



**IGA 662**  
**Europe and the Developing World**  
**Spring Semester 2019**

Dr Catherine Gegout, Pierre Keller Visiting Professor, Associate Professor in International Relations, University of Nottingham



Mondays and Wednesdays 10:15-11:30  
Location: Littauer 382

(please note place and dates of simulation games, and film viewing/analysis in weeks 9, 11, 12: 5, 19, and 26 April, 10:15am-1:00pm, Weil Town Hall)

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**Shopping Day:** January 25, 10:15-11:30 in L382

**First day of Class:** Monday, January 28

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## Course Description

In the turbulent times of difficult EU-US relations, Brexit, and rising nationalism in Europe, this course analyses the impressive extent of EU presence in the developing world. It first introduces theories, concepts and decision-making processes related to EU foreign policy (by both Member States and EU institutions). In particular, we analyse the processes within the European Communities, and the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policies) / CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policies) frameworks. The course then critically assesses security and economic policies towards the developing world. Themes to explain the nature of contemporary EU foreign policies include: European integration (intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, neoliberalism and ethical foreign policy), diplomacy, post-colonialism, military and civilian means for conflict-

management, and also policies on migration, asylum and human trafficking. We focus on current policies towards unstable areas in Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

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## Learning Objectives

### *Knowledge and understanding of:*

- theories on European integration and European foreign policy
- the main political, legal and institutional issues of EU justice and home affairs, and CFSP/CSDP
- new security and economic issues in Africa, the Middle East and Asia
- importance of national security policies within the EU and challenges of the enlargement process
- decision-making process (including the role of ‘big’ member states, France, Germany and the United Kingdom)
- key problems of EU policy-making in asylum and immigration policies, police cooperation and judicial cooperation

### *Intellectual skills:*

- Synthesis of information, evaluation of competing explanations, applying theory to policy, formulation of one’s own reasoned argument
- Research on primary and secondary literature

### *Professional practical skills*

- Research skills
- Capacity to carry out independent and team work

- Capacity to produce written work and to give effective oral presentations

#### *Transferable skills*

- Read primary and secondary sources on a regular basis
- Capacity to analyse critically in writing
- Capacity to respect deadlines
- Capacity to present work with notes

#### **Educational Aims**

- To promote a critical engagement with material in the International Relations and European Foreign Policy field
- To provide an insight into the link between theory and practice of security policies
- To provide an understanding of how the European Union reacts to international crises
- To provide a basis for further study or careers in government, international organizations, media and the military

#### **Prerequisites**

Some knowledge of European Union politics and policies would be useful, but not essential.

#### **Major Assignments**

Class participation: class attendance and oral presentations 20%, simulation games 20%

Essay: 4,000 word written research paper 60%, **due by 5 pm on 4<sup>th</sup> May**

All written work should conform to the following technicalities: single-sided, numbered, 10-point Arial font, single-spaced. Justify text. Include your name on all papers. The final paper should employ footnotes (not endnotes) and include a bibliography. The final paper should conform to the stylistic guidelines of the Chicago Manual of Style, available online via the Harvard libraries website at <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/home.html>.

Students seeking guidance regarding academic honesty should see the HKS academic code, which can be found here: <https://handbook.fas.harvard.edu/book/academic-integrity#two>. Any sentences or paragraphs taken verbatim from the writing of (or interviews with) any other person or persons, or from your own writing that has been published elsewhere, must be placed in quotation marks and their source must be clearly identified. Changing the wording of a sentence or passage slightly does not evade the requirement for citation. Indeed, whenever you are drawing an important argument or insight from someone else, even if you reword it into your own words, a reference to the source is required. Including material from others in the assignments without appropriate quotation marks and citations is regarded, as a matter of School and University policy, as a serious violation of academic and professional standards and can lead to a failing grade in the course, failure to graduate, and even expulsion from the University.

#### **Class Organisation**

**Schedule** (28/01 until 01/05/19): The course will be taught twice a week with usually, a ~40 minute lecture and a ~30 minute session with student presentations and debates each time. Students must read two articles for each class. Each student presentation lasts 5 minutes. For the presentation, a paper will be distributed to the rest of the class via the Canvas course page under the "Discussions" tab. In weeks 9, 11, 12, we will have a two hour and a half session instead of two separate seminars per week. Two of these sessions will be simulation games, and the third one will be film viewing and analysis.

**Absence policy:** With the exception of illness, family emergency or critical job interviews, attendance is mandatory. Out of respect for your classmates and the discussion, please be on time to class.

**Classroom Conduct:** The consumption of food and the use of tablets, smartphones, and other electronic devices in class are not allowed. Laptops may be used only in case of a justified need. If you have been authorized to use a laptop, make sure you are disconnected from the Internet. Your phone must be shut off at the start of class.

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** In order for students to receive accommodations, they must disclose and provide medical documentation about their disability to Melissa Wojciechowski, Senior Director of Student Services, who serves as the local student disability coordinator at HKS.

