SAMPOL 343 EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND TRANSNATIONALIZATION CURRICULUM, SPRING 2014

"International Relations Theory, Comparative Politics, and Governance Approaches to European Integration"

- POLLACK, M.A. (2001) International Relations Theory and European Integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol.39, No.2, pp.221-44.
- POLLACK, MARK A. (2005). Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 2005. 8:357–98.

"THEORIES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: NEOFUNCTIONALISM, LIBERAL INTERGOVERNMENTALISM, MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE, NETWORK POLITY, AND TRANS-EUROPEANISM"

- SCHMITTER, P.C. (2005). Ernst B. Haas and the Legacy of Neofunctionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 255-272.
- MAIR, P. (2000). "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Political Systems." Western European Politics 23:27-51.
- HERSCHINGER, E., M. JACHTENFUCHS, C. KRAFT-KASACK (2011) Scratching the heart of the artichoke? How international institutions and the European Union Constrain the State Monopoly of Force. European Political Science Review (2011), 3:3, 445–468.
- MORAVCSIK, A. (1993) Preferences and Power in the European Community. A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31(4): 473-524.
- ASPINWALL, M (2006). Government Preferences on European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories. B.J.Pol.S. 37, 89–114
- MAJONE, G. (1998). "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards". *European Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5–28.
- MORAVCSIK, A. (2002) 'In Defense of the "Democratic Deficit": Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union'. Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 603–34.
- MAGNETTE, P (2003) European Governance and Civic Participation: Beyond Elitist Citizenship, *Political Studies*, vol.5, no. 1, 144-160.
- FOLLESDAL, A. and S. HIX (2005). "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravscik", European Governance Papers (EUROGOV)
- BACHE, I. (2008) Europeanization and Multi-Level Governance. Empirical Findings and Conceptual Challenges. Oslo: ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo
- HOOGHE, L. (2005) Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission. *International Organization* 59: 861–898.
- HOOGHE, L. and G. MARKS (2008) A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 1–23
- JESSOP, B. (2004) Multi-level Governance and Multi-level Metagovernance Changes in the European Union as Integral Moments in the Transformation and Reorientation of Contemporary Statehood. In: *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. ISBN 0-19-925925-9
- SICAKKAN, H.G. (2013) The Contested European Public Sphere. In Hakan G. Sicakkan (ed.) *Linking the European Union with the Citizens. Evaluation of the EU's Policies Aiming to Create a Democratic European Public Sphere*. EUROSPHERE Final Comparative Study, Vol.1

"THE ROKKANIAN APPROACH TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: TRANS-EUROPEANIZATION OF THE NUMERIC, CORPORATE-PLURAL AND MEDIA CHANNELS OF PARTICIPATION"

- ROKKAN, STEIN (1975). Dimensions of State Formation and Nation Building. A Possible Paradigm for Research on Variations in Europe. In C. Tilly (ed.) *The Formation of National States in Europe*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- SICAKKAN, H.G. (2013). Linking the European Union with its Citizens. In Hakan G. Sicakkan (ed.) *Linking the European Union with the Citizens. Evaluation of the EU's Policies Aiming to Create a Democratic European Public Sphere*. EUROSPHERE Final Comparative Study, Vol.1.
- MARKS, G. AND M. STEENBERGEN (2002). Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies* 2002; 35; 879.

- DRESSLER, W., H.G. SICAKKAN, FUGA A., MITROI V., TERRAZONI, L. (2012) The French Republican Model, the European Diversity Perspective and the European Public Sphere. *Social Science Information* 51(3): 418-447.
- WALKENHORST, H. (2008). Constructing the European identity-trap or gap? European integration between community-building and path-dependency. *Limerick Papers in Politics and Public Administration*; 2008/1.

"Integration of the Corporate-Plural Channel – National and Trans-European Civil Society Organizations Role in European Integration"

