



# Global Studies Programme

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

**GLBS 3403**

**The European Union & the World  
2020 (SEMESTER II)**

**“After the Berlin Wall came down I visited that city and I will never forget it. The abandoned checkpoints. The sense of excitement about the future. The knowledge that a great continent was coming together. Healing those wounds of our history is the central story of the European Union.”<sup>1</sup>**

**Former British Prime Minister David Cameron**

## **COURSE INFORMATION:**

**Lecturer:**

**Dr. James F. Downes** (Room 323, T.C. Cheng Building)  
([jamesfdownes@cuhk.edu.hk](mailto:jamesfdownes@cuhk.edu.hk))

**Lecture Time: Thursday (14:30-17:15pm)**

**Lecture Venue: ELB 202**

Office Hours: By Appointment

## **COURSE INTRODUCTION:**

The primary objective of this course is to provide students with the tools to understand the current state of politics in Europe, with the European Union currently at a critical juncture in global politics. Part I of the course provides an introduction to the historical background of Europe and the formation of the European Union. The EU has expanded over the years following the Second World War and initially started from a small group of Western European countries. Part I also examines the key institutions of the European Union and how this relates to governance. Part II then introduces students to the main policy making of the EU and theoretical frameworks such as multi-level

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newsvideo/uk-politics-video/9820375/David-Camersons-Europe-speech-in-full.html>

governance (MLG) that enable us to understand how the EU functions. Part II also discusses the recent enlargement and expansion of the EU alongside public opinion ('Euroscepticism') towards EU membership amongst the public.

Part III outlines the fundamental challenges to governance that the EU is currently facing through a number of existential threats. A case study of the EU Refugee Crisis will allow students to further understand the complexities that the EU is facing and the different/competing national interests that are held by member states in the bloc. Existential threats such as the eurozone crisis, the rise of nationalism, the 'causes' behind 'right-wing' and left-wing' populism across Europe and the monumental Brexit Referendum in the last few years are also discussed and provide important challenges to the governance of the European Union and explores how the EU has expanded beyond Europe in recent years, particularly in its trade deals with regional blocs such as ASEAN and China. There has never been a more important time to study the EU and this course has a practical bent in equipping you with the necessary knowledge to understand the continuing evolution of the EU in the twenty-first century.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES:**

This course covers a wide variety of material. To catalyze your learning, I will provide practical and contemporary examples throughout the course. By the end of the course you will be able to see trace the historical evolution of the European Union and most importantly, the challenges that the EU currently faces in terms of its future governance.

At the end of the course, you should be able to:

- (1) Understand the historical trajectory and evolution of EU integration and its formation as a supranational entity, within the context of the globalized world
- (2) Understand the institutional processes and policy making avenues in the EU
- (3) Appreciate the institutional complexity and the diverse range of policy actors in the EU (i.e. Multi-Level Governance Structure)
- (4) Understand how the governance of the EU is currently under threat, with events such as the rise of 'right' and 'left'-wing populism, Brexit and the Refugee Crisis)

## GRADE DESCRIPTORS (OVERALL COURSE):

### **A:**

Demonstrates the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the twenty-first century) with an **outstanding performance** on all required assignments and learning outcomes.

### **A-**

Demonstrates the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the twenty-first century) with a **very good overall performance** on all required assignments and learning outcomes.

### **B:**

Demonstrates the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the twenty-first century) with **on average good performance** on all required assignments and learning outcomes, or high performance on some required assignments and learning outcomes which compensates for less satisfactory performance on others, resulting in overall good performance.

### **C:**

Demonstrates the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the 21st century) with **satisfactory performance** on the majority of required assignments and learning outcomes, possibly with some weakness.

### **D:**

Demonstrates the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the twenty-first century) with **barely satisfactory performance** on a number of required assignments and learning outcomes.

**E:**

Fails to demonstrate the ability to comprehend and apply the subject knowledge of the course as stated in the course description (debates concerning the historical development of the European Union, alongside the governance and key challenges that the European Union is currently facing in the twenty-first century). **Unsatisfactory performance** on a number of required assignments and learning outcomes, or failure to meet specified assessment requirements.

**RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOK:**

Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (eds.)<sup>2</sup>

European Union Politics,

Fourth Edition

(New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

ISBN-13: 978-0-19-969475-4.

**Note:** This is an excellent textbook that introduces students to the study of the EU and the academic literature that underpins the field.