## Seminar Content and Readings

This course guide contains suggestions for each lecture and seminar topic. Students should read the lecture and seminar literature prior to each seminar –**at least two articles per session** (approximately 90 pages or 24,000 words). Students are encouraged to use the search mechanisms of the library's on-line catalogue to identify additional literature, especially case-oriented, both in monographs and especially journals. **Please do not wait to be told what to read!**

### Highly recommended readings for the course

- Bretherton Charlotte and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Routledge, 2006.
- Elgström Ole and Smith Michael (eds), *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and analysis*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2006.
- Foradori Paolo, Rosa Paolo and Riccardo Scatezzini (eds) *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy: The EU in international affairs*, Lexington books, 2007.
- Hill Christopher (ed.), *The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy*, Routledge, 1996.
- \*Hill Christopher and Smith Michael (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- \*Gegout Catherine, *European Foreign and Security Policy: States, Power, Institutions and the American Hegemon*, University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- \*Gegout Catherine, *Why Europe Intervenes in Africa: Security, Prestige, Vestiges of Colonialism*, Oxford University Press, 2018.
- \*Hadfield, Amelia, Manners, Ian, Whitman, Richard, *Foreign Policies of EU Member States*, Routledge, 2017.
- Keukeleire Stephen and MacNaughtan Jennifer, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union* London, Palgrave, 2007.
- Knodt Michele and Princenm Sebastiaan, *Understanding the European Union's External Relations*, London, Routledge, 2003.
- \*Lucarelli Sonia, Lorenzo Fioramonti et al., *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Malici Akan, *The search for a common European foreign and security policy: leaders, cognitions and questions of institutional viability*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Mauil Hanns, 'Europe and the new balance of global order' *International Affairs* 81, 4, 2005, pp. 775-799.
- \*Mérand Frédéric, *European defence policy: beyond the nation state*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Ojanen Hanna, *The EU's Power in Inter-Organisational Relations*, Palgrave, 2018.
- Orbie Jan, *Europe's global role: external policies of the European Union*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- \*Smith Karen, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Polity Press, 2014.

### Useful databases:

ZETOC  
IBSS  
Ingenta

**Information on reading:**

This course guide contains suggestions for each seminar topic. Students **must** read the seminar literature prior to each seminar. At Masters' level, text-books are a useful starting-point, but not as a sufficient provision. Students are expected to engage in *independent study*, and are encouraged to use the search mechanisms of the library's on-line catalogue to identify additional literature, especially case-oriented, both in monographs and especially journals.

Please take the initiative to read literature which is not on the reading list!

*\* articles in this handbook are recommended readings!*

**Week 1. Introduction. EU and EU Foreign Policy 28/01, 30/01**

28/01

Introduction

What is the European Union?

How does enlargement affect the EU's decision-making process?

30/01

What is EU Foreign Policy?

What are the origins of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)?

Has the institutionalization of CFSP had an impact in third countries?

Informal quiz on your knowledge of European foreign policy.

Archick, Kristin, 'The European Union: Current Challenges and Future Prospects', Congressional Research Service, 2017.

Dinan Desmond, Neil Nugent and William Paterson (eds), *European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave, 2017.

Kenealy, Daniel, Peterson, John, Corbett Richard (2015), *The European Union: How Does it Work?*, Oxford University Press, pp. 1-44.

Missiroli, Antonio, 'The EU and the world: players and policies post-lisbon. A handbook', EU Institute for Security Studies, 2016.

Rosamond Ben, *Theories of European integration*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Saurugger, Sabine (2013), *Theoretical Approaches to European Integration*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 1-54.

Smith, Karen 'A European Union global strategy for a changing world?' *International Politics*, 54, 4, Jul 2017, pp. 503-518.

Whitman, Richard, 'The UK and EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after Brexit: Integrated, Associated or Detached?', *National Institute Economic Review*, 238, 1, Nov 2016: R43-R50.

**Week 2. Theorising EU Foreign Policy 04/02, 06/02**

04/02

How can we explain the making of EU foreign policy?

What is the role of the Commission in EU foreign policy?

To what extent does the US influence EU foreign policy?

06/02

Is the EU a big power?

What can we learn from theories of international relations and European integration in order to explain EU foreign policy institutions and policies?

What questions do academics usually ask when they study EU foreign policy?

What is missing from the literature on EU foreign policy?

- Birchfield Vicki et al. 'European Integration as a Peace Project', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19, 1, 2017, pp. 3-12.
- Gamble Andrew, 'The European Disunion', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 8, 1, 2006, pp. 34-49.
- \*Hill Christopher, 'The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualising Europe's Foreign Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31, 3, 1993, pp. 305-328.
- Kirchner Emil, 'The Challenge of European Union Security Governance', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44, 5, 2006, pp. 947-968.
- Moravcsik Andrew, 'Europe is still a Superpower', *Foreign Policy*, 13 April 2017.
- \*Pollack Mark, 'Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 2005, pp. 357-98.
- \*Rees Wyn, 'America, Brexit and the Security of Europe', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19, 3, 2017, pp. 558-572.
- \*Rynning Sten, 'Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49, 1, 2011, pp. 23-42.
- \*Smith Karen, 'The EU in an Illiberal World', *Current History*, 116, 788, 2017, pp. 83-87.
- \*Toje Asle, 'The European Union as a Small Power', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49, 1, 2011, pp. 43-60.

