

PL7501 Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union (DL Mar 15)

[View Online](#)

1.

Hix, Simon, Hoyland, Bjorn. The Political System of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 3rd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2011.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=4763992>

2.

Lord, Christopher. A Democratic Audit of the European Union. Vol One Europe or several? Palgrave Macmillan; 2004.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=112247>

3.

Beetham, David, Lord, Christopher. Legitimacy and the EU. Vol Political dynamics of the EU. Longman; 1998.

http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&page_service_id=5662444070002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

4.

Schmitter PC. How to Democratize the European Union ... and Why Bother? Rowman & Littlefield; 2000.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=1351087>

5.

Warleigh A. Democracy and the European Union: Theory, Practice, and Reform. SAGE; 2003.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10285247>

6.

Bache I, Bulmer S, George S, Parker O. Politics in the European Union. 4th edition. Oxford University Press; 2014.

7.

Lelieveldt, Herman, Princen, Sebastiaan. The Politics of the European Union. Vol Cambridge textbooks in comparative politics. Cambridge University Press; 2011.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=5120109>

8.

Cini, Michelle, Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, Nieves. European Union Politics. 4th ed. Oxford University Press; 2013.

9.

McCormick J. European Union Politics. Vol Palgrave foundations series. Second edition. Macmillan Education/Palgrave; 2015.

10.

Nugent, Neill. The Government and Politics of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 7th ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2010.

11.

Thomas Christiansen, Christine Reh. Constitutionalizing the European Union. Palgrave Macmillan

12.

Dinan D. Europe Recast: A History of European Union. 2nd edition. Palgrave Macmillan;

2014.

13.

Leuffen, Dirk, Rittberger, Berthold, Schimmelfennig, Frank. Differentiated Integration: Explaining Variation in the European Union. Vol The European Union series. Palgrave Macmillan; 2013.

14.

Peterson, John, Shackleton, Michael. The Institutions of the European Union. Vol New European Union series. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press; 2006.

15.

Piris JC. The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis. Vol Cambridge studies in European law and policy. Cambridge University Press; 2010.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=605022>

16.

Zimmermann, Hubert, Dür, Andreas. Key Controversies in European Integration. Vol European Union series. Palgrave Macmillan; 2012.

17.

EUROPA - Treaty of Lisbon - Full text of the Treaty.
http://ec.europa.eu/archives/lisbon_treaty/full_text/index_en.htm

18.

EUROPA - Treaty of Lisbon - The Treaty at a glance.
http://ec.europa.eu/archives/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm

19.

The House of Lords - European Union Reports.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldselect/ldeucom/ldeucom.htm>

20.

The Treaty of Lisbon: amendments to the Treaty on European Union - Commons Library Research Paper - UK Parliament.

<http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/RP08-09/the-treaty-of-lisbon-amendments-to-the-treaty-on-european-union>

21.

Bill Cash's European Journal | The official blog of the European Foundation.

<http://www.europeanfoundation.org/>

22.

John McCormick. European Union Politics. 2nd ed.; 2015.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=4762610>

23.

European Union Politics.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=https://journals.sagepub.com/loi/EUP>

24.

JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies.

[http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1468-5965](http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1468-5965)

25.

Journal of European Public Policy.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjpp20>

26.

West European Politics.

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fwep20>

27.

Taylor & Francis Online :: Journal of European Integration.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/geui20>

28.

Lelieveldt, Herman, Princen, Sebastiaan. The Politics of the European Union. Vol Cambridge textbooks in comparative politics. Cambridge University Press; 2011.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=5120109>

29.

Cini, Michelle, Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, Nieves. European Union Politics. 4th ed. Oxford University Press; 2013.

30.

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman. 1992: Recasting the European Bargain. *World Politics*. 1989;42(1):95-128. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010572?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

31.

Andrew Moravcsik. Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community. *International Organization*. 1991;45(1):19-56. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2706695>

32.

Bache I, Bulmer S, George S, Parker O. Politics in the European Union. 4th edition. Oxford University Press; 2014.

33.

Hix, Simon, Hoyland, Bjorn. The Political System of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 3rd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2011.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=4763992>

34.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. Handbook of European Union Politics. SAGE; 2006.
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10501945>

35.

Hix S. The study of the European Union II: the 'new governance' agenda and its rival. Journal of European Public Policy. 1998;5(1):38-65. doi:10.1080/13501768880000031

36.

Nugent, Neill. The Government and Politics of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 7th ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2010.

37.