\*In order to provide an interactive course for students, please note that there is a GLBS 3403 course Blackboard page that has been set up. This course page includes materials that relate to the Lecture slides, the course syllabus and Readings. Lecture slides will be uploaded on the day of the Lecture, straight after the Lecture is over. Frequent e-mail posts to students will also be made to the course Blackboard page, particularly in regard to latest breaking news that relates to the EU.

**FURTHER USEFUL TEXTS: (For more detailed texts on the EU and for additional references for your term paper, please see the supplementary reading list on Pages 13–17)**

Bale, T. (2013). *European politics: A comparative introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan. **(any edition will do).**

Caramani, D. (Ed.). (2017). *Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press **(any edition will do).**

Clarke, H. D., Goodwin, M., & Whiteley, P. (2017). *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*. Cambridge University Press.

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<sup>2</sup> Please note that the Cini et al (2010) version can also be used as a textbook, with the majority of the chapters corresponding to the Cini et al (2013) updated textbook. The Cini et al (2010) textbook is not currently available in the CUHK library. However, an electronic copy will be uploaded to the GLBS 3403 Blackboard page for students to use.

Farnell, J., Crookes, P. I., & Crookes, P. C. I. (2016). Politics of EU-China Economic Relations. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ford, R., & Goodwin, M. J. (2014). Revolt on the right: Explaining support for the radical right in Britain. Routledge.

Hix, S., & Hoyland, B. (2011). The political system of the European Union. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kriesi, H., & Pappas, T. S. (Eds.). (2015). European populism in the shadow of the great recession. Colchester: ECPRC Press.

Leconte, C. (2010). Understanding euroscepticism. Palgrave Macmillan.

Mudde, C. (2016). On Extremism and Democracy in Europe (Vol. 34). Routledge.

van Ham, C., Thomassen, J., Andeweg, R., & Aarts, K. (Eds.). (2017). Myth and Reality of the Legitimacy Crisis: Explaining Trends and Cross-National Differences in Established Democracies. Oxford University Press.

## **ONLINE RESOURCES:**

### **The European Union**

The official website of the European Union. Offered in 20 different languages, this website is useful for students.

<http://europa.eu>

### **Eurobarometer**

Public opinion surveys conducted by the European Commission since 1974.

<http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm>

### **European Social Survey**

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since its establishment in 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples.

The survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of diverse populations in more than thirty nations.

<http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>

### **European Union Academic Programme Hong Kong (EUAP)**

The EUAP is designed to strengthen EU-Hong Kong relations through academic activities and network building with local, regional and European partners. Regular public seminars are held alongside policy briefings and exchange trips across the EU.

<http://euap.hkbu.edu.hk/main/>

### **YouGov**

<https://yougov.co.uk/news/categories/europe/>

British public opinion company that is world leading in the design and implementation of political surveys. The polling company has regular polls that examine attitudes towards Europe of British citizens.

**BBC**

Latest breaking news and updates on EU politics.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world/europe>

**Le Monde (English version)**

Up to date news on Europe by a leading French newspaper

<http://www.lemonde.fr/le-monde-in-english/>

**Der Spiegel (English version)**

Up to date news on Europe by a leading German newspaper

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/>

## POLITICAL SCIENCE JOURNALS

**Electoral Studies**

<https://www.journals.elsevier.com/electoral-studies>

**European Political Science Review**

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/european-political-science-review>

**European Journal of Political Research**

[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1475-6765](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1475-6765)

**Journal of Common Market Studies**

[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1468-5965](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1468-5965)

**Journal of European Public Policy**

<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rjpp20/current>

**European Union Politics**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/home/eup>

**West European Politics**

<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/fwep20/current>

**Comparative Political Studies**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/home/cps>

**A Note on Readings:**

Please keep in mind that readings complement lectures. The lecture sessions will be used to tease out important concepts from the assigned readings and also discuss related issues. There is generally one compulsory reading every week, with supplementary materials (additional readings) that further aid the learning process.