### Supplementary Readings

- Chaban, Natalia, Ole Elgström, Serena Kelly and Lai Suet Yi, 'Images of the EU beyond its Borders: Issue-Specific and Regional Perceptions of European Union Power and Leadership', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51, 3, 2013, pp. 433-451.
- Cooper Robert, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, London: Atlantic Books, 2003.
- \*Cooperation and Conflict, Special Issue on Normative Power Europe, Volume 48 Issue 2, June 2013.
- Diez Thomas, 'Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering 'Normative Power Europe,' *Millennium*, 33, 3, 2005, pp. 613-36.
- Dover Robert, 'The EU and the Bosnian Civil War 1992-95: The Capabilities-Expectations Gap at the Heart of EU Foreign Policy', *European Security*, 14, 3, 2005, pp. 297-318.
- Elgstrom Ole and Michael Smith (eds), *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- Farrell Mary, 'EU External Relations: Exporting the EU Model of Governance?' *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 4, 2005, pp. 451-462.
- \*Fisher Onar, Nora and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, 'The Decentring Agenda: Europe as a post-colonial power', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48, 2, 2013, pp. 283-303.
- Ginsberg Roy, 'Conceptualizing the EU as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37, 3, 1999, pp. 429-454.
- Hill Christopher, 'Closing the Capability-Expectations Gap', in John Peterson and Helene Sjursen (eds), *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe: Competing Visions of the CFSP*, London, Routledge, 1998.
- Jørgensen Knud, Åsne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy: Two Volume Set*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2015.
- Kagan Robert, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, London: Atlantic Books, 2003.
- Krotz Ulrich, 'Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47, 3, 2009, pp. 555-578.
- Laïdi Zaki, 'European Preferences and Their Reception,' in Zaki Laïdi, ed., *EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World: Normative Power and Social Preferences*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 1-18.
- Laïdi Zaki, *Norms over Force: The Enigma of European Power*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

- Manners Ian, 'Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, 2, 2006, pp. 182-99.
- Manners Ian, 'The European Union as a Normative Power: A Reply to Thomas Diez,' *Millennium*, 35, 1, 2006, pp. 167-80.
- Manners Ian, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, 2, 2002, pp. 235-258.
- Mayer Hartmut, 'The Long Legacy of Dorian Gray: Why the European Union Needs to Redefine its Role in Global Affairs,' *Journal of European Integration*, 30, 1, 2008, pp. 7-25.
- \*Meunier Sophie and Milada Anna Vachudova, 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56, S1, 2018, pp. 1-17.
- Scheipers Sibylle and Daniela Sicurelli, 'Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45, 2, 2007, pp. 435-57.
- \*Schmitter Philippe, 'Three Neofunctional Hypotheses about International Integration', *International Organization*, 23, 1, 1969, pp. 161-166.
- Simon Luis, 'Neorealism, Security Cooperation, and Europe's Relative Gains Dilemma', *Security Studies*, 26, 2, 2017, pp. 185-212.
- Sjursen Helene (ed.), 'What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective', Special Issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, 2, 2006, pp. 169-181.
- Smith Michael, *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Thomas Daniel, 'Explaining the Negotiation of EU Foreign Policy: Normative Institutionalism and Alternative Approaches', *International Politics*, 46, 4, 2009, pp. 339-357.
- Thomas Daniel, 'Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 3, 2012, pp. 457-474.
- Tocci Nathalie, *Who is a Normative Foreign Policy Actor? The European Union and Its Global Partners*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2008.
- Tonra Ben, 'Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role,' in Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne, *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 117-30.
- White Brian, 'The European Challenge to Foreign Policy Analysis', *European Journal of International Relations*, 5, 1, 1999, pp. 37-66.
- \*Wagner Wolfgang, 'Why the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy Will Remain Intergovernmental: A Rationalist Institutional Choice Analysis of European Crisis Management Policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10, 4, 2003, pp. 576-595.
- Wunderlich Jens-Uwe, 'The EU an Actor Sui Generis? A Comparison of EU and ASEAN Actorness', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 4, 2012, pp. 653-669.
- Youngs Richard, 'Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU's External Identity', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42, 2, 2004, pp. 415-435.
- Zielonka Jan, *Explaining Euro-Paralysis*, London, Macmillan, 1998.
- Zürn Michael and Jeffrey Checkel, 'Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State', *International Organization*, 59, 4, 2005, pp. 1045-1079.

### **Week 3. Why a European FP is Difficult—Rwanda and Darfur Lessons 11/02, 13/02**

11/02  
Rwanda

13/02  
Darfur

How did the European Union react to the crises in Rwanda and Darfur?  
What could it have done?  
How can the EU's policy, or lack of policy, be explained?

*Read articles on Rwanda and Darfur. Check the EU's website to find out about EU policies in these two regions.*

