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



1

Hix, Simon & Hoyland, Bjorn. The political system of the European Union. vol. European Union series (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

2.

Lord, Christopher. A democratic audit of the European Union. vol. One Europe or several? (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

3.

Beetham, David & Lord, Christopher. Legitimacy and the EU. vol. Political dynamics of the EU (Longman, 1998).

4.

Schmitter, P. C. How to democratize the European Union ... and why bother? (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

5.

Warleigh, A. Democracy and the European Union: theory, practice, and reform. (SAGE, 2003).

6.

Bache, I., Bulmer, S., George, S. & Parker, O. Politics in the European Union. (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).

8.

Cini, Michelle & Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, Nieves. European Union politics. (Oxford University Press, 2013).

9.

McCormick, J. European Union politics. vol. Palgrave foundations series (Macmillan Education/Palgrave, 2015).

10.

Nugent, Neill. The government and politics of the European Union. vol. European Union series (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

11.

Thomas Christiansen & Christine Reh. Constitutionalizing the European Union. (Palgrave Macmillan).

12.

Dinan, D. Europe recast: a history of European Union. (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).

Peterson, John & Shackleton, Michael. The institutions of the European Union. vol. New European Union series (Oxford University Press, 2006).

15.

Piris, J.-C. The Lisbon Treaty: a legal and political analysis. vol. Cambridge studies in European law and policy (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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. (2015).
23.
European Union Politics.
24.
JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies.
25.
Journal of European Public Policy.
26.
West European Politics.
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).

Cini, Michelle & Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, Nieves. European Union politics. (Oxford University Press, 2013).

30.

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman. 1992: Recasting the European Bargain. World Politics 42, 95–128 (1989).

31.

Andrew Moravcsik. Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community. International Organization **45**, 19–56 (1991).

32.

Bache, I., Bulmer, S., George, S. & Parker, O. Politics in the European Union. (Oxford University Press, 2014).

33.

Hix, Simon & Hoyland, Bjorn. The political system of the European Union. vol. European Union series (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

34.

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union politics. (SAGE, 2006).

35.

Hix, S. The study of the European Union II: the 'new governance' agenda and its rival. Journal of European Public Policy **5**, 38–65 (1998).

Nugent, Neill. The government and politics of the European Union. vol. European Union series (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

37.

Jeremy Richardson. Constructing a Policy-Making State?: Policy Dynamics in the EU. (OUP Oxford (20 Sept. 2012)).

38.

Wallace, Helen, Pollack, Mark A., & Young, Alasdair R. Policy-making in the European Union . vol. New European Union series (Oxford University Press, 2010).

39.

Bogaards, M. & Crepaz, M. M. L. Consociational Interpretations of the European Union. European Union Politics **3**, 357–381 (2002).

40.

Lelieveldt, Herman & Princen, Sebastiaan. The politics of the European Union. vol. Cambridge textbooks in comparative politics (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

41.

Rittberger, B. The Creation and Empowerment of the European Parliament\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **41**, 203–225 (2003).

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.

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 **4**, 101–120 (2003).

45.

Lord, C. A democratic audit of the European Union. vol. One Europe or several? (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

46.

Beetham, D. & Lord, C. Legitimacy and the EU. vol. Political dynamics of the EU series (Longman, 1998).

47.

Beetham, D. & Lord, C. Legitimacy and the European Union. (Taylor and Francis, 1998).

48.

Dahl, R. A. 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 **25**, 435–459 (2004).

50.

Lijphart, A. Patterns of democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries. (Yale University Press, 2012).

Lijphart, A. Patterns of Democracy. (Yale University Press, 2012).

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).

54.

Coultrap, J. From Parliamentarism to Pluralism: Models of Democracy and the European Union's `Democratic Deficit'. Journal of Theoretical Politics **11**, 107–135 (1999).

55.

Crum, B. Tailoring Representative Democracy to the European Union: Does the European Constitution Reduce the Democratic Deficit? European Law Journal **11**, 452–467 (2005).

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 44, 533–562 (2006).

57.

Hix, S. Elections, parties and institutional design: A comparative perspective on European Union democracy. West European Politics **21**, 19–52 (1998).