## **Course Outline:**

### **PART I: HISTORY & INSTITUTIONS OF THE EU**

Week 1: Why study the EU? History, the origins of the EU and a Case Study of the 2019 European Parliament Elections (**9<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY**)

Week 2: ONLINE BLACKBOARD PANOPTO LECTURE: Key Institutions & Actors: The European Commission, the EU Council, the EU Parliament, the Courts of the EU and the Role of Interest Groups (**16<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY**)

### **PART II: POLICY MAKING & GOVERNANCE OF THE EU**

Week 3: EU Integration Theories & The Policy Making Process (Neo-Functionalism, Intergovernmentalism, New Institutionalism and Multi-Level Governance) (**23<sup>RD</sup> JANUARY**)

Week 4: The Enlargement of the EU in Central-Eastern Europe (**30<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY**)

Week 5: Public Opinion amongst citizens in the EU: 'Rising' Levels of Euroscepticism & the end of the EU? (**6<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY**)

### **PART III: CHALLENGES TO THE GOVERNANCE OF THE EU**

Week 6: Guest Lecture: Greece & the Economic Crisis Case Study (**13<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY**)

Week 7: The EU in Crisis I: The Political Consequences of the Eurozone Crisis: The Debt Bailouts & Radical Left-Wing Populism (**20<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY**)

Week 8: The EU in Crisis II: The 'Rise' of Euroscepticism; The Refugee Crisis & the 'rise' of Radical Right-Wing Populism (**27<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY**)

Week 9: The EU in Crisis III: The 'Causes' of Brexit & the Brexit Negotiations- From

EU28 to EU27? (5<sup>th</sup> MARCH)

Week 10: No Lecture I: (Group Project Presentations & Comments) x 2.5 Hours (12<sup>TH</sup> MARCH)

Week 11: No Lecture II: (Group Project Presentations & Comments) x 2.5 Hours (19<sup>TH</sup> MARCH)

Week 12: The EU's Role in Asia (China as a Case Study) & the EU as a Normative Power: Power Dynamics (26<sup>TH</sup> MARCH)

**(\*\*NO LECTURE: READING WEEK: MONDAY 30<sup>TH</sup> MARCH- FRIDAY 3<sup>RD</sup> APRIL\*\*)**

Week 13: Café Tolo Discussion I: The Future of the EU (2<sup>ND</sup> APRIL)

Week 14: Café Tolo Discussion II & End of Term Essay Prep (9<sup>TH</sup> APRIL)

### **COURSE ASSESMENTS/DEADLINES:**

End of Term Essay: 2,500-3000 words 40% (Due date: Thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> April)/END OF TERM)

\*Group Project: 30% (To be presented in the Weeks 11 and 12 Lectures)

Class Participation: 30% (Continuous assessment – comprised of overall attendance, discussion sessions in the Lectures & the Online Blackboard Forum)

**\*\*Please note that the Group project topic question should be finalized by the end of Week 8. Please also note that there are NO tutorial sessions on this course. Instead, the second part of each Lecture (approximately 1.5 hours) will provide an interactive discussion session for students to discuss the readings and key materials with each other.\*\***



# LECTURE TOPICS AND READINGS

## PART I: HISTORY & INSTITUTIONS OF THE EU

### **WEEK 1: WHY STUDY THE EU? HISTORY, THE ORIGINS OF THE EU & THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING THIS COURSE**

**\*(NO READING REQUIRED AS SESSION IS INTRODUCTORY)\***

The focus of this session is on the origins of the EU. It explores questions such as:

- i) The context of World War I and II in Europe
- ii) The post-war drive for reconstruction, the ideal of unification and the creation of the EU
- iii) The founding of the EU and why it was created

**Optional reading:** M. Cini et al (2013) Chapter 1. (Chapter 1 in M. Cini et al (2010).

#### **Additional readings:**

BBC: [A Timeline of the EU](#)

Jean Monnet: [Origins of the EU](#)

### **WEEK 2: INSTITUTIONS & ACTORS I: GOVERNANCE IN THE EU**

**(\*\*ONLINE PANOPTO LECTURE\*\*)**

The focus of this session is to provide a theoretical background to the study of the EU and its governance, alongside the key institutions and actors in the EU. Most significantly, this session provides a more comprehensive understanding of the three different layers of governance in the EU, namely the executive, legislative and judicial branches. It explores questions such as:

- i) The concepts of governance, 'Europeanization', 'supranationalism' and 'checks and balances'.
- ii) Who the major institutions and actors in the EU are and what are the different 'powers' held by the different branches of government in the EU (concept of 'checks and balances')
- iii) The theory of multi-level governance in the EU
- iv) How the different institutions and actors operate and the implications this poses for policy making and governance of the EU

**Compulsory reading:** M. Cini et al (2013) Chapters 8-12. (Chapters 2, 3 and 4, 8-10 in M. Cini et al, 2010).

**Additional readings:**

BBC: [What is the EU and how does it work?](#)