## Rwanda

- Adelman Howard and Astri Suhrke (eds), *The Path of a Genocide: the Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, N. J. 1999.
- Baines Erin, 'Body Politics and the Rwandan Crisis', *Third World Quarterly*, 24, 3, 2003, pp. 479-94.
- \*Barnett Michael, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*, Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Borton John et al, *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*, Danish MFA, 1996.
- Braeckman Colette, 'New York and Kigali', *New Left Review*, 9, 2001, pp. 141-147.
- Dallaire Romeo, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, Arrow, 2005.
- Des Forges Alison, *Leave None to Tell the Story': Genocide in Rwanda*, Human Rights Watch, 1999.
- Destexhe Alain, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, Pluto, London, 1995.
- Feil Scott, *Preventing Genocide. How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda. A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict*. New York: The Carnegie Corporation of New York, April 1998,
- Jones Bruce, *Peacemaking in Rwanda. The Dynamics of Failure*, Lynne Rienner Publishers 2001.
- MacFarlane Neil, 'The Responsibility to Protect: is anyone interested in humanitarian intervention?', *Third World Quarterly*, 25, 5, 2004, pp. 977-994.
- \*Mamdani Mahmood, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton University Press, 2001.
- McNulty Mel, 'France's role in Rwanda and external military intervention: A double discrediting', *International Peacekeeping*, 4, 3, 1997, pp. 24-44.
- Melvorn Linda and Paul Williams, 'Britannia Waived the Rules: The Major Government and the 1994 Rwandan Genocide', *African Affairs*, 103, 2004, pp. 1-22.
- \*Pottier Johan *Re-Imagining Rwanda, Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Power Samantha, 'Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen,' *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/power.htm>.
- Power Samantha, 'A Problem from Hell': *America and the Age of Genocide*, 2002, pp. 329-389.
- Prunier Gérard, *The Rwanda crisis, 1959-1994: history of a genocide*, Hurst and Company, 1998.
- Report of the Independent Enquiry into the actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda [http://www.un.org/News/ossg/rwanda\\_report.htm](http://www.un.org/News/ossg/rwanda_report.htm).
- Rieff David, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*, Vintage: London, 2002.
- \*Smith Karen, *Genocide and the Europeans*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- \*Straus Scott, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*, Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Straus Scott, 'Second-Generation Comparative Research on Genocide,' *World Politics* 59, 3, 2007, pp. 476-501.
- Straus Scott, 'Rwanda and Darfur: A Comparative Analysis,' *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 1, 1, 2006, pp. 41-56.
- Verschave Francois-Xavier, *Complicite de Genocide ? La politique de la France au Rwanda*, La Découverte, 1994.

## Sudan/Darfur

- \*De Waal Alex, 'Briefing: Darfur, Sudan: Prospects for Peace', *African Affairs*, 104, 414, 2005, pp. 127-135.
- Flint Julie and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War, and Gerard Prunier's Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*, Zed Books, 2007.
- Funding Overview for the Darfur Crisis, Office of the UN Resident and Humanitarian Co-ordinator for the Sudan, 08/02/05, <http://www.unsudanig.org/emergencies/darfur/reports/data/funding/Darfur-Funding-Note.pdf>.



- \*House of Commons, International Development Committee, 'Darfur, Sudan: The responsibility to protect', Fifth Report of Session 2004-2005, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmintdev/67/67i.pdf>.
- Prunier Gérard, *Darfur, The Ambiguous Genocide*, Hurst and Co, 2005.
- Rosenblum Peter, 'Pipeline Politics in Chad', *Current History*, May 2000.
- Williams Paul and Alex Bellamy, 'The UN Security Council and the Question of Humanitarian Intervention in Darfur', *Journal of Military Ethics*, 5, 2, 2006, pp. 144-60.
- Williams Paul, 'Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan', *International Peacekeeping*, 13, 2, 2006, pp. 168-83.
- Williams Paul and Alex Bellamy, 'The Responsibility to protect and the Crisis in Darfur', *Security Dialogue*, 36, 1, 2005, pp. 27-47.
- Williams Paul, 'The Crisis in Darfur: Why 'African solutions' are not enough', in *The Darfur Conflict*, YES: Young Europeans for Security, January 2007, [www.yes-dk.dk/YES/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=288&Itemid=173](http://www.yes-dk.dk/YES/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=288&Itemid=173)

#### **Week 4. Leadership 20/02**

18/02: President's day, no class.

20/02

How do member states organize themselves to influence EU foreign policy?

Bulmer Simon, 'Germany and the European Union: Post-Brexit Hegemon?', *Insight Turkey*, 20, 3, 2018, 11-28.

\*Gegout Catherine, 'The Quint: Acknowledging the Existence of a Big Four-US Directoire at the Heart of the European Union's Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, 2, 2002.

Groenler Martijn and Louise Van Schaik, 'United We Stand? The European Union's International Actorness in the Cases of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45, 5, 2007, pp. 969-998.

Heisbourg François, 'The French-German Duo and the Search for a New European Security Model', *The International Spectator*, 3, 2004, pp. 61-72.

\*Hill Christopher, 'Renationalising or Regrouping: EU Foreign Policy since 11 September 2001', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42, 1, 2004, pp. 143-163.

Hill Christopher, 'Powers of a kind: the anomalous position of France and the United Kingdom in world politics', *International Affairs*, 92, 2016, pp. 393-414.

\*Hill Christopher, *The National Interest in Question: Foreign Policy in Multicultural Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

\*Keukeleire Stephan, 'EU Core Groups, Specialisation and Division of Labour in EU Foreign Policy', CEPS Working Document No. 252, October 2006.

Pomorska, Karolina; Noutcheva, Gergana, 'Europe as a Regional Actor: Waning Influence in an Unstable and Authoritarian Neighbourhood', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55, 1, 2017, pp. 165-176.

Simón, Luis (2015) 'Europe, the rise of Asia and the future of the transatlantic relationship', *International Affairs*, 91:5, 269-289.

#### **Week 5. EU Economic Policies: an Overview 25/02, 27/02**

25/02

How powerful is the EU economically?

27/02

Theories and economic policies

The lectures give an analysis of economic policies. Students' presentations cover the following topic of ethics.

