



# **ANNUAL REPORT** 2017-2018



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As we all know the past year has been an

extraordinarily important year for the EU and for the world at large, and 2018 is presenting itself as yet another eventful year. It sees the inauguration of new governments in several European countries (including Germany, Sweden, Hungary, Italy, Cyprus, Slovenia, Latvia and the Czech Republic), crucial decisions concerning the EU's future, including on the Brexit process, as well as trends in security, populism, and migration.

At this crucial time, research on European studies could not matter more. For this reason, the Centre for European Research (CER) intends to provide a home for research on the many different facets of Europe. This is made possible by the Centre's longestablished tradition of providing an interdisciplinary forum for the promotion of research and teaching on Europe.

The various activities promoted by CER help to bring the light on the most relevant issues in European Politics.

# DIRECTOR'S INTRODUCTION

The expertise of the Centre's members gives precious support to the projects we at CER have in mind for the coming years. Out exciting events and activities will continue to involve international actors, key experts and scholars. As the platform for engagement on Europe in one of the UK's leading research-focused higher education institutions, CER will continue to provide its followers ang guests with focused seminars, conferences and research findings to stimulate discussion and knowledge exchange.

*Dr Sarah Wolff* Director WHAT WE DO

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2017 was a crucial year for the European Union and the United Kingdom with the Brexit negotiations reaching a new level. The past year has also been of utmost importance for our which was relaunched under the new Directorship of Dr Sarah Wolff, Lecturer in Public Policy at the School of Politics and International Relations (SPIR), succeeding Dr Paul Copeland, Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at the same School.

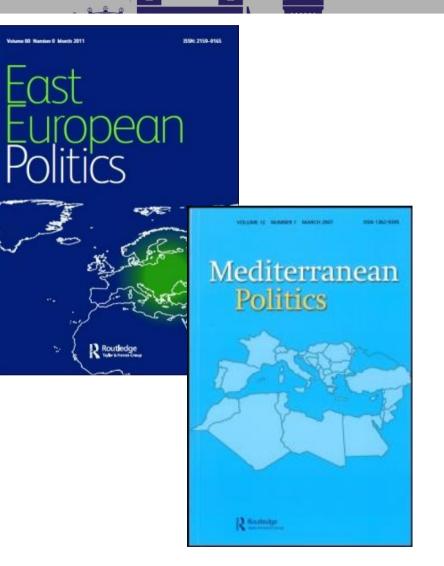
Based in SPIR, CER was established in 2004. Since then, the Centre has distinguished itself as an interdisciplinary centre blending scholarly and academic activities with projects involving policy officials, NGOs, practitioners and business leaders. The numerous activities sponsored by the Centre include conferences and workshops with a European focus (including co-hosting the 2016 Annual UACES conference), teaching on matters relating to Europe and a number of prestigious publications. A notable part of the Centre's mission is to promote excellence in teaching and learning on Europe, support research activities through the funding of conferences and workshops. The Centre is constituted mostly by faculty members and comprises of sixteen academic members from SPIR, the School of Law, the School of Business and Management and the School of Geography, one post-doctoral fellow, three visiting and honorary staff, two PhD researchers, one visiting PhD fellow and one intern. The expertise of its members in European Studies has been acknowledged by several prizes such as the 2012 LISBOAN Best Book Prize awarded to Dr Sarah Wolff, the Vincent Wright Prize for best article in West European Politics given Professor Tim Bale, the Drapers' Award for Teaching awarded to Professor Rainbow Murray and the 2016 Young Research Prize in Migration Law from the Odysseus Network given to Dr. Violeta Moreno-Lax. The Centre has also achieved high policy impact in its work related to UK and European policy-making by providing policy inputs on various occasions, published high quality research publications and obtained a large volume of external research funding. For instance, CER currently hosts two highly prestigious and refereed journals: East European Politics (indexed in the ESCI), co-edited by Professor Adam Fagan, and Mediterranean Politics (2016 impact factor: 1.117), co-edited by Dr Sarah Wolff.