Jeremy Richardson. Constructing a Policy-Making State?: Policy Dynamics in the EU. OUP Oxford (20 Sept. 2012)
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=395194>

38.

Wallace, Helen, Pollack, Mark A., Young, Alasdair R. Policy-Making in the European Union. Vol New European Union series. 6th ed. Oxford University Press; 2010.

39.

Bogaards M, Crepaz MML. Consociational Interpretations of the European Union. European Union Politics. 2002;3(3):357-381. doi:10.1177/1465116502003003004

40.

Lelieveldt, Herman, Princen, Sebastiaan. The Politics of the European Union. Vol Cambridge textbooks in comparative politics. Cambridge University Press; 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.myilibrary.com?id=319329>

41.

Rittberger B. The Creation and Empowerment of the European Parliament*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies. 2003;41(2):203-225. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00419

42.

Journal of European Integration - Volume 34, Issue 7, special issue on the Maastricht Treaty after 20 years. <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/geui20/34/7>

43.

EUR-Lex - 12012E/TXT - EN - EUR-Lex.
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT>

44.

Crombez C. The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing? European Union Politics. 2003;4(1):101-120. doi:10.1177/1465116503004001583

45.

Lord C. A Democratic Audit of the European Union. Vol One Europe or several? Palgrave Macmillan; 2004.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=112247>

46.

Beetham D, Lord C. Legitimacy and the EU. Vol Political dynamics of the EU series. Longman; 1998.
<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=1713372>

47.

Beetham D, Lord C. Legitimacy and the European Union. Taylor and Francis; 1998.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=1713372>

48.

Dahl RA. Democracy and Its Critics. Yale University Press; 1989.

49.

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum. Europe in Search of Legitimacy: Strategies of Legitimation Assessed. International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique. 2004;25(4):435-459.
http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/1601608?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

50.

Lijphart A. Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. 2nd ed. Yale University Press; 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com/detail.asp?id=385836>

51.

Lijphart A. Patterns of Democracy. Yale University Press; 2012.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=3421026>

52.

Lijphart, Arend. Chapter 1: The Westminster Model of Democracy. In: Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries. Yale University Press; 1984.

53.

Beetham, David, David Beetham and Christopher Lord. Analysing legitimacy in the EU. In: Legitimacy and the EU. Vol Political dynamics of the EU. Longman; 1998.
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10885876>

54.

Coultrap J. From Parliamentarism to Pluralism: Models of Democracy and the European Union's 'Democratic Deficit'. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 1999;11(1):107-135.
doi:10.1177/0951692899011001005

55.

Crum B. Tailoring Representative Democracy to the European Union: Does the European Constitution Reduce the Democratic Deficit? *European Law Journal*. 2005;11(4):452-467.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-0386.2005.00270.x

56.

FOLLESDAL A, HIX S. Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2006;44(3):533-562.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00650.x

57.

Hix S. Elections, parties and institutional design: A comparative perspective on European Union democracy. *West European Politics*. 1998;21(3):19-52.
doi:10.1080/01402389808425256

58.

Horeth M. No way out for the beast? The unsolved legitimacy problem of European governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 1999;6(2):249-268.
doi:10.1080/135017699343702

59.

Lord, Christopher. Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity. *Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity*. 2001;39(4).
<http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=5315658&site=ehost-live>

60.

G Majone. Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards. Published online 1998.
<http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=3252274&site=ehost-live>

61.

Majone G. From Regulatory State to a Democratic Default. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2014;52(6):1216-1223. doi:10.1111/jcms.12190

62.

Moravcsik A. Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2002;40(4):603-624. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00390

63.

Rittberger B. The Creation and Empowerment of the European Parliament*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2003;41(2):203-225. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00419

64.

Menon A, Schain M. Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States in Comparative Perspective. Oxford University Press; 2006.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10271606>

65.

Schmidt VA. Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output 'Throughput'. *Political Studies*. 2013;61(1):2-22.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00962.x

66.

TSAKATIKA M. Claims to Legitimacy: The European Commission between Continuity and Change*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2005;43(1):193-220.

doi:10.1111/j.0021-9886.2005.00552.x

67.

Hobolt SB, Tilley JR. Blaming Europe?: Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union. 1st ed. Oxford University Press; 2014.

68.

Sebastian Wolf HA. Will the Constitutional Treaty Contribute to the Legitimacy of the European Union? <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2005-011.htm>

69.

Crum B. Tailoring Representative Democracy to the European Union: Does the European Constitution Reduce the Democratic Deficit? *European Law Journal*. 2005;11(4):452-467.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-0386.2005.00270.x

70.

