive or narrative discussion.
- **Literature:** the extent to which the work demonstrates familiarity with, and command of, the relevant scholarly writings on the subject to which the work is addressed.
- **Evidence and Examples:** the extent to which the work deploys apposite examples and pieces of evidence to support its claims, thereby turning unsupported assertions into critical arguments.
- **Style and Presentation:** the extent to which the work makes effective and correct use of the English language and is written in a clear and scholarly style.

Mark descriptors

- 0-29: Totally inadequate work, which does not address the question and shows little or no knowledge of the subject, and fails to deal with any of the issues.
- 30-39: Inadequate work, which says something relevant to the question, but does not show much evidence of reading or an ability to develop a clear argument.
- 40-49: Poor work, which shows some knowledge of the literature and addresses the question, but lacks organisation.
- 50-59: Satisfactory work, which shows an awareness of the major issues, shows knowledge of the sources and of alternative approaches to the subject. Does not show a clear understanding of alternative arguments and makes uncritical use of sources.
- 60-69: Good work, which treats the issues in a critical and balanced way, and shows an awareness of context, sources and different explanations.
- 70-79: Excellent work, which displays exceptional knowledge of the literature and/or a substantial measure of originality.
- 80-100: Outstanding work in virtually all areas. Contains substantial evidence of original and independent thought.

For further information on assessment in the Department of Politics and the College, see this [page](#) and this [one](#)

Appendix B: Birkbeck Plagiarism Guidelines

Written by Birkbeck Registry and adapted for TSMB by Nicholas Keep

What is plagiarism?

Plagiarism is the most common form of examination offence encountered in universities, partly because of the emphasis now placed on work prepared by candidates unsupervised in their own time, but also because many students fall into it unintentionally, through ignorance of what constitutes plagiarism. Even if unintentional, it will still be considered an examination offence.

This document, developed as guidelines to departments by Birkbeck Registry, is intended to explain clearly what plagiarism is, and how you can avoid it. Acknowledgement is made to guidance issued by the USA Modern Language Association (MLA, 1998).

Plagiarism is the publication of borrowed thoughts as original, or in other words, passing off someone else's work as your own. In any form, plagiarism is unacceptable in the Department, as it interferes with the proper assessment of students' academic ability. Plagiarism has been defined as "the false assumption of authorship: the wrongful act of taking the product of another person's mind, and presenting it as one's own" (Lindey, 1952, p2). Therefore, using another person's ideas or expressions or data in your writing without acknowledging the source is to plagiarise.

Borrowing others' words, ideas or data without acknowledgement. It is acceptable, in your work, to use the words and thoughts of another person or data that another person has gathered but the borrowed material must not appear to be your creation. This includes essays, practical and research reports written by other students including those from previous years, whether you have their permission or not. It also applies to both 'hard-copy' material and electronic material, such as Internet documents. Examples include copying someone else's form of words, or paraphrasing another's argument, presenting someone else's data or line of thinking. This form of plagiarism may often be unintentional, caused by making notes from sources such as books or journals without also noting the source, and then repeating those notes in an essay without acknowledging that they are the data, words or ideas belonging to someone else. Guard against this by keeping careful notes that distinguish between your own ideas and researched material and those you obtained from others. Then acknowledge the source.

Example 1

Original source:

To work as part of a team, to be able and prepared to continue to learn throughout one's career, and, most important, to take on board both care for the individual and the community, are essential aspects of a doctor's role today.

Greengross, Sally (1997), "What Patients want from their Doctors", Choosing Tomorrow's Doctors, ed. Allen I, Brown PJ, Hughes P, Policy Studies Institute, London.

Plagiarism:

The essential aspects of a doctor's role today are to work as part of a team, be able and prepared to continue to learn throughout one's career, and, most importantly, to take on board both care for the individual and the community.

Acceptable:

One social writer believes that the essential aspects of a doctor's role today are to work as part of a team, be able and prepared to continue to learn throughout one's career, and, most importantly, to take on board both care for the individual and the community (Greengross, 1997).

Example 2

Original source:

The binary shape of British higher education, until 1992, suggested a simple and misleading, dichotomy of institutions. [...] Within their respective classes, universities and polytechnics were imagined to be essentially homogeneous. Their actual diversity was disguised. [...] The abandonment of the binary system, whether or not it encourages future convergence, highlights the pluralism which already exists in British Higher Education.