How are economic policies decided?  
What type of economic relations does the EU have with the world?  
How, and why is the EU considered a 'normative' power?  
What is an ethical foreign policy?

Read two of the following articles with an \*, and relate all your readings to questions on EU security. Prepare one question per theme to ask your fellow students.

#### Ethics: Is EU foreign policy ethical?

- Abrahamsen Rita and Paul Williams, 'Ethics and Foreign Policy: The Antinomies of New Labour's Third Way in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Political Studies*, 49, 2001, pp. 249-264.
- Aggestam Liesbeth, 'Introduction: Ethical Power Europe?', *International Affairs*, 84, 1, 2008, pp. 1-11.
- \*Alston Philip (ed.), *The EU and Human Rights*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Balme Richard, 'The European Union, China, and Human Rights,' in Zaki Laïdi (ed.), *EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World: Normative Power and Social Preferences*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 143-73.
- Bojkov Victor, 'National Identity, Political Interest and Human Rights in Europe: The Charter of Fundamental Human Rights of the European Union', *Nationalities Papers*, 32, 2004, pp. 323-353.
- Elgström Ole, 'Norm Negotiations: The Construction of New Norms Regarding Gender and Development in EU Foreign Aid Policy,' *Journal of European Public Policy* 7, 3: 2000, pp. 457-476.
- Forsberg Tuomas, 'Normative Power Europe, Once Again: A Conceptual Analysis of an Ideal Type', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2011, 49, 6, pp. 1183-1204.
- Gowan Richard and Franziska Brantner, *A Global Force for Human Rights? An Audit of European Power at the UN*, London: European Council on Foreign Relations, September 2008, pp. 1-10, 37-46.
- Hafner-Burton Emilie, *Forced to Be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- \*Hansen, Susanne, Marsh, Nicholas, 'Normative power and organized hypocrisy: European Union member states' arms export to Libya', *European Security*, 24, 2, 2015, pp. 264-286.
- Hyde-Price, Adrian, 'A 'tragic actor'? A realist perspective on 'ethical power Europe', *International Affairs*, 84, 2008, pp. 29-44.
- Kotzian Peter, Knodt Michele, Urdze Sigita, 'Instruments of the EU's External Democracy Promotion', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, September 2011, 49, 5, pp. 995-1018.
- Lerch Marika and Guido Schweltnus, 'Normative by Nature? The Role of Coherence in Justifying the EU's External Human Rights Policy', *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 2, 2006, pp. 304-321.
- \*Manners Ian, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, 2, 2002, pp. 235-58.
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### **Week 6. Other types of foreign policies 04/03, 06/03**

04/03

Fisheries

06/03

Education

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### **Week 7. The EU and Conflict Management 11/03, 13/03**

11/03

Which EU institutions are responsible for conflict management?  
 What is conflict management?  
 What is the role of the EU in conflict management?  
 What is the future role of the EU in conflict management? And on the world stage?

13/03

Session on 'Rewriting the European Security Strategy': think about how you would write the ESS today.

#### Theories and Concepts of Conflict Management

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### **Week 8. The EU and Africa 25/03, 27/03**

25/03

EU and Africa

27/03

EU, China and Africa

(preparation for simulation game)

What is the nature of EU foreign policy towards Africa?

How does it differ from the US approach?

Is China a serious competitor to the EU on the African continent?

How responsible are external actors in Africa?

#### *EU Africa*

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#### *EU-China-Africa*

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#### DRC

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### **Week 9. Simulation game: Libya in 2011 05/04**

Careful: our session will take place on Friday 05/04 (no sessions on Monday 01/04 and Wednesday 03/04).

Information to be given in class in previous week.

### **Week 10. The EU and the Middle East 08/04, 10/04**

08/04  
EU-MEPP

10/04  
EU-Syria

How important is the EU as an international actor in the Middle East? Compare with the United States and China.

How is the EU perceived by leaders in the Middle East?

What is the EU's contribution to the Palestinian territories?

What is the role of the Quartet?

*Carry out research on topics such as EU-Lebanon, EU-Palestine, EU-Israel relations or EU-Iran.*

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- Danin Robert, 'A Third Way to Palestine', *Foreign Affairs*, 90, 1, 2011, pp. 94-110.
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- Koenig Nicole, 'Libya and Syria: Inserting the European Neighbourhood Policy in the European Union's Crisis Response Cycle', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 22, 1, 2017, pp. 19–38.
- Livingston, Alastair, 'EU Failures in Economic Relations: The Case of Israel and Palestine' *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 4, 19, 2014, pp. 503–518.
- Pace Michelle, *The European Union's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean*, London and New York, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2009.
- Pace Michelle, 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 15, pp. 611–628, 2010.
- Persson Anders 'Shaping Discourse and Setting Examples: Normative Power Europe can Work in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55, 6, 2017, pp. 1415–1431.
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- \*Perthes Volker, 'Europe and the Arab Spring', *Survival*, 53, 6, 2011, pp. 73-84.
- Peters Joel, *The European Union and the Arab Spring: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in the Middle East*, Lexington Books, 2012.
- Philippart Eric, 'The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Evaluation of an Ambitious Scheme', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 8, 2, Summer 2003.
- \*Vaquer i Fanes, Jordi, 'The European Union and Western Sahara', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 9, 1, 2004.
- Youngs Richard, *The European Union and the Promotion of Democracy: Europe's Mediterranean and Asian Policies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001.