BBC: [Guide to the European Parliament- Powers](#)

BBC: [How the EU Works- A Video Guide](#)

Politico: [“Brexit clash looms over European court, nuclear power”](#)

[The UK in a Changing Europe: The Court of Justice](#)

## **PART II: POLICY MAKING & GOVERNANCE OF THE EU**

### **WEEK 3: EU INTEGRATION (THEORETICAL APPROACHES)**

**(\*\*ONLINE LECTURE RECORDED TO THE COURSE BLACKBOARD PAGE AS THE LECTURER IS AWAY IN EUROPE).\*\***

The focus of this session is to provide an introduction of the key theoretical approaches that can best explain how EU integration came about, alongside policy making in the EU and interactions with member states. This session analyzes the following key theories and applies these theories in understanding how well the EU’s core institutions are currently functioning:

- i) Neo-functionalism
- ii) Intergovernmentalism
- iii) Liberal intergovernmentalism
- iv) Rational Choice Institutionalism
- v) Sociological Institutionalism
- vi) Historical Institutionalism
- vii) Multi-level governance (MLG)

**Compulsory reading:** M. Cini et al (2013) (Chapters 5, 6 & 7) (Same Chapters in M. Cini et al, 2010).

**Additional readings:**

[Civitas: Theories of EU Integration](#)

[Financial Times: EU Integration on hold](#)

### **WEEK 4: THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE EU IN CEE**

This session overlaps with last week’s session on EU integration. The focus of this session

is on the enlargement of the EU and how the number of member states has increased since the start of the twenty-first century. This enlargement process has most recently taken place in Central-Eastern Europe (CEE). This session explores questions such as:

- i) Why the enlargement of the EU took place
- ii) The attitudes (public opinion) of member states and citizens towards this process
- iii) The future enlargement of the EU and whether this is realistic

**Compulsory reading:** M. Cini et al (2013) (Chapter 17) (Chapter 26 in M. Cini et al, 2010).

## **WEEK 5: PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EU (\*\*LAB SESSION, Venue GPA Lab, Room 406\*\*)**

The focus of this session is on how citizens and member states of the EU perceive the EU and the integration process. Public opinion surveys are one of the hallmarks of democratic societies and allow citizens to have their say on a number of issues. This session draws on public opinion data from datasets such as the Eurobarometer in showing how the EU has come under threat in recent years, with rising levels of ‘Euro scepticism’, nationalism and general dissatisfaction with the EU project. Drawing on recent European Social Survey datasets, this session then explores variations in public opinion amongst different member states through an interactive SPSS data session.<sup>3</sup> This session explores questions such as:

- i) Whether support for the EU project is increasing or decreasing
- ii) The reliability and importance of public opinion surveys
- iii) The measurement of attitudes in public opinion surveys

**Compulsory readings:** [Eurobarometer: Support for the EU in 2017](#)  
[Eurobarometer: Public Opinion in the EU](#)

### **Additional readings:**

Loveless and Rohrschneider (2011): [“Public Perceptions of the EU as a System of Governance.”](#) pp. 1–38.

Simpson, K., & Loveless, M. (2017). “Another chance? Concerns about inequality, support for the European Union and further European integration.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(7): pp. 1069-1089.

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<sup>3</sup> Please note that no prior knowledge of SPSS or mathematics is required for this session in Week 5. There will also **be no assessment** based on this material. This purpose of this session is to give students a hands-on approach in understanding the key patterns and trends that drive public opinion in the 27 EU member states.

WEEK 6: Guest Lecture: Greece & the Economic Crisis Case Study

**WEEK 6: GUEST LECTURE: GREECE & THE ECONOMIC CRISIS CASE STUDY (13<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY)**

This session explores a single case study in the form of Greece. The session investigates the (a) causes of the Greek economic crisis & subsequent bailout, alongside (b) the policy responses from the key EU institutions & member states and (c) the electoral ‘rise’ of the populist radical left party Syriza. The 2008-13 economic crisis has transformed the Greek political landscape and the Greek case study has important implications for the future of (i) the EU Project and more broadly, (ii) future economic reforms to the Eurozone.