SKACH C. We, the Peoples? Constitutionalizing the European Union*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2005;43(1):149-170. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9886.2005.00550.x

71.

Jolly M. The European Union and the People. Oxford University Press; 2007.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=114916>

72.

Hix, Simon and Bjorn, Hoyland, Hix, Simon. Chapter 5: 'Public Opinion'. In: The Political System of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 3rd ed. Macmillan; 2011.

73.

Niedermayer, Oskar, S. Duchesne & A-P Frogner. Is there a European identity? In: Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance. Vol Beliefs in government. Oxford University

Press; 1995.

74.

Eurobarometer. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm

75.

Sean Carey. Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration? 3:387-413. <http://eup.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/3/4.toc>

76.

Matthew Gabel. Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories. *The Journal of Politics*. 1998;60(2):333-354.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2647912>

77.

Richard C. Eichenberg and Russell J. Dalton. Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration. *International Organization*. 1993;47(4):507-534. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2706937>

78.

Hooghe L. Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration. *European Union Politics*. 2005;6(4):419-443. doi:10.1177/1465116505057816

79.

Karp JA, Banducci SA, Bowler S. To Know it is to Love it?: Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies*. 2003;36(3):271-292.
doi:10.1177/0010414002250669

80.

Lauren M. McLaren. Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or

Perceived Cultural Threat? The Journal of Politics. 2002;64(2):551-566.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2691861>

81.

Ronald Inglehart. Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity. Comparative Politics. 1970;3(1):45-70. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/421501>

82.

Inglehart R. Long Term Trends in Mass Support for European Unification. Government and Opposition. 1977;12(2):150-177. doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.1977.tb00529.x

83.

McLaren, Lauren M. Identity, Interests, and Attitudes to European Integration. Vol Palgrave studies in European Union politics. Palgrave Macmillan; 2006.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=159306>

84.

Robert Rohrschneider. The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government. American Journal of Political Science. 2002;46(2):463-475.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/3088389>

85.

Joseph I. H. Janssen. Postmaterialism, Cognitive Mobilization and Public Support for European Integration. British Journal of Political Science. 1991;21(4):443-468.
http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/193771?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

86.

Vossing K. Nationality and the Preferences of the European Public toward EU Policy-Making. European Union Politics. 2005;6(4):445-467.
doi:10.1177/1465116505057817

87.

Christopher J. Anderson. When in doubt, use proxies: attitudes toward domestic politics and support for European integration. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1998;31(5).
<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A21204808&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&s=w=w&asid=f8d089b3783488a29a30e53881cf3e51>

88.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. *Handbook of European Union Politics*. SAGE; 2006.
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10501945>

89.

HOBOLT SB. When Europe matters: The impact of political information on voting behaviour in EU referendums. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 2005;15(1):85-109.
doi:10.1080/13689880500064635

90.

HOBOLT SB. Taking Cues on Europe? Voter competence and party endorsements in referendums on European integration. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2007;46(2):151-182. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00688.x

91.

Hobolt SB. Direct democracy and European integration. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2006;13(1):153-166. doi:10.1080/13501760500380825

92.

Liesbet Hooghe, Ben Crum. Party Stances in the Referendums on the EU Constitution: Causes and Consequences of Competition and Collusion. 8:5-12.
<http://eup.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/8/1.toc>

93.

Detlef Jahn, Ann-Sofie Storsved. Legitimacy through referendum? The nearly successful domino-strategy of the EU-referendum in Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway. *West European Politics*. 1995;18(4).
<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A18075638&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&s=w=w&asid=6b9e900bd2c224d72b8eaa4769cc40a5>

94.

FRANKLIN M, MARSH M, McLAREN L. Uncorking the Bottle: Popular Opposition to European Unification in the Wake of Maastricht. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1994;32(4):455-472. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.1994.tb00509.x

95.

Garry J. 'Second-order' versus 'Issue-voting' Effects in EU Referendums: Evidence from the Irish Nice Treaty Referendums. *European Union Politics*. 2005;6(2):201-221. doi:10.1177/1465116505051983

96.

Hainsworth P. France Says No: The 29 May 2005 Referendum on the European Constitution. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 2005;59(1):98-117. doi:10.1093/pa/gsj015

97.

Ivaldi G. Beyond France's 2005 referendum on the European constitutional treaty: Second-order model, anti-establishment attitudes and the end of the alternative European utopia. *West European Politics*. 2006;29(1):47-69. doi:10.1080/01402380500389232

98.