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# Research

The Centre produces outstanding research and publications on topics of remarkable relevance for European politics. Some examples are as follows:

#### **European Integration**

Research on European integration is at the core of the Centre's research activities. Research in this field includes Dr. Sarah Wolff's work on EU politics, Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), migration and border management policies, as well as EU-Arab relations in the Mediterranean and EU development aid. Her current research focuses on the external relations of 'Secular Power Europe' and EU engagement with Islam. Moreover, research on European Integration is also the landmark of Professor Adam Fagan's work. His research focuses on the Europeanisation of the Western Balkans, with particular reference to judicial reform, minority rights and environmental governance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. Prof. Fagan is also the editor of East European Politics.

European Integration is also the research focus of Dr. Paul Copeland. His research investigates two main themes: the political economy of European integration, particularly with respect to the EU's competence in employment and social policy and the UK's relationship with the EU. On the former, his work has focused on the legal character of EU governance in social and employment policy, the effectiveness of EU governance, the relationship between EU legitimacy, democracy and the political economy of European integration, and the impact of the Eurozone crisis on the European social dimension. On the latter, his work has focused on the portrayal of the EU in UK media and the relationship between successive UK governments and the EU's social dimension.



#### **Comparative European Politics**

Comparative European Politics is another field of research at the heart of the Centre's activities. Dr Stijn van Kessel's main research interests are populism in Europe, European Union politics, elections, party competition, party system change in Europe, and related questions of democratic legitimacy. Mainly, his works examine comparatively the electoral performance of populist parties in Europe and Euroscepticism in the Union.

#### **British Politics**

In his research, Professor Tim Bale focuses on all aspects of party politics in Britain, Europe and sometimes further afield. In addition to his interest in the Conservative party and centre-right parties more generally, his current projects focus on the relationship between parties and interest groups (particularly left-wing parties and trade unions), the party politics of immigration and the British Labour Party after PM Tony Blair.

#### **European Law**

Professor Valsamis Mitsilegas' research focuses on EU criminal law and its implications on global security. Dr Marion Mendez studies EU and comparative constitutional law. Dr Violeta Moreno-Lax's research looks at EU migration and asylum law.

#### **European History**

Dr Robert Saunders specializes in modern British history in a European context with a particular focus on the relationship between the UK and the EU.

#### **European Business and Trade**

The on-going research project of Professor Adrian Smith and Dr Liam Campling focuses on EU trade agreements and international labour standards involving and inderdisciplinary team.



# Teaching

The high level of research in the Centre is associated with an outstanding quality in teaching. CER's experts offer a wide range of modules, both for undergraduate and postgraduate students. Open to undergraduate students is 'The European Union' module (POL386), the objective of which is to explore the origins, development and institutions of the EU as well as major policies and policy-making processes in the Union. British politics is investigated in the 'Background to British Politics' (POL108) as well as the 'British Politics - Theory and Practice' (POLM065) modules. Moreover, the 'Comparative European Politics' module (POL248) combines an application of 'new institutional' theories of comparative politics with the empirical analysis of key aspects of the development and performance of European political systems.

Two themes run through most of the topics in the module: processes of Europeanisation and multilevel governance that have impacted, to varying degrees, different European nation-states and the European Union as a whole. Postgraduate modules include 'Case studies in EU Policymaking' (POLM066), a course designed to offer students an in-depth analysis of the EU's competence in a number of policy areas including the Single Market, competition policy, the Eurozone, the Common Agricultural Policy, employment and social policy, as well as environmental policy. The external relations of the EU are examined in 'The EU as an International Actor' module (POLM079), providing students with the necessary conceptual and empirical perspectives regarding the EU's international role.

CER continuously organises research seminars, conferences and other events to stimulate discussions and knowledge exchange between the academia, professionals and the public.

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At its high-profile <u>inaugural event</u> held in October 2017, <u>Sir</u> <u>Johnathan Faull KCMG</u>, a former EU top official, gave a presentation titled 'Negotiating the Brexit: An Insider View' which was followed by a lively discussion involving <u>Professor Tim Bale</u> (CER/QMUL), <u>Professor Helen Drake</u> (UACES/Loughborough) and CER Director <u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u>. The speech has since gained more than 1,760 views on <u>YouTube</u>. The inaugural was preceded by a '<u>Brexit café</u>' event coorganised with researchers of the '<u>28+ Perspectives on Brexit</u>' project.



# ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS (see ANNEX 1)

One of the first events held by CER in 2018 was the presentation of <u>Professor Richard Youngs</u> (Warwick /Carnegie Europe) on his new book, <u>'Europe Reset</u>', which was followed by a discussion with <u>Professor Kalypso Nicolaidis</u> (Oxford), <u>Dr Stella Ladi</u> and <u>Dr</u> <u>Sarah Wolff</u> (QMUL /CER). In a like manner to the inaugural, this event was also well attended.





In January 2018, CER also hosted the travelling exhibition of the Historical Archives of the European Union titled 'Ever Closer Union' which was on display in the Queens Building with the support of UACES.

The CER bi-weekly research seminar series hosted the following presentations <u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u> (CER) on 'Secular Power Europe and Islam: a study of EU's ontological security narrative and foreign policy practices', <u>Dr Paul Copeland</u> (CER) on 'Europeanization and de-Europeanization: a research agenda', <u>Dr Stijn van Kessel</u> (CER) on 'The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis', <u>Dr Edith</u> <u>Drieskens</u> (Leuven) on the 'EU's actorness at the United Nations', <u>Dr Ali Bilgic</u> (Loughborough) on 'Neo-colonial emotions in European border security', <u>Professor Francois Foret</u> (UL Brussels / Cevipol) on 'Religious values in EU policy-making', <u>Dr Amandine Crespy</u> (UL Brussels / Cevipol) on 'Exit and loyalty in the EU, and <u>Dr Catherine</u> <u>Charrett</u> (QMUL/CER) on 'EU-Israeli security cooperation'. The seminar series will continue in the next academic year at a new venue in central London.







Other CER events included an open research seminar held by <u>Dr</u> <u>Steven van Hauwaert</u> (Mainz) with the title 'Terrorism and the legitimacy of liberal democracy: An empirical analysis'; a workshop co-organised with the University of London Institute in Paris on '<u>Challenging EU Migration Policies in the Mediterranean</u>' with the participation of <u>Dr Ali Bilgic</u> (Loughborough), <u>Dr Nora El</u> <u>Qadim</u> (University Paris 8), and <u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u> (QMUL/CER), organised in Paris; a workshop co-organised with the University of Malta titled '<u>Critical Perspectives on Democracy Promotion in the</u> <u>Mediterranean</u>' involving presentations by scholars from across Europe and the Middle East; and the '<u>Engaging through Film</u>' event co-organised with the QMUL Centre for Public Engagement involving presentations by QMUL staff incl. <u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u>. CER has also participated as exhibitor at the 2018 <u>POLITICO EU Studies</u> <u>Fair</u> in Brussels where the Centre was represented <u>David Gazsi</u>.



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CER staff appear regularly on national and international media to comment on international and European affairs and politics, and have been consulted on European affairs, amongst others by the Dutch government, British and European political parties, think tanks and the European Commission.

Our members' research is published in various formats such as in peer-reviewed journals and university press volumes.

(For the latest appearances of CER experts in the media, see ANNEX 2. For publications see ANNEX 3).

# WEBSITE, NEWSLETTER & CO.

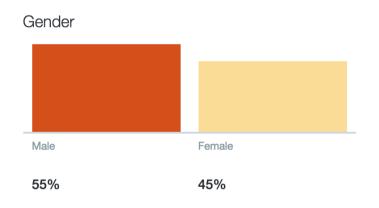
The Centre has an official website and hosts the 'Europe Matters' blog which provides a platform for both internal and external experts to comment on the most prominent issues in European politics as well as a Spotlight section which helps communicating CER members' research to a wider audience. CER has also developed a newsletter (see Issues 1 & 2) which is received by more than 350 subscribers, and established its social media presence on Facebook and Twitter to keep its followers up-to-date on its activities. The Centre has also created a promotional video, banners and flyers and can now give away pens with its logo on them.

# SOCIAL MEDIA

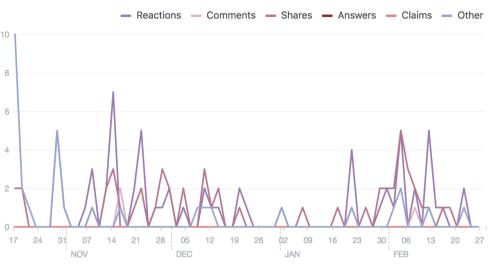
CER's main social media channels, Twitter and Facebook, have seen a great growth in the number of followers over the last five months. Twitter followers have increased by **14%** with total impressions reaching **11.9K**. Top tweets include @drsarahwolff's take on her journey from PhD to becoming an Academic, the announcement of the seminar 'The EU's search for actorness at the United Nations' of Dr Edith van Drieskens, and publication of CER's new <u>introduction video</u> featuring our Director, <u>@drsarahwolff</u>, as well as <u>@ProfTimBale</u> and our Research Assistant and PhD Candidate, David Gazsi.



