



European Democracy

Pepper Culpepper and Alexander H. Trechsel

First Term 2010, Tuesday, 15:15-17:00 (Seminar room 3, Badia)

Registration: Amy Chamberlain (amy.chamberlain@eui.eu)

Something is rotten in the state of European democracy. Or so at least many scholars and pundits would claim. This seminar investigates the state of the art in social scientific research on the challenges confronting democratic practice in the European Union and in its member-states. The seminar is organized according to the idea that social science identifies real-world problems, critically examines the diagnoses of such problems, and takes account of changing features of the world that exacerbate or ameliorate the existing problem.

Expectations: The seminar depends on everyone having closely read the texts for each session; it depends for its intellectual vitality on the active engagement of all participants. To facilitate researcher involvement, we will (after the first class session) ask students to present and defend an intellectual position taken in the readings during one session. We reserve the right also to “cold-call” throughout the term: that is, to stimulate student involvement by asking seminar participants to share their opinions on a point under discussion at any given time, without advance warning.

I. *The Problem*

Session 1, October 5 2010

Governance and EU Democracy: Whence Comes EU Legitimacy?

- Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe: Democratic and Effective?*, pp. 1-83, 156-204.
- Vivien Schmidt, “Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output, and ‘Throughput,’” Working Paper, Free University Berlin, 2010.

Session 2, October 12 2010

The Democratic Deficit

- Marquand, David, 1979. *Parliament for Europe*. London: Jonathan Cape, pp. 45-66.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., 2000. *How to Democratize the European Union...And Why Bother?*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1-22; pp. 115-33.
- Zweifel, Thomas D., 2002. “...Who is without sin cast the first stone: the EU's democratic deficit in comparison”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(5); pp. 812-840.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 2002. “In Defence of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union”, *JCMS*, 40(4): pp. 603-24.
- *Suggested Reading:* Debate between Yves Mény and Andrew Moravcsik in *EUI Review*



Session 3, October 22 2010 [this week meeting on Friday 15:15-17:00, not Tuesday]

(National) Politics and EU Democracy

- Vivien Schmidt, "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration," *Perspectives on Politics* 3(4), 761-779, December 2005.
- Martin Höpner and Armin Schäffer, "A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in a Post-Ricardian Europe." *West European Politics*, forthcoming 2010[?].
- Peter Hall and Robert Franzese, "Mixed Signals: Central Bank Independence, Coordinated Wage Bargaining, and European Monetary Union," *International Organization* 52: 505-535, 1998.

Session 4, October 26 2010

(Transnational) Politics and EU Democracy

- Notre Europe, 2006. "Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU? Two Papers by Simon Hix and Stefano Bartolini."
- Schmidt, Vivien A., 2010. "The European Union in search of political identity and legitimacy: Is more Politics the Answer?" Vienna: eif Working Paper 05/2010.
- Peter Mair and Jacques Thomassen, "Political Representation and Government in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:1 2010, 20-35.

II. The Usual Suspects

Session 5, November 2 2010

Political parties, party systems and EU Democracy

- Mair, Peter, 2001. "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems", pp. 27-51 in Simon Hix and Klaus Goetz (eds.), *Europeanised Politics? European Integration and National Political Systems*, London: Frank Cass.
- Hix, Simon and Kreppel, Amie and Noury, Abdul, 2003. "The party system in the European parliament: collusive or competitive?", *JCMS* 41 (2). pp. 309-331.
- Raunio, Tapio, 2005. "Towards An EU Dominated by the Centre-right? The European Parliament after the 2004 Elections", *Representation* 41:4, pp. 247-258.
- Jansen, Thomas, 2006. "The Emergence of a Transnational European Party System", *European View*, vol. 3, pp. 45-56.
- Ladrech, Robert, 2006. "The Promise and Reality of Euro-Parties", *European View*, vol. 3, pp. 73-80.
- EUDO Report on a European Party System 2010



Session 6, November 16 2010

Voters and EU Democracy

- Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt, 1980. „Nine second-order national elections – a conceptual framework for the analysis of european election results”, EJPR 8, 3-44.
- van der Eijk, Cees and Mark Franklin (2004): “Potential for contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe,” In: Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen (eds.): *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 33-50.
- Marsh, Michael, 1998. “Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections”, *British Journal of Political Science* 28:4, pp. 591-607.
- van der Brug, Wouter and Cees van der Eijk (eds.), 2007. *European Elections & Domestic Politics. Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Hix, Simon and Michael Marsh (2007) 'Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections', *Journal of Politics* 69(2), 495-510.

Session 7, November 23 2010

Is the United States a Democratic Model for the EU?

- Fabbrini, Sergio, 2010. “Revisiting Altiero Spinelli: Why to Look at the European Union through the American Experience” in Glencross, Andrew and Alexander H. Trechsel (eds.) *European Union Federalism and Constitutionalism – The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*, Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Bartolini, Stefano, 2010. “Taking ‘Constitutionalism’ and ‘Legitimacy’ Seriously” in Glencross, Andrew and Alexander H. Trechsel (eds.) *European Union Federalism and Constitutionalism – The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*, Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Nicolas Jabko, “The Politics of Central Banking in the United States and in the European Union,” in Anand Menon and Martin Schain, eds., *Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States in Comparative Perspective*, OUP, 2006, 275-292.

III. Crisis and Avenues of Institutional Innovation

Session 8, November 30 2010

Referendums and EU Democracy

- Binzer Hobolt, Sara. 2006. “Direct Democracy and European Integration.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(1):153-66.
- Garry, John, Michael Marsh and Richard Sinnott. 2005. “‘Second-order’ versus ‘Issue-voting’ Effects in EU Referendums: Evidence from the Irish Nice Treaty Referendums.” *European Union Politics* 6(2):201-21.
- Binzer Hobolt, Sara and Sylvain Brouard, 2010. “Why the Dutch and the French rejected the European Constitution”, paper presented at the 2007 ECPR General Conference, Pisa, *Political Research Quarterly* (forthcoming).



- Glencross, Andrew and Alexander H. Trechsel, 2010. "First or Second Order Referendums? Understanding the Votes on the EU Constitutional Treaty in Four EU Member States", *West European Politics*, forthcoming.
- Trechsel, Alexander H., 2010. Reflexive Accountability and Direct Democracy, *West European Politics* 33(5), 1050-1064.

Session 9, December 7 2010

Democratic Innovations and EU Democracy

- Papadopoulos, Yannis, 2005. "Implementing (and radicalising) art. 47.4 of the Constitution: is the addition of some (semi-) direct democracy to the nascent consociational European federation just Swiss folklore?", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:3: 448-467.
- Trechsel, Alexander H, De Witte, Bruno et al. 2010. *Legislating after Lisbon*, EUDO Report.
- Bertelsmann Report on the ECI
- Culpepper, Pepper D, Fagotto, Elena, Fung, Archon and Taeku Lee, 2008. "Can Deliberative Democracy Reduce the EU's Democratic Deficit?" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Mass.
- Boussaguet, Laurie and Renaud Dehousse, "Too Big to Fly ? A review of the first EU citizens' conferences." *Science and Public Policy*, December 2009.

Session 10, December 14 2010

The economic crisis and EU Democracy

- Bohle, Dorothee, 2010. "The Crisis of the Eurozone". EUDO Working Paper, forthcoming
- Schmidt, Vivien, 2010. "EU Economic Solidarity: A Great Leap Forward or a Bridge too Far?", *Neue Gesellschaft-Frankfurter Hefte* (7:8).