Lubbers M. Regarding the Dutch 'Nee' to the European Constitution: A Test of the Identity, Utilitarian and Political Approaches to Voting 'No'. *European Union Politics*. 2008;9(1):59-86. doi:10.1177/1465116507085957

99.

Marcussen M, Zolner M. The Danish EMU Referendum 2000: Business as Usual. *Government and Opposition*. 2001;36(3):379-402. doi:10.1111/1477-7053.00071

100.

Schuck ART, De Vreese CH. The Dutch No to the EU Constitution: Assessing the Role of EU Skepticism and the Campaign. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 2008;18(1):101-128. doi:10.1080/17457280701858656

101.

Svensson P. Five Danish referendums on the European Community and European Union: A critical assessment of the Franklin thesis. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2002;41(6):733-750. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.00028

102.

WORRE T. First No, Then Yes: The Danish Referendums on the Maastricht Treaty 1992 and 1993. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1995;33(2):235-257.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.1995.tb00529.x

103.

Garry J. Emotions and voting in EU referendums. *European Union Politics*. 2014;15(2):235-254. doi:10.1177/1465116513514780

104.

Leconte C. Understanding Euroscepticism. Vol European Union series. Palgrave Macmillan; 2010. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=4763415>

105.

TAGGART P. A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems. *European Journal of Political Research*. 1998;33(3):363-388.
doi:10.1111/1475-6765.00387

106.

Taggart P, Szczerbiak A. Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the

European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe. European Journal of Political Research. 2004;43(1):1-27. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00143.x

107.

Gary Marks, Carole J. Wilson and Leonard Ray. National Political Parties and European Integration. American Journal of Political Science. 2002;46(3):585-594.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/3088401>

108.

Harmsen R, Spiering M. Euroscepticism: Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration. Vol European studies. Rodopi; 2004.

109.

Hooghe L, Marks G, Wilson CJ. Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? Comparative Political Studies. 2002;35(8):965-989.
doi:10.1177/001041402236310

110.

Kopecky P, Mudde C. The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe. European Union Politics. 2002;3(3):297-326.
doi:10.1177/1465116502003003002

111.

Taggart PA, Szczerbiak A. Opposing Europe?: The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism. Oxford University Press; 2008.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5663612260002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

112.

Sitter N. The politics of opposition and European integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-scepticism a government-opposition dynamic? West European Politics. 2001;24(4):22-39. doi:10.1080/01402380108425463

113.

Varieties of Euroscepticism: The Case of the European Extreme Right | Vasilopoulou | Journal of Contemporary European Research.
<http://www.jcer.net/index.php/jcer/article/view/106>

114.

Lynch P, Whitaker R, Loomes G. The UK Independence Party: Understanding a Niche Party's Strategy, Candidates and Supporters. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 2012;65(4):733-757. doi:10.1093/pa/gsr042

115.

Hakhverdian A, van Elsas E, van der Brug W, Kuhn T. Euroscepticism and education: A longitudinal study of 12 EU member states, 1973-2010. *European Union Politics*. 2013;14(4):522-541. doi:10.1177/1465116513489779

116.

FORD R, GOODWIN MJ, CUTTS D. Strategic Eurosceptics and polite xenophobes: Support for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the 2009 European Parliament elections. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2012;51(2):204-234. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2011.01994.x

117.

Boomgaarden HG, Schuck ART, Elenbaas M, de Vreese CH. Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support. *European Union Politics*. 2011;12(2):241-266. doi:10.1177/1465116510395411

118.

Lubbers M, Jaspers E. A longitudinal study of euroscepticism in the Netherlands: 2008 versus 1990. *European Union Politics*. 2011;12(1):21-40. doi:10.1177/1465116510390062

119.

Tillman ER. Authoritarianism and citizen attitudes towards European integration. European Union Politics. 2013;14(4):566-589. doi:10.1177/1465116513483182

120.

van Spanje J, de Vreese C. So what's wrong with the EU? Motivations underlying the Eurosceptic vote in the 2009 European elections. European Union Politics. 2011;12(3):405-429. doi:10.1177/1465116511410750

121.

FORD R, GOODWIN MJ, CUTTS D. Strategic Eurosceptics and polite xenophobes: Support for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the 2009 European Parliament elections. European Journal of Political Research. 2012;51(2):204-234.
doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2011.01994.x

122.

de Vreese C, Tobiasen M. Conflict and Identity: Explaining Turnout and Anti-integrationist Voting in the Danish 2004 Elections for the European Parliament. Scandinavian Political Studies. 2007;30(1):87-114. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00174.x

123.

