

**ERASMUS Academic Network** on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe

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# PADEMIA Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary <u>Democracy in Europe</u>

First Annual Report

October 2013 - October 2014





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#### **ABOUT PADEMIA**

PADEMIA is a Europe-wide network of 56 academic institutions from 31 countries to promote research and teaching in reaction to growing European demands to study parliamentary democracy in Europe. PADEMIA seeks to enhance discussion among students, junior and senior researchers, also in exchange with stakeholders, on how to deal with the new challenges that parliaments and citizens across Europe are facing today.

In this annual report, PADEMIA partners give a summary of the research and teaching activity in the field of Parliamentary Democracy at their Institutions. The annual report maps best practices in research and teaching. Based on contributions by member institutions from all countries involved in the network, the annual report provides an overview of the state of the art in the field with broad geographical coverage. The partners answered three specific questions:

- 1) What is the subject's role in your teaching (semester courses, single lectures for the interested public, teaching materials etc.) in the reporting period?
- 2) What is the subject's role in your research in the reporting period?
- 3) Your personal assessment and all other aspects you consider important.

The annual report will be structured along these three questions.

We hope you enjoy reading the annual report. For questions and remarks, please contact <u>alexander.hoppe@uni-koeln.de</u>.





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# **Section I: Teaching on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe**

#### **University of Cologne**

Parliamentary Democracy has held a prominent place in the teaching of the Jean-Monnet Chair in Cologne lately, also in light of participation in projects such as OPAL (Observatory of Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty) and PADEMIA. Firstly, the topic featured in the Bachelorand Master Lectures of Prof. Wolfang Wessels, which touched upon parliamentary democracy in dealing with the EU institutional infrastructure in general. More specifically the Chair offered different seminars at the BA- and MA. Level:

Bachelor level:

Hefftler, Claudia and Höing, Oliver:

"The political system of the EU: Governance and Institutions.The democratic deficit of the EU – What role for national parliaments?"

The course assessed basic assumptions of democratic theory to understand the demand for a stronger role of national parliaments in the EU political system. Potential challenges of influence, as the new legal powers conferred to national parliaments in the Lisbon Treaty, formed on centre of the course programme.

A german course with similar contents was taught by Claudia Hefftler under the title "Nationale Parlamente in der EU: Retter der Demokratie in Europa?"

Master level:

Rozenberg, Olivier (visiting Professor and PADEMIA Partner from Sciences Po, Paris)

"National Parliaments in the European governance: investigating Montesquieu's myth"

Montesquieu's idea that any institutions want more power seems especially questionable regarding national parliaments role in the European Union. Indeed, by repeatedly ratifying European treaties, national legislatures have agreed on transferring a large part of their prerogatives to national governments and EU institutions. Yet, some specific parliamentary activities aimed at controlling European affairs have been developed in some member states. The aim of this class was to assess this ongoing movement of "re-parliamentarisation" at the national level. What are national legislatures actually doing in EU affairs? Why are some active and others less so? What are the consequences of their activities? The class addressed those issues on the basis of both recent and comparative empirical material and the increasing political science literature on this issue.





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#### Gattermann, Katjana:

"Research Project: The Political System of the EU - Public opinion, electoral behaviour and the media in the European Union: Patterns, drivers and effects"

The aim of this course was to understand the formation of public opinion and patterns of electoral behaviour in EU democracy. The course looked both at past European elections and referenda as well as changes in public opinion at times of economic and fiscal crises. It took a cross-national and inter-temporal comparative perspective and focussed on quantitative methods of analysis. The theoretical contexts of European elections, referenda and public opinion formation complemented each class.

#### **University of Salzburg**

As every year, the European Union played an important role in the teaching of the Department of Political Science also during the reporting period. This not least, because the department – in addition to offering the full range of academic training from B.A. to Ph.D. on 'general' political science – also plays an important role in two inter-disciplinary 'European Studies' programmes (M.A. and Ph.D. level), which are based at the University's Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies (SCEUS).

During the reporting period, the department offered in total ten courses that exclusively dealt with the European Union. On the B.A. level, Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann held an introductory lecture on the European Union ('Politics of the European Union I'). Monika Mühlböck, Laura Baroni and Doris Wydra each offered a seminar that aimed at deepening students' knowledge on selected aspects of the lecture ('Politics of the European Union II'). Also on the M.A. level, one rather broad seminar was offered by Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann that aimed at making students familiar with the essential theories and scholarly literature on the European Union ('Essential readings on the European Union').

The remaining four classes (all seminars) each were focusing on a certain aspect of the European Union/EU integration. The first one was held by Franz Fallend and discussed the 'Europeanization of the Austrian Political System' (B.A. and M.A.). The second one, held by Peter Slominski, discussed different 'Forms and Mechanisms of Multi-level Governance in the EU' (B.A. and M.A.); the third one, held by Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann, discussed 'The Role of the European Parliament during the Financial Crisis' (M.A. only). Finally, there was a seminar coorganised by Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann, Michael Blauberger, Doris Wydra and Miriam Krög discussing 'The Institutions of the European Union' (B.A. and M.A).

With regard to the Ph.D. programme, the SCEUS continued its Fellowship Programme, where outstanding scholars in the field of EU studies are invited to spend time at the SCEUS as 'Lecturer in Residence' and to discuss Ph.D. students' work. The Lecturers in Residence within the reporting period were Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse.





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1.2: Courses focusing exclusively on parliamentary democracy and the role of parliamentary democracy in other courses

Within the reporting period, there was only one course focusing exclusively on parliamentary democracy - the seminar held by Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann on the role of the European Parliament during the euro crisis. In many other courses, however, often several classes were devoted to the topic from varying perspectives. Looking at courses dealing with the EU, this was the case for example in the introductory seminars on EU politics and of course also in the seminar on the EU's institutions mentioned above. But parliaments and Parliamentary Democracy also played an important role in non-EU related courses. Eric Miklin, for example, held a seminar on Austrian Politics (B.A.) in which five out of 4 classes were devoted in one way or another to Parliamentary Democracy (discussing (a) the overall standing of the Austrian parliament in the Austrian political system, (b) its role in EU affairs, (c) the link between Austrian citizens and EU decision-making via the European Parliament, (d) the role of parties in parliament, and (e) the Austrian electoral system and its effect on parliament/the political system at large). Another course, also held by Eric Miklin, discussed different Austrian political institutions from a comparative international perspective (B.A. and M.A.). Again, parliaments were the focus of two classes in this course (discussing (a) institutional change in national parliaments, and (b) differences between Parliamentary Democracy in the USA and in Europe).

#### 1.3: Single events dealing with Parliamentary Democracy

In the run-up to the latest elections to the European Parliament in May 2014, the department organised public viewings for two of the presidential debates that took place in the run-up to the latest elections to the European Parliament in May 2014. Both these events were open to the interested public but were specifically designed towards students of the university (beyond the political science department). The first event took place on 28th of April and was organised by Michael Blauberger and Eric Miklin. Public viewing at this event was followed by an open discussion amongst participants. The second event was organised by Jessica Fortin-Rittberger and Corinna Kröber. It took place on the 25th of May and was integrated into an EU-wide research project that examined the impact on TV debates on electoral choice. At this event, participants were asked to (anonymously) fill out a short questionnaire before and after the debate.

1.4: Any other means of teaching dealing with Parliamentary Democracy developed or used The seminar dealing with the EU's institutions was organised around a joint trip to the most important institutions on the EU level in Strasbourg, Luxembourg and Brussels. During this excursion of course also the European Parliament was visited and students had the possibility to discuss their questions with actors from within parliament.





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#### **IHS Vienna**

The IHS offers a thematically focused, three year taught program for doctoral students. The current program (2013 – 2016) is organised around the topic "The Politics of Representation in Europe'. During the first year, teaching focused mainly on research methods and research design as well as democratic theory.

#### **SWP Berlin**

Since September 2013, Prof. Dr. Andreas Maurer holds the Chair for Political Science and European Integration Studies at the University of Innsbruck. The Chair's team runs the "Innsbruck Center for European Research (www.icer.at)", which is an integral part of Innsbruck University's Research Center "Governance and Civil Society", and cooperates with the Research Centers "Föderalismus – Politik und Recht" and the Research Cluster "Alpiner Raum - Mensch und Umwelt". Prof. Maurer has been appointed by SWP as External Senior Research Fellow. Within Innsbruck's BA program, Prof. Maurer, the associated assistant Professors Dr. Annegret Eppler and Dr. Andreas Wimmel, and the associated lecturers taught the following courses: BA Winter Term 2013/14:

Andreas Maurer: Lecture: European Integration - Introduction / 2h / 85 p.

Doris Dialer: Seminar: The Political System of the EU - The Perspective of the

European Parliament / 2h / 22 p.

Doris Dialer: Seminar: European Integration and Media Analysis / 2h / 14 p.

Andreas Wimmel: Seminar: European Integration - Introduction: Politics and Governance

in the European Union / 2h / 12 p.

Andreas Wimmel: Seminar: The EU und its Citizens / 2h/13 p.

Anja Opitz: Seminar: European Integration: Foreign Policy Institutions, policy-

making, and challenges / 2h / 22 p.

Anja Opitz: European Integration: Security Policies / 2h / 15p.

with excursion to Berlin for seminars at SWP, the Federal Ministry for

Defense, the Foreign Office, the Federal Chancellery, the German Bundestag (Committees for Foreign Affairs, for European Affairs,

for Defense), and the Federal Academy for Security Studies

BA Summer Term 2014:

Andreas Maurer: Lecture: European Integration, Multilevel Demoicracy and Multilevel

Parliamentarism / 2h / 111p.

Andreas Maurer: Lecture: European Integration - Inter- and Intra-institutional dynamics /

2h / 87p.





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Andreas Wimmel: Seminar: European Integration: Politics and Governance in the EU / 2h

/ 11p.

Andreas Wimmel: Seminar: European Integration - Public Opinion and Political

Participation in the EU / 2h / 21p.

Annegret Eppler: Seminar: The Political System of the EU: Multilevel and multiactor

dynamics / 2h / 30 p.

Annegret Eppler: Seminar: National Parliaments in the EU System / 2h / 26p.

Erika Thurner: Seminar: Public Opinion and Political Participation in the EU: Roma in

European Countries / 2h / 11p.

Within the Master programme "European Policy and Society", Prof. Maurer, the associated assistant Professors Dr. Annegret Eppler and Dr. Andreas Wimmel, and the associated lecturers taught the following courses:

Master programme "European Policy and Society" - Winter term 2013/14

Module 1: Theories of European Integration (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h)

Learning Outcome: Understanding of the logic of theories and processes of European integration and interpretability of different scenarios of the European integration process.

Lecture	Theories of European Integration	VO / 2h	26p.
	Maurer Andreas	VO / ZII	
Seminar	Theories of European Integration	SE / 2h	25p.
	Maurer Andreas	SE / ZII	

Compulsory Module 2: Political System of the European Union (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h) **Learning Outcome:** Understanding of the logic of the European Union's political system.

Lecture	The political system of the European Union	VO / 2h	24p.
	Neisser Heinrich	VO / ZII	
Seminar	SE Political system of the European Union	CE / 2h	25p.
	Neisser Heinrich	SE / 2h	

Compulsory Module 3: Policy Fields and Structural Change in the EU (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h) **Learning Outcome:** Overview of the societal structural change and the different policy fields of the EU. Various mechanisms of discrimination (i.e. based on sexual orientation, religious convictions, ethnic or linguistic belonging) will also be covered in the context of structural change.

Lecture	Human Security and CFSP	VO / 2h	24p.
	Gebrewold Belachew		
Seminar	Policy Areas and Structure Change in the EU	SE / 2h	23p.
	Gebrewold Belachew	3E / ZII	





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Compulsory Module 10: Electoral Analysis and Electoral Behaviour in Europe (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h)

**Learning Outcome:** Knowledge of and familiarity with theoretical and empirical instruments of electoral research, enabling students to use models and techniques of empirical electoral research independently.

Lecture	Electoral Research Behaviour in Europe	and	Electoral	VO / 2h	24p.
	Wagner Markus				
Seminar	Electoral Research Behaviour in Europe	and	Electoral	SE / 2h	22p.
	Wagner Markus				

Compulsory Module 11: European States and the International System (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h) **Learning Outcome:** The module conveys theoretical and practice-oriented knowledge of the European states in a global context. Students are able to apply the knowledge in relevant professional fields

Lecture	The States of Europe and the International System	VO / 2h	23p.
	Fröhlich Stefan		
Seminar	The States of Europe and the International System	SE / 2h	23p.
	Fröhlich Stefan		

Master programme "European Policy and Society" - Summer term 2014

Compulsory Module 6: Parties and Lobbies in Europe (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h) **Learning Outcome:** Knowledge of the structures and functions of lobbies.

Lecture	Parties and Interest Groups in Europe	es and Interest Groups in Europe	24p.
	Karlhofer Ferdinand	VO / ZII	
Seminar	Parties and Interest Groups in Europe	SE / 2h	26p.
	Karlhofer Ferdinand	SE / 211	

Compulsory Module 7: EU External Relations and Security Policy (7.5 ECTS-Credits, 4 h)

**Learning Outcome:** The module conveys theoretical and practice-oriented knowledge of the EU foreign, security and defence policy.

Lecture	Lecture EU Foreign Security and Defence Policy Opitz Anja	VO / 2h	25p.
Seminar	Foreign Security and Defence Policy of the	SE / 2h	24p.
	Opitz Anja		





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Besides these courses, Prof. Maurer started to supervise four MA thesis on transalpine and transarctic governance and parliamentarism, two PhD theses on EU sanctions policies (including the parliamentary dimension) and EU employment policy development (including interparliamentary cooperation in the area of OMC) and one "Habilitation" on the European Parliament's media policies and strategies with regard to the Euroelections campaigns 1979-2014. Overall, the EU team led by Prof. Maurer (www.icer.at) supervised 34 BA theses on the functions, roles and profiles of the European Parliament (Dialer, Eppler, Wimmel), 8 BA theses on citizens behavior (Wimmel) and parliaments in EU affairs (Eppler, Wagner), and 7 BA theses on interparliamentary cooperation in EU affairs (Eppler).

- 1.3. Single events (lectures, roundtables) which dealt with Parliamentary Democracy. During the reporting period, Prof. Maurer and the Chair's team organized and held several public lectures, organized conferences and workshops on Parliamentary Democracy:
- 1. 11.6.2014: Workshop / Introduction, Statement and Discussion, Prof. Andreas Maurer, Richard Corbett, Danuta Hübner: After the EP elections, CEPS, Brussels
- 2. 3.6.2014: Public Lecture, Prof. Andreas Maurer: Nach der Europawahl: Wer mit wem und warum?, Grüne Akademie, Graz
- 3. 27.5.2014: Public Lecture (Antrittsvorlesung), Prof. Andreas Maurer: Macht und Verantwortung in Europa, Discussants: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Gabriele Abels, Universität Tübingen, em.Prof. Dr. Heinrich Neisser, Universität Innsbruck, Dr. Dietmar Nickel, Generaldirektor a.D. des Europäischen Parlaments
- 4. 22.5.2014: Workshop: Power and Accountability of the European Parliament: Lessons-learned and Conclusions for the Coming Parliamentary Term, with Prof. Andreas Maurer, Richard Corbett, and Sonia Piedrafita, SWP Brussels Office, Boulevard Saint-Michel 80, 1040 Brussels
- 5. 20.5.2014: Workshop (Fishbowl method): Gemeinsame europäische Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik 28 Länder, eine Stimme? NEOS Lab Europa Talk mit Andreas Maurer am 20.5. um 19.00 im Raum13, Maria-Theresien-Straße 57 in Innsbruck
- 6. 15.5.2014: Conference / Lecture, Andreas Maurer: "Les grands enjeux de l'intégration européenne aujourd'hui et les élections européennes", Université Saint-Louis / IEE Saint-Louis Bruxelles
- 7. 9.4.2014 : Conference / Lecture-Key Note, Prof. Andreas Maurer "The European Parliament's politisation-power dilemma", German Society for Parliamentary Affairs, Parlamentarische Gesellschaft im Deutschen Bundestag (Lecture to be published after review in: "Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen"
- 8. 4.4.2014: Workshop, ICER, Prof. Andreas Maurer, Doris Dialer, Prof. Anton Pelinka: Communicating Europe EU-Wahlen 2014: Berichterstattung & Bürgerpartizipation, Innsbruck, Neues Rathaus, Plenarsaal des Stadtrats





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- 9. 14.-16.2.2014: International Conference (ICER, Politische Akademie Tutzing, Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration e.V.): Das Europäische Parlament Funktionswandel und Aufgabenprofile 2014-19. See report and program at: http://www.apbtutzing.de/news/2014/zukunft-europaeisches-parlament.php
- 10. 17.2.2014: Workshop / Lecture, Prof. Andreas Maurer, Media Seminar (for Austrian Journalists) on the European Parliament and the EP elections, Representation of the European Commission, Vienna
- 11. 11.11.2013: Workshop / Keynote, Prof. Andreas Maurer, Seminar for EU-Correspondents and EU Desk Officers of the German Federation of Industry, the German Employers Organisation and the German Trade Federation: Subsidiarity and Anti-EU-Populism in Europe, Berlin.