The number of followers on Facebook has doubled since October, the audience reached increased by **247%** and views on the page grew by **223%**. Amongst our top Facebook posts was that on the release of our <u>second newsletter</u>, and that on an articles written by our member, Dr Robert Saunders (more than 900 engagements).



#### 1. 3 Gender representantion of CER's followers on Twitter



1. 1 Reactions, Comments, Shares, Anwers, Claims and other on Facebook.

# Engagement rate



1. 2 Growth of the engagement rate on Twitter

**MEMBERS** 

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<u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u> Director of the Centre for European Research, Lecturer School of Politics and International Relations

<u>Professor Tim Bale</u> Professor of Politics School of Politics and International Relations

Dr Liam Campling Reader in Political Economy School of Business Management

Dr Catherine Charrett Lecturer in Politics and International Relations School of Politics and International Relations

Professor Valsamis Mitsilegas Professor of European Criminal Law and Global Security, Head of the Department of Law,

#### Dr Paul Copeland

Senior Lecturer in Public Policy School of Politics and International Relations

#### Professor Adam Fagan

Professor of European Politics and Head of School School of Politics and International Relations

#### Dr Stella Ladi

Senior Lecturer in Public Management School of Business and Management

#### Dr Stijn van Kessel

Lecturer in European Politics School of Politics and International Relations

Dr Matthieu Burnay Lecturer in Global Law School of Law Dr Mario Mendez Reader in Law School of Law

Dr Violeta Moreno-Lax Senior Lecturer in Law School of Law

Dr Monica Poletti ESRC Postdoctoral Research Assistant School of Politics and International Relations

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<u>Dr Robert Saunders</u> Senior Lecturer in Modern British History School of History

#### Professor Adrian Smith Professor of Human Geography, Dean for Research (Humanities and Soci

Dean for Research (Humanities and Social Sciences) School of Geography

### Professor Rainbow Murray

Professor of Politics School of Politics and International Relations

### **PhD Candidates**

<u>Mr David Gazsi</u> School of Politics and International Relations

Mr Sean Parramore School of Politics and International Relations

### Visiting/Honorary Staff

#### Lord (Roger) Liddle

Honorary Fellow School of Politics and International Relations

#### Dr Silvia Sovic

Honorary Fellow School of Politics and International Relations

#### Dr Françoise Boucek

Visiting Fellow School of Politics and International Relations

#### Ms Gaia Taffoni

PhD Fellow School of Politics and International Relations The Centre for European Research Queen Mary University of London 6

## **ANNEX 1. EVENTS**

| Date             | Title  | Partecipants                   |
|------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 17 October 2017  | Seminar Event: The End of Social Europe? Understanding       | Paolo Graziano (Università     |
|                  | EU Social Policy Change.                                     | degli Studi di Padova)         |
| 30 October 2017  | CER Inaugural   Negotiating the BREXIT - an insider view     | Sir Johnatan Faull KCMG;       |
|                  | by Sir Jonathan Faull KCMG.                                  | event chaired by Dr. Sarah     |
|                  |  | Wolff, Director of the CER.    |
| 31 October 2017  | Secular Power Europe and Islam: a study of EU's              | Sarah Wolff, Director of the   |
|                  | ontological security narrative and foreign policy practices. | Centre for European Research.  |
| 14 November 2017 | Europeanization and de-Europeanization: a research           | Paul Copeland (QMUL)           |
|                  | agenda.  |                                |
| 28 November 2017 | The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis   | <b>Stijn van Kessel</b> (QMUL) |
| 12 December 2017 | Seminar Event: The EU's search for actorness at the United   | Edith van Drieskens (Leuven    |
|                  | Nations.   | University)                    |
| 09 January 2018  | Seminar Event: Performing the European 'Sovereign Man':      | Ali Bilgic (Loughborough       |
|                  | Neo-colonial Emotions in Border Security.                    | University)                    |
| 16 January 2018  | Workshop: Mobilising 'the people': The rise of populist      | Presented by Stijn van Kessel; |
|                  | nationalism in Europe.                                       | coordinated by LUNN.           |
|                  |  | Convenors: Marco Antonsich     |
|                  |  | (Loughborough University),     |
|                  |  | John Richardson                |