**\*\*NO READINGS THIS WEEK\*\***

**WEEK 7: THE EU IN CRISIS I- THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE EUROZONE CRISIS: THE DEBT BAILOUTS & RADICAL LEFT-WING POPULISM**

The focus of this session is on the outbreak of the 2008 Eurozone crisis that hit the EU and caused a number of countries, commonly known as the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) to experience severe economic shocks (higher levels of unemployment and contraction of GDP). This session then investigates the economic crisis and the challenges that EU institutions and actors (member states) have faced in regards to resolving the crisis. This session also explores the recent electoral growth of populist radical left-wing parties. This session explores questions such as:

- i) The primary causes of the Eurozone/financial crisis
- ii) Policy responses of the EU towards the crisis and institutional complexity
- iii) The relationship between the economic crisis and voting behavior (patterns of electoral volatility and rising levels of populism in EU member states).

**Compulsory readings:** Rovny, Jan (2018). [“What happened to Europe’s Left?”](#) **LSE EUROPP**

**LSE EUROPP** (2016): [“Four lessons from the Eurozone crisis – and why the future of the euro remains uncertain”](#)

**Additional readings:**

The Economist (2015): [“The Euro crisis was not a government-debt crisis”](#)

Hooghe, M., & Verhaegen, S. (2017). The effect of political trust and trust in European citizens on European identity. **European Political Science Review** 9(2): pp. 161-181.

**WEEK 8: THE EU IN CRISIS II- THE ‘RISE’ OF EUROSCEPTICISM; THE REFUGEE CRISIS & RADICAL RIGHT-WING POPULISM**

This session examines the ‘dual’ challenges that the EU is currently facing, with the ongoing refugee crisis and the electoral ‘rise’ that populist radical right-wing parties in Western and Central-Eastern Europe have experienced post-2015. Contemporary examples are provided from countries such as the UK, France, the Netherlands and Germany to further explore the phenomenon of populism.

**Compulsory reading:**

Downes, James F. and Matthew Loveless. (2018). “Centre Right and Radical Right Party Competition in Europe: Strategic Emphasis on Immigration, Incumbency and Economic Crisis.” **Electoral Studies** 54: pp. 148-158.

Downes, James, F. and Matthew Loveless (2018). “Do centre-right parties win back votes from the far right by talking about immigration?” **LSE EUROPP**

Downes, James, F. and Chan, Edward (2018). [“Explaining the electoral debacle of social democratic parties in Europe.”](#) **LSE EUROPP**

**WEEK 9: THE EU IN CRISIS III: THE ‘CAUSES’ OF BREXIT & THE BREXIT NEGOTIATIONS**

This session examines the key drivers and causes of the landmark 2016 Brexit vote. The session concludes by discussing Britain’s 2016 Referendum on Membership of the European Union (‘Brexit’) and the ramifications that this poses for the EU and its future governance. This session explores question such as:

- i) What ‘Euroscepticism’ is (distinctions between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ Euroscepticism)
- ii) The key ‘causes’ and ‘drivers’ of populism in Europe
- iii) Why Brexit took place and the implications this poses for the future of the EU

- project
- iv) The ongoing Brexit negotiations and the current 'state' of play

**Compulsory reading:**

Clarke, Goodwin and Whiteley (2016): [“Why Britain voted for Brexit”](#) pp. 1–42

Week 10: No Lecture I: (Group Project Presentations & Comments) x 2.5 Hours

Week 11: No Lecture II: (Group Project Presentations & Comments) x 2.5 Hours

Week 12: The EU's Role in Asia (China as a Case Study) & the EU as a Normative Power: Power Dynamics

**Required Readings:**

European Union External Action Service. [“ASEAN and the EU.”](#) 11<sup>th</sup> May, 2016. The

Brooking Institution. [“The AIIB and the ‘One Belt, One Road.’](#) Summer 2015. Video Clip:

[The EU and ASEAN Countries: “A Strong Partnership”](#)

**(\*\*NO LECTURE: READING WEEK: MONDAY 30<sup>TH</sup> MARCH- FRIDAY 3<sup>RD</sup> APRIL\*\*)**

Week 13: Café Tolo Discussion I: The Future of the EU

**\*\*READINGS TBA\*\***

Week 14: Café Tolo Discussion II & End of Term Essay Prep

**\*\*READINGS TBA\*\***

## **Additional readings:**

### **On Populism:**

Kriesi, H. (2014). "The populist challenge." *West European Politics*, 37(2): pp. 361–378.

Spruyt, Bram, Gil Keppens, and Filip Van Droogenbroeck. "Who supports populism and what attracts people to it?" *Political Research Quarterly* 69.2 (2016): 335–346.