- GREENWOOD, J. (2007) Review Article: Organized Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union. *B. J. of Political Science* 37, 333-357.
- KOCHLER-KOCH, B. (2010) Civil society and EU democracy: 'astroturf' representation?, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 100 116.
- KUTAY, A., A. ARRIBAS (2011) The Role of SMOs/NGOs in the articulation of the European Public Sphere. *Eurosphere Papers* WP5.3/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- KUTAY, A. (2012) Europeanisation of Civil Society through the Sponsored European Publics. *Javnost-The Public* 19(1): 19-34.
- MAGNETTE, P (2003) European Governance and Civic Participation: Beyond Elitist Citizenship, *Political Studies*, vol.5, no. 1, 144-160.
- SANCHEZ-SALGADO, R. (2007) Giving a European Dimension to Civil Society Organizations, *Journal of Civil Society*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 253 269.
- BRUELL, C., M. MOKRE, B. SIIM (2012) Inclusion and Exclusion in the European Public Sphere: Intersections of Gender and Race. *Javnost The Public* 19(1): 35-50
- SIIM, B., M. MOKRE, L. ROLANDSEN AGUSTIN, H. PRISTED-NIELSEN, A. ALVAREZ, R. SATA, A. LOZANO (2011) The role of gender groups and the impact of gender concerns on the articulation of EPS. *Eurosphere Papers* WP7/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- WARLEIGH, A. (2001) Europeanizing' Civil Society: NGOs as Agents of Political Socialization, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 619-39.

"Integration of the Corporate-Plural Channel – National and Trans-European Think Tanks Role in European Integration"

- BARANI, L., G. SCIORTINO (2011), The Role of Think Tanks in the articulation of the European Public Sphere. *Eurosphere Papers* WP5.1. Eurosphere Consortium.
- KRASTEV, I. (2001) Think tanks: Making and faking influence, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 1(2): 17 38.
- SHERRINGTON, P. (2000) Influencing the European Agenda: Think Tanks and the European Union. *Global Society* 14(2): 173-189.
- STONE, D. (2000) Think Tank Transnationalisation and Non-profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy. *Global Society* 14(2): 153-72.
- STONE, D. (2000) Think Tanks Across Nations. NIRA Review (Winter 2000): 34-39.
- STRUYK, R.J. (2002) Transnational think-tank networks: purpose, membership and cohesion. *Global Networks* 2(1): 83–90.

"Integration of the Numeric Channel – National and Trans-European Political Parties Role in European Integration"

- ASPINWALL, M. (2002). 'Preferring Europe: Ideology and National Preferences on European Integration.' *European Union Politics* 3:81-111.
- DELWIT Pascal, E. KÜLAHCI & C. VAN DE WALLE (eds.) (2004) *The Europarties Organisation and Influence. Brussels*, Centre d'étude de la vie politique of the Free University of Brussels (ULB).
- HIX, S., a. NOURY & G. ROLAND (2005). Power to the parties: Cohesion and competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35, 209-234.
- JOHANSSON, K. M. (2004) Toward a theory of federations of political parties in multilevel Europe: at the nexus of international relations and comparative politics. IN PASCAL DELWIT, E. K. C. V. D. W. (Ed.) *The Europarties Organisation and Influence*. Brussels, Centre d'étude de la vie politique of the Free University of Brussels (ULB).
- LORD, C (2004) Political Parties and the European Union. What kind of imperfect Competition? IN PASCAL DELWIT, E. K. C. V. D. W. (Ed.) *The Europarties Organisation and Influence*. Brussels, Centre d'étude de la vie politique of the Free University of Brussels (ULB).

- MARKS, G. and CJ. WILSON (2000). "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433-459.
- McELROY, G. & BENOIT, K. 2010. Party Policy and Group Affiliation in the European Parliament. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40, 377-398
- SATA, R. (2011), WP5.2 The Role of Political Parties in the articulation of the European Public Sphere. *Eurosphere Papers* WP5.2/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- SATA, R. (2012) Political Parties and the Politics of Diversity in the European Public Sphere. *Javnost The Public* 19(1): 51-66.

"Integration of the Media Channel and Public Debates - National Media's Role in European Integration"