Horeth, M. No way out for the beast? The unsolved legitimacy problem of European governance. Journal of European Public Policy **6**, 249–268 (1999).

59.

Lord, Christopher. Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity. Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity. **39**, (2001).

60.

G Majone. Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards. (1998).

61

Majone, G. From Regulatory State to a Democratic Default. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **52**, 1216–1223 (2014).

62.

Moravcsik, A. Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **40**, 603–624 (2002).

63.

Rittberger, B. The Creation and Empowerment of the European Parliament\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **41**, 203–225 (2003).

64

Menon, A. & Schain, M. Comparative federalism: the European Union and the United States in comparative perspective. (Oxford University Press, 2006).

65.

Schmidt, V. A. Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output 'Throughput'. Political Studies **61**, 2–22 (2013).

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

67.

Hobolt, S. B. & Tilley, J. R. Blaming Europe?: responsibility without accountability in the European Union. (Oxford University Press, 2014).

68.

Sebastian Wolf, H. A. 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 **11**, 452–467 (2005).

70.

SKACH, C. We, the Peoples? Constitutionalizing the European Union\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **43**, 149–170 (2005).

71.

Jolly, M. The European Union and the people. (Oxford University Press, 2007).

72.

Hix, Simon and Bjorn, Hoyland & Hix, Simon. Chapter 5: 'Public Opinion'. in The political system of the European Union vol. European Union series (Macmillan, 2011).

Niedermayer, Oskar & S. Duchesne & A-P Frognier. 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.

76.

Matthew Gabel. Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories. The Journal of Politics **60**, 333–354 (1998).

77.

Richard C. Eichenberg and Russell J. Dalton. Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration. International Organization **47**, 507–534 (1993).

78.

Hooghe, L. Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration. European Union Politics **6**, 419–443 (2005).

79.

Karp, J. A., Banducci, S. A. & Bowler, S. To Know it is to Love it?: Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union. Comparative Political Studies **36**, 271–292 (2003).

Lauren M. McLaren. Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat? The Journal of Politics **64**, 551–566 (2002).

81.

Ronald Inglehart. Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity. Comparative Politics **3**, 45–70 (1970).

82.

Inglehart, R. Long Term Trends in Mass Support for European Unification. Government and Opposition **12**, 150–177 (1977).

83.

McLaren, Lauren M. Identity, interests, and attitudes to European integration. vol. Palgrave studies in European Union politics (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

84.

Robert Rohrschneider. The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government. American Journal of Political Science **46**, 463–475 (2002).

85.

Joseph I. H. Janssen. Postmaterialism, Cognitive Mobilization and Public Support for European Integration. British Journal of Political Science **21**, 443–468 (1991).

86.

Vossing, K. Nationality and the Preferences of the European Public toward EU Policy-Making. European Union Politics **6**, 445–467 (2005).

87.

Christopher J. Anderson. When in doubt, use proxies: attitudes toward domestic politics and support for European integration. Comparative Political Studies **31**, (1998).

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union politics. (SAGE, 2006).

89.

HOBOLT, S. B. When Europe matters: The impact of political information on voting behaviour in EU referendums. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties **15**, 85–109 (2005).

90.

HOBOLT, S. B. Taking Cues on Europe? Voter competence and party endorsements in referendums on European integration. European Journal of Political Research **46**, 151–182 (2007).

91.

Hobolt, S. B. Direct democracy and European integration. Journal of European Public Policy 13, 153–166 (2006).

92.

Liesbet Hooghe & Ben Crum. Party Stances in the Referendums on the EU Constitution: Causes and Consequences of Competition and Collusion. **8**, 5–12.

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  $\bf 18$ , (1995).

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

**32**, 455-472 (1994).

95.

Garry, J. 'Second-order' versus 'Issue-voting' Effects in EU Referendums: Evidence from the Irish Nice Treaty Referendums. European Union Politics **6**, 201–221 (2005).

96.

Hainsworth, P. France Says No: The 29 May 2005 Referendum on the European Constitution. Parliamentary Affairs **59**, 98–117 (2005).

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 **29**, 47–69 (2006).

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 **9**, 59–86 (2008).

99.