Jae-Jae Spoon SH. A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections.

<http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=2794320&jid=JPS&volumeld=39&issueld=01&aid=2794316&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0007123408000422>

124.

Whitaker R, Lynch P. Explaining Support for the UK Independence Party at the 2009 European Parliament Elections. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties. 2011;21(3):359-379. doi:10.1080/17457289.2011.588439

125.

Taylor PG. *The End of European Integration: Anti-Europeanism Examined*. Routledge; 2007.

126.

Richardson JJ. *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. Vol Routledge research in European public policy series. 3rd ed. Routledge; 2005.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.myilibrary.com?id=29081>

127.

Judge D, Earnshaw D. *The European Parliament*. Vol The European Union series. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2008.

128.

Treib O. The voter says no, but nobody listens: causes and consequences of the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European elections. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2014;21(10):1541-1554. doi:10.1080/13501763.2014.941534

129.

Bellamy, Richard, A. Connolly, S. Day & J. Shaw. The contested case of EU electoral rights. In: *Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context*. Vol One Europe or several? Palgrave Macmillan; 2006.

130.

Blondel J, Sinnott R, Svensson P. *People and Parliament in the European Union: Participation, Democracy, and Legitimacy*. Clarendon Press; 1998.

131.

Brug W van der, Eijk C van der. *European Elections and Domestic Politics: Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future*. Vol Contemporary European politics and society. University of Notre Dame Press; 2007.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5663970710002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

132.

de Vreese CH, Banducci SA, Semetko HA, Boomgaarden HG. The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries. *European Union Politics*. 2006;7(4):477-504. doi:10.1177/1465116506069440

133.

et al C van der E. What voters teach us about Europe-Wide elections: What Europe-Wide elections teach us about voters. *Electoral Studies*. Published online 1996. doi:0261-3794(96)00009-1

134.

Ferrara F. Get your Act Together: Party Performance in European Parliament Elections. *European Union Politics*. 2004;5(3):283-306. doi:10.1177/1465116504045154

135.

Simon Hix and Michael Marsh. Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections. *The Journal of Politics*. 2007;69(2):495-510.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/4622550>

136.

Hix S. The Political System of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 2nd ed. Macmillan; 2005.

137.

Bjørn Høyland SBH. 'Selection and Sanctioning in European Parliamentary Elections. Published online 2011.
<http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=8286066&jid=JPS&volumeId=41&issueId=03&aid=8286065&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0007123411000081>

138.

Bernard Steunenberg, Nils Ringe JRK. The Second-order Election Model in an Enlarged Europe. 7:290-319. <http://eup.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/7/3.toc>

139.

Kousser T. Retrospective voting and strategic behavior in European Parliament elections. Electoral Studies. 2004;23(1):1-21. doi:10.1016/S0261-3794(02)00030-6

140.

Lodge J. The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament. Vol EU election studies. Palgrave Macmillan; 2010.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doifinder/10.1057/9780230297272>

141.

Brug W van der, Eijk C van der. European Elections and Domestic Politics: Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future. Vol Contemporary European politics and society. University of Notre Dame Press; 2007.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5663611080002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

142.

MARSH, MICHAEL. Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections. British Journal of Political Science. 2000;28(04):591-607.
<http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=1347&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S000712349800026X>

143.

Hix S, Marsh M. Second-order effects plus pan-European political swings: An analysis of European Parliament elections across time. Electoral Studies. 2011;30(1):4-15.
doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2010.09.017

144.

REIF K, SCHMITT H. NINE SECOND-ORDER NATIONAL ELECTIONS - A CONCEPTUAL

FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN ELECTION RESULTS. European Journal of Political Research. 1980;8(1):3-44. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.1980.tb00737.x

145.

Schmitt H. The European Parliament Elections of June 2004: Still Second-Order? West European Politics. 2005;28(3):650-679. doi:10.1080/01402380500085962

146.

Schmitt H. European Parliament Elections after Eastern Enlargement. Routledge; 2010.

147.

Andreas Schuck, Xezonakis G, Elenbaas M, Banducci SA, de Vreese CH. Party contestation and Europe on the news agenda: The 2009 European Parliamentary Elections. Electoral Studies. 2011;30(1):41-52. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2010.09.021

148.

Franklin MN. How Structural Factors Cause Turnout Variations at European Parliament Elections. European Union Politics. 2001;2(3):309-328.
doi:10.1177/1465116501002003003

149.