Scott, Peter (1995), *The Meanings of Mass Higher Education*, SRHE and Open University Press, Buckingham, p43.

Plagiarism:

Prior to the removal of the binary divide between polytechnics and universities in 1992, there was a misleading appearance of homogeneity in each sector. Now there is only one sector, the diversity of institutions is more apparent, even if convergence may be where we're heading.

Acceptable:

Peter Scott has argued that prior to the removal of the binary divide between polytechnics and universities in 1992, there was a misleading appearance of homogeneity in each sector. Now there is only one sector, the diversity of institutions is more apparent, even if convergence may be where we're heading. (Scott, 1994)

In each revision, the inclusion of the author's name acknowledges whose ideas these originally were (not the student's) and the reference refers the reader to the full location of the work when combined with a footnote or bibliography. Note that in the second example, the argument was paraphrased – but even so, this is plagiarism of the idea without acknowledgement of whose idea this really is. In writing any work, therefore (whether for assessment or not) you should document everything that you borrow – not only direct quotations and paraphrases but also information and ideas. There are, of course, some common-sense exceptions to this, such as familiar proverbs, well-known quotations or common knowledge. But you must indicate the source of any appropriated material that readers might otherwise mistake for your own. If in doubt, cite your source or sources.

Copying material verbatim

Another example of plagiarism is the verbatim copying of chunks of material from another source without acknowledgement even where they are accepted facts, because you are still borrowing the phrasing and the order and the idea that this is a correct and complete list. Also, you might be infringing copyright (see below). For example if you wrote based on example 2 above 'The binary shape of British higher education, until 1992, suggested a simple and

misleading, dichotomy of institutions. (Scott, 1995)' then this still could be regarded as plagiarism as you used his exact words. It is important to rephrase the ideas in your own words, to show that you understand them while still acknowledging the source.

Re-submission of work

Another form of plagiarism is submitting work you previously submitted before for another assignment. While this is obviously not the same as representing someone else's ideas as your own, it is a form of self-plagiarism and is another form of cheating. If you want to re-work a paper for an assignment, ask your lecturer whether this is acceptable, and acknowledge your re-working in a preface.

Collaboration and collusion

In collaborative work (if this is permitted by the lecturer) joint participation in research and writing does not constitute plagiarism in itself, provided that credit is given for all contributions. One way would be to state in a preface who did what; another, if roles and contributions were merged and truly shared, would be to acknowledge all concerned equally. However, where collaborative projects are allowed, it is usually a requirement that each individual's contribution and work is distinguishable, so check with your lecturer. Usually, collusion with another candidate on assessed work (such as sharing chunks of writing or copying bits from each other) is not allowed.

Copyright infringement

Finally, you must guard against copyright infringement. Even if you acknowledge the source, reproducing a significant portion of any document (including material on the Internet) without permission is a breach of copyright, and a legal offence. You may summarise, paraphrase and make brief quotations (as I have done from my sources), but more than this risks infringing copyright.

References

Modern Language Association (1998) Guide for Writers of Research Papers (4th edition), MLA, New York

Lindey, A. (1952) Plagiarism and Originality. Harper, New York.

Please see the policy on plagiarism and other assessment offences [here](#)

Appendix C: Policy on the Recording of Lectures and Other Teaching Sessions

Please note that the copyright in the lectures and other teaching sessions reside with the teacher responsible for the teaching session. Students may request permission to record any teaching session delivered as part of their programme of study. All such requests should be made *prior* to the recording to the teacher responsible for the teaching session, and the decision on whether to grant permission is at the discretion of the teacher. Special provisions apply to students with a disability who wish to record teaching sessions. Please see the Disability Office for [further details](#).

If allowed by the tutor, recordings of teaching sessions may only be made for the personal and private use of the student making the recording. Students **may not**: (a) record teaching sessions on behalf of other students; (b) pass such recordings to any other person (except for the purposes of transcription, in which case they can be passed to one person only); and (c) publish such recordings in any form (this includes, but is not limited to, the internet and hard copy publication). Where students breach this policy, the College may regard this as a disciplinary offence. All such breaches will be dealt with in accordance with the College's Code of Student Discipline.