### Arab Spring

- Boserup, Rasmus and Fabrizio Tassinari, 'The return of Arab politics and Europe's chance to engage anew', *Mediterranean Politics*, 17, 1, 2012, pp. 97-103.
- Dennison Susi, 'The EU and North Africa after the revolutions: A new start or plus ça change?', *Mediterranean Politics*, 18, 1, 2013, pp. 119-124.
- Engberg Katarina, 'To intervene or not to intervene? the EU and the military option in the Lebanon war of 2006', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 11, 4, 2010, pp. 408-428.
- Hollis Rosemary, 'No friend of democratization: Europe's role in the genesis of the 'Arab spring'', *International Affairs*, 88, 1, 2012, pp. 81-94.
- Hullen Vera van, 'Europeanisation through cooperation? EU democracy promotion in Morocco and Tunisia', *West European Politics*, 35, 1, 2012, pp. 117-134.
- Lochner Stefan and Caroline Dieckhoner, 'Civil unrest in North Africa-risks for natural gas supply?' *Energy Policy*, 45, 2012, pp. 167-175.

MacKenzie Alex, Christian Kaunert and Sarah Léonard, 'EU counterterrorism and the southern Mediterranean countries after the Arab spring: New potential for cooperation?' *Democracy and Security*, 9, 1-2, 2013, pp. 137-156.

Peters Joel, *The European Union and the Arab spring: Promoting democracy and human rights in the middle east*, Lexington Books, 2012.

Whitman Richard and Ana Juncos, 'The Arab Spring, the Eurozone Crisis and the Neighbourhood: A Region in Flux', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2012 Supplement, 50, pp. 147-161.

#### Other possible case studies

Israel-Palestine  
Lebanon  
Iran

#### **Week 11. Simulation Game: Syria today 19/04**

Careful: our session will take place on Friday 19/04 (no sessions on Monday 15/04 and Wednesday 17/04).

Information to be given in previous class.

Freedman Jane, Zeynep Kivilcim, Nurcan Özgür Baklacioğlu, *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, Taylor and Francis, 2017.

Fung, Courtney, 'Separating Intervention from Regime Change: China's Diplomatic Innovations at the UN Security Council Regarding the Syria Crisis', *The China Quarterly*, 235, 2018, pp. 693-712.

Hirt, Nicole, 'European Missteps on African Migration', *Current History*, 117, 799, 2018, pp. 175-180.

Mason Robert, 'The Syria Conflict and the Euro-Med Refugee Crisis: An Opportunity to Enhance the Common Foreign and Security Policy?', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 23, 1, 2018, pp. 81-95.

Pace Michelle, Somdeep Se, *Syrian Refugee Children in the Middle East and Europe: Integrating the Young and Exiled*, Routledge, 2018.

Seeberg Peter, 'The EU and the Syrian Crisis: The Use of Sanctions and the Regime's Strategy for Survival', *Mediterranean Politics*, 20, 1, 2015, pp. 18-35.

Silander Daniel and Don Wallace (eds) *International Organizations and the Implementation of the Responsibility to Protect: The Humanitarian Crisis in Syria*. Routledge, 2015.

Trombetta Lorenzo, 'The EU and the Syrian Crisis as Viewed from the Middle East', *The International Spectator*, 49, 3, 2014, pp. 27-39.

#### **Week 12. Human Trafficking based on film viewing and analysis 26/04**

Careful: our session will take place on Friday 26/04 (no sessions on Monday 22/04 and Wednesday 24/04).

Viewing and analysis of:

Lilya 4-ever by Lukas Moodysson (2002)

Even when I fall by Kate McLarnon, Sky Neal (2017)

Another News Story by Orban Wallace (2017)

#### **Week 13. Migration and Human Trafficking 29/04, 01/05**

29/04

How does the EU address migration and human trafficking issues?

Which other European institutions deal with these issues?

Which policies could be created to combat human trafficking more effectively?

01/05

Conclusion

Rewriting the ESS

*Check out the Eurojust and Europol websites (please see below)!*

### Migration

Arcarazo Diego Acosta and Andrew Geddes, 'The Development, Application and Implications of an EU Rule of Law in the Area of Migration Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51, 2, 2013, pp. 179–193.

\*Boswell Christina, 'The 'external dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy', *International Affairs*, 79, 3, 2003, pp. 619-638.

De Haas Hein, 'The Myth of Invasion: the inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe', *Third World Quarterly*, 29, 7, 2008, pp. 1305-1322.

Cross Hannah, 'Labour and underdevelopment? Migration, dispossession and accumulation in west Africa and Europe', *Review of African Political Economy*, 40, 136, 2013, pp. 202-218.

\*De Haas Hein, 'Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective', *International Migration Review*, 44, 1, 2010, pp. 227-264.

\*Dover Robert, 'Towards a Common EU Immigration Policy: A Securitization Too Far', *Journal of European Integration*, 30, 1, 2008, pp. 113-130.

Elspeth Guild, 'Changing the Ground Rules. Reframing Immigration, Asylum and Security in the European Union', in Verdun Amy and Osvaldo Croci (eds), *Institutional and Policy-making Challenges to the European Union in the Wake of Eastern Enlargement*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005, pp. 134–150.