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|                     |   | (Loughborough University),<br>Stijn van Kessel (QMUL). |
|---------------------|---|--|
| 22 January 2018     | Book Presentation: Reset Europe: 60 years of European                                 | Presented by Richard Youngs                            |
|                     | integration.  | (Carnegie Europe) Kalypso                              |
|                     |   | Nicolaides (Oxford University);                        |
|                     |   | discussed by Stella Ladi                               |
|                     |   | (QMUL), <b>Sarah Wolff,</b> Director of the CER.       |
| 23 January 2018     | Seminar Event: The new salience of 'European values':                                 | Francois Foret (ULB and                                |
|                     | challenges and opportunities for the EU.  | CEVIPOL)   |
| 06 February 2018    | Seminar Event: Exit, voice and loyalty in the EU.                                     | Amandine Crespy (ULB and                               |
| 00 10 Eabruary 2019 | CEP at the POLITICO ELL Studies Eair Prussels   | CEVIPOL)   |
| 09-10 February 2018 | CER at the POLITICO EU Studies Fair, Brussels   | David Gazsi (QMUL)                                     |
| 20 March 2018       | SeminarEvent:ResearchingEU-Israelisecuritycooperation: the performativity of objects. | Catherine Charrett (QMUL)                              |
| 17 May 2018         | Workshop: Critical Perspectives on Democracy Promotion                                | Sarah Wolff (QMUL)                                     |
|                     | <i>in the Mediterranean, Malta (co-hosted with the University of Malta)</i>           |  |
| 30 May 2018         | Workshop: Engaging through Film (co-hosted with the                                   | Sarah Wolff (QMUL)                                     |
| ,                   | QMUL Centre for Public Engagement)  |  |



### **ANNEX 2. Latest appearances of CER Experts in the Media**

- <u>Exilés, migrants, réfugiés : à Calais, la soupe de Macron a du mal à passer</u>– Jeune Afrique (Dr Sarah Wolff)
- <u>Why Italy wouldn't accept a boat carrying 600 migrants but Spain will</u> iNews (<u>Dr Sarah Wolff</u>)
- Britain Decides: The First European Referendum BBC History Magazine (Dr Robert Saunders)
- <u>'No escape' European Court of Justice rule will DIRECTLY impact Britain AFTER Brexit</u> Express (Professor Valsamis Mitsilegas)
- <u>Theresa May's 'Profoundly Weak, Surprisingly Stable' Leadership</u> The Atlantic (<u>Professor Rainbow Murray</u>)
- <u>Westminster harassment: this is not just about sex, it's about power</u> The Conversation (<u>Professor Rainbow</u> <u>Murray</u>)
- <u>Is It Too Late for Boris Johnson to Say Sorry</u>? The Atlantic (<u>Professor Rainbow Murray</u>)
- <u>Trump Has Raised an Ultra-Nationalist British Group Out of Obscurity</u> The Atlantic (<u>Professor Rainbow</u> <u>Murray</u>)
- Merit vs Equality? The argument that gender quotas violate meritocracy is based on fallacies LSE Blog (Professor Rainbow Murray)
- <u>The European Pillar of Social Rights: A step-change for the EU?</u> Policy Network (<u>Dr Paul Copeland</u>)
- Is the Franco-German Engine Floundering? Carnegie Europe (Dr Sarah Wolff)