Franklin MN, Hobolt SB. The legacy of lethargy: How elections to the European Parliament depress turnout. Electoral Studies. 2011;30(1):67-76. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2010.09.019

150.

Mattila M. Why bother? Determinants of turnout in the European elections. Electoral Studies. 2003;22(3):449-468. doi:10.1016/S0261-3794(01)00054-3

151.

Studlar D, Flickinger R, Bennett S. Turnout in European parliament elections: Towards a

European-centred model. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties.* 2003;13(1):195-209. doi:10.1080/13689880308413094

152.

SCHMITT H, MANNHEIMER R. About voting and non-voting in the European elections of June 1989. *European Journal of Political Research.* 1991;19(1):31-54.
doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.1991.tb01176.x

153.

Fauvelle-Aymar C, Stegmaier M. Economic and political effects on European Parliamentary electoral turnout in post-communist Europe. *Electoral Studies.* 2008;27(4):661-672.
doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2008.05.008

154.

Hix S, Hoyland B. *The Political System of the European Union.* Vol European Union series. 3rd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2011.

155.

Judge, David, David Judge and David Earnshaw. Chapter 4: Linkage, representation and MEPs. In: *The European Parliament.* Vol The European Union series. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2008.

156.

Clifford J. Carrubba. The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics. *The Journal of Politics.* 2001;63(1):141-158. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2691896>

157.

Farrell DM, Scully R. *Representing Europe's Citizens?: Electoral Institutions and the Failure of Parliamentary Representation.* Oxford University Press; 2007.

158.

Farrell DM, Scully R. Electoral reform and the British MEP. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 2003;9(1):14-36. doi:10.1080/13523270300660002

159.

FARRELL DM, SCULLY R. Electing the European Parliament: How Uniform are 'Uniform' Electoral Systems?*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2005;43(5):969-984. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2005.00604.x

160.

Freedman J. Women in the European Parliament. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 2002;55(1):179-188. doi:10.1093/parlij/55.1.179

161.

Katz RS, Wessels B. *The European Parliament, the National Parliaments, and European Integration*. Oxford University Press; 1999.

162.

Lord C. *Democracy in the European Union*. Vol Contemporary European studies. Sheffield Academic Press; 1998.

163.

Mattila M, Raunio T. Cautious Voters -Supportive Parties: Opinion Congruence between Voters and Parties on the EU Dimension. *European Union Politics*. 2006;7(4):427-449. doi:10.1177/1465116506069434

164.

Schmitt H, Thomassen JJA. Dynamic Representation: The Case of European Integration. *European Union Politics*. 2000;1(3):318-339. doi:10.1177/1465116500001003003

165.

Schmitt, Hermann, Bernhard Wessels. Whom to represent? Role orientations of legislators in Europe. In: Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union. Oxford University Press; 1999.

166.

Scully R, Farrell DM. MEPs as Representatives: Individual and Institutional Roles*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies. 2003;41(2):269-288. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00422

167.

Steunenberg B, Thomassen JJA. The European Parliament: Moving toward Democracy in the EU. Vol Governance in Europe. Rowman and Littlefield; 2002.

168.

Vasilopoulou S, Gattermann K. Matching policy preferences: the linkage between voters and MEPs. Journal of European Public Policy. 2013;20(4):606-625.
doi:10.1080/13501763.2012.718892

169.

Walczak A, van der Brug W. Representation in the European Parliament: Factors affecting the attitude congruence of voters and candidates in the EP elections. European Union Politics. 2013;14(1):3-22. doi:10.1177/1465116512456089

170.

Bellamy R, Castiglione D, Shaw J. Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context. Vol One Europe or several? Palgrave Macmillan; 2006.

171.

Hix S, Noury A, Roland G. Democratic Politics in the European Parliament. Vol Themes in European governance. Cambridge University Press; 2007.

172.

Hix S, Lord C. Political Parties in the European Union. Macmillan; 1997.

173.

Pennings P. An Empirical Analysis of the Europeanization of National Party Manifestos, 1960-2003. *European Union Politics*. 2006;7(2):257-270. doi:10.1177/1465116506063716

174.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. Handbook of European Union Politics. Sage; 2006.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5664153290002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

175.

TAGGART P. A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems. *European Journal of Political Research*. 1998;33(3):363-388.
doi:10.1111/1475-6765.00387

176.

Pitkin HF. The Concept of Representation. University of California Press; 1967.

177.

O'Brennan J, Raunio T. National Parliaments within the Enlarged European Union: From Victims of Integration to Competitive Actors? Vol Routledge advances in European politics. Routledge; 2007.