Hanley and Downes (2017): [French Presidential Elections 2017: "A New Form of Politics?"](#) **European Union Academic Programme Hong Kong**

Downes (2017): ["Electoral Volatility in the 2017 Dutch Election."](#) **Parliament Street**

### **Additional Resources on Populism/Radical Right Parties:**

Aichholzer, Julian, Sylvia Kritzinger, Markus Wagner, and Eva Zeglovits. (2014). "How Has Radical Right Support Transformed Established Political Conflicts? The Case of Austria." *West European Politics* 37 (1): pp. 113–37.

Arzheimer, Kai. (2015). "The Afd: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany?" *West European Politics* 38: pp. 535–56.

Arzheimer, Kai, and Elisabeth Carter. (2009). "Christian Religiosity and Voting for West European Radical Right Parties." *West European Politics* 32 (5): pp. 985–1011.

Brug, Wouter van der, Meindert Fennema, and Jean Tillie. (2000). "Anti-Immigrant Parties in Europe: Ideological or Protest Vote?" *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (1): pp. 77–102.

Ellinas, Antonis A. (2012). "LAOS and the Greek Extreme Right Since 1974." In *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe. from Local to Transnational*, edited by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin, and Brian Jenkins, pp. 124–39. London; others: Routledge.

———. 2013. "The Rise of Golden Dawn. the New Face of the Far Right in Greece." *South European Society and Politics* 18 (4): 543–65.

Ford, Robert, and Matthew J. Goodwin. 2010. "Angry White Men: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Support for the British National Party." *Political Studies* 58 (1).

———. 2014. "Understanding Ukip. Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind." *The*

Political Quarterly 85 (3): pp. 277–84.

Hainsworth, Paul. (2000). “The Front National: From Ascendancy to Fragmentation on the French Extreme Right.” In *The Politics of the Extreme Right. From the Margins to the Mainstream*, edited by Paul Hainsworth, pp. 18–32. London, New York: Pinter.

Lange, Sarah L. de. (2007). “A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right.” *Party Politics* 13 (4): pp. 411–35.

Luther, Kurt Richard. (2000). “Austria: A Democracy Under Threat from the Freedom Party?” *Parliamentary Affairs* 53: pp. 426–42.

Mayer, Nonna. (2013). “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen: Electoral Change on the Far Right.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 66 (1): pp. 160–78.

Mudde, Cas. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rydgren, Jens. (2005). “Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family.” *European Journal of Political Research* 44: pp. 413–37.

———. (2008). “Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing Voting in Six West European Countries.” *European Journal of Political Research* 47 (6): pp. 737–65.

Vasilopoulou, Sofia. (2011). “European Ingegration and the Radical Right. Three Patterns of Opposition.” *Government and Opposition* 46 (2): pp. 223–44.

Zúquete, José Pedro. (2008). “The European Extreme-Right and Islam. New Directions?” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13 (3): pp. 321–44.

### **On Euroscepticism/Brexit:**

Taggart and Szczerbiak (2002) [“The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States.”](#) **Sussex European Institute**

Clarke, H. D., Goodwin, M., & Whiteley, P. (2017). *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave*



the European Union. Cambridge University Press.

Clarke, H. D., Goodwin, M., & Whiteley, P. (2016). Leave was always in the lead: why the polls got the referendum result wrong. **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP)** Blog.

## **GENERAL READING LIST (SUPPLEMENTARY):**

### **GENERAL OVERVIEWS**

Bache, Ian, Stephen George, and Simon Bulmer, eds. *Politics in the European Union*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

**Note:** This book covers much the same ground as Cini and Borrigan (2013), with similar effects.

Nugent, Neill. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. 7th ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

**Note:** The first comprehensive survey of the EU (first published in 1989). Written by a British academic and aimed mainly at European audiences. Known for its attention to detail, which may be too much for newcomers but offers a valuable point of reference on the details of integration.

### **HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Dinan, Desmond. *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

**Note:** Essential reading before moving on to more detailed or revisionist studies. Offers a concise and thorough survey of key events and developments and their underlying motives and longer-term effects.

Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

**Note:** Another survey of developments in Europe since 1945, which treats the continent as a whole and looks at political, economic, social, and cultural changes in both eastern and western Europe alike. While looking at the bigger picture, Judt also provides details on key developments, placing European integration in its broader context.

## THEORIES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Burgess, Michael. *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950–2000*. London: Routledge, 2000.