#### Université Catholique de Louvain

Prof. Tom Delreux is teaching five courses on the EU. These five courses are taught at master level and are followed by the UCLouvain's students in European studies (obligatory courses), political science, international relations and public administration (some of these courses are obligatory, others are optional):

- •Fondements politiques de l'intégration européenne: the aim of this course is to familiarize students with the functioning of the EU and to analyze its nature as a political system (including the parliamentary dimension);
- •Political Theories and Regimes of the European Union: this course introduces the main theories of European integration. After having discussed the main schools of thought on European integration, the course also discusses the current normative debates on the democratic character of the EU;
- •Europeanisation of national political systems and European policies of the member states (taught together with Prof. Denis Duez): this course deals with the consequences of the EU for national political systems. It consists of two parts: a conceptual discussion of the Europeanization phenomenon and an application of these concepts to the Belgian case (where, among others, also the role of the Belgian national parliaments in EU politics is discussed);
- •External action of the European Union: this course offers the tools for understanding the significance of the EU as an actor in international affairs and to explore the EU's external action in multiple policy areas. It also pays attention to the role of the European Parliament in this area and to legitimacy questions; and
- Foreign Policy of the European Union: cf. 'External action of the European Union' above.

In the second year of the bachelor degree in political science, students follow the course 'Collecte et analyse des données qualitatives', which is a methodology course that aims to familiarize students with qualitative data collection methods (i.e. mainly interviews and non-participatory observation). As far as the teaching of the observation method is concerned, all students (around 100) must attend and observe a plenary session of the Belgian House of Representatives. Based





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on their observation, students are asked to map the different roles played by parliamentarians during the plenary session and to refer to the appropriate academic literature . In the same year, course 'Système politique et administratif de la Belgique' (taught by Prof. Benoît Rihoux, Prof. Christian de Visscher and Prof. Lieven de Winter) includes a section on the Belgian parliament. In the third year of the bachelor degree in political science, students have a research seminar ('Séminaire pratique de recherche en sciences politiques') where they must choose between six different workshops. One of the workshops, taught by François Randour, deals exclusively with parliamentary democracy in Europe. The objective of the workshop is to conduct a study and to write a paper on the adaptation of national parliaments to European integration in a comparative perspective.

At master level, Prof. Lieven De Winter's course 'Advanced Comparative Politics: party systems, parliaments and governments' includes a section on the comparative study of parliaments.

On 7 November 2013, the Institut de sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE) organized a research seminar where Prof. Philippe Poirier (Université de Luxembourg) was invited to present a paper on 'Gouvernance économique européenne: une nouvelle dé-parlementarisation du processus décisionnel?'.

On 15-16 May 2014, the Institut de sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE) and the Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée (RIPC) organized a two-day conference on 'Où en est la politique comparée... 20 ans plus tard?' in Louvain-la-Neuve. On the five workshops, 'The decline of parliaments – revisited', focused specifically on parliamentary democracy in Europe. The workshop was attended by paper presenters from various universities (UCLouvain, KULeuven, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, University of Ottawa, and Harvard University) and the papers were discussed by Prof. Olivier Rozenberg (Science Po Paris).

#### Leuven Center for Global Governance Studies

GGS director Professor dr. Jan Wouters offered a course on 'The Law of International Organisations' in the Master of Laws and the Master of European Studies at KU LEUVEN.

GGS director Professor dr. Jan Wouters offered a course on 'Humanitarian and Security Law from a European Perspective' in the Master of Laws at KU LEUVEN.

GGS member Professor dr. Geert De Baere offered a course 'EU external relations law' in the Master of Laws and the Master of European Studies at KU LEUVEN.

GGS member Professor dr. Stephan Keukeleire offered a course 'EU Foreign Policy' in the Master of European Studies.

GGS member Dr. Kolja Raube offered a course 'EU external policies: decision-making, implementation and global perception' in the Master of European Studies at KU LEUVEN. In that context, also the role of the European Parliament in EU external action was systematically introduced.





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GGS is not yet exclusively focusing on one specific course of Pademia's topic, but plan a lecture series in the Spring 2015 on 'The Role of Parliaments in EU and Global Governance' in the context of the Jean Monnet network which GGS.

Professor dr. Jan Wouters gave a presentation on the panel 'Europe's Parliaments in multinational organisations and international fora: From back seat to front row?' in the European Parliament ('Parliamenttary Forum organized by Vice Presidents of the EP, Miguel Angel Martínez and Othmar Karas) in Brussels on 18 February 2014.

Professor dr. Jan Wouters gave a presentation on 'New trends in inter-parliamentary cooperation. Is there a "Conference model"?' at the international conference "Parliaments in the EU: their reaction to the Eurozone crisis and new trends in inter-parliamentary cooperation" at LUISS Guido Carli – School of Government (Rome) on 29 April 2014.

Dr. Kolja Raube gave a presentation on 'Democratic accountability and EU governance: the EEAS and the role of the European Parliament ' at LSE' s conference European 'Diplomacy post-Westphalia and the European' on 19 and 20 November 2013.Partner

#### **New Bulgarian University**

The topic of European integration and European governance is one of the main focuses in the teaching programs of the Department of Political Science, NBU. The department offers one specialization on bachelor level in European integration (third and fourth studies years) and one master program in European governance (two years period). Additionally, many of the courses in the first and second studies years are focused on delivering basic knowledge in the field of political science and European integration and governance.

During the reporting period, the department offered a broad range of courses on the topics of European integration, European governance and parliamentary democracy. For the first two years of the program in political sciences: prof. D. Kanev offered the course (in Bulgarian) "Democracy: basic models and practices" which was attended by 36 students and focused on delivering knowledge about the basic concepts of democracy and the varieties of the contemporary representative parliamentary democracy in the world; Prof. Krasteva offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Cyber society and internet democracy which was attended by 23 students and focused on the role of the internet and the social nets as a new form of civil mobilization; As. P. Guergieva, PhD. offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Political regimes, which was attended by 30 students and focused on the main characteristics of the democratic and authoritarian regimes.

For the third and fourth years of the program in political sciences: Prof. D. Kanev and As. K. Hristova, PhD. offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Political system of the EU which was attended by 35 students and focused on the political system of the EU and the specific constellation and role of the parties and interest groups in the political process in the EU; Prof. D. Kanev offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Political process in Bulgaria after 1989, which was attended by 91





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students and focused on the process of transition to democracy in Bulgaria and the way of development and consolidation of the Bulgarian parliamentary democracy; As. K. Hristova PhD offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Institutions and decision making in the EU which was attended by 31 students and focused on the institutional interplay and cooperation during the formulation and making of political decisions in the EU; As. K. Hristova, PhD offered a course (in Bulgarian) on the Comparative European governance which was attended by 11 students; As. P. Guergieva, PhD offered a course on Political parties in The EU , which was attended by 10 students and focused on the main values and characteristics of the parties and parties families, presented in the European parliament and in the EU-member countries; As. Z. Minkov, PhD, offered a course (in German) an Political systems of the German speaking countries , which was attended by 5 students and focused on the specific characteristic of the parliamentary institutions in the German speaking countries.

For the different master programs:

As. P. Guergieva, PhD offered a course (in French) on Parties and cleavages (Partis et clivages) which was attended by 8 students and focused on the main values and cleavages around which are consolidated formed the leading European parties and parties families; As. P. Guergieva, PhD offered a course (in French) an Transition to democracy (Transitions democratiques).

#### **Charles University Prague**

The Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University offered a wide range of EU-related courses both in Bachelor and Master programmes. The Bachelor degree courses presented an introduction into EU institutions and policies and some dealt more closely with current issues of European Integration. The Master level courses were offered especially in the Study Programmes International Relations and West European Studies and European Studies and covered in more detail different aspects of EU institutions and decision-making, EU law, European policies and economic integration, European security, EU public space and interest representation and theories of European integration.

While there was no specific course devoted to the issue of national parliaments, the issue was covered in the course EU Institutions, Czech Republic in the EU – actors and interests and Democracy Promotion: history, theories, practice.

#### **IRMO Zagreb**

1.1: Being a public research institute, IRMO does not offer own educational programs, but researchers regularly take part in the postgraduate programs offered by other university institutions. The range of courses covers the following: The economic and institutional aspects of the EU enlargement; The EU regional policy and project management; Management of urban development; Multilevel governance and regional development; International politics; Economy of the EU public sector, Economy of culture and other. The courses are mostly offered as a part of postgraduate education programs at the universities of Zagreb, Osijek and Dubrovnik.





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1.2: IRMO does not offer a course focused exclusively on the subject of Parliamentary Democracy but some aspects are incorporated in the existing courses.

1.3: On the 3 April 2014 the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) in cooperation with the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia organized a policy maker's debate held in Zagreb in the Office of the President. The event was organized as an activity within project New Pact for Europe amid to promote a European-wide debate on reform proposals to develop an effective response to the multi-dimensional crisis faced by the EU and its member states. Among other topics, participants of this debate reflected upon the topic of parliamentary democracy mostly through addressing the issue of the EU's democratic deficit. This issue is becoming increasingly important due to growing complexities of the formal decision making, the rising importance of informal decision making, problems with respecting the subsidiarity principle and inadequate transparency of the trialogues procedures. Participants stressed that the EU needs to strengthen democratic legitimacy of its decision making processes, particularly in the area of economic governance.

#### **University of Southern Denmark**

THE PARLIAMENTARIZATION OF EU POLITICS: WHAT IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE? (MA-level – full semester)

Introduction to EU –studies (BA-level - 6 weeks course)

European Public Policy (MA-level – full semester)

Course a (The parliamentarization of EU politics) focused exclusively on our topic of parliamentary democracy in Europe with an emphasis on the European Parliament.

In March 2014 our Euro-politics network for EU researchers at the department held a small event with the title: 'The role and politics of trialogs under the ordinary legislative procedure' where Danish MEP Christel Schaldemose presented her views followed by discussion.

#### **University of Copenhagen**

Constitutional Features of European State Politics /v Nikolay Rumenov Vasev; European Union Decision Making/v Nikolay Rumenov Vasev; Eastern Europeanization/v Ayca Uygur; Myth and Symbols of European Integration/v Ian Manners; Theorizing European Integration /v Ben Rosamnond; 'The European Union as an International Actor (Jean Monnet Lectures)' /v Henrik Larsen.

Together with Yoseh Bhatt, Mads Dagnis Jensen has edited a special issue of the Danish journal Økonomi & Politik dealing the European Parliament after Lisbon. To advertise for the journal Yosef Bhatti and Mads Dagnis Jensen created a public hearing in which many citizens and journalist participated. The debate centered on the perceived increased Euroscepticism and the power battle over the appointment of the president of the Commission.





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As stated above Yosef Bhatti and Mads Dagnis Jensen have edited a special issue of Økonomi & Politik entitled "The European parliament after Lisbon". During the election to the European Parliament Mads Dagnis Jensen functioned as an expert informing students and journalists about the topic.

#### **University of Tartu**

In the spring semester of the academic year (2013/14) Dr. Stefano Braghiroli offered an undergraduate course on "European Union" (6 ECTS) which was attended by 80 students and focused on the political, institutional, and historical dimensions of the EU and of European integration. Dr. Stefano Braghiroli also offered a master course on "EU policy making" (6 ECTS) which was attended by 40 students and focused on main principles of EU policy-making process and rules and practices governing the decision-making within and among the relevant institutions and bodies. In fall semester 2013, Dr Piret Ehin taught an MA-level course on "Theories of European integration" (6 ECTS) which was completed by 26 students.

The UT did not offer any courses focusing specifically on parliamentary democracy in the EU. However, the European parliament and EP elections have been covered in the courses mentioned above. Within the framework of the course on "European Union", in particular, four classes focused on EU's democratic deficit, the voting dynamics in the EP, and populism and opposition to the process of European integration. Within the framework of the course on "EU policy making", in particular, two lectures focused on the democratic functioning of the European Parliament and its interaction with the other EU and national institutions.

On October 1, 2013, Martin Schultz, the President of the European Parliament, visited the University of Tartu and delivered a presentation on youth unemployment in Europe. The lecture was attended by about 100 students and faculty members.

On April 15, Dr. Braghiroli participated as a guest speaker to the event "How to make MEPs talk to citizens" organized by the Open Estonia Foundation on civic participation in political life and the European elections: <a href="http://joieu.net/2014/04/15/warming-up-for-the-civic-participation-in-political-life-european-elections-debate/">http://joieu.net/2014/04/15/warming-up-for-the-civic-participation-in-political-life-european-elections-debate/</a>. He gave a talk entitled "Re-connecting citizens and EU institutions".

Moreover, Dr. Braghiroli contributed to the e-programme "Perspectives on the Euro(pean) crisis" co-funded by the European Union and organized by the Sharing Perspective Foundation with a lecture on "The EP's multi-dimensional perspective on the European cris(e)s" <a href="http://www.sharingperspectivesfoundation.com/week-8-institutional-perspectives-on-the-economic-crisis/">http://www.sharingperspectivesfoundation.com/week-8-institutional-perspectives-on-the-economic-crisis/</a>.

Within the framework of the courses "European Union" and "EU policy making" Dr. Braghiroli organized two simulations of the decision-making process of the Council of the EU in which more than 100 students have been involved.





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#### **University of Tampere**

The Degree Programme in Politics at the School of Management of the University Tampere offers annually a broad selection of courses (mainly in English) on various aspects of European / EU politics. In the academic year 2013-2014 these courses covered topics such as EU-Russian relations, enlargement of the EU, interaction between national and EU levels of decision-making, and integration theories. Professor Tapio Raunio taught a course on The Politics of Euroscepticism which was attended by approximately 30 students.

There were no courses that focused solely on parliamentary democracy in Europe. However, several of the courses – for example, courses on Scandinavian politics, the interaction between national and European levels of decision-making, Finnish elite structures, Euroscepticism, and on political participation – examined also the challenges facing European parliaments.

The Degree Programme in Politics organized on 28 April a roundtable on"Towards European.

Professor Raunio co-edited with Professor Matti Wiberg a volume on the Finnish parliament (*Eduskunta: Kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 2014) that deals also with how national parliaments engage in European integration. The volume is used as course reading in many Finnish universities.

#### **Sciences Po Paris**

Olivier Rozenberg delivered two courses on the sociology of EU actors at Sciences Po. This approach offers an empirical perspective on the well-established debate about the quality of democracy in Europe.

Many conferences were organized at Sciences Po and by the Centre d'études européennes in the perspective of the European elections of May 2014. Among them, we can list:

April 4, 2014 : "Quelle Europe voulons-nous?", co-organized by the CERI Sciences Po, Europa Nova and New Pact for Europe, with Maria Joao Rodrigues, former Minister

April, 9, 2014 : Conference on « Austérité, croissance et populisme. Les enjeux des élections européennes », by Enrico Letta

April, 24, 2014 : Conference CEE, CNRS, Notre Europe Institut Jacques Delors, Jean Jaurès Fondation : « Les pays de l'Union européenne dans la mondialisation », with Pascal Lamy and Hubert Védrine.

Conferences on « L'Union européenne de l'après crise », co-organized with Notre Europe-Institut Jacques Delors, Terra Nova and the Centre d'études européennes de Sciences Po :

April, 29, 2014 : "La crise financière : Quelles leçons et quelles réponses ? »

May, 13, 2014 : « La crise économique et sociale : Quels remèdes ? »

May, 20, 2014 : «La crise démocratique : quelles solutions ?»





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#### **Sciences Po Bordeaux**

Prof. Olivier Costa is in charge of one course in Sciences Po Bordeaux: « *The European Union policy-making* ». The course is attended by around 70 Master 2 students.