Feldman Gregory, *The Migration Apparatus: Security, Labor, and Policymaking in the European Union*, Stanford University Press, 2011.

Geddes Andrew, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, London: Sage, 2003.

Geddes Andrew and Virginie Guiraudon, 'The emergence of a European Union policy paradigm amidst contrasting national models: Britain, France and EU anti-discrimination policy', *West European Politics*, 27, 2, 2004, pp. 334-353.

Ghezelbash, Daniel, et al., 'Securitization of Search and Rescue at Sea: the Response to Boat Migration in the Mediterranean and Offshore Australia', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 67, 2, 2018, pp. 315-351.

Guiraudon Virginie and Christian Joppke, *Controlling a new migration world*, Routledge, 2001.

Guiraudon Virginie, 'European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policymaking as Venue Shopping', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38, 2, 2000, pp. 249-69.

Heisbourg François, 'The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis', *Survival*, 57, 6, 2015, pp. 7-20.

Huysmans Jef, *The politics of insecurity: fear, migration and asylum in the EU*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.

Lavenex Sandra, 'Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8, 1, 2001, pp. 24-42.

Lavenex Sandra, 'EU External Governance In "Wider Europe"', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11, 4, 2004, pp. 680-700.

\*Lavenex Sandra, 'Shifting Up and Out: The Foreign Policy of European Immigration Control', *West European Politics*, 29, 2, 2006, pp. 329–350.

\*Lavenex Sandra and Emek Ucarer, 'The External Dimension of Europeanization: The Case of Immigration Policies', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39, 4, 2004, pp. 417-43.

Lavenex Sandra and Emek Ucarer (eds.), *Migration and the Externalities of European Integration*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004.

\*Lavenex Sandra, 'Failing Forward' Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56, 5, 2018, pp. 1195–1212.

Monar Jorg, 'The EU as an International Actor in the Domain of Justice and Home Affairs', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 9, 4, 2004, pp. 395–415.

Monar Joerg, 'Justice and Home Affairs', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, September 2012 Supplement, p116-131.

\*Neal Andrew, 'Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The Origins of FRONTEX', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47, 2, 2009, pp. 333-356.

Parsons Craig and Smeeding, Timothy, What's Unique about Immigration in Europe? In Craig Parsons and Smeeding Timothy M. (eds.), *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1-29.

\*Rees Wyn, 'The External Face of International Security', in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds), *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 205-224.

Riddervold, Marianne, 'A humanitarian mission in line with human rights? Assessing Sophia, the EU's naval response to the migration crisis', *European Security*, 27, 2, 2018, pp. 158-174.

Triandafyllidou Anna and Maroukis Thanos, *Migrant smuggling: irregular migration from Asia and Africa to Europe*, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Watanabe Lisa, 'In Search of Sustainable Approaches to Migration, EU Strives for Partnerships, IPI, 12 October 2018, [https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/10/search-sustainable-approaches-migration-eu-strives-](https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/10/search-sustainable-approaches-migration-eu-strives-partnerships/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=organic_social&utm_campaign=US_GO_publications_analysis&utm_content=link)

[partnerships/?utm\\_source=facebook&utm\\_medium=organic\\_social&utm\\_campaign=US\\_GO\\_publications\\_analysis&utm\\_content=link](https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/10/search-sustainable-approaches-migration-eu-strives-partnerships/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=organic_social&utm_campaign=US_GO_publications_analysis&utm_content=link).

Wolff Sarah, Nicole Wichmann and Gregory Mounier, *The External Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs: A Different Security Agenda for the European Union?*, Routledge, 2009.

### Human Trafficking and Transnational Crime

Cherti Myriam, Peter Grant and Jenny Pennington, *Beyond borders: Human trafficking from Nigeria to the UK* Institute for Public Policy Research, 2013, <http://www.ippr.org/publication/55/10189/beyond-borders-human-trafficking-from-nigeria-to-the-uk>

\*Friesendorf Cornelius, 'Pathologies of Security Governance: Efforts Against Human Trafficking in Europe', *Security Dialogue*, 38, 3, 2007, pp. 379-402.

Meng-Hsuan Chou, 'The European Union and the Fight against Human Trafficking: Comprehensive or Contradicting?', *St Anthony's International Review*, 4, 1, 2008, pp. 76-95.

Kyle David and Rey Koslowski, *Global Human Smuggling*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Stoecker Sally and Louise Shelley, *Human Traffic and Transnational Crime: Eurasian and American Perspectives*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

Shelley Louise, 'Transnational Organized Crime: An Imminent Threat to the Nation State?', *Journal of International Affairs*, 45, 2, 1995, p. 463-489.

Shelley Louise, 'Combating Transnational Crime and Corruption in Europe,' hearing before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on European Affairs. Testimony presented on October 30th, 2003, [www.senate.gov/~foreign/hearings/2003/hr031030p.html](http://www.senate.gov/~foreign/hearings/2003/hr031030p.html).