**Note:** A study of the EU from a federal perspective, offering a revisionist history of the evolution of the EU and written by one of the most prolific authors in this particular school of European integration theory.

Haas, Ernst B. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950–1957*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958.

**Note:** Focusing on the European Coal and Steel Community, this was the first systematic study of the process of European integration. It gave birth to the theory of neofunctionalism and is widely regarded as the starting point for the theoretical debates about the dynamics of integration.

Hix, Simon, and Bjorn Hoyland. *The Political System of the European Union*. 3d ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

**Note:** The paradigmatic exposition of the argument that the EU should be approached as a political system in its own right and using the perspectives and methods of comparative politics. Offers a contrast to the numerous explanations offered by scholars of international relations.

Hoffmann, Stanley. “Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe.” *Daedalus* 95 (1966): pp. 862–915.

**Note:** By one of the earliest exponents of intergovernmental approaches to understanding European integration. Argues that while nonstate actors played an important role in the process of integration, state governments alone had the legal sovereignty and the political legitimacy that came from being elected and the authority to decide the pace of integration.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks, eds. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

**Note:** A key entry in the debate about the EU as an example of multilevel governance, where power is shared among the supranational, national, subnational, and local levels of government—with a high degree of interaction among these levels.

Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

**Note:** The key exposition of the liberal intergovernmental approach to understanding

the EU, based on a two-level approach that combines the neofunctionalist view of the importance of domestic politics with the role of the governments of the EU member states in making major political choices.

## **EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTIONS:**

### THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Bauer, Michael W., ed. *Reforming the European Commission*. London: Routledge, 2008.

**Note:** A study of recent reforms to the European Commission and the implications for the EU policy process.

Nugent, Neill. *The European Commission*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

**Note:** A general survey of the European Commission, the bureaucratic and executive institution of the EU, covering its structure, powers, and responsibilities.

Spence, David, ed. *The European Commission*. 3d ed. London: John Harper, 2006.

**Note:** Another and more detailed assessment of the commission, written by someone with many years of experience within the commission. Offers a review of its core operating rules as well as an analysis of its political dynamics.

### THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

Werts, Jan. *The European Council*. London: John Harper, 2008.

**Note:** Assesses the structure and dynamics of the European Council. With recent changes to its structure and role, more political analyses of the council's work are likely to be forthcoming.

### THE EU PARLIAMENT

Judge, David, and David Earnshaw. *The European Parliament*. 2d ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

**Note:** Arguably the standard political science text on the European Parliament: looks at its evolution, its rules and procedures, its formal powers and informal influence, and its effectiveness as a representative body.

Whitaker, Richard. *The European Parliament's Committees*. London: Routledge, 2011.

**Note:** The first full-length study of the European Parliament's committees, assessing their relationship with political parties.

## THE EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE

Alter, Karen J. *The European Court's Political Power: Selected Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

**Note:** A collection of articles on the European Court of Justice, written by one of its most active scholars.

Hartley, T. C. *The Foundations of European Community Law*. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

**Note:** One of the best of the many guides to EU law, with chapters on institutions, the legal system, legal principles, and the effects on the member states. Offers little in the way of political analysis but provides the survey of the legal system needed to place the European Court of Justice in its political context.

## **EUROPEAN UNION ACTORS:**

### INTEREST GROUPS

Coen, David, and Jeremy Richardson, eds. *Lobbying the European Union: Institutions, Actors, and Issues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

**Note:** Studies the role of interest groups in the EU policy process, looking at how groups organize to influence the EU institutions and how they build different coalitions.

Greenwood, Justin. *Interest Representation in the European Union*. 2d ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

**Note:** The standard assessment of the increasingly important (but not always fully understood) role of interest groups in EU decision making. Focuses on professional, consumer, social, business, and labor interests.

## **POLITICAL PROCESSES:**

### EXPANSION & ENLARGEMENT

Nugent, Neill, ed. *European Union Enlargement*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

**Note:** An edited collection of EU enlargement as it related mainly to Eastern Europe, with reviews of the historical and theoretical context of enlargement and its implications for identity, governance, economics, policies, and the international role of the EU.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

**Note:** An analysis of the eastern enlargement of the EU and NATO, which concludes

that it can best be understood in terms of liberal democratic values and norms and was based at least in part on shaming opponents into agreeing to enlargement.

#### THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR/FOREIGN POLICY

McCormick, John. *The European Superpower*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

**Note:** Argues that the EU has emerged as a new kind of postmodern superpower that emphasizes soft rather than hard options to express its global influence.