Prof. David Szymczak offers a wide range of courses on EU law:

- Institutions européennes (L3),
- Droits et libertés fondamentales en Europe (L3),
- Droit institutionnel de l'Union européenne (M1),
- Droit matériel de l'union européenne (M1),
- Droit de l'union européenne (CEPAG),
- Questions européennes (M2 OEA),
- Finances publiques européennes (M2 CE, APRI),

Hugo Canihac (Phd-Student in Sciences Po Bordeaux) offered an introductive course about the EU for Master 2 students and set up a media watch with the students to prepare the annual conference "Eurotemis" organized by Prof. Olivier Costa (28-29 November 2013: "L'Europe à la carte?" in Sciences Po Bordeaux.).

Hugo Canihac also gave a lecture in Fukuoka, Japan (September 2014) about the evolution of the human rights in the EU during the "EU Studies Residential Summer Course".

#### **Events:**

- Sciences Po Bordeaux (Prof. Olivier Costa) co-organized with the University of Hull, the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (IALS), the School of Government LUISS Guido Carli, a Winter School in Rome: "The Parliaments of Europe in Democracy Promotion and Constitutional Transition" (7-17 January 2014). Olivier Costa gave a lecture during this Winter School about "The European Parliament and the promotion of inter-regional dialogue".
- A seminar about "Representation" took place in the political science department, under the direction of Sylvain Brouard. Stefano Braghiroli (University of Tartu) was invited to present his research (24/03/2014): "Democratic Politics and Voting Dynamics in the EP: Looking at the Link between Represented and Representatives on the Eve of the 2014 EP Election".
- During the  $7^{th}$  ECPR General Conference in Sciences Po Bordeaux (September 2013), several members of Sciences Po Bordeaux organized a section or panel, or presented a paper about Parliaments in general.
  - Olivier Costa chaired the section 15 "Europe between Integration and Desintegration: A Return of the Federal Model" and the panel "Federalism as an Institutional Order and Public Policy Regime". He was also co-chairing the panel "MPs' District Work Style".
  - Eric Kerrouche chaired the section 41 "Political Representation: The Perspective of the Represented and the Representatives" and presented the paper "The Professionalization of MP's mandate".





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- Corentin Poyet (Phd-Student) presented a paper "Constituency Work and Constituency Representation in the Service of Political Ambition" in the Panel "MPs' District Work Style".
- Tinette Schnatterer (Phd-Student) presented a paper: "French MPs in the Constituency. Towards the Identification of Representation Styles" in the Panel "MPs' District Work Style".

Laure Squarcioni (Phd-Student) presented a paper "How to Become an MP? Candidate Nomination between Democratic Imperatives and Efficiency in France", Panel "Democratising Political Recruitment".

#### Sciences Po Grenoble

Classes at Sciences Po Grenoble concentrated on undergraduate and graduate level. On undergraduate level, Sciences Po Grenoble offers: A 36 hours class on EU politics and Law (Prof Terpan), a 24h class on Comparative politics (Prof. Bouillaud), an 18h class on Interest groups in the EU (Prof Saurugger). Each of these modules deals with parliamentary democracy: i.e. the class on interest Prof Saurugger teaches deals with the access and influence of interest groups to/in the European Parliament. Graduate Studies are more forcefully even associated with EU studies: Sciences Po Grenoble offers a multidisciplinary Master's Programme on European Governance, where classes such as Theories of European integration, Public Opinion, or European values deal with the questions of parliamentary democracy.

Parliamentary Democracy is not subject of a specific class, but is treated in a number of classes: Comparative politics, where one session deals with the EU Parliament. The same is true for the class on Interest groups in the EU or EU law and politics.

Parliamentary democracy was subject of two roundtables organized by the debating club "Vous avez dit 'l'Europe'?" convened by Professor Yann Echinard.

The second year Master's programme "Gouvernance européenne" offers a year-long research seminar on "Law and Politics of the EU" tought by Professors Fabien Terpan and Sabine Saurugger. Some 35 students write individual research papers, and two to three of them deal with questions linked to parliamentary democracy: the relationship between the Court of Justice of the EU and democracy or the relationship between interest groups and the European Parliament.

#### **WZB** Berlin

During the summer semester of 2014, Pieter de Wilde and Christian Rauh at the WZB taught a PhD course on content analysis at the Free University Berlin, Graduate School for East Asia Studies. It was intended by 9 PhD candidates, all focusing their research on either Japan, China or South Korea from a social science or humanities disciplinary background. The course involved an overview of different techniques from very qualitative to automated content analysis. In this course, some recent applications of content analysis of parliamentary debates in Europe were





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used as example material. Since many of the PhD students intend to use transcripts of parliamentary documents from East Asian countries as primary material, these proved very relevant. The availability of such documents – particularly online – increases. Still, cultural and linguistic challenges remain. For example, many software programs developed to assist content analysis that can be effectively used for analysing parliamentary documents assume that these are written using the Latin alphabet.

In 16 January 2014, De Wilde gave a guest lecture on the involvement of national parliaments in EU affairs at the Technical University Dresden attended by 16 participants. On 30 September 2013, De Wilde presented the method of representative claims analysis as a quantitative content analysis method at the Workshop "Aktuelle Entwicklungen der sozialwissenschaftlichen quantitativen Diskursforschung/Textinhaltsanalyse im deutschsprachigen Raum", University of Bremen, attended by 14 participants. On 20 September 2013, De Wilde discussed the possibilities, advantages and disadvantages of a pan-Europe Youth Party at the workshop "Re: Generation Europe. Trust, Aspirations and the Public", organized in Berlin, attended by 36 participants.

#### **University of Macedonia**

The Department of International and European Studies offers a wide range of courses at both the undergraduate and the graduate level. Undergraduate courses include: "European Politics and Party Systems", "EU in the International System", "The Greek Economy and the EU", "Growth policies of the EU: Economy", "European Social Model and Sustainable Development", "European Regional Policy: General Principles", "Legal and Financial Instruments", "European Economic and Political Integration Theories", "Law of the European Union I & II", "Political and Economic Governance of the EU". Graduate-level courses include: "The Political System of the European Union", "Global Economic System and the European Union", "Regional Policy of the European Union", "EU Policies and EU Legal Order", "Foreign Policy and Defence of EU", "Political Systems of EU Countries: A Comparative Approach". The undergraduate course on European Politics and Party Systems focuses exclusively on the Network's subject. In graduate-level courses, such as The Political System of the European Union and Political Systems of EU Countries: A Comparative Approach, the topic also came up quite often.

During the European Elections campaign period, the Department organized a one-day workshop on the European identity and its impact on representation (on April 28th, 2014) and a roundtable on the use of a voting advice application, especially designed for the EU 2014 elections (on May 19th, 2014). A number of faculty members were invited to speak at the workshop, while the presentation of the voting advice application was presented by the national coordinator of the project and was thereafter commented and used by four MEP candidates representing different political parties.





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#### **Corvinus University Budapest**

EU studies form an integral part of the syllabus at the Institute of Political Science at Corvinus University. Various courses are offered in the subject including "The Political System of the European Union", "Lobbying and Interest Reconciliation at the European Union" and "The Political Economy of the European Union". The topic of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe is also tackled in the courses offered by the Institute of Political Science at Corvinus University of Budapest. At the MA level a course entitled "Parliaments in Central-Eastern Europe" focuses on the development of parliamentary democracy in the new member states of the European Union in a comparative aspect. The course is offered each fall semester (thus in the fall semester of 2013/14 school year) in English for Hungarian and visiting Erasmus students, and is attended by approximately 20 each semester. At the BA level the topic is discussed within the framework of the introductory course entitled "Introduction to Political Science" which is offered both in Hungarian and English to approximately 150 students each year. The introductory course dedicates one lecture to the topic of parliamentary democracy.

#### **University College Dublin**

Papers delivered by Professor Gavin Barrett included.

- 1: The Post Lisbon Role, Function and Future of the European Parliament Invited address delivered to Seminar to Celebrate Europe Day organised by Labour Party, Ormond Building, Dublin, 4 May, 2014
- 2: Developments in the European Union in the Next Five Years and the Role of the European Parliament

Invited address delivered to plenary session of the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis, Irish National Events Centre, Killarney, 22 March, 2014

- 3: Removing the Roadblocks to Reform
- Invited address delivered to plenary session of If There Is A Will For Reform There Is A Way, Democracy Matters Evening Conference, Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, 13 January, 2014
- 4: The Early Warning System, Subsidiarity and Law: Some Reflections on Subsidiarity, the Subsidiarity Early Warning System and the Role which National Parliaments Have Been Given from a Lawyer's Perspective

Paper delivered at conference hosted by European Parliament National Parliaments in the European Integration Process: Finally 'Learning to Play the European Game' in the Aftermath of the Lisbon Treaty Reforms and the Economic Crisis, Dublin 6-7 December, 2013

5: Constitutional Processes: Remarks on the Interaction between the National and the European Dimension in Irish Law/Constitutional Avenues for Further European Integration,

Invited address to workshop hosted by the University of Maastricht as part of the 18th Ius Commune conference, 28-29 November, 2013

6: Introduction to Various Fundamental Features of the Europan Union





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7: The Evolution of Economic and Monetary Union

Invited addresses delivered in European University Centre at Peking University (EUCPU), Beijing, China, 23 November 2013

8: Re-examining the Perspectives of the United Kingdom and Irish Constitutions Regarding European Union Law

Invited address, School of Law, University of Leicester, 28 October 2013

9: The Oireachtas and the European Union: The Evolving Role of a National Parliament in European Union Affairs

Invited address to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on European Union Affairs, 9 October 2013, Leinster House, Dublin.

10: A Review of the Role of Referendums in Ireland

Research Seminar, School of Law, University College Dublin, 9 October 2013

11: A Briefing on the Proposed United Kingdom Justice and Home Affair Block Opt-Out, Including Any Possible Implications for Ireland

Invited address to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality, 25 September 2013, Leinster House, Dublin.

12: Repeal, Independence and Sovereignty

Invited address to Daniel O'Connell Heritage Summer School, Derrynane House, Co. Kerry, 6-7 September 2013 (session also addressed by former Tánaiste Michael McDowell and Professor Patrick Geoghegan of TCD)

One innovative method pioneered to communicate knowledge and understanding of European parliamentary democracy and other themes related to European parliamentary democracy has been Twitter, in particular via @EULawUCD which has now attracted over 450 followers. The Dublin European Institute also tweets regularly via @UCD\_DEI which has a following of close to 750.

#### **EUI Florence**

The Directors of EUDO offered a series of seminars for PhD students on the EU in general, some of which focused more closely on the topic of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe.

The Co-Director of the EUDO Institutions Observatory Adrienne Héritier offered a seminar in Fall 2013 on The New Economic Governance of the European Union and Its Impact on Member States . The seminar focused on the changes in the economic governance of the European Union and the policy and institutional implications both at the European level and the national level resulting from the international financial crisis and the Eurozone crisis. For more information see:

http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Seminars/2013-14 1st term Seminars/AHSemNewEcoGovEUF2013.pdf





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Professor Adrienne Héritier also organised a Seminar on The role of National Parliaments in EU Economic Governance (EU Semester and the TSCG Treaty) on Tuesday 10 December 2013 with Pieter Bouwen from KU Leuven as special guest. The EU economic governance framework has been substantially strengthened over the last years. This materialized through the adoption of new secondary legislation with the six-pack and the two-pack on economic governance as well as through the adoption of new intergovernmental rules (e.g. TSCG Treaty). The presentation aimed at stimulating the reflection regarding the provisions in these new governance structures to ensure democratic accountability through providing new roles to the European and to national parliaments.

The Director of EUDO Professor Trechsel dedicated a session of its seminar Political and Legal Consequences of the Internet (http://internetpoliticslaweui.wordpress.com/ Spring 2014)on the specific topic Internet campaigning & e-voting. In this session the most recent developments in the field of internet campaigning and e-voting were discussed. Questions regarding Voting Advice Applications, the success vs. failure in the implementation of Internet voting, the effects on parties, their campaigns and, most crucially, the voters themselves were addressed. For more information see: http://internetpoliticslaweui.wordpress.com/6-2/session07-2/

In Spring 2014 the Co-Director of the EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation Hanspeter Kriesi offered a seminar on The structuring of political conflict in Europe in times of crisis. The seminar brought together literature on social movements and on political parties/elections in order to prepare the ground for the understanding of the interaction between protest politics and electoral-party politics in times of crisis. For more information see: http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Seminars/2013-

14\_2nd\_term\_Seminars/KriesiSeminarConflictsyllabusS2014.pdf

In 2013-2014 EUDO organized two events dealing with Parliamentary Democracy in Europe.

In November (28 and 29) EUDO organized a Dissemination Conference on Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis at the European University Institute in Florence. The Conference assessed the current world crisis' impact on the elections of 2013 and 2014. The Conference offered an opportunity to analyse the results of the national elections held in Europe in 2013 and to provide prospective insights on the 2014 European elections, by focusing on links between actors, strategies, and themes that characterize the elections at both levels. The Conference was very successful. It was attended by over 100 participants. The papers, PowerPoint presentations, videos and pictures of the Conference are available at:

http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDODisseminationConference/2013/Index.aspx

On May 16 2014 the results of a EUDO study sponsored by the Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation were presented at the Conference "Portugal participation in the EU decision making". The study, conducted by Richard Rose and Alexander Trechsel, examines in detail the aspects that have determined Portugal's participation in decision-making procedures at the European level and the effectiveness and limitations of that participation. Presented by their





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authors, this study was also commented on by Portuguese and foreign experts and leading personalities.

#### **LIIA Riga**

No specific course on parliamentary democracy in the EU. The different aspects, character and challenges of EU parliamentary democracy came up in particularly in the course taught by Diāna Potjomkina (at least 2x – discussing the European Parliament and democracy in the EU more generally). They also came up in the courses taught by Kārlis Bukovskis: Riga Stradins University, "State and Global Economy", and Mārtiņš Daugulis: Riga Stradins University, "Public Administration" and "Policy Analysis"

Mārtiņš Daugulis read a lecture on Lecture on European Parliament in multicultural Europe (Riga, Latvia, Goethe Institute), as well as moderated and organized three meetings of MEPs with citizens in Ogre, Jelgava and Rēzekne (Latvia). He also moderated and spoke at a discussion at the Information Bureau of European Parliament in Riga on needs of entrepreneurship & NGO after EP elections; and moderated the lecture by Nicholas Kralev "Challenges for media&public diplomacy in a changing world" and "discussion on media & public diplomacy issues in democracies" (Riga Graduate School of Law, Latvia). In additional, several interviews were given to TV and other media outlets by the project team, particularly related to the European Parliament elections.

Scientific articles and textbooks for the course taught by Diāna Potjomkina (general materials; Ben Crum and John E. Fossum, "The Multilevel Parliamentary Field: a framework for theorizing representative democracy in the EU", European Political Science Review vol. 1, Iss. 02 (2009): 249-271, etc.).

#### **Vilnius University**

Institute of International Relations and Political Science of Vilnius University (Vu IIRPS) offers a Master's degree programme in European Studies, which covers a broad range of topics, related to EU – from institutions to policies to ideas. Yet, the courses, which focus on Parliamentary Democracy, are offered in other degree programmes, as well, such as Master's degree programme in Comparative Politics and Bachelor's degree programme in Political Science. The main aspects of Parliamentary democracy, covered by study subjects, which are taught in IIRPS, are:

- •Political parties the logic of their functioning in contemporary political system and "post-ideological" society;
- •Political representation and public sphere old and new actors of representation, and the role of civic movements and "non-partisan" groups in political process;
- •Parliaments organization of activities, with a focus on Lithuanian Parliament and the way it functions in the context of lack of parliamentary tradition, weak political parties etc.





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Several final theses, focusing on European Parliament, its present role, were prepared and defended in Spring 2014, mainly in the context of the Lithuanian experiences of EU presidency, with the efforts not just to describe, but also to conceptualize the levels and sources of EP powers within European institutional structure.

The main event, related to the issues of Parliamentary Democracy, organized by IIRPS in the reporting period, was the discussion, organized before the election of European Parliament, titled "What do politicians do in the European Parliament". The presentations by political scientists were commented and discussed by politicians and interested public. The discussion covered the questions of accountability of MEPs and how to measure the "efficiency" of members of EP, the role of EP and forthcoming political agenda, as well as the main political preferences by political parties and citizens, related to EU questions (the results of voting tool Euvox).