### Eurojust

Eurojust home page: <http://eurojust.europa.eu/Pages/home.aspx>

### Europol

Europol home page: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/>

Statewatch: <http://www.statewatch.org>

## **Further Reading Information**

### **Periodicals**

European Foreign Affairs Review

European Journal of International Relations

European Politics  
European Security  
Foreign Affairs  
Foreign Policy  
Global Affairs  
International Affairs  
International Organization  
International Security  
International Studies Quarterly  
Journal of Common Market Studies (including the Annual Reviews)  
Journal of European Public Policy  
Review of International Studies  
Survival

### **Newspapers**

Agence Europe  
Der Spiegel  
Deutsche Welle  
Euractiv  
European Voice  
Financial Times  
Le Monde  
New York Times  
Repubblica  
The Economist  
The New European

### **Websites**

Directly related to the EU:

<http://ec.europa.eu/> (European Commission: ECHO, Development policy)  
<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat> (Eurostat)  
<http://eiop.or.at/eiop/> (European Integration Online Papers)  
<http://euobserver.com/> (general information on the EU)  
<http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/> (EU Law Portal)  
<http://www.eupolitix.com> (EU Politix)  
<http://www.globeurope.com/news-views>  
<http://fgr.wu-wien.ac.at/institut/ef/home01.en.html> (Research Institute for European Affairs)  
<http://isis-europe.org/> (information on European security)  
[http://selene.uab.es/cs\\_iuee/english/Obs/m\\_working.html](http://selene.uab.es/cs_iuee/english/Obs/m_working.html) (Working Papers)  
<http://ue.eu.int/> (Council of the European Union)  
<http://www.ceps.be/> (Center for European Policy Studies)  
<http://www.epc.eu> (European Policy Centre)  
<http://www.iss.europa.eu> (Institute for Security Studies)  
<http://www.ecfr.eu> (European Council on Foreign Relations)  
<http://www.cer.org.uk/> (Center for European Reform)  
<http://www.ecsanet.org/> (European Community Studies Association)  
<http://www.eurunion.org/> (Delegation of the Commission to the US)  
<http://www.eustudies.org/> (EUSA website: see the archives)  
<http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/>  
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/GSSI/eu.html> (official documents of EU)  
<http://www.marshallcenter.org/> (George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies)  
<http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes/EUC/euc.html> (European Union Center)  
<http://www.unc.edu/depts/europe/msie.html> (University of North Carolina, Center for European Studies)  
[www.euconflict.org](http://www.euconflict.org) (European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation)  
[www.euractiv.com/en/HomePage](http://www.euractiv.com/en/HomePage) (general information on the EU)  
[www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info) (see the CFSP Forum)  
[www.iue.it/EFPB/](http://www.iue.it/EFPB/) (EU foreign policy archive)



[www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPUworkingpaperseries.html](http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPUworkingpaperseries.html) (LSE Working Papers)  
[www.theepc.be](http://www.theepc.be) (think tank)  
<http://www.ceps.eu/research-areas/eu-foreign-policy> (Information on EU foreign policy (the Arab Spring, Caucasus))

General websites useful for reference:

<http://www.iiss.org> (think tank)  
<http://www.hrw.org> (Human Rights Watch)  
<http://www.ploughshares.ca/content/ACR/acr.html> (Project Ploughshares' *Armed Conflicts Report*)  
<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar2/> (information on ethnic conflict)  
<http://democracyin africa.org/> (information on democracy in Africa)  
<http://www.nyu.edu/pages/cic/index1.html> (Center on International Cooperation, NYU)  
<http://www.faf.no/piccr/> (Programme for International Cooperation and Conflict Resolution, Norwegian social research institute Fafo)  
<http://www.ipacademy.org/> (International Peace Academy)  
<http://www.usip.org/> (United States Institute of Peace)  
<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/> (International Relations and Security Network)  
[http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha\\_ol/index.html](http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/index.html) (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs)  
<http://www.twq.com/info/archives.cfm> (The Washington Quarterly)  
<http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=54496> (Judy Dempsey's Blog)  
<https://growthlab.cid.harvard.edu/news/what-should-we-do-about-inequality> (Harvard Growth Lab)

Do consult the following website – I regularly post information for our course there!

<https://twitter.com/CatherineGegout>

## Guidance to Essay Writing

You are welcome to come and discuss your essay project with Catherine Gegout during her consultation and feedback hours in term time. Do come as **early** as possible in the course of our class for essay guidance!

### Methods' readings for conducting research

Creswell John, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994, pp. 1-19.  
Egan Michelle, Neill Nugent and William Paterson (ed.), *Research Agendas in EU Studies: Stalking the Elephant*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.  
Geddes Barbara, "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics," *Political Analysis*, 2, 1990, pp. 131-52.  
Guzzini Stefano, "The Significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations," *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 4, 2, 2001, pp. 98-117.  
Hollis Martin and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, chapters 1, 3 and 4 (pp. 1-15, 45-91).  
King, Gary, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, 'The Importance of Research Design in Political Science', *American Political Science Review*, 89, 2, 1995, pp. 475-480.  
Lustick Ian, 'History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias,' *American Political Science Review*, 90, 3, 1996, pp. 605-18.  
Marsh David and Gerry Stoker (eds), *Theory and Methods in Political Science* Macmillan, 2017.  
Nyikos Stacy and Mark Pollack, 'Researching the European Union: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches,' in Tanja Boerzel and Rachel Cichowski (eds), *The State of the European Union, Volume IV: Law, Politics, and Society*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.  
Trachtenberg Marc, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.  
Yin Robert, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, second edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2013. Zalewski Marysa, 'All These Theories and Yet the Bodies Keep Piling Up:

Theories, Theorists, and Theorising,' in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysa Zalewski (eds), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 340-53.