178.

Lord, Christopher. Chapter 3: Accountability. In: Democracy in the European Union. Vol Contemporary European studies. Sheffield Academic Press; 1998.

179.

Beetham D, Lord C. Legitimacy and the European Union. Vol Political Dynamics of the European Union. Taylor and Francis; 2014.
<http://leicester.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1713372>

180.

Hobolt SB. A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2014;21(10):1528-1540.
doi:10.1080/13501763.2014.941148

181.

Simon Hix. Executive Selection in the European Union: Does the Commission President Investiture Procedure Reduce the Democratic Deficit? Published 1997.
<http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1997-021.htm>

182.

Simon Hix. Why the EU Should Have a Single President and how she should be Elected. Published online 2002.

183.

Smith J. Reinvigorating European Elections: The Implications of Electing the European Commission. Chatham House; 2005.

184.

Treaty of Lisbon. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/collection/eu-law/treaties.html>

185.

Alfred Stepan and Cindy Skach. Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarianism versus Presidentialism. *World Politics*. 1993;46(1):1-22.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2950664>

186.

Juan J. Linz. The Perils of Presidentialism. Published 1990.
http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod1.1.html

187.

Lijphart A. Parliamentary versus Presidential Government. Vol Oxford readings in politics and government. Oxford University Press; 1992.

188.

BLAVOUKOS S, BOURANTONIS D, PAGOULATOS G. A President for the European Union: A New Actor in Town? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2007;45(2):231-252.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00710.x

189.

Sebastian Wolf HA. Will the Constitutional Treaty Contribute to the Legitimacy of the European Union? Published 2005. <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2005-011a.htm>

190.

COOPER I. The Watchdogs of Subsidiarity: National Parliaments and the Logic of Arguing in the EU*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2006;44(2):281-304.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00623.x

191.

Coultrap J. From Parliamentarism to Pluralism: Models of Democracy and the European Union's 'Democratic Deficit'. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 1999;11(1):107-135.
doi:10.1177/0951692899011001005

192.

Crum B. Tailoring Representative Democracy to the European Union: Does the European Constitution Reduce the Democratic Deficit? *European Law Journal*. 2005;11(4):452-467.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-0386.2005.00270.x

193.

Heritier A. Elements of democratic legitimization in Europe: an alternative perspective. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 1999;6(2):269-282. doi:10.1080/135017699343711

194.

Hix S. What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It. Polity; 2008.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5664157800002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

195.

Hix S. Elections, parties and institutional design: A comparative perspective on European Union democracy. *West European Politics*. 1998;21(3):19-52.
doi:10.1080/01402389808425256

196.

Jabko N, Parsons C, European Union Studies Association. The State of the European Union: European Trends in American Perspective, Vol.7: With US or against US? Vol State of the European Union. Oxford University Press; 2005.

197.

Raunio T, Hix S. Backbenchers learn to fight back: European integration and parliamentary government. *West European Politics*. 2000;23(4):142-168.
doi:10.1080/01402380008425404

198.

TSAKATIKA M. Claims to Legitimacy: The European Commission between Continuity and Change*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2005;43(1):193-220.
doi:10.1111/j.0021-9886.2005.00552.x

199.

Lord C. A Democratic Audit of the European Union. Vol One Europe or several? Palgrave Macmillan; 2004.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=112247>

200.

Temple Lang J. How much do the smaller member states need the European Commission? The role of the Commission in a changing Europe.
<http://www.kluwerlawonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/abstract.php?area=Journals&id=406250>

201.

Hix S, Hoyland B. The Political System of the European Union. Vol European Union series. 3rd ed. Palgrave Macmillan; 2011.

202.

Shaun Bowler and David M. Farrell. The Organizing of the European Parliament: Committees, Specialization and Co-Ordination. *British Journal of Political Science*. 1995;25(2):219-243. http://www.jstor.org/stable/194085?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

203.

Hix S, Noury A, Roland G. Democratic Politics in the European Parliament. Vol Themes in European governance. Cambridge University Press; 2007.

204.

Simon Hix, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland. Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament. *American Journal of Political Science*. 2006;50(2):494-511.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/3694286?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

205.

Gail McElroy. Committees and Party Cohesion in the European Parliament. Published online 2001.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/government/research/resgroups/EPRG/EPRGworkingPapers.aspx>

206.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. *Handbook of European Union Politics*. Sage; 2006.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&page_service_id=5664317650002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

207.