#### **University of Malta**

The Institute for European Studies at the University of Malta offers a broad range of courses on the EU stretching from a diploma level to a Master's degree (as well as research based degrees at the level of Masters and PhD). Courses cover the basics in European politics, economics and law as well as highly specialized courses in areas such as EU lobbying, development studies, migration, transport, human rights, trade, environment, Euro-Mediterranean relations, and agenda-setting.

Parliamentary Democracy in Europe is tackled in the following courses:

EST 1030 Introduction to Comparative Politics of Europe

EST 3199 Political Parties in Europe

EST 3197 Comparative Federalism and the EU

EST 3203 Agenda-Setting in the EU

EST5591 Theories and Issue in Political Science

The Institute organized the following events in 2013/2014:

Public lecture by Prof Luigi Caranti, University of Catania, on November 12th 2013 on the topic of 'Why Democracies Don't Fight Each Other? A Comparison and Assessment of Democratic Peace Theory and Kant's Model of Perpetual Peace'.

Public Discussion with Professor Paolo Bellucci, Centre for the Study of Political Change at the University of Siena, on Wednesday 21st May 2014 on the topic of 'Sources and Political Consequences of European Identity Among Mass Publics'.

#### The NL Institute of International Relations Clingendael

Clingendael Academy is responsible for courses and training programmes for various target groups, both in the Netherlands and abroad. Among other things, it offers courses on Europe and the European Union. Depending on the clients' needs we design customized programmes varying from expert seminars on current topics and policy dilemma's, e.g. Eurocrisis, European governance, EU external representation in international organisations; practical workshops e.g.





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on dealing with comitology, the ordinary legislative procedure in the European parliament; EU skills training such as chairing EU meetings in EU presidency programmes, EU accession and lobbying training, or in company courses with a combination of knowledge and practical skills, such as our Justice and Home Affairs course. Annually, at least 20 EU courses are being taught. Amongst other, the Clingendael Institute provides training to European officials of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

One of the most well-known courses offered by Clingendael Academy is the course for junior diplomats from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries (better known as 'het Klasje'). Another comprehensive and well-known course is the Leergang Buitenlandse Betrekkingen (Course on International Relations, or LBB). The grand finale of the LBB, the 48-hour simulation of an EU negotiation, is a perfect example of a working format that trains both knowledge and skills. Participants research the positions of an EU member state that they will represent during the simulation (for example, Germany, Poland, Greece, or Sweden) on a number of hotly debated European issues. In addition, this year an open registration training on negotiating in the European Union took place. This training course focuses entirely on the formal and informal negotiation processes, culture and decision-making within the EU context.

During every course organized by Clingendael attention is being paid to parliamentary democracy. In 60 per cent of the courses a block relates to EU parliamentary democracy.

In 2013 and 2014 the Europe department of the Clingendael Institute organized several expert meetings and seminars concerning parliamentary democracy in Europe.

During the conference of student-organisation SIB in November 2013 research fellows of the Institute held two lectures on EU subjects in which references were made to the position of parliamentary democracy.

Together with SIB Amsterdam and Youth in Action, EUforum organized a conference European Challenges: Democracy and Legitimacy of the European Union.

The conference took place on Friday 22 and Saturday 23 November 2013 Through lectures, debates, workshops and films it looked at the European Union in all its aspects: from the Eurozone to the Schengen Area, from foreign policy to agricultural policy and from the elections for the European parliament to the role of the media.

On 16 december 2013 a lunch lecture with MEP Ria Oomen, EP rapporteur on Turkey, on the admission of Turkey in the European Union, took place. During the lecture we discussed the possible accession of Turkey to the European Union.

On 23 January 2014 the conference "Is subsidiarity relevant for better EU governance?" took place. This seminar dealt with the question whether subsidiarity can offer a way forward that reconciles needs for better EU governance and concerns about legitimacy.

On Thursday April 24, the European election debate 'One vote: many voices and real choices' took place in the auditorium of Campus The Hague. This debate was organised by the Clingendael Institute, Leiden University, the Montesquieu Institute, the Netherlands Association for International Relations, and the European Movement in the Netherlands. The slogan for the



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2014 European Parliaments' elections "This time it's different", is intriguing. But what's so different this time?

On 21 February 2014 the Institute organised a debate on the Economic Priorities of the European Parliament. During this session Dutch MEPS discussed topics including the future of the EMU and employment.

On 27 February 2014 Clingendael, in cooperation with EBN, the Advisory Council on International Affairs organised a lecture with the title "Do the Netherlands take the EP sufficiently serious?".

The Institute was also active during a symposium of three political youth organisations (liberals, green left, social democrats) on 29 March 2014. We held a lecture on the democratic deficit in the European Union.

The Institute also organized three meetings organized for the European Commission. In these meetings we discussed the changing social landscape of the EU, the crisis measures in the Member States and the Commission as an economic government.

Textbook

Schout, A., J. Rood (eds) (2013) The Netherlands as an EU member state: a normal partner at last? Portland: Eleven International Publishing.

#### **Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam**

At the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VUA), teaching on the EU is featured both in the Bachelor and in the Master political Science. At the Bachelor level, this involves the course 'EU Governance in an International Context' (6EC). This course is obligatory for Bachelor students in political science and in public administration (in total almost 150 students). In the academic year 2013-14 this course was co-taught by Ben Crum (Political Science) and Rudie Hulst (Public Administration). The course offers a broad introduction in the study of EU policy and politics with a particular emphasis on its external dimension and its interaction with other international institutions. About a quarter of the course (4 lectures) is dedicated the EU's institutional architecture and of these one lecture is zooms in on the specific issue of democracy in the EU.

In the VUA Master of Political Science, the EU is the focus of attention in the course 'Selected Issues in European Politics and Multilevel Governance'. This is an optional course that is usually taken by 10-15 students. In 2014-15 it was taught by Ben Crum. Given its 'selected issues' character, the topics in the course vary but, due to the research interests of the lecturer, the theme of democracy in the EU has been rather central in recent years.

Besides the regular courses, in the course of 2014 the VUA has been co-organizing a number of public and academic events on the EU in the context of ACCESS EUROPE, the joint centre of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the University of Amsterdam for research, education and public debate about Europe, the European Union and its member states (see also below under research and at www.accesseurope.org). Notably, these included the ACCESS EUROPE inaugural event entitled "Europe in Crisis, Resilient Europe", on 22 and 23 January 2014, with Loukas





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Tsoukalis (Professor at the University of Athens and Director of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy) as keynote speaker; the sponsoring of visits oft wo European commissioners (Reding and Potočnik) and a couple of events around the European Parliament elections.

#### **Maastricht University**

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS) of Maastricht University offers a wide range of courses on the history and politics of the European Union in the framework of its Bachelor in European Studies and its three Master programmes on European Studies. Questions of parliamentary democracy in Europe are integrated into all of these programmes in the form of individual lectures within the courses on European Politics.

In addition, members of the team have also given lectures at other institutions:

- -Lecture by Dr. Anna-Lena Högenauer on "Parliamentary Administrations: Paper-Pushers, Actors, Agenda-Setters" for the Research Master (12 MA students)
- -Lecture by Dr. Anna-Lena Högenauer on "National Parliaments in the Post-Lisbon European Union" for the EPA Master (27 MA students)
- -Lecture by Prof. Christine Neuhold on the European Parliament: from consultative assembly to co-legislator, for the BA course: EU Politics (300 BA students)
- -Lecture by Prof. Christine Neuhold on the European Parliament for the minor European Studies (around 40 students)
- -Lecture by Prof. Christine Neuhold on the EPs administrative system, Research Master European Studies (12 MA students)
- -Presentation on "The upcoming European Parliament Elections why it may be different this time" at the National University of Singapore", 29 January 2014-Presentation on "National Parliaments in the EU" by Prof. Thomas Christiansen at the European University Institute, 17 June 2014.





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#### **Leiden University**

The courses taught in the institute of public administration of Leiden University (faculty Campus The Hague) on the EU in general are EU politics and policy, multi-level governance, and EU decision making. In each of these courses the role of national parliaments and the European parliament is dealt with. This is most visible in the course EU politics and policy for the second year BA students of public administration. In the context of this course, a lecture was devoted to the European Parliament and the possibility of national parliament to influence the EU legislative process through the early warning mechanism.

During the bi-annual meeting of the ECPR Standing Group on European Affairs (organized in the Hague by the Institute of Public Administration and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence of Leiden University), several panels discussed the role of the European Parliament and national parliaments in EU decision making.

A debate between MEP candidates was organized in the run-up to the EP elections in which the results of a study of the manifestos of the EP parties was presented by the Institute of public administration.

#### **European Foundation of European Studies - European Institute**

Due to specificity of the institution and certain shift in the profile, the European Institute in Lodz (FES-EI) provides rather the trainings and information seminars rather than regular courses in the academic sense. This is also reflected in the target groups of the activities, which are mostly schools, self-government officials and general public, being addresses of the information and training services provided. The activities have been basically two-fold in the reporting period: 1) teaching in implementation of EU structural funds (under EFS funded projects. i.e. two Regional Institutes for the European Social Fund) 2) providing seminars and information services on Poland's foreign policy and the European Union, within the activities of the Regional Centre for International Debate (RODM) run the EES-EI and operating within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs coordinated network.

Therefore, the FES-EI does not run the courses specifically addressing the parliamentary democracy issues. However, these issues are indirectly present in the seminar and information activities of RODM, addressing EU legal system, EU institutions and integration process, EU member states profiles. During these, the role of European Parliament and national parliament in the EU democratic process is present, although not as a separate subject. The RODM provided also access to its own and FES-EI library for those interested in the EU, its institutions, Member States, European Parliament and its role within the EU system as well as in the EU democratic processes. These were also topics of numerous seminars addressed to school teachers and students (primary and secondary). Through the website RODM provided information on current developments in Poland's foreign and European policy as well as current activities on the EU and its institutions.





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In 2013 the RODM organized a number of street surveys addressed to region's citizens with three of them addressing the questions of parliamentary democracy and citizen's participation in the democratic processes, namely:

- Do you plan to vote in the elections to the European Parliament in 2014?
- Conscious European citizenship
- European citizens' initiative.

The RODM organised also a couple of quizzes on the EU and EU citizens' rights, thus indirectly addressing the questions of European Parliament and citizen's involvement in EU democratic process.

In March 2014, the FES-EI hosted the final session of the European Youth Parliament (cyclical educational project run since 2006 by the office of Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, MEP, and addressed to the youth from Lodz Region's schools). The final, session co-organised by the FES-EI, was a simulation of a plenary debate in the EP, devoted to discussion of current issues and involving the simulation of real debate and rules of procedure of the EP.

Under a framework agreement with the Institute of Sociology of the University of Lodz, the staff members of the FES-EI (and at the same time of the University of Lodz), provide courses on EU institutions and policies, within which the composition and role of the EP and national parliaments are part of the course.

Within general activities of FES-EI, on the main website a weekly information section entitled "Het week in European Union" addressed to general public was published, summarizing the Union's activities in the coming weeks, with particular focus on activities of the European Parliament.





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#### **Kozminski University**

In the reporting period the Department of International Law and EU Law gave lectures on EU law, EU economic law, and the energy law in EU. The evolution of the political system of the EU as well as the EU economic law were analysed during these lectures.

The Department of International Law and EU Law and the Legal Scientific Circle Lege Artis the College of Law at Kozminski University together with the Department of European Law, Faculty of Law University of Warsaw Scientific Society of European Law, Faculty of Law University of Warsaw Institute of Public Affairs prepared a seminar about the elections to the European Parliament in 2014, Is it worth to attend? (15 January 2014).

The role of the national parliaments in EU matters is the issue of master's theses and doctoral theses.

Examples of doctoral theses in the Department of International Public Law and EU Law:

- -The Polish parliament and the procedures footbridge under the Treaty of Lisbon;
- -The test procedure of the subsidiarity principle in the Polish parliament.

Our Department used following teaching materials about the Parliamentary Democracy:

- Pudło, The role of the national parliament in EU affairs after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, Warsaw 2014;
- •A. Pudło, The role of second chambers of national parliaments in European Union matters in the light of national and EU regulations, Warsaw 2011;
- •J. Kranz, How should we understand the European Union? Warsaw 2013 (pp. 182)
- •Documents:

The European Union in the era of reform. The legal basis. Documents selection, J. Barcz, Warsaw 2013 (pp. 418)

The reform of the euro area in the European Union, Documents selection, J. Barcz, Warsaw 2013 (pp. 244).

#### **Polish Institute of International Affairs**

Teaching on European Union is a part of PISM Academy two most important courses: Studium Polityki Zagranicznej and Foreign Policy Studies (post-graduate studies co-organized with Collegium Civitas). During both courses seminar on EU institutions is organized giving general outlook of EU institutions architecture. For each course 30 participants are enrolled.

In November 2013, PISM in cooperation with Centre for European Policy Studies and European Commission Representation in Poland organized a conference: "The EU after 2014 elections: Setting a Course for the Political Union?". Participants were asked to assess chances of implementing both European Commission and European Parliaments electoral measures recommendations, possible ways of boosting European Parliament legitimacy, possible





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implications of the elections for European Parliament position, its relations with other institutions – especially European Commission as well as possible ways to improve interparliamentary cooperation.

In May 2014, with cooperation with Heinrich Böll Foundation, PISM organized a conference: "Dealing with the EU's Legitimacy Crisis: False Promises or Promising Improvements?". Aim of the second panel was to assess European Parliament role in restoring EU's legitimacy, whereas in the third panel national parliaments role in that respect was discussed.

#### **Comenius University Bratislava**

Undergraduate courses: Introduction to European Integration; EU Law; Graduate courses: EU policies, EU Foreign Policy, European political cultures

On June 16-19, 2014, the Institute of European Studies and International Relations (IESIR) at Comenius University organized the PhD-School "Democracy in Europe: Institutions and Practices" as part of the PADEMIA project.

The focus was on the emerging institutional architecture of the Union, changing modes of representation, shifting roles of parliamentary democracy, new issues in party politics and on changing perceptions and images of the Union. The school provided an opportunity to PhD-scholars to present and get feedback on their own research projects related to the core themes. In addition to getting insights into the state of the art in the theoretical debates, participants got an opportunity to learn about various Central European aspects of the evolving political order in the EU.

The list of lecturers included the following academic experts:

Jozef Bátora (IESIR, Comenius University); Christophe Crombez (FSI, Stanford University); John Gould (Colorado College); Ol'ga Gyarfášová (IESIR, Comenius University); Karen Henderson (IESIR, Comenius University); Silvia Miháliková (IESIR, Comenius University); Johannes Pollak (Department of Political Science, IHS Vienna); Jarle Trondal (ARENA, University of Oslo); Milada Anna Vachudova (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

In addition to PhD students from Comenius University, the list of participants included PhD candidates from the University of York, UK; ETH Zurich; Institute of Advanced Studies, Vienna; Sciences Po, Paris; Trinity College Dublin; Corvinus University; Budapest; University of Glasgow, UK; Charles University, Prague; and University of Cyprus.





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#### University of Ljubljana

At the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana (FSS) several courses related to the EU are offered at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. At the undegraduate level, the course "Basics of the EU" is offered as one of the core courses. The course 'European institutions' broadens the focus on the European institutional architecture. Courses focusing on individual EU policies, e.g. external relations of the EU, and other issues such as interest groups, lobbying etc. are also offered. Of importance are also courses that help students to understand the wider context such as political participation and citizenship as well as EU as a contemporary administrative system.

There are several courses focusing on Parliamentary democracy in Europe, e.g. those focusing on political participation, political parties, and the role of national parliaments, elections, representation in, and consolidation of, democracies. More information on the range of courses and expertise is available at:

http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/en/study/departments-and-chairs/department-of-political-science. Study visits to the National Assembly are regularly organised for students.

This information has not been systematically collected at your institution. However, the FSS has so far organised countless lectures, conferences, video-presentations which directly or closely related to the core topic of PADEMIA. The Slovene Political Science Association organizes its annual conference where several panels/roundtables covered topics dealing with the EU, EP, EP elections, parliamentary democracy, MEPs would normally be addressed. In addition, the Parliamentarism section convenes at least one panel at the annual Slovenian Political Science Association conference that discussed issues of parliamentary democracy. This section also organized several events in the National Assembly of the RS.

Various textbooks are produced that may be considered to fit in the broader field of PADEMIA's focus. Many of them are in the Slovenian language. Here is an example of the reading material for the Political Parties and Party Systems course:

Danica Fink- Hafner, ed. (2004): Evropske stranke in strankarski sistem na ravni Evropske unije. Založba FDV, Ljubljana.