Marcussen, M. & Zolner, M. The Danish EMU Referendum 2000: Business as Usual. Government and Opposition **36**, 379–402 (2001).

100.

Schuck, A. R. T. & De Vreese, C. H. The Dutch No to the EU Constitution: Assessing the Role of EU Skepticism and the Campaign. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties 18, 101–128 (2008).

Svensson, P. Five Danish referendums on the European Community and European Union: A critical assessment of the Franklin thesis. European Journal of Political Research **41**, 733–750 (2002).

102.

WORRE, T. First No, Then Yes: The Danish Referendums on the Maastricht Treaty 1992 and 1993. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **33**, 235–257 (1995).

103.

Garry, J. Emotions and voting in EU referendums. European Union Politics **15**, 235–254 (2014).

104.

Leconte, C. Understanding Euroscepticism. vol. European Union series (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

105.

TAGGART, P. A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems. European Journal of Political Research **33**, 363–388 (1998).

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 43, 1–27 (2004).

107.

Gary Marks, Carole J. Wilson and Leonard Ray. National Political Parties and European Integration. American Journal of Political Science **46**, 585–594 (2002).

Harmsen, R. & Spiering, M. Euroscepticism: party politics, national identity and European integration. vol. European studies (Rodopi, 2004).

109.

Hooghe, L., Marks, G. & Wilson, C. J. Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? Comparative Political Studies **35**, 965–989 (2002).

110.

Kopecky, P. & Mudde, C. The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe. European Union Politics **3**, 297–326 (2002).

111.

Taggart, P. A. & Szczerbiak, A. Opposing Europe?: the comparative party politics of Euroscepticism. (Oxford University Press, 2008).

112.

Sitter, N. The politics of opposition and European integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-scepticism a government-opposition dynamic? West European Politics **24**, 22–39 (2001).

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 **65**, 733–757 (2012).

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 **14**, 522-541 (2013).

116.

FORD, R., GOODWIN, M. J. & 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 **51**, 204–234 (2012).

117.

Boomgaarden, H. G., Schuck, A. R. T., Elenbaas, M. & de Vreese, C. H. Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support. European Union Politics **12**, 241–266 (2011).

118.

Lubbers, M. & Jaspers, E. A longitudinal study of euroscepticism in the Netherlands: 2008 versus 1990. European Union Politics **12**, 21–40 (2011).

119.

Tillman, E. R. Authoritarianism and citizen attitudes towards European integration. European Union Politics **14**, 566–589 (2013).

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 12, 405–429 (2011).

121.

FORD, R., GOODWIN, M. J. & 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 **51**, 204–234 (2012).

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 **30**, 87–114 (2007).

123.

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

124.

Whitaker, R. & Lynch, P. Explaining Support for the UK Independence Party at the 2009 European Parliament Elections. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties **21**, 359–379 (2011).

125.

Taylor, P. G. The end of European integration: anti-Europeanism examined. (Routledge, 2007).

126.

Richardson, J. J. European Union: power and policy-making. vol. Routledge research in European public policy series (Routledge, 2005).

127.

Judge, D. & Earnshaw, D. The European Parliament. vol. The European Union series (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 **21**, 1541–1554 (2014).

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).

132.

de Vreese, C. H., Banducci, S. A., Semetko, H. A. & Boomgaarden, H. G. The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries. European Union Politics **7**, 477–504 (2006).

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 (1996) doi:0261-3794(96)00009-1.

134.

Ferrara, F. Get your Act Together: Party Performance in European Parliament Elections. European Union Politics **5**, 283–306 (2004).

135.

Simon Hix and Michael Marsh. Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections. The Journal of Politics **69**, 495–510 (2007).

Hix, S. The political system of the European Union. vol. European Union series (Macmillan, 2005).

137.

Bjørn Høyland, S. B. H. 'Selection and Sanctioning in European Parliamentary Elections. (2011).

138.

Bernard Steunenberg & Nils Ringe, J. R. K. The Second-order Election Model in an Enlarged Europe. **7**, 290–319.

139.

Kousser, T. Retrospective voting and strategic behavior in European Parliament elections. Electoral Studies **23**, 1–21 (2004).

140.

Lodge, J. The 2009 elections to the European Parliament. vol. EU election studies (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

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).