- <u>My Secret Plan to Turn Students Against Brexit</u> Politico (Professor Tim Bale)
- <u>Les Giboulées de May</u> Les Echos (<u>Professor Tim Bale</u>)
- <u>On Brexit, Labour is about to take a big gulp from a poisoned chalice</u> New Statesman (<u>Professor Tim Bale</u>)
- <u>Hard Brexit looks inevitable unless there is a large shift in public opinion to stay</u>' The Times (<u>Professor Tim</u> <u>Bale</u>)
- Daily Politics BBC (Professor Tim Bale)
- <u>Promises, Crossed Fingers & The Future</u> The Times Red Box (<u>Professor Tim Bale</u>)
- Boris Johnson: Krawall mit Kalkül Professor Tim Bale Der Spiegel (Professor Tim Bale)
- Normal people don't join political parties City A.M. (Professor Tim Bale)
- <u>New Party Chairman Brandon Lewis Will Struggle to Revive the Shrivelled Tory Grassroots</u> The Telegraph (<u>Professor Tim Bale</u>)
- <u>The Tories need a broader membership if they are to survive</u> The Economist (Professor Tim Bale)
- <u>Europe's Populists are Waltzing into the Mainstream</u> The Economist (Professor Tim Bale)
- Emmanuel Macron Tries to Rebrand The Atlantic (Rainbow Murray)
- <u>Brexit: A Clean Break is Not So Easy</u> WNYC (Paul Copeland)
- <u>French Voters May Be Souring on Macron, But He's All They've Got</u> Bloomberg (Rainbow Murray)
- <u>Will the Splintering of France's National Front Help or Harm It?</u> The Atlantic (Rainbow Murray)
- <u>No Push for a Domino Effect: Brexit Doesn't Loom Large in Populist Radical Right Parties' Campaigns</u> The UK in a Changing Europe (Stijn Van Kessel)
- <u>The Tory temperament means a U-turn on Europe is always possible</u> Financial Times (Tim Bale)
- <u>EU Hopes for Clarity on Brexit Payments</u> EUobserver (Tim Bale)



### **ANNEX 3. RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS OF CER MEMBERS**

R. Saunders (2018) 'Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

T. Bale (forthcoming) 'Who leads and who follows? The symbiotic relationship between UKIP and the Conservatives – and populism and Euroscepticism', Politics.

T. Bale (2018) **'Change - and scepticism - as a constant: Anthony King on parties and party systems'**, Political Quarterly, 89 (1), pp. 38-46.

A. Szczerbiak and T. Bale (2017) 'Explaining the absence of Christian Democracy in contemporary Poland', in Piotr H. Kosicki and Sławomir Łukasiewicz (eds.) Christian Democracy Across the Iron Curtain: Europe Redefined (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

T. Bale, M. Poletti P. Webb (2017) **'The same but different: Lib Dem members in 1999 and 2015',** Journal of Liberal History, 96 (Autumn), pp. 38-46.

T. Bale, M. Poletti P. Webb (2017) 'All mouth and no trousers? How many Conservative Party Members voted for UKIP in 2015 - and why did they do so?', Politics, 37 (4), pp. 432–444.

E.H. Allern and T. Bale (2017) Left-of-Centre Parties and Trade Unions in the Twenty-First Century (Oxford University Press).

T. Bale (2017) European Politics: A Comparative Introduction (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).



T. Bale (2015) Five Year Mission: The Labour Party under Ed Miliband (Oxford: OUP).

T. Bale and P. Webb (2014) 'Why Do Tories Defect to UKIP? Conservative Party Members and the Temptations of the **Populist Radical Right**', Political Studies 62 (4), pp. 961–970.

T. Bale and R. Partos (2014) 'Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study - The Conservative Party, immigration and asylum, 1960-2010', Comparative European Politics, 12, pp.603-619.

T. Bale and O. Gruber (2014) 'And it's good night Vienna. How (not) to deal with the populist radical right: The Conservatives, UKIP and some lessons from the heartland', British Politics, 9, pp. 237-254.

T. Bale (2012) The Conservatives since 1945: the Drivers of Party Change (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

'P. Copeland and M. Daly (2018) **'EU Social Policy and the European Semester',** Journal of Common Market Studies (forthcoming).

P. Copeland and N. Copsey (2017) 'Rethinking Britain and the European Union: Politicians, the Media and Public Opinion Reconsidered', Journal of Common Market Studies 55 (4): 709-726.

P. Copeland (2016) 'Europeanization and De-Europeanization in UK Employment Policy: Changing Governments and Shifting Agendas', Public Administration 94 (4): 1124-1139.

P. Copeland (2015) 'The European Union and the Social Deficit', Representation 51 (1): 93-106.

P. Copeland and S. James (2014) 'Policy Windows, Ambiguity and Commission Entrepreneurship: Explaining the Re-Launch of the European Union's Economic Reform Agenda', Journal of European Public Policy 21 (1): 1-19.