Krašovec, Alenka (2007): Volilne študije. Fakulteta za družbene vede, Ljubljana.

Deželan, Tomaž (2013): Državljan v razmerju do države. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.

#### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

The Political Science and Administration II department of the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociologia is in charge of teaching different subjects related to European parliamentary democracy: A second year course on Comparative Politics with 6 groups of approximately 60 students each one in the degree of Political Science; two groups in the degree of Sociology; one





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group in the degree of Political Science and Law (four year course) and one group in the degree of International Relations.

Two members of the PADEMIA Group , prof. Ruiz and Sanchez, teach these courses. A third year optative course on European Political Systems with four groups of approximately 50 students in the degree of Political Science and a four year course in the degree of Political Science and Law with a group of approximately 40 students. One member of the PADEMIA Group, prf. Ruiz teaches two groups. A third year obligatory course on Spanish Political System with 6 groups of approximately 50 students each one in the degree of Political Science, one group in the degree of Political Science and Law, one group in the degree of International Relations, four groups in the degree of Sociology.

One member of the PADEMIA Group, prf. Paniagua teaches four groups. The UCM-PADEMIA group teaches in the doctorate program of Ciencias Políticas y de la Administracion y Relaciones Internacionales. There was a specialized course obligatory in the Master's program of Political Analysis titled Sistema politico y gobernabilidad based on the study of parliamentary democracy taught by one member of the PADEMIA group, prf. Sanchez.

There is a Project on parliamentary elites funded by Ministerio de Educación: "Los vínculos entre electores y partidos: la actividad distrital de los diputados de Chile, Perú y Bolivia" (CSO2011-24344). Two members of the group are on it: Paniagua and Ruiz (coordinator). 2011 a 2014A one year research funded by Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) which analyzes links between voters and politicians. 2014. One member of the group, L. Ruiz, coordinates it.A book on Comparative politics by prof. Sanchez published in 2012, Madrid: Sintesis. A book on European political systems edited by pf. Gema and Ruben SANCHEZ published in 2013 by Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch in which participated prof. Sanchez with a chapter on the political system of Greece, p. 299-326.





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#### Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Teaching of parliamentary democracy (and issues involved) at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide is taking shape in different fronts. The unit responsible for PADEMIA is the research group called "Democracy and Autonomies: Politics and Society"

(http://www.upo.es/democraciayautonomias/index.jsp), led by professors Xavier Coller and Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy. Both professors participate in a number of teaching initiatives dealing with Parliamentary Democracy.

In undergrad courses (such as "Sociopolitical analysis and Public opinion") Professor Coller focuses part of the course on the history of parliamentarism and the relationships between parliamentary politics and public opinion. Professor Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy teaches a course titled "Spanish Conemporary Politics" where he describes the rise of parliamentary democracy in Spain, its main actors and the main institutional dynamics of that system.

DASP manages a master degree titled Master Universitario "Sociedad, Administración y Política" (aka MUSAP), where professor Xavier Coller teaches a course on "Political elites in parliamentary democracies". This course deals with several aspects related to how people get to parliaments, what do they do there (and how), and what they think (opinions and attitudes). Professor Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy teaches a course on Lobbying in Europe and Federal Systems where the main elements of the European political system are tackled (Commission, Council and Parliament).

MUSAP (and some other MA degrees) leads interested students towards the PhD program titled "Citizens, Parliaments and Democracy" (aka CIPARDEM). A number of students are carrying out their dissertations on topics related to parliaments, democracy and political elites. Maria Navarro is writing on women politicians in parliamentary democracies, Manuel Portillo focuses on political vocations in parliamentarians of multilevel democracies, Alejandro Hochberg writes about how electoral lists are made for European elections.





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#### The Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

The activities of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences (RSAWS) as members of PADEMIA are in line with its general aims to provide knowledge and further discussions on a high level in areas of relevance for Swedish security and defence. The activities are linked to the PADEMIA project of parliamentary democracy in two ways. The first one is through teaching and research on Swedish security and defence (defined widely) including on the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of EU, in which both the European parliament and the Swedish parliament play important roles. The second is the Academy's efforts to engage Swedish parliamentarians in discussions on this subject with the purpose to increase knowledge in and interest for security and defence issues among them as well as generally in Sweden.

These aims are carried out in the form of conferences, seminars and a lively website. In addition, the Academy publishes a number of books and other publications as well as a magazine.

The RSAWS has more than 400 members. It is therefore not possible to describe the activities of all its members that are relevant for the PADEMIA project. The activities enumerated below are those organized by the Academy itself as well as those of PADEMIA's contact person Gunilla Herolf.

While the Academy itself does not organize courses on the EU, many of its members (university professors and researchers) are experts on various aspects of the European Union and give lectures, organize conferences et cetera on this subject.

1. Conferences and meetings

**Defence Forum** 

The Defence Forum constitutes a series of meetings aimed at bringing defence issues up for discussion among people in general. The series includes a range of parliamentarians in the role of speakers. The following list includes place, time, size of the audience and number of parliamentarian speakers:

Sundsvall, 2 October 2013, 65 persons, two parliamentarians.

Malmö, 14 October 2013, 200 persons, three parliamentarians.

Östersund, 11 November. 2013, 80 persons, one parliamentarian.

Stockholm, 2 December 2013, 120 persons, two parliamentarians.

Ängelholm, 3 February. 2014, 60 persons, two parliamentarians.

Visby, 13 February 2014, 150 persons. six parliamentarians.

Örebro, 27 March 2014, 60 persons, two parliamentarians.

Kungälv, 4 June 2014, two parliamentarians and one minister.

Almedalen, (Visby) is the biggest political meeting place of Sweden. A full week every year is devoted to discussions on Swedish politics within a range of areas, attracting very large audiences. All the political parties present their policies. Since a couple of years the Academy participates by organizing an event:





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Visby 3 July 2014, The Academy event of 2014 at Almedalen focused on the report of the Swedish Parliamentary Commission on Defence that had been published in May. Two parliamentarians participated as speakers.

2. Speeches/lectures related to parliamentary democracy

The list below refers only to the speeches/lectures given by Gunilla Herolf. It would have been very long if all speeches and lectures made by Academy members had been included.

Lecture, local politicians on EU policies, Nacka (Stockholm), 9 December 2013, approx. 50 persons.

Lecture, the parliament of the Åland Islands on Baltic security, Mariehamn, Åland, 21 March 2014, approx.. 50 persons.

Speech, Social Democratic Politicians from the Nordic countries and Germany on Baltic security, Berlin, 10 May 2014, approx.. 40 persons.

Comments given on the final report of the Swedish Parliamentary Commission on Defence, at an event presenting the report. Parliament members of all eight political parties participated in the role of speakers. 4 June 2014, 120 persons.

#### **ETH Zurich**

Prof. Schimmelfennig teaches a yearly introductory course on "European Integration" at the BA level covering theories, institutions and decision-making and selected problems and policy areas (in Autumn), a yearly course on "Comparative and European Politics" at the MA Level covering a varying selection of contemporary problems or research questions such as the Euro-crisis or differentiated European integration (in Spring), and a yearly course on "Democracy" that focuses on challenges of democracy beyond the state in and beyond Europe (in Spring). Dr. Boelstad and Dr. Winzen, with further members of the European Politics Group at ETH Zurich, co-convene a course on the "Development and current issues of European integration" at the MA level introducing institutions and theories of the EU as well as contemporary research problems (in Autumn). Dr. Winzen taught a course on "legislative studies" at the BA level at the University of Lucerne in Autumn 2013 that included a session on European integration.

Prof. Schimmelfennig's courses include sessions on the democratic deficit and democratisation of the EU. The "Comparative and European Politics" course recently included a sessions specifically on the empowerment of the European Parliament and national parliaments in EU policy-making. The course of Dr. Boelstad, Dr. Winzen and colleagues includes a session on "European integration and parliamentary democracy", one on the democratic deficit and one on public opinion. Dr. Winzen's "legislative studies" course also included a session on European integration.

#### **University of Cambridge**

During 2013-14 Dr Julie Smith organized an undergraduate course on the Politics of Europe for the Department of Politics and International Relations at Cambridge University. This comprised





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modules on the EU and Britain and Europe, as well as Comparative European Politics, taught by Dr Pieter Van Houten. Dr Smith also ran a module on The Politics of European Integration for the Master of Studies Programme in International Relations at Cambridge, while Dr Geoffrey Edwards co-taught a Master's-level course on Europe in the World as part of the Department's MPhil in International Relations.

1.2 Dr Smith's undergraduates and MSt courses both included lectures on the EU institutions and on legitimacy and democracy in the EU. The undergraduate module on Britain and Europe focused extensively on British political parties and the EU, including also public opinion and the media. Dr Ariella Huff gave a lecture Westminster and the EU as part of the module on Britain and Europe. Dr Smith also contributed two seminars on the EU institutions focusing heavily on the European Parliament and parliamentary democracy for a module on Political and Legal Institutions on the MPhil in Public Policy run by the Department. In addition Drs Edwards, Huff and Smith supervised graduate and undergraduate students on a variety of European topics.

1.3 The European Centre organized and hosted the final conference of the OPAL project on National Parliaments and the EU in London in March 2014. This event brought together around 100 academics and practitioners, including current and former members of National Parliaments and of the European Parliament, parliamentary clerks and journalists. The purpose of this event, which was held partly in Europe House, the London office of the EP and European Commission, and in the House of Commons courtesy of Mark Field MP, was to present the findings of the three-year OPAL project..

#### **University College London**

UCL offered a range of courses on the EU in general, above all in the Department of Political Science, but also in the Faculty of Laws and the Department of History. None of these are exclusively focused on PD; however, some include specific sessions that do address PD exclusively. Dr Christine Reh offered two one-term MSc courses in the Department of Political Science. One, focusing on "The European Union: Institutions and Politics", included sessions on "The European Parliament", "Public Opinion on European Integration", and "The Legitimacy of European Integration". Another, entitled "The European Union, Globalisation and the State", included sessions on "The Europeanisation of Domestic Politics: Political Parties and Representation", and "Europeanisation and Globalisation: The End of National Democracy?". In the same department, Dr Steven Robinson offered the MSc course "Policy-Making and Regulation in Europe" and the undergraduate course "Politics of the European Union". In the Department of History, Dr Uta Staiger offered a course on "History and Theory of European Integration" in the MA European History. The module "Constitutional and Institutional Law of the EU" was offered





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in the Faculty of Laws as part of the LLM in European Union Law (further to a range of other EU modules, entirely unrelated to PD).

UCL also offered a range of courses in the area of Comparative Politics, which had a focus on democracy and/or parliaments. These include the postgraduate courses "Democracy and Constitutional Design" and "Democratic Political Institutions", both taught by Dr Sherrill Stroschein and Dr James Dawson in Political Science. In the Department's Constitution Unit, Dr Meg Russell offered a course on "Parliaments, Political Parties and Policy-Making".

UCL's main MSc Programmes in our field are the "MSc European Public Policy", the "MSc Democracy and Comparative Politics" and the LLM (Master of Laws) in EU Law.

In the report period, UCL organised one event on the 2014 EP Elections; two events that focused specifically on the rise of Eurosceptic parties and its effect on national politics; and two events on the current challenges and future of the EU.

- 1. 17th October 2013: Is This Time Different? The 2014 European Parliament Elections. This public event brought together politicians and academics to discuss the process of candidate selection and its likely political and institutional consequences before, during and after May 2014. Invited speakers included Fiona Hall (MEP), Prof Simon Hix (LSE), Prof Michael Shackleton (Maastricht),
- 2. 13th may 2014: Fruitcakes, Loonies, Closet racists and Winners? Europe, the European Elections and the Rise of UKIP This roundtable discussion centred on what the results of recent polling data would mean for both the European Elections in 2014 and also the General Election in 2015. The discussion was led by Joe Twyman, Head of Political and Social Research at Britain's leading pollsters YouGov..
- 3. 12 February 2014: The Rise of Populism in Europe. This interactive panel discussion focused on the rise of Europe's right-wing populist parties. Marley Morris, Researcher and Consultant at Counterpoint led the discussion on Europe's tea party movement. Counterpoint is an independent research and advisory group helping organisations understand the cultural and social dynamics of risk.
- 4. 23 January 2014: Sir Stephen Wall: The European Union How Europe's leaders can hang together or separately? In this talk, Sir Stephen Wall, former UK Perm Rep to the EU and EU advisor to Prime Minister Tony Blair, gave his response to a recent report, which he co-authored entitled, 'Remaking Europe: Framework for a policy.' The report was published in September 2013 and was published by Synopia.
- 5. 29 Nov 2013: A Belgian Salon: Europe's Destiny. This debate brought together political philosophers and theorist to discus the destiny of the European project. Among our debaters were Professor of sociology Lord Anthony Giddens (LSE), Professor of law Philippe Van Parijs (Oxford) and Professor of political science Richard Bellamy (UCL).
- 6. 2 April 2014: AEGEE /European Students' Forum event with MEP's. The AEGEE/European Students Forum is one of the largest inter-disciplinary student organizations in Europe. The group launched an event at UCL to help to promote the engagement of young people in European





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politics. At this launch, young people were given the opportunity to debate about the EU with MEP's candidates to the European Parliament, and other stakeholders involved in European Affairs.

#### **University of York**

In the academic year 2013-2014, Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou delivered a third year undergraduate module entitled 'Comparing European Institutions' attended by 30 students. This module aims to provide students with a systematic introduction to key academic debates and empirical realities in the comparative analysis of political institutions in Europe. It encourages students to reflect on the various arguments that relate to the stability and change of institutional configurations within different European political systems. It includes major topics in the filed such as electoral systems, electoral behaviour, political parties and party systems and parliamentary government. It also covers the themes of non-majoritarian institutions and the rise of right-wing extremism, both posing a clear challenge to European institutions as traditionally configured and understood. Its empirical component lies in the development of comparisons across a range of countries in both long-established Western democracies and newer democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

There was no course exclusively focusing on the topic of PADEMIA. Comparing European Institutions, however, did include the following relevant topics: Government formation and Coalitions, Parliamentary Governance, Extreme right.

#### Invited presentations

2014 European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford, UK

Title: 'Economic crisis and the rise of the extreme right', June 3rd

2014 Institute of Language Sciences and Communication, University of Neuchatel, Switzerland

Title: 'Euroscepticism and Populism in Greece'

2014 European Institute, London School of Economics, UK

Title: 'Patterns of Euroscepticism', February 6th.

2014 Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Leicester, UK

Title: 'Far right-wing politics', January 29th.

2013 Department of Politics, University of Surrey, UK

Title: 'Does crisis produce right-wing extremism?', December 11th.

2013 London School of Economics, UK

Title: 'The Banality of Golden Dawn Support', November 29th.

2013 Hungarian European Society, Budapest, Hungary

Title: 'Euroscepticism in Greece', September 27th.

2013 ARENA Centre for European Studies, Oslo, Norway

Title: 'Media visibility of Members of the European Parliament', March 19th.





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#### **University of Glasgow**

The Politics Subject in Glasgow University offers introductory and advanced courses on the European Union, at undergraduate and postgraduate level. In particular, at Year 1 about one third of the offering in our core 'Introduction to Politics' course is dedicated to the European Union (alongside one third on Scottish Politics and one third on UK Politics). Emphasis is given to how the legislative procedure operates in the European Union as well as on the EU Constitutional debate. Dr. Myrto Tsakatika and Professor Maurizio Carbone teach two advance optional courses offered to third and fourth year students on the European Union, the 'Politics of the European Union' and 'European Union and International Relations'. At postgraduate level our offering includes courses on 'European Union Institutions and Policies', The European Union in International Development and Comparative European Politics.

No course specifically focused on Parliamentary Democracy. However, new courses were introduced at undergraduate level (years 3 and 4) on Authoritarianism and on Corruption, which deal extensively with the quality of democracy; the course Citizenship and Democracy deals with parliamentary democracy from the point of view of political theory. It also includes a placement component for students in the Scottish Parliament; most area focused courses such as American Politics, Politics of the EU, Chinese Politics, South European Politics, Russian Politics, Latin American Politics, British Politics and Scottish Politics all include extensive components on the institutional aspects of parliamentary democracy.