Orbie, Jan, ed. *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.

**Note:** An assessment of the core foreign policy areas of the EU, looking at the global dimensions of the EU as a civilian power and its relevance as a global actor, with chapters on trade, development, asylum, immigration, energy, and competition.

Manners, I. (2006). "Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads." *Journal of European public policy*, 13(2): pp. 182-199.

**Note:** The notion of the EU as a normative power and foreign policy securitization.

**Additional Note:** Please see Oxford Bibliographies for a more comprehensive list of academic references:

<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-97801956223/obo-9780199756223-0042.xml>

#### **TERM PAPER:**

Class participants can write a term paper dealing with any issue covered in the course; a list of possible titles will be given out. Participants are more than welcome to suggest their own title, but must confirm their topic with the **Lecturer via email/office hours**. The overall length is **2000-2500 words** and the deadline will be at the end of the semester (**THURSDAY, 23<sup>RD</sup> APRIL, 2020**).

Some possible term paper questions to choose from are the following (please choose **one** from the list below):

- (1) Describe the role/function of either the EU Council or Commission or the Parliament or the Court of Justice or the ECB (**choose one**). Do any of these institutions need reforming? If so, why and how?
- (2) Is support for the EU in public opinion surveys increasing or decreasing? What implications do your findings have for the future governance of the EU?
- (3) How useful are theories of integration to understanding the development of the EU?
- (4) What are the current challenges facing the future of the European Union?
- (5) What explains the electoral rise of populist parties in EU member states?
- (6) Why did Britain vote to leave the European Union and what are the implications for the future governance of the European Union?
- (7) Was the Brexit crisis driven by identity issues (immigration), economic issues or attitudes to authoritarianism?
- (8) What were the main causes of the 2008–13 Eurozone crisis?
- (9) How did the EU respond to the 2008–13 Eurozone crisis? Do you find the EU's policy responses convincing? If so, why? If not, why not?

Please note that the term paper must be properly referenced and cite sources from the relevant academic literature. The term paper must be submitted electronically to the BLACKBOARD PAGE (only an electronic copy will be accepted) by: **Thursday, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2020.**

### **Plagiarism and Academic Honesty:**

Attention is drawn to University policy and regulations on honesty in academic work, and to the disciplinary guidelines and procedures applicable to breaches of such policy and regulations. Details may be found at

<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/policy/academichonesty/>.

Students will be required to submit a signed declaration that they are aware of these policies, regulations, guidelines and procedures. For group projects, all students of the same group should be asked to sign on the declaration.

For assignments in the form of a computer-generated document that is principally text-based and submitted via VeriGuide, the statement, in the form of a receipt, will be issued by the system upon students' uploading of the soft copy of the assignment. Assignments without the receipt will not be graded by teachers. Only the final version of the assignment should be submitted via VeriGuide and uploaded onto BLACKBOARD.

## LECTURE SESSIONS:

Participants for this course are expected to make a group presentation in the lecture sessions (This will be presented in **Weeks 10 and 11** during the Lecture) towards the end of the semester. Please note that the purpose of the presentations is for class participants to think outside the box and demonstrate a strong degree of knowledge about a particular topic that has caught your interest on the course.

Participants should work in groups in order to make their class presentation (Each group will be given 20–25 minutes to present their research). There will be a constructive discussion section on each presentation afterwards, with detailed feedback from the Lecturer and Tutor, alongside other participants from the class. Groups of 3–4 people are ideally preferred. In-depth information about the group presentations and expectations will be provided in more detail in the lectures at the start of the course.

**The following topic areas are suggested and the choice of precise topic is a matter for the group presenters (Please note: any group with another topic area in mind is more than welcome to suggest it). Please however note that the finalized topic should be cleared with the Lecturer or Tutor via email/office hours and by the end of Week 8.**

- Formation (Founding) of the European Union
- The 2008–13 Eurozone crisis
- Brexit
- The rise of Populism in Europe
- The Refugee Crisis in Europe
- Public opinion amongst citizens in EU Member states
- EU External Relations (i.e. relationship with China, United States)/The EU as a ‘normative power’
- Policy Making of the EU (Where does the real source of power lie? (The EU Commission, The EU Parliament, EU Council)
- Enlargement of the EU
- EU Parliament Elections of 2014 (rise of populist parties)
- 2016/2017 Elections in EU Member states (France, Netherlands, UK and Germany)
- The Future of the EU