142.

MARSH, MICHAEL. Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections. British Journal of Political Science **28**, 591–607 (2000).

Hix, S. & Marsh, M. Second-order effects plus pan-European political swings: An analysis of European Parliament elections across time. Electoral Studies **30**, 4–15 (2011).

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 **8**, 3–44 (1980).

145.

Schmitt, H. The European Parliament Elections of June 2004: Still Second-Order? West European Politics **28**, 650–679 (2005).

146.

Schmitt, H. European Parliament elections after eastern enlargement. (Routledge, 2010).

147.

Andreas Schuck, Xezonakis, G., Elenbaas, M., Banducci, S. A. & de Vreese, C. H. Party contestation and Europe on the news agenda: The 2009 European Parliamentary Elections. Electoral Studies **30**, 41–52 (2011).

148.

Franklin, M. N. How Structural Factors Cause Turnout Variations at European Parliament Elections. European Union Politics **2**, 309–328 (2001).

149.

Franklin, M. N. & Hobolt, S. B. The legacy of lethargy: How elections to the European Parliament depress turnout. Electoral Studies **30**, 67–76 (2011).

Mattila, M. Why bother? Determinants of turnout in the European elections. Electoral Studies **22**, 449–468 (2003).

151.

Studlar, D., Flickinger, R. & Bennett, S. Turnout in European parliament elections: Towards a European-centred model. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties **13**, 195–209 (2003).

152.

SCHMITT, H. & MANNHEIMER, R. About voting and non-voting in the European elections of June 1989. European Journal of Political Research 19, 31–54 (1991).

153.

Fauvelle-Aymar, C. & Stegmaier, M. Economic and political effects on European Parliamentary electoral turnout in post-communist Europe. Electoral Studies **27**, 661–672 (2008).

154.

Hix, S. & Hoyland, B. The political system of the European Union. vol. European Union series (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 (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

156.

Clifford J. Carrubba. The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics. The Journal of Politics **63**, 141–158 (2001).

Farrell, D. M. & Scully, R. Representing Europe's citizens?: electoral institutions and the failure of parliamentary representation. (Oxford University Press, 2007).

158.

Farrell, D. M. & Scully, R. Electoral reform and the British MEP. The Journal of Legislative Studies **9**, 14–36 (2003).

159.

FARRELL, D. M. & SCULLY, R. Electing the European Parliament: How Uniform are 'Uniform' Electoral Systems?\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 43, 969–984 (2005).

160.

Freedman, J. Women in the European Parliament. Parliamentary Affairs **55**, 179–188 (2002).

161.

Katz, R. S. & 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 **7**, 427–449 (2006).

164.

Schmitt, H. & Thomassen, J. J. A. Dynamic Representation: The Case of European Integration. European Union Politics 1, 318–339 (2000).

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, D. M. MEPs as Representatives: Individual and Institutional Roles\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **41**, 269–288 (2003).

167.

Steunenberg, B. & Thomassen, J. J. A. 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 **20**, 606–625 (2013).

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 14, 3–22 (2013).

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).

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 **7**, 257–270 (2006).

174.

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union Politics. (Sage, 2006).

175.

TAGGART, P. A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems. European Journal of Political Research **33**, 363–388 (1998).

176.

Pitkin, H. F. 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).

Beetham, D. & Lord, C. Legitimacy and the European Union. vol. Political Dynamics of the European Union (Taylor and Francis, 2014).

180.

Hobolt, S. B. A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections. Journal of European Public Policy **21**, 1528–1540 (2014).

181.

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

182.

Simon Hix. Why the EU Should Have a Single President and how she should be Elected. (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 **46**, 1–22 (1993).

186.

Juan J. Linz. The Perils of Presidentialism. http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/journals/journal\_of\_democracy/toc/jod1.1.html (1990).

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 **45**, 231–252 (2007).

189.

Sebastian Wolf, H. A. Will the Constitutional Treaty Contribute to the Legitimacy of the European Union? http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2005-011a.htm (2005).

190.

COOPER, I. The Watchdogs of Subsidiarity: National Parliaments and the Logic of Arguing in the EU\*. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **44**, 281–304 (2006).