- BAISNÉE, O. (2007) The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It's Worth Wondering. *European Journal of Communication* 22(4): 493-503.
- BENHARDS, P. (1997) On Public Deliberation and Public Culture. Reflections on The Public Sphere. *InIIS-Arbeitspapier* Nr. 7/97. Institut für Interkulturelle und Internationale Studien.
- BRÜGGEMAN, M. (2005) How the EU Constructs the European Public Sphere. Seven Strategies of Information Policy. *Javnost The Public* 12(2): 57-74.
- CAUWENBERGE, A.v., GELDERS D., JORIS W (2009) Covering The European Union From An Intergovernmental Towards A Supranational Perspective? *Javnost The Public* 16(4): 41-54.
- FRASER, N. (1990) Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, No. 25(26): 56-80;
- FRASER, N. (2007) Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World. *Theory, Culture & Society* 24(4): 7–30
- FERREE, M.M, WILLIAM A. GAMSON, J. GERHARDS, D. RUCHT (2002) Four models of the public sphere in modern democracies. *Theory and Society* 31: 289–324, 2002.
- HABERMAS, J; S. LENNOX; F. LENNOX (1974) The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964). *New German Critique*, 3 (Autumn): 49-55
- KOOPMANS, RUUD AND JESSICA ERBE (2004) Towards a European Public Sphere? Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Europeanised Political Communication. *Innovation* 17(2): 97-117.
- RISSE, THOMAS (2002) How do we know a European public sphere when we see one? Theoretical clarifications and empirical indicators. Paper prepared for the IDNET Workshop "Europeanisation and the public sphere", European University Institute, Florence.
- RISSE, T. (2003). An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Nashville, TN
- SCHLESINGER, P. (1999) Changing Spaces of Political Communication: The Case of the European Union. *Political Communication* 16:263–279.
- SELMECZI, A., R. SATA (2011) The Role of Print and Broadcast Media in the articulation of the European Public Sphere: Comparative qualitative analysis of selected Eurosphere media representative interviews. *Eurosphere Papers* WP5.4.1/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- SILKE, A. (2008) Do Mass Media Portray Europe as a Community? Javnost-The Public 15(1): 91-112.
- TRENZ, H.J. (2004) Media Coverage on European Governance: Exploring the European Public Sphere in National Quality Newspapers. *European Journal of Communication* 19: 291-319.
- TRENZ, H.J. & C. EDER (2004). The Democratizing Dynamics of a European Public Sphere. Towards a Theory of Democratic Functionalism. *European Journal of Social Theory* 7(1): 5–25
- ZOGRAFOVA, Y., D. BAKALOVA, B. MIZOVA (2012) Media Reporting Patterns in Europe: The Cases of Construction of the EU and Reform Treaty. *Javnost The Public* 19(1): 67-84.

"Integration of Elites and Citizens – Europeanization of National Public Opinions at Elite and Citizen Levels and Consequences for European Democracy"

- SICAKKAN, H.G. (2006) Glocal Spaces as Prototypes of a Future Diverse Society: An Exploratory Study in Six European Countries. In H.G. Sicakkan & Y.G. Lithman (eds) What Happens When a Society is Diverse? Exploring Multidimensional Identities. Studies in Political Science 30. The Edwin Mellen Press, New York.
- SICAKKAN H.G., and Y. ZOGRAFOVA (2011), Citizens' Impact on the Articulation of European Public Sphere: Explaining Citizens' Attitudes to European Integration. *Eurosphere Papers* WP4.1/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- ZOGRAFOVA, Y. (2011) Widening Intercultural Representations: The Citizens Aspect of Development of European Public Sphere. *Eurosphere Papers* WP4.2/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.

- KLICPEROVA-BAKER, M., J. KOSTAL (2011) Patterns of Intolerance: What is behind the attitudes to Roma, Gays and Immigrant Minorities? *Eurosphere Papers* WP4.3/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- KLICPEROVÁ-BAKER, M, KOŠŤÁL J. (2012) Ethno-National, Religious, Ideological and Sexual Diversity: European Elite and Citizen Views Compared. *Javnost The Public* 19(1): 85-102.
- de BEEK, H.V, F. VERMUELEN, M. LAGERSPETZ (2011) Minorities, the European Polity and a nascent European Public Sphere & Nationalizing spaces. *Eurosphere Papers* WP6.1-12/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- CREUTZ-KÄMPPI, K., P. HOLLEY, P.A. KRAUS, P. LAINE, J. WARIUS (2011), Assessing Transnational Spaces. *Eurosphere Papers* WP6.3/2011. Eurosphere Consortium.
- SICAKKAN, H.G. (2012). Diversity, Polity and the European Public Sphere. *Javnost-The Public* 19(1): 5-18. SICAKKAN, H.G. (2012). Trans-Europeanizing Public Spaces in Europe. *Javnost-The Public*, 19(1): 103-124.

"INTERLINKING CITIZENS AND THE EU'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS"

SICAKKAN, H.G. (ed.) (2013): Linking the European Union with the Citizens. Evaluation of the EU's Policies Aiming to Create a Democratic European Public Sphere. EUROSPHERE Final Comparative Study, Vol.1