The Politics Seminar, organized by Dr. Myrto Tsakatika hosted a number of events relevant to Parliamentary Democracy, including the Mackenzie lecture given by Professor Donald Searing, University of North Carolina: 'Virtues and Vices of Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies'; Dr Irene Martín Cortés, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, 'The impact of the economic crisis in Spain on citizens' relationship to politics' and Dr Nick Vivyan, University of Durham, 'Constituent preferences over representative activities: evidence from conjoint analyses'. The Stevenson Trust for Citizenship based in the University of Glasgow and closely linked to the Politics subject offered a very well attended series of public lectures on the Scottish referendum and its importance for Scottish democracy. It also ran a special panel discussion for the 2014 European elections where Dr Myrto Tsakatika and Dr Kelly Kollman from the University of Glasgow were central contributors. Dr. Myrto Tsakatika was invited and gave the keynote lecture on March 2014 on the European Elections in Lancaster University.

In terms of the production of educational materials, Dr. Tom Lundberg (Glasgow) published an article for a magazine that targets final year high school students: 'UK electoral systems: Are they all flawed?', Politics Review, 23(2): 30-33, November 2013. Dr Myrto Tsakatika established a new simulation exercise in the context of the undergraduate course Politics of the European Union; the exercise involves the preparation of briefs and individual and group role play by students aimed at experiential learning of the European Union's legislative procedure. The topic was the adoption of the EU's Climate package in 2006.



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#### **TEPSA**

TEPSA took part to the organization of PADEMIA First Annual conference which was held in the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels on June 12th and 13th. The 12th on the morning was dedicated to the General Assembly of the Network, where the general orientations of the project were discussed. At this occasion the steering group members were approved by the General Assembly. Then two sets of workshops were organized in the afternoon, consisting in 7 panels, each of them chaired by renowned professors. Each panel gave the floor to three to four researchers or PhD candidates to present the results of their research related to parliamentary democracy, along with the general topic of each panel (Changing Parliamentary Institutions in Europe, the Role of Parliamentary Actors, the Financial Crisis and Challenges to Representation, the Parliament and the European Public Sphere, Parliaments in Europe in Times of Crisis, Multi-Level Democracy, Parliament and Citizens in Europe). After the presentations there was room for further questions from the academic audience (all participants were professors or students belonging to PADEMIA member Universities or Institutes) which could also give some feedback. The following discussions were often fruitful, leading the relevant speaker to precise and justify his/her work, notably regarding the methodological side. The first day ended with a reception dinner where the participants could continue discussing and establish contacts, which is one the main goal of PADEMIA network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe.

The second day was first dedicated to the presentation of OPAL results, OPAL being a terminated project on Parliamentary democracy. It was a good opportunity for PADEMIA members to get deeply familiar with this very interesting project. Then a roundtable took place, chaired by Prof. Wessels, with all panel chairs who presented the results of the panel discussions, the research orientations and outputs put forward the day before. It fostered the cooperation and exchanges of the researchers on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe through fruitful debates and discussions.

#### **College of Europe**

David Earnshaw taught the course, "The European Parliament and its Role within the Union." A Roundtable was organized with Olivier Costa, Julien Priestly and Jo Leinin, "2014 EP Elections: Really Different this Time?"

#### **University of Iceland**

Dr. Maximilian Conrad offers a variety of courses on issues connected to the European Union, including an undergraduate course on European Integration and three graduate courses called "European Integration and the Future of Democracy", "Current Challenges in European Integration" and "European Integration Theory".

The topic of parliamentary democracy comes up in Dr. Conrad's introductory course on European Integration, specifically in the analysis of the EU's political system, its historic





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development and not least the debate on the union's oft-cited lack of democratic accountability. The issue is further addressed in the context of the course on "European Integration and the Future of Democracy", where the possibility of democracy beyond the nation state is addressed in relation to representative-liberal, participatory-liberal and deliberative understandings of democracy.

In the spring of 2014 the Institute of International Affairs and Centre for Small State Studies (IIA/CSSS) organized five seminars on EU topics, ranging from environmental issues, to Arctic concerns and amongst those one was solely devoted to the European Parliamentary election results featuring former EP member Dr. Kinga Gönz. In addition the topic of parliamentary democracy was integral to a half-day conference on small states and good governance within the EU, hosted within the Small States Summer School at the University of Iceland in June.

The IIA/CSSS is now finalizing an advanced textbook on European integration, including discussions on parliamentary democracy within the Union, in Icelandic. The book is to be published by the end of the year and is mainly geared towards advanced secondary level students and early university level. It will also be marketed towards the general audience with an interest in European affairs.





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### **Section II: Research on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe**

#### **University of Cologne**

Prof. Wessels and the members of his chair have been involved in several academic and research projects that dealt with parliamentary democracy in Europe. Together with three other PADEMIA partners, the very successful OPAL (Obersvatory of Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty) has been conducted, which analysed the new roles of national parliaments in the EU after the innovations of the Lisbon Treaty. Further, a project was conducted shortly before the 2014 EP elections, entitled "European Election 2014 – Analysis, Information, Discussion" (original title in German), in the course of which different lectures, information meeting and debates took place.

Publications around the issue of parliamentary democracy include:

Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (Hrsg.) (2014): Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2014, Baden Baden (mit Beiträgen von Mitarbeitern des Jean Monnet Lehrstuhls: Cyril Gläser, Dr. Andreas Hofmann, Alexander Hoppe, Wulf Reiners, Katrin Schmitz, Thomas Traguth, Dr. Gaby Umbach, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels und Birte Windheuser).

Wessels, Wolfgang (2014): Quo Vadis, Europe? Short term perspectives after 2014 – some educated guesses, in: European Commission (Hrsg.): The political implications of European economic integration – towards a political Union. Proceedings of the Jean Monnet Conference 2013, Brüssel, S. 71-80.

Höing, Oliver / Katrin Auel (2014): Parliaments in the Euro Crisis: Can the Losers of Integration Still Fight Back? in: Journal of Common Market Studies. doi: 10.1111/jcms.12186

Höing, Oliver / Katrin Auel (2014): Scrutiny in Challenging Times: National Parliaments during the Eurozone Crisis, SIEPS Policy Brief

Wolfgang Wessels: The EU System: A Polity in the Making. The Evolution of the Union's Institutional Architecture, Berlin 2013.

Katjana Gattermann, Claudia Hefftler (2013): Political Motivation and Institutional Capacity: Assessing National Parliaments'Incentives to Participate in the Early Warning Mechanism. OPAL Online Paper No. 15/2013





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Gattermann, K. (2014) Opportunities, strategies and ideologies: The incentives of European Parliament political groups for inter-parliamentary cooperation, OPAL Online Paper, No. 16/2014

Gattermann, K., Högenauer, A-L. and Huff, A. (2013) National Parliaments after Lisbon: Towards mainstreaming of EU affairs?, OPAL Online Paper, No. 13/2013

Claudia Hefftler / Wolfgang Wessels (2013): The Democratic Legitimation of the EU's Economic Governance and National Parliaments, IAI Working Paper, No. 1313, April 2013

Claudia Hefftler / Valentin Kreilinger / Olivier Rozenberg / Wolfgang Wessels (2013): National Parliaments: Their Emerging Control over the Eurpean Council, Notre Europe Policy Brief, No. 89, März 2013

Oliver Höing und Christine Neuhold, National Parliaments in the Financial Crisis. Between Opportunity Structures and Action-Constraints, Policy Brief 02, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Europapolitik

#### **University of Salzburg**

Within the reporting period, members of the department were engaged in various research projects that dealt with the European Union. There were three perennial and externally funded EU projects conducted at the department. First, Andreas Dür and Gemma Matteo have been working on a project examining the Europeanization of national interest groups. Second, Andreas Dür and David Marshall have been involved in a project examining the influence of interest groups in EU decision-making. Third, Reinhard Heinisch and (until February 2014) Monika Mühlböck have been working on a project looking at the determinants of Eurosceptical voting behaviour in CEE Countries.

In addition to these 'larger' projects, various other studies on different aspects of EU integration were conducted: Michael Blauberger has been working on several projects dealing with the topic of Europeanization and integration through law; Sonja Puntscher-Riekmann has been working on fiscal federalism in the EU; Fabian Wasserfallen conducted a study on (failed) tax harmonisation in the EU; Monika Mühlböck worked on inter-institutional cooperation between the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament, as well as on the determinants of voting behaviour within the European Parliament; Jessica Fortin-Rittberger conducted a study seeking to explain women's representation in the European Parliament; Eric Miklin conducted studies on the impact of the Early Warning Mechanism on national parliamentary activities in EU affairs, on the impact of the euro crisis on the politicisation of EU decision-making within national parliaments and on the development of the Austrian parliament's engagement with EU





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affairs over time. Also looking at national parliaments, Doris Wydra has worked on a project examining the role of national parliaments during the euro crisis. Those Ph.D. students of the programme at SCEUS that are affiliated with the department have been working on the role and the influence of interest groups in the European parliament (Laura Baroni) and on the reactions of public opinion and political parties to EU integration (Cal le Gall).

The main focus of the department with regard to Parliamentary Democracy in Europe during the reporting period clearly has been the question of how parliaments do – or: are able to – respond to changes in their external environment and especially to the challenges they face as a result of EU integration. Hence, research has been driven by questions like to what extent parliaments are still able to fulfil their 'core-tasks' in parliamentary democracies, when an increasing part of decisions is de facto taken at other places and even other countries. How do parliaments react to these challenges and what explains (the lack of) institutional adaptation in this regard? Is there any chance for parliaments to make their voices heard on the EU level – especially when decisions are negotiated behind closed doors and under immense time pressure as it was the case for example with regard to the financial crisis.

In this regard, two points seem to be especially important: First, when discussing the role of national parliaments in international (EU) politics, one need to distinguish between parliaments' government-related tasks (i.e. their task to control their governments on the EU level) on the one hand and at their citizen-related tasks (i.e. their role in communicating decisions to the electorate). By now, a lot of research has been conducted with a view on the first, government-related, dimension, while attention for parliaments' citizen-related tasks has increased only recently. Hence, we still know much too little about when and under what circumstances (and on what topics) national parliaments indeed link with their electorates in EU affairs.

Secondly, it is crucial to acknowledge that, to understand parliamentary behaviour, it is necessary to look at the main actors within parliaments – parties. Studies that have done so by now have often (implicitly) adopted a rational choice perspective, treating parties as utility-maximising actors that are driven solely by their desire to maximise votes, enter office and influence policies. This perspective has been very helpful to understand NPs often still rather limited engagement with EU affairs. In a way, however, this perspective has difficulties to explain why parliaments do engage with the EU at all (given the amount of energy this requires compared to often very limited influence of a single parliament). Hence, future research might benefit from broadening its theoretical approaches beyond rational choice to profit from the insights gained, for example, from role theory, sociological institutionalism etc.

Members of the department have published the following research results on parliaments and parliamentary democracy in Europe during the reporting period:

- Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica (2014) 'Do Electoral Rules Matter? Explaining National Differences in Women's Representation in the European Parliament', European Union Politics, doi: 10.1177/1465116514527179.





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- Miklin, Eric (2014) 'From "Sleeping Giant" to Left-Right Politicization? National Party Competition on the EU and the Euro Crisis', Journal of Common Market Studies, doi: 10.1111/jcms.12188.
- Miklin, Eric (2014) 'EU Politicisation and National Parliaments: Visibility of Choices and Better Aligned Ministers?', Journal of Legislative Studies, Vol 20 Issue 1, 78-92.
- Miklin, Eric (forthcoming) 'The Austrian Parliament and EU Affairs: Gradually living up to its legal potential', in: Claudia Hefftler, Christine Neuhold, Olivier Rozenberg, and Julie Smith (eds): Handbook on National Parliaments in the European Union. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miklin, Eric (2013) 'Inter-parliamentary coordination in Single Market Policy-Making: The EU Services directive', in: Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum (eds): Practices of Inter-Parliamentary Coordination in International Politics The European Union and beyond. Colchester: ECPR Press. 71-86. (together with Ben Crum)
- Mühlböck, Monika (forthcoming) 'Tracing the Bias in Roll Call Votes: Party Group Cohesion in the European Parliament', European Political Science Review (together with Nikoleta Yordanova)

#### **IHS Vienna**

Research within the Department of Political Science focuses on various aspects of representation in Europe. It includes research on new forms of participation, on electoral behaviour and representation, on dynamics of (multi)parliamentarism and on changing theories and concepts of representation.

The following ongoing research projects conducted in the Department focus more specifically on parliamentary democracy in Europe:

#### PACE - Parliamentary Communication of Europe (K. Auel, O. Eisele, L. Kinski)

The role of national parliaments in EU affairs has gained considerable academic attention over the last 20 years. Much of the literature, however, has focused on parliamentary scrutiny and control in EU affairs. Parliaments also have the potential to provide an ideal arena for the deliberation of important European issues and thus to help overcome the much-lamented distance between European policy processes and the citizens. While it is precisely the opacity of policy-making processes and the lack of public discourse that have been defined as core problems of democratic legitimacy within the EU, scholars have so far tended to neglect the parliamentary communication function. Based on the assumption that citizens experience politics mainly through the media, the research project will therefore investigate both the communication efforts of national parliaments in EU politics and their coverage in the national media.

A Game of Tones? Analysing Newspaper Contents of the European Parliament as an Influencer of Its Legitimacy in Public Opinion (PhD project Olga Eisele)





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The ongoing discussion about the EU's legitimacy deficit has focused, to a large degree, on the European Parliament (EP) as the only directly elected EU institution with great legitimising potential. While the parliament has grown stronger in the course of European integration, its empowerment has not come with greater awareness or appreciation of the citizens' direct representation: Euroscepticism is on the rise and voter turnout in EP elections has long decreased and stagnated in this year's elections. European citizens experience 'remote Brussels' mainly through the media that deliver the basis for informed democratic control by the people. Against the background of these considerations, the PhD project investigates newspaper coverage of the EP to analyse the media's role in (de-)legitimating and making the EP visible in public communication. A content analysis as well as an analysis of legitimation statements will be used to identify thematic frames in newspapers in Finland, Germany and the UK during the two last EP elections as well as a routine period. The results will be connected to public opinion surveys thereby measure the influence of coverage on citizens' attitudes towards their representation at EU level. The project, thus, gives credit to the pivotal role the media play in today's representative democracies and contributes to filling a major research gap in the academic discussion.

# National Parliamentarians and their Patterns of Representation in EU Affairs: A Comparative Analysis (PhD Project, Lucy Kinski)

The so-called 'standard account' of democratic representation has been seriously challenged by the multilevel system of the European Union (EU). The authority to make binding decisions does not necessarily coincide anymore with a citizenry defined by the territory of a nation-state. Decision-making power has increasingly become out of sync with democratic authorization and accountability mechanisms. Surprisingly, the debate on the role of national parliaments within this configuration has so far been dominated by precisely this narrow representative understanding, and has furthermore largely neglected the role orientations of national parliamentarians (MPs) themselves. Within the interdependent EU system national MPs may convey standard national representative patterns, but may also claim democratic links beyond national borders. Hence, this dissertation addresses the following research question: Which patterns of representation do national parliamentarians convey in EU affairs and which factors could potentially explain their choices? Theoretically, six ideal typical EU patterns of representation by MPs are conceptualized from a Principal-Agent perspective. Empirically, the dissertation explores those patterns and explains potential differences by way of a comparative case study design including Austria, Germany, Ireland and the United Kingdom. It employs a multi-method approach of data collection and analysis consisting of a Representative Claims Analysis (RCA) of plenary debates related to the European debt crisis and the Lisbon Treaty as well as qualitative interviews with MPs from the European Affairs and Budget/Finance Committees.

Electoral Communication - What (de)motivates parliamentarians to communicate EU affairs? (PhD project, Resul Umit)





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Democratic structures in Europe have been going through a transformation with and in the European Union. Europeans continue to send their representatives to regional and national parliaments, but capabilities of these parliamentary agents in making decisions on behalf of their principals have been increasingly limited by the European integration. Therefore, whether citizens are informed by their agents about these changes to historical structure of representation arises as a socially and academically relevant question. However, we still know very little about communication of EU affairs by parliamentary agents. This project will analyse whether members of regional and national parliaments communicate EU affairs to their citizens and to explore the electoral conditions that (de)motivate this particular legislative behaviour. Combining data sources and case selection, it will apply logistic regression analysis to the data at two levels: (1) a field experiment on 2905 representatives in ten parliaments at the first level and (2) a further analysis of online communication channels and interviews with samples of Irish and British parliamentarians at the second. The first level of analysis will provide the width to the analysis by including 10 parliaments across five member states. The second will ensure the depth through a far-reaching analysis of communication channels of a randomly-selected group of parliamentarians, coming from two of the least likely cases to find communication of EU affairs.