191.

Coultrap, J. From Parliamentarism to Pluralism: Models of Democracy and the European Union's `Democratic Deficit'. Journal of Theoretical Politics **11**, 107–135 (1999).

192

Crum, B. Tailoring Representative Democracy to the European Union: Does the European Constitution Reduce the Democratic Deficit? European Law Journal **11**, 452–467 (2005).

193.

Heritier, A. Elements of democratic legitimation in Europe: an alternative perspective. Journal of European Public Policy **6**, 269–282 (1999).

Hix, S. What's wrong with the European Union and how to fix it. (Polity, 2008).

195.

Hix, S. Elections, parties and institutional design: A comparative perspective on European Union democracy. West European Politics **21**, 19–52 (1998).

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 **23**, 142–168 (2000).

198.

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

199.

Lord, C. A democratic audit of the European Union. vol. One Europe or several? (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

200.

Temple Lang, J. How much do the smaller member states need the European Commission? The role of the Commission in a changing Europe.

Hix, S. & Hoyland, B. The political system of the European Union. vol. European Union series (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 **25**, 219–243 (1995).

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 **50**, 494–511 (2006).

205.

Gail McElroy. Committees and Party Cohesion in the European Parliament. (2001).

206.

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union Politics. (Sage, 2006).

207.

Whitaker, R. The European Parliament's committees: national party influence and legislative empowerment. vol. Routledge/UACES contemporary European studies (Routledge, 2009).

Whitaker, R. Party Control in a Committee-Based Legislature? The Case of the European Parliament. The Journal of Legislative Studies **7**, 63–88 (2001).

209.

Yordanova, N. The Rationale behind Committee Assignment in the European Parliament: Distributive, Informational and Partisan Perspectives. European Union Politics **10**, 253–280 (2009).

210.

KREPPEL, A. & TSEBELIS, G. Coalition Formation in the European Parliament. Comparative Political Studies **32**, 933–966 (1999).

211.

Simon Hix. Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting Defection in the European Parliament. World Politics **56**, 194–223 (2004).

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 **39**, 663–688 (2001).

213.

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union Politics. (Sage, 2006).

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 **35**, 209–234 (2005).

Whitaker, R. National Parties in the European Parliament: An Influence in the Committee System? European Union Politics **6**, 5–28 (2005).

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).

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 **43**, 485–505 (2005).

218.

Selck, T. J. & Steunenberg, B. Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process. European Union Politics **5**, 25–46 (2004).

219.

HAGEMANN, S. & HØYLAND, B. Bicameral Politics in the European Union. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **48**, 811–833 (2010).

220.

Hayes-Renshaw, F. & Wallace, H. The Council of Ministers. (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 **2**, 559–582 (1995).

HOSLI, M. O., 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 **49**, 1249–1270 (2011).

223.

Häge, F. M. The Division of Labour in Legislative Decision-Making of the Council of the European Union. The Journal of Legislative Studies **13**, 497–516 (2007).

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 **44**, 161–194 (2006).

225.

Hosli, M. o. Coallitions and Power: Effects of Qualified Majority Voting in the Council of the European Union. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **34**, 255–273 (1996).

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 48, 840–857 (2009).

228.

Mattila, M. Contested decisions: Empirical analysis of voting in the European Union Council of Ministers. European Journal of Political Research **43**, 29–50 (2004).

Mattila, M. & Lane, J.-E. Why Unanimity in the Council?: A Roll Call Analysis of Council Voting. European Union Politics **2**, 31–52 (2001).

230.

Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. & Rosamond, B. Handbook of European Union Politics. (Sage, 2006).

231.

Veen, T. The dimensionality and nature of conflict in European Union politics: On the characteristics of intergovernmental decision-making. European Union Politics **12**, 65–86 (2011).

232.

Peterson, J. & Shackleton, M. The institutions of the European Union. vol. New European Union series (Oxford University Press, 2006).

233.

Schmidt, S. K. Only an Agenda Setter?: The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers. European Union Politics  $\bf 1$ , 37–61 (2000).

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 44, 391–417 (2006).

235.

Thomson, R. The European Union decides. vol. Political economy of institutions and decisions (Cambridge University Press, 2006).