Whitaker R. *The European Parliament's Committees: National Party Influence and Legislative Empowerment*. Vol Routledge/UACES contemporary European studies. Routledge; 2009.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=683944>

208.

Whitaker R. *Party Control in a Committee-Based Legislature? The Case of the European Parliament*. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 2001;7(4):63-88. doi:10.1080/714003891

209.

Yordanova N. *The Rationale behind Committee Assignment in the European Parliament: Distributive, Informational and Partisan Perspectives*. *European Union Politics*. 2009;10(2):253-280. doi:10.1177/1465116509103377

210.

KREPPEL A, TSEBELIS G. *Coalition Formation in the European Parliament*. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1999;32(8):933-966. doi:10.1177/0010414099032008002

211.

Simon Hix. *Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting Defection in the European Parliament*. *World Politics*. 2004;56(2):194-223.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/25054255>

212.

Hix S. Legislative Behaviour and Party Competition in the European Parliament: An Application of Nominate to the EU. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2001;39(4):663-688. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00326

213.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. *Handbook of European Union Politics*. Sage; 2006. http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5664081560002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

214.

HIX S, NOURY A, ROLAND G. Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979–2001. *British Journal of Political Science*. 2005;35(2):209-234. doi:10.1017/S0007123405000128

215.

Whitaker R. National Parties in the European Parliament: An Influence in the Committee System? *European Union Politics*. 2005;6(1):5-28. doi:10.1177/1465116505049606

216.

Kreppel A. *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development*. Vol Cambridge studies in comparative politics. Cambridge University Press; 2002.
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10006799>

217.

BURNS C. Who Pays? Who Gains? How do Costs and Benefits Shape the Policy Influence of the European Parliament?*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2005;43(3):485-505. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9886.2005.00566.x

218.

Selck TJ, Steunenberg B. Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process. *European Union Politics*. 2004;5(1):25-46.
doi:10.1177/1465116504040444

219.

HAGEMANN S, HØYLAND B. Bicameral Politics in the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2010;48(4):811-833. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02075.x

220.

Hayes-Renshaw F, Wallace H. *The Council of Ministers*. 2nd ed. Macmillan; 2006.

221.

Hayes-Renshaw F, Wallace H. Executive power in the European Union: The functions and limits of the Council of Ministers*. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 1995;2(4):559-582.
doi:10.1080/13501769508407007

222.

HOSLI MO, MATTILA M, URIOT M. Voting in the Council of the European Union after the 2004 Enlargement: A Comparison of Old and New Member States. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2011;49(6):1249-1270. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02196.x

223.

Häge FM. The Division of Labour in Legislative Decision-Making of the Council of the European Union. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 2007;13(4):497-516.
doi:10.1080/13572330701663595

224.

HAYES-RENSHAW F, VAN AKEN W, WALLACE H. When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2006;44(1):161-194.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00618.x

225.

Hosli M o. Coalitions and Power: Effects of Qualified Majority Voting in the Council of the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1996;34(2):255-273.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.1996.tb00571.x

226.

Jabko N, Parsons C, European Union Studies Association. *The State of the European Union: European Trends in American Perspective*, Vol.7: With US or against US? Vol State of the European Union. Oxford University Press; 2005.

227.

MATTILA M. Roll call analysis of voting in the European Union Council of Ministers after the 2004 enlargement. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2009;48(6):840-857.
doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01850.x

228.

Mattila M. Contested decisions: Empirical analysis of voting in the European Union Council of Ministers. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2004;43(1):29-50.
doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00144.x

229.

Mattila M, Lane JE. Why Unanimity in the Council?: A Roll Call Analysis of Council Voting. *European Union Politics*. 2001;2(1):31-52. doi:10.1177/1465116501002001002

230.

Jørgensen KE, Pollack MA, Rosamond B. *Handbook of European Union Politics*. Sage; 2006.
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&page_service_id=5664138900002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

231.

Veen T. The dimensionality and nature of conflict in European Union politics: On the characteristics of intergovernmental decision-making. *European Union Politics*. 2011;12(1):65-86. doi:10.1177/1465116510391918

232.

Peterson J, Shackleton M. The Institutions of the European Union. Vol New European Union series. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press; 2006.

233.

Schmidt SK. Only an Agenda Setter?: The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers. *European Union Politics*. 2000;1(1):37-61.
doi:10.1177/1465116500001001003

234.

THOMSON R, HOSLI M. Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2006;44(2):391-417. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00628.x

235.

Thomson R. The European Union Decides. Vol Political economy of institutions and decisions. Cambridge University Press; 2006.