#### Publications on parliamentary democracy in Europe:

- K. Auel (2014), Grenzziehungen in der Mehrebenendemokratie Zur 'Europatauglichkeit' nationaler Demokratie, in C. Franzius, F.C. Mayer and J. Neyer (eds.), Grenzen der europäischen Integration? Herausforderungen an Recht und Politik, p.233-249
- K. Auel and T. Raunio (eds.) (2014), Connecting with the Electorate? Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs, Special Issue of the Journal of Legislative Studies 20 (1). This includes:
- K. Auel and T. Raunio (2014), introduction: Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs, Journal of Legislative Studies 20 (1), 2014, p.1-12
- K. Auel and T. Raunio (2014), Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, Journal of Legislative Studies 20 (1), 2014, p.12-28
- K. Auel and O. Höing (2014) 'Scrutiny in Challenging Times National Parliaments in the Eurozone Crisis', SIEPS European Policy Analysis 2014 (1).
- K. Auel and O. Höing (2014) Parliaments in the Euro Crisis: Can the Losers of Integration Still Fight Back?, Journal of Common Market Studies 2014 (published before print).
- O. Eisele und L. Kinski (2014), Kommunikatives Schweigen? Zur Kommunikationsfunktion nationaler Parlamente in EU-Angelegenheiten, in Frieß, Dennis, Julia Jax and Anna Michalski (eds.): Sprechen Sie EU? Das kommunikative Versagen einer großen Idee. Berlin: Frank und Timme GmbH, 113-132.





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- J. Pollak (2014), Compounded Representation in the EU: No Country for Old Parliaments in S. Kröger and D. Castiglione (eds.), Political Representation in the European Union: Still democratic in times of crisis?, Routledge, p.37-69.
- J. Pollak and P. Slominski (2014), The Silence of the Shepherds How the Austrian Parliament Informs its Citizens, Journal of Legislative Studies, 20(1), 2014, p.109-124
- J. Pollak and P. Slominski (2014), EU Parliaments after the Treaty of Lisbon: Towards a parliamentary field? In B.Crum and J.E. Fossum (eds.) (2013), Practices of Interparliamentary Coordination in International Politics, ECPR Press, p.143-160
- G. Tiemann (2014), Local Districts, National Contexts, and the Number of Parties. West European Politics, 37
- G. Tiemann and M. Bartkowska (2014), The Economy and the Vote in Elections to the European Parliament. Journal of Common Market Studies, 52.
- G. Tiemann (2014), Zentripetale Parteienkonkurrenz? Nähe-, Diskontierungs- und Richtungsmodelle bei Wahlen zum Europäischen Parlament. Jahrbuch für Handlungs- und Entscheidungstheorie, 8:133–169, 2014
- G. Tiemann and A. Goerres, (2014), Älter werden sie von allein. Die Verteidigung eines Wahlrechts mit Altersgrenze. In Tanjev Schultz and Klaus Hurrelmann (eds.), Wahlrecht für Kinder? Beltz Juventa, Weinheim, ?, 188–200.

#### **SWP Berlin**

The Innsbruck Center on European Research (ICER), housed within the Department for Political Science at the University of Innsbruck, brings together research and university teaching facilities on European integration and European Union studies. ICER aims to strengthen the critical and multidisciplinary analysis of the EU, examine the EU's frameworks for poly-archic, multi-level and –actor governance, provide a forum to stimulate the development of innovative analytical tools and teaching resources, increase the accessibility of information sources on the EU, and to stimulate the debate and research on the EU. Research carried out by ICER focuses on three core subjects:

#### Development of and theorizing the EU's primary law and its related socio-political bases

Processes to render the EU, both the Member States' and its supranational institutions, instruments and procedures more democratic, efficient and effective,

- European "soft law" or "tertiary law", i.e. inter-institutional agreements , rules of procedure, and other informal, inter- and intra-institutional arrangements as constitutive parts for developing European primary law,
- Interparliamentary cooperation with regard to the changing roles and functions of the European Parliament and national parliaments ,
- Political parties and EU integration, right-wing populist, nationalist and eurosceptic parties in the EU.
- Discussions about the future development of the EU and theoretical concept building concerning conditions, drivers and brakes for EU integration and disintegration.





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# Decision-making processes, negotiation strategies and conceptual problems regarding the implementation of EU policies

- Balancing EMU and reforming European Economic and Social Policy
- Common Agriculture Policy and structural reforms in the alpine regions
- International Agreements and the EU's Common Commercial Policies
- European Environmental Policy
- Linking the Open Method of Coordination with traditional, legally binding instruments
- Consistency of supranational and intergovernmental structures, instruments and processes in the EU's external relations
- Balancing Security, Freedom, Civil Rights and Justice in EU Justice and Home affairs

#### Policy preferences of state and civil-society actors in the EU member states

- Intercultural processes and conflicts
- Processes of direct democracy in European Policy
- Trans-Alpine and Trans-Arctic cooperation in European Policy
- EU policy making in Austria and inter-ministerial coordination

#### **Publications:**

- Andreas Maurer (2014): Die Kreationsfunktion des Europäischen Parlaments im Spannungsfeld zwischen Politisierungsimpulsen und Systemerfordernissen / The elective function of the European Parliament torn between politicization pulses and system requirements, in: Zeitschrift für Politik, Vol. 61, Nr. 3/2014, pp. 301-326.
- Andreas Maurer (2014): Parliamentary Democracy and the Euro-Crisis: Between Multi-Level Parliamentarism and Reciprocal Multi-Level Ignorance, CES Paper, Washington 2014.
  - https://ces.com/ces/2014/recording redirect.cgi/oid/Handout 728/EMU% 20 Paper% 20 Washington% 20 20 14.pdf
- Andreas Maurer (2014): Die EU muß sich selbst reformieren, in: Luxemburger Wort, 4. April 2014 (Im Focus), S. 2-3. (Download)
- Andreas Maurer (2013): Steilvorlage für Populisten. Eine Antwort auf René Cuperus: Plädoyer für eine maßvolle EU, in: Berliner Republik, Nr. 5/2013. (Download)
- Andreas Maurer (2013): Der Preis der Stärke, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20. Oktober 2013 (Die Gegenwart), S. 7. (<u>Download</u>)
- Pawel Glogowski/ Andreas Maurer (2013): The European Citizens' Initiative Chances, Constrains and Limits, Institute for Advanced Studies, Political Science Series, No. 134/2013, Vienna. (Download)





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- Wimmel, Andreas (2014): Nach der ESM-Abstimmung im Bundestag: Abstrafung der Euro-Skeptiker? In: Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Politik (GWP) 63 (1), 13.22.
- Doris Dialer/ Heinrich Neisser / Anja Opitz (2014): The EU's External Action Service: Potentials for a one voice Foreign Policy, Innsbruck University Press.
- Doris Dialer/ Andreas Maurer (2014): Handbuch Europäisches Parlament, Nomos Verlag, Baden Baden.
- Wimmel, Andreas (2014): The Impact of National Direct Democracy on the Choice for Convening EU Referendums. In: Perspectives on European Politics and Society 15 (1), 33-50.
- Wimmel, Andreas(2013): Fachliche Expertise und abweichendes Verhalten bei Abstimmungen zur Euro-Krise im Deutschen Bundestag. In: Zeitschrift für Politikberatung 6 (3-4), 125-136.
- Wimmel, Andreas (2013): Politische Parteien als Zug- und Gegenkräfte im europäischen Integrationsprozess. In: Eppler, Annegret/Henrik Scheller (Hrsg.): Zur Konzeptionalisierung europäischer Desintegration. Zug- und Gegenkräfte im europäischen Integrationsprozess. Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag, 117-138..





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#### **Université Catholique de Louvain**

Tom Delreux's research interests include the EU's external relations and foreign policy, its environment and climate change policies, inter- and intra-institutional relations and decision-making in the EU, and principal-agent modeling of EU politics. Four fully-funded PhD projects are conducted under the supervision of Tom Delreux in the area of EU politics:

- •'Venue shifts in the EU's external forestry policy' by Pauline Pirlot;
- •'Negotiation Autonomy in the EU Council of Ministers: Defining and Explaining the Autonomy of Governments from Federal and Regionalized member states vis-à-vis their parliament(s)' by François Randour;
- •'Negotiating in EU trialogue meetings: a double principal-agent analysis of the role of the Presidency and the rapporteur' by Anahita Sabouri;
- •'Environmental policy-making in the prelegislative stage: new governance approaches, the role of non-state actors and the regulatory nature of environmental policy in the EU' by Bart Van Ballaert.

François Randour is conducting a PhD focusing on the relationship between the executives of Austria, Belgium and Germany when negotiating at the Council of the European Union vis-à-vis their respective national and subnational parliament(s). On the one hand, the federal characteristic of the three selected countries is of special interest for this project. Indeed, in federal countries, a large part of policy competences are shared with or exclusively exercised by the subnational level. Hence, studying under which conditions and how subnational actors scrutinize European affairs is of importance in order to assess the input legitimacy of the European Union. On the other hand, François Randour is also interested in the multi-level nature of the European decision-making process. Therefore, his PhD project aims to go beyond analyzing the scrutiny actions undertaken at one singly level (i.e. the scrutiny of the domestic parliaments) by examining their effects at other levels (i.e. a possible change in the negotiation strategy by the executive in the Council).

In the PhD project conducted by Anahita Sabouri, the focus is on bicameral legislative decision-making in the EU and more in particular on the role of the rapporteur in this process. The main aim of the project is to analyze the conditions under which the rapporteur enjoys a particular degree of negotiation autonomy vis-à-vis the European Parliament when the former negotiates with the rotating Council Presidency on so-called 'early agreements' in trilogue meetings. The findings of this study will shed light on the democratic character of the day-to-day practice of legislating by 'early agreements' in the EU.

#### **Publications**

Baudewyns P. (2014), Dynamiques électorales en Belgique. Théorie des réalignements et analyse des résultats des élections législatives en Belgique depuis 1945, Louvain-la-Neuve, Presse Universitaire de Louvain.





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Delreux T., Randour F. (2013), 'L'européanisation des institutions belges: l'adaptation du parlement fédéral belge au processus décisionnel européen' in Revue des Affaires Européennes, 19(1): p. 55-65.

Dupuy C., Van Ingelgom V. (2014), 'Social Policy, Legitimation and Diverging Regional Paths in Belgium' in Kumlin S., Stadelmann-Steffen I. (eds.), How Welfare States Shape The Democratic Public. Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Attitudes, Surrey, Edward Elgar Publishing.

Follebouckt X. (2013), 'Nous devons parler d'une seule voix. Le Parlement européen face à la Russie: deliberations et positionnement (2004-2009)', Working Paper ISPOLE, (5).

Reuchamps M., Deschouwer K. (eds.) (2014), 'The future of Belgian Federalism', in Regional and Federal Studies, 3, p. 261-386.

Reuchamps M., Onclin F., Caluwaerts D., Baudewyns P. (2014), 'Raising the Threshold, Fighting Fragmentation? Mechanical and Psychological Effects of the Legal Electoral Threshold in Belgium' in West European Politics, 37(5), 2014, p. 1087-1107.

Conference papers and working papers

De Winter L., Wolfs W. (2014). The decline of the Belgian Parliament: Myth or reality? A preliminary longitudinal analysis, paper presented at Second General Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on Parliaments, Vienna, 26-28 June 2014.

De Winter L., Wolfs W. (2014), Policy analysis in the Belgian legislatures: The marginal role of a structurally weak parliament in a partitocracy with no scientific and political tradition of policy analysis, paper presented at the volume contributors' meeting of the International Library of Policy Analysis, Leuven, 28 May 2014.

Follebouckt X. (2014). The European Parliament's views on the EU's security role in the East, paper presented at the PADEMIA First Annual Conference, 12-13 June 2014, Brussels, Brussels, 12-13 June 2014.

Randour F. (2014). Defining and explaining the autonomy of the Austrian executive vis-à-vis his parliament(s): Preliminary results of a case study on the negotiation autonomy of the Austrian representatives in the Environment Council, paper presented at 7th Pan-European Conference on the European Union, The Hague, 5-7 June 2014.

Randour F. (2014). Defining and explaining the autonomy of the Austrian executive vis-à-vis his parliament(s): Preliminary results of a case study on the negotiation autonomy of the Austrian representatives in the Environment Council, paper presented at the PADEMIA First Annual Conference, 12-13 June 2014, Brussels, Brussels, 12-13 June 2014.

Teuber F. (2014), Do parliamentary party groups put brakes on their ideological outliers? 'Party discipline' and ideological outliers in the Belgian Chamber from 2007 to 2014, paper presented at the ECPR Graduate Conference, Innsbruck, 3-5 July 2014.

Teuber F. (2014), Do parliamentary party groups put brakes on their ideological outliers? 'Party discipline' and ideological outliers in the Belgian Chamber from 2007 to 2014, paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, 3-6 September 2014.





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#### **Leuven Center for Global Governance Studies**

#### 2.1 Main Area of research interest

The Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies currently focuses on questions of interparliamentary cooperation in the EU. It has worked predominantly on questions of parliamentary cooperation in the field of EU external relations. Moreover, GGS has worked on the role of the European Parliament, especially in the EU's external action after Lisbon.

#### 2.2 Aspect of Parliamentary Democracy

GGS has a special interest in questions of parliamentary democracy on the EU level, e.g. the European Parliament, and parliamentary cooperation in various fields of EU and global governance. To this end, GGS has published widely in academic journals and wrote thematic reports commissioned by the European Parliament (see further below).

#### 2.3 Research results

GGS has been able to attract a Jean Monnet Network on 'Interparliamentary cooperation in EU external action (PACO)' for the period 2014-2017. The network consists of various partner institutions, including Maastricht University, the University of Oslo, the University of Loughborough, Sabanci University, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt and the University Ghent. The Project will produce meaningful teaching and research results over the time period, underlining the importance of research in the field of parliamentary democracy beyond the state, e.g. in the field of EU external action.

Moreover, the following list of publications is a **selection of contributions** to the field:

Kuijper, B.J., J. Wouters, F. Hoffmeister, G. De Baere and T. Ramopoulos, The Law of

EU External Relations: Cases, Materials and Commentary on the EU as an International Legal Actor, Oxford University Press, 2013, 1160 p.

Raube, K. (2014). Parliamentarisation Approach: Parliamentary Control in EU Foreign Policy. In: Wilga M., Karolewski P. (Eds.), bookseries: Routledge Advances in European Politics, New Approaches to EU Foreign Policy, Chapt. 7. Oxon: Routledge, 125-141.

Van Vooren, B.; S. Blockmans and J. Wouters (eds.), The EU's Role in Global

Governance: The Legal Dimension, Oxford University Press, 2013, xvi + 350 p.

Wouters, J., A. Braeckman, M. Lievens and E. Bécault (eds.), Global Governance and

Democracy: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Edward Elgar Publishing, forthcoming, 2015.

Wouters, J., Beke, L., Chané, A., Hachez, N., Raube, K. (2014). Enhancing Cooperation between the European Parliament and EU National Parliaments on EU Human Rights Policy, 58 pp. Brussels: DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION, DIRECTORATE B POLICYDEPARTMENT.

Wouters, J. and T. Ramopoulos, 'Revisiting the Lisbon Treaty's Constitutional Design of EU External Relations', in L.S. Rossi and F. Casolari (eds.), The EU After Lisbon. Amending or Coping with the Existing Treaties? Springer, 2014, 215-239.





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Wouters, J., S. Bijlmakers, N. Hachez, M. Lievens and A. Marx, 'Global Governance and Democratic Legitimacy: A Bottum-up Approach', Innovation. The European Journal of Social Science Research, 2013.

#### **New Bulgarian University**

During the reporting period the main part of the department members were involved in the complementation of a three - year project 'Quality of Democracy in Bulgaria: Democratic Consensus and Civic Participation,' funded by the Scientific Research Fund at the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science and conducted by a research team from the Department of Political Science at New Bulgarian University. As a main research result for the reporting period could be pointed out the realization of the collective book (in Bulgarian) with the title "Quality of democracy in Bulgaria" and the complementation of the same book in English (expected release till end of the year). Prof. D. Kanev and Prof. A. Todorov were directors of the project and also editors of the book. Prof. D. Kanev delivered two chapters from the book. The first one "Examining the quality of Bulgarian democracy" gives a broad overview of the concept of "quality of democracy", and discusses the main theoretical and methodological problems in the field of democracy studies. Second one is focused on the bulgarian party system and its problems, as an important element of the democratic rule. Prof. A. Todorov delivered one chapter from the book ("Elections and democracy") which is focused on the decisive role of the elections for the contemporary representative democracies and the main problems and processes that can be traced in the Bulgarian elections and electoral behavior. Other members of the department like prof. A. Krasteva, prof. A. Galabov, as. K. Hristiva PhD, as. Z. Minkov PhD, as. I. Todorova PhD, as. E. Stajkova PhD, as. G. Prodanov PhD also delivered chapters to the collective book, focused on different elements of the chosen concept for evaluating the quality of democracy in Bulgaria.