P. Copeland and M. Daly (2012) 'Varieties of Poverty Reduction: Inserting the Poverty and Social Exclusion Target into Europe 2020', Journal of European Social Policy 22 (3): 273-287.

A. Fagan (2018) 'Fostering Institutionalisation? The Impact of the EU Accession Process on State-civil Society Relations in Serbia', Acta Politica

A. Fagan and Sircar, I. 'Activist Citizenship in Southeast Europe', Europe-Asia Studies 69 (9): 1337-45.



A. Fagan and Sircar, I. Europeanization of the Western Balkans Environmental Governance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

A. Fagan and Börzel, T. 'Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans: Reassessing the Transformative Power of Europe', Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 33 (5): 885-900.

A. Fagan, Sircar, I., Dimitrova, A. and Kortenska, E. 'Unintended Consequences of EU Conditionality on (Potential) Candidates', MAXCAP Working Paper Series 14.

A. Fagan 'Democracy promotion in Kosovo: mapping the substance of donor assistance and a comparative analysis of strategies', Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 28 (1): 115-35.

A. Fagan 'Europe's Balkan Dilemma: Paths to State building or Civil Society?' (London: I.B. Tauris).

S. van Kessel (2018) 'Populist Eurosceptic Trajectories in Italy and the Netherlands during European Crises', Politics

S. Van Hauwaert and S. van Kessel (2018) 'Beyond protest and discontent. A cross-national analysis of the effect of populist attitudes and issue positions on populist party support', European Journal of Political Research, 57 (1), 68-92. A. Pirro and S. van Kessel (2017) 'United in opposition? The populist radical right's EU-pessimism in times of crisis', Journal of European Integration, 39 (4), 405-420.

S. van Kessel (2015) **Populist Parties in Europe: Agents of Discontent?,** (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, published in paperback: February 2017).

S. van Kessel (2014) 'The populist cat-dog. Applying the concept of populism to contemporary European party systems', Journal of Political Ideologies, 19 (1), 99–118.

S. van Kessel (2013) 'A matter of supply and demand: the electoral performance of populist parties in three European countries', Government and Opposition, 48 (2), 175-199.

T. Bale, S. van Kessel and P. Taggart (2011) 'Thrown around with abandon? Popular understandings of populism as conveyed by the print media: a UK case study', Acta Politica, 46 (2), 111-131.



Ladi, S. and Tsarouhas, D. (2017), **"The International Diffusion of Regulatory Governance: EU Actorness in Public Procurement"** Regulation and Governance, 11: 388–403. doi:10.1111/rego.12163

Ladi, S., and Tsarouhas, D. (2014) **"The Politics of Austerity and Public Policy Reform in the EU"**, Political Studies Review, 12. 2: 171-80. (available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1478-9302.12048/full)

Ladi S. (2014), **"Austerity Politics and Administrative Reform: The Eurozone Crisis and its Impact upon Greek Public Administration"** Comparative European Politics, 12.2: 184-208. (available at <u>http://www.palgrave-journals.com/cep/journal/vaop/ncurrent/abs/cep201246a.html</u>).

Tsarouhas, D. and Ladi, S. (2013), "Globalization and/or Europeanization? The Case of Flexicurity", New Political Economy, 18. 4: 480-502 (available at <u>http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2012.717612</u>).

Ladi, S. (2011), **"Policy Change and Soft Europeanization: The Transfer of the Ombudsman Institution to Greece, Cyprus and Malta"**, Public Administration, 89. 4: 1643-1663.

Leoditsis, V. and Ladi, S. (2017), "**The Changing Nature of Europeanization**", in E. Ongaro and S. Van Thiel (eds.), Public Administration and Public Management in Europe, Basingstoke: Palgrave: 765-781.

Mendez, M. **'The Promise and Perils of Direct Democracy for the European Union'**, Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies 19: 48-85.

Mendez, M. 'Referendums on EU Matters' (European Parliament).

Mendez, M. 'Opinion 1/15: The Court of Justice Meets PNR Data (Again!)', European Papers 2(3): 803-18.

Mendez, M. 'Referendums and the European Union: A Comparative Inquiry' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

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