Outside the project, the members of the department also developed broad research activities connected with the topics of the EU and parliamentary democracy. For example prof. D. Kanev and prof. A. Todorov took part in a project "Social alternative for Europe", by delivering two chapters of a collective book, focused on the contemporary democratic and political deficits and problems in the EU development. Another example is the two articles from as. P. Guergieva PhD which are focused on the thematic of the European Union and parliamentary democracy. The first one (in French) is "European union as a factor in the democratic changes in Nord-Africa". The second one, "European parliament elections in Bulgaria 2014" (also in French) is focused on the role and influence of the European parliamentary elections in Bulgaria.





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#### **Charles University Prague**

Tomáš Weiss and Zuzana Kasáková have prepared a research report for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic regarding the Czech position in the EP, entitled Czech Republic's entry points in the European Parliament's decision-making.

#### **IRMO Zagreb**

Within the Institute for Development and International Relations – IRMO, Zagreb the Department for European Integration is devoted to the interdisciplinary research of the European integration process. It focuses on the economic, legal and political development of the European Union and its relations with candidate and non-member countries. Internal reforms within the EU, the EU membership of Croatia, and the enlargement to the South-eastern Europe are at in the focus of research interests. The Department takes part in various European academic networks. In addition to scientific research, Department participates in development of information infrastructure and education in the field of European Studies. It closely cooperates with the European Documentation Centre (EDC) hosted by IRMO and helps in facilitating a continuous flow of information to the end users. The other IRMO departments mostly focus on the sectoral policies.

The special interest in the area of parliamentary democracy is development of Croatian system of parliamentary scrutiny in the EU affairs. Such system became operational in Croatian Parliament after Croatia joined the EU on the 1 July 2013. In the upcoming years it will need to be further developed in order to best suit its purpose. An additional topics which generate a lot of interest are preconditions for successful representation of Croatian citizens' interest through the European and Croatian Parliament. This topic is closely connected with the notion of Croatia's pro-active membership in the EU.

Within the project Observatory of Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty (OPAL) Dr. Hrvoje Butković from IRMO has written a chapter on Croatian Parliament for the "Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments and the European Union" which was reviewed and will be published by the end of 2014 or in early 2015. The chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the role of Croatian Parliament in the EU affairs. Based on the recently adopted legislation, interviews with the main stakeholders and academic sources, the chapter discusses issues such as: the role of the European Affairs Committee and other sectoral Committees, timing of the scrutiny system, the role of administrative staff, main procedures in transposition of EU laws etc. The chapter also focuses on application of the new procedures introduced by the Lisbon Treaty such as the Early Warning Mechanism. As a special case article discusses the delayed application of the European Arrest Warrant (EAW) in Croatia upon its joining the EU on the 1 July 2013.

The role of the national Parliament in the major reform debates and in the political investigations on the major civil security crisis was analysed for the purpose of the FP7 project ANVIL – The Analyses of Civil Security Systems in Europe, in which IRMO was a partner. The aim





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was to find out to which extent the Parliament contributed to the overall quality of civil security system and its legal basis. The findings are part of the overall results presented in the ANVIL Country study Croatia (Samardzija et al).

#### **University of Southern Denmark**

At the department of Political Science of the University of Southern Denmark our main EU research areas are:

- 1. The parliamentarization of EU politics: the European Parliament and national parliaments.
- 2.EU's common agricultural policy
- 3.Europeanisation of public policy, EU regulation policy, the interaction between European and national public management
- 4. National media coverage of EU politics

The role of national parliaments in EU politics, in particular, the strategies of national parliamentary parties for influencing EU politics, the adaptation patterns of national parlimanets to the Lisbon Treaty (the Early Warning Mechanism).

Publications by researchers at the Department of Political Science of the University of Southern Denmark related to Parliamentary Democracy;

- 1.Buskjær Christensen, M., Roederer-Rynning, C. & Scheelke, R. (2013) 'Danmark og parlamentariseringen af EU-samarbejdet' (Denmark and the parliamentarization of EU politics) Politica, 45:4, pp. 419-436.
- 2. Winzen, T., Roederer-Rynning, C. & Schimmelfennig, F. (2014) Parliamentary Co-Evolution: National Parliamentary Reactions to the Empowerment of the European Parliamen, Journal of European Public Policy.
- 3. Roederer-Rynning, C. (2014) Europa-Parlamentet som lovgiver (the European Parliament as a legislator), Oekonomi og Politik. 87, 2

#### **University of Copenhagen**

Mads Dagnis Jensen is dealing with the following research projects related to the main area: Exploring the latent communication patterns in the European Union documents through intelligent computer-based content analysis', 'Perspectives on European governance in comparative perspective: interests, institutions and policy-making, 'Developing position for the European Union – measuring and explaining variation in coordination mechanisms'

The mechanisms which national parliaments have installed to control national governments. National Parliaments involvement in the entire policy cycle, so not only the decision making phase but also policy design and implementation.

Europa-Parlamentet og Repræsentation af De Nordiske Befolkninger. / Jensen, Mads Christian Dagnis.In: Oekonomi og Politik, Vol. 87, Nr. 2, 2014.





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Europa-Parlamentet efter Lissabon. / Bhatti, Yosef (editor); Jensen, Mads Christian Dagnis (editor).I: Oekonomi og Politik, Vol. 87, Nr. 2, 2014.

Out of time? : National parliaments and early decision making in the European Union. / Jensen, Mads Christian Dagnis; Martinsen, Dorte Sindbjerg.

Government and Opposition, 2014. Early View

Co-decisions between the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament are increasingly adopted as early agreements. Recent EU studies have pinpointed how this informal turn in EU governance has altered the existing balance of power between EU actors and within EU institutions. However, the implications of accelerated EU decision-making are expected to have repercussions beyond the EU system and in other institutions impinging on the role of national parliaments. This study examines the implications of an alteration of EU political time on national parliaments' ability to scrutinize their executives in EU affairs. A mixed method approach has been applied. This strategy combines survey data on national parliaments' scrutiny process and response to early agreements for 26 EU countries with a case study examination of national parliaments in Denmark, the UK and Germany. The burgeoning research agenda on EU timescapes is applied. This study finds that the clocks of most national parliaments are out of time with the EU decision-mode of early agreements, which severely hampers the national parliaments' ability to scrutinize national governments.

#### **University of Tartu**

Research produced by UT scholars has focused on EU-Russia relations, Estonia's integration experience, EU legitimacy and public support issues, the democratic deficit, party politics in the European Parliament, enlargement and the Neighbourhood Policy.

In 2013, the University of Tartu became an important regional hub of the new global network for the study of democratic institutions ("Varieties of Democracy", or V-dem, see https://v-dem.net), coordinated from the University of Gothenburg. Two UT scholars now act as regional coordinators for V-dem: Prof Vello Pettai is the coordinator for the Baltic countries, and Prof Andrey Makarychev is responsible for coordinating the data collection in the Russian Federation.

The University of Tartu is Estonia's leading institution for the study of electoral behavior, electoral systems, and parliamentary politics. The Institute of Government and Politics maintains a database of post-election surveys (see <a href="www.enes.ee">www.enes.ee</a>) and regularly conducts new surveys focusing on election-related attitudes and behavior. At the Institute, there is a strong team of scholars studying e-voting (Estonia is the leading country in the world in terms of e-voting, with 30% of voters now voting via the internet). The Institute of Government and Politics at the UT also has unique expertise on independent candidates in the EU (an extensive study for the European Parliament on this topic was prepared in spring 2013)One indicator of the UT's excellence in parliamentary studies is the fact that in a nation-wide competition, 7 of the 9 August Rei scholarships in parliamentary studies awarded by the Estonian Parliament have been





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won by Political Science MA and Ph. D students at the Unviersity of Tartu (while only 2 have gone to other institutions).

Relevant publications include:

Braghiroli. Stefano (2014). An Emerging Divide? Assessing the Impact of the Euro Crisis on the Voting Alignments of the European Parliament, The Journal of Legislative Studies, DOI: 10.1080/13572334.2014.939559

Braghiroli, Stefano (2013). Dum Bruxellae consulitur, Athenae expugnatur: Assessing the impact of the Euro-crisis on the legislative dynamics of the European Parliament. THESEUS Working Papers, 1-20.

Braghiroli, Stefano (2013). Quo vadis Europa? Assessing the impact of the Eurocrisis on the voting alignments of the European Parliament. SYNESIS Working Papers, 1 - 33.

Ainsaar, Mare; Ehin, Piret; Roots, Ave (2014). Metoodika ja valim. Ehin, Piret; Ainsaar, Mare; Talving, Liisa; Reiljan, Andres (Toim.). Eesti elanike suhtumine demokraatiasse (6 - 7). Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

Ehin, Piret; Madise, Ülle; Solvak, Mihkel; Vassil, Kristjan (2013). Üksikkandidaadid valimistel Euroopa Liidu liikmesriikides. Riigikogu Toimetised, 28, 53 – 66.

Talving, Liisa; Pukelis, Lukas. (2014). The Baltic states: Mixed results for incumbents. De Sio, Lorenzo; Emanuele, Vincenzo; Maggini, Nicola. (Ed.). "The European Parliament Elections of 2014." (133 - 139). Rome: Centro Italiano Studi Elettorali

Recent conference presentations include:

Liisa Talving, ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, UK (3-6 September 2014). Paper presented: Economic voting in Europe: Did the crisis matter?

Liisa Talving and Piret Ehin, 4th Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, UK (19-21 June 2014). Paper presented: Economic voting and constraints on government accountability: Are small, open and integrated countries different?

Liisa Talving, 3rd European Conference on Comparative Electoral Research, Thessaloniki, Greece (25-27 April 2014). Paper presented: Economic voting in Europe: Did the crisis matter? Research produced by UT scholars has focused on EU-Russia relations, Estonia's integration experience, EU legitimacy and public support issues, the democratic deficit, party politics in the European Parliament, enlargement and the Neighbourhood Policy.

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Ehin, Piret; Madise, Ülle; Solvak, Mihkel; Vassil, Kristjan (2013). Üksikkandidaadid valimistel Euroopa Liidu liikmesriikides. Riigikogu Toimetised, 28, 53 – 66.

Talving, Liisa; Pukelis, Lukas. (2014). The Baltic states: Mixed results for incumbents. De Sio, Lorenzo; Emanuele, Vincenzo; Maggini, Nicola. (Ed.). "The European Parliament Elections of 2014." (133 - 139). Rome: Centro Italiano Studi Elettorali

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#### **University of Tampere**

European politics is the main field of specialization in the Degree Programme in Politics, particularly European representative democracy, European energy policy and EU-Russian relations.

The Degree Programme has a strong interest in the challenges facing national parliaments in Europe, from declining levels of trust and voter participation to how parliaments become involved in both EU and global governance.

The following publications by Professor Raunio focus on European parliamentary democracy:

Connecting with the Electorate? Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs. Journal of Legislative Studies 20:1, 2014 (special issue co-edited with Katrin Auel).

Eduskunta: Kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla. Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 2014 (coedited with Matti Wiberg).

Monitasoinen Eurooppa: Kansalaisten vai valtioiden yhteisö? In Tuomas Forsberg & Tapio Raunio (eds) Politiikan muutos. Vastapaino, Tampere, 2014, 123-153.

Legislatures and Foreign Policy. In Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld & Kaare W. Strøm (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014, 543-566.

Les parlements nationaux sont-ils mal conseillés ? Examen critique du Mécanisme d'alerte précoce. Revue internationale de politique comparée 20:1 (2013), 73-88.

#### **Sciences Po Paris**

Among the diverse research project linked to parliamentary democracy in the EU developed at the Centre d'études européennes, two are worth citing:

2.1. Europolix: The Observatory of European Institutions (OIE)

The institutions of the European Union play an essential role in European integration by producing decisions and public policies, as well as ensuring their implementation within the Member States. However, EU citizens, and even scholars, are not fully aware of how EU institutions actually operate. In order to better understand how the core of this atypical political system functions, the Centre d'études européennes at Sciences Po Paris launched the Observatory of European Institutions (OIE) in 2006, with the support of the Centre for Socio-Political Data at Sciences Po (CDSP).

Its primary objective is to study the European decision-making process in detail through the creation of a database on European institutions, which comprehensively accounts for how the EU institutions operate and interact. By systematically and conclusively tracking both intra and inter institutional activity, the OIE aspires to overcome fragmentary approaches regarding the study of EU institutions while testing manifold hypotheses using variables that design EU decision-making. Given its methodology and capacious coverage of subject matter, the OIE constitutes an ambitious, large-scale and long term research project.





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Since 2012, the OIE has been strengthened by a funding of the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche for 3 years. Developed with the Centre Emile Durkheim of the Institute for Political Studies of Bordeaux, the project has stelled a dabase for the 1996-2013 period and inclused more than 50 information on each piece of EU legislation. Renaud Dehousse is the principal coordinator of the project.

#### 2.2. Reforming Europe

From May 22 to May 25 2014 Europeans have voted to elect the 751 Members of the European Parliament. These elections took place in a context of strong mistrust for European institutions. While the crisis of confidence is not specifically European, in the Old Continent it is coupled with the hardest crisis since the Great Depression, and with a political crisis that shows the incapacity of European institutions to reach decisions. The issues at stake in the next European elections, therefore, have multiple dimensions that require a multidisciplinary approach. The latest issue of the Debates and Policies Revue de l'OFCE series (published in French and in English), gathers European affairs specialists – economists, law scholars, political scientists – who starting from the debate within their own discipline, share their vision on the reforms that are needed to give new life to the European project. Our goal is to feed the public debate through short policy briefs containing specific policy recommendations. Our target are obviously the candidates to the European elections, but also unions, entrepreneurs, civil society at large and, above all, citizens interested by European issues.

In the context of the current crisis, the debate leading to the next European elections seems to be hostage of two opposing views. On one side a sort of self-complacency that borders denial about the crisis that is still choking the Eurozone and Europe at large. According to this view, the survival of the euro should be reason enough to be satisfied with the policies followed so far, and the European institutions evolved in the right direction in order to better face future challenges. At the opposite, the eurosceptic view puts forward the fundamental flaws of the single currency, arguing that the only way out of the crisis would be a return to national currencies. The different contributions of this volume aim at going beyond these polar views. The crisis highlighted the shortcomings of EU institutions, and the inadequacy of economic policies centered on fiscal discipline alone. True, some reforms have been implemented; but they are not enough, when they do not go in the wrong direction altogether. We refuse nevertheless to conclude that no meaningful reform can be implemented, and that the European project has no future.

The debate on Europe's future and on a better and more democratic Union needs to be revived. We need to discuss ways to implement more efficient governance, and public policies adapted to the challenges we face. The reader nevertheless will not find, in this volume, a coherent project; rather, we offer eclectic and sometimes even contradictory views on the direction Europe should take. This diversity witnesses the necessity of a public debate that we wish to go beyond academic circles and involves policy makers and citizens. Our ambition is to provide keys to interpret the current stakes of the European debate, and to form an opinion on the direction that our common project should take.



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#### **Sciences Po Bordeaux**

The main research about the EU in Bordeaux is conducted by Prof. Olivier Costa. His work focuses mainly on the institutions, their evolution and the new challenges they are facing today. Within the frame of a project lead by Renaud Dehousse (EUROPOLIX), he is working on a database that proposes a systematic analysis of the EU policy making, norm by norm.

The team of Bordeaux mainly focuses their researches on the actors- the members of Parliament. In this perspective, a whole range of methods have been used to study them: qualitative methods- as interviews with the MPs (Corentin Poyet, Tinette Schnatterer, Laure Squarcioni), observation in the constituency (Corentin Poyet and Laure Squarcioni), analysis of the website of the MPs (Tinette Schnatterer and Laure Squarcioni) and quantitative methods based on surveys conducted during the LEGIPAR project: as QCA-method (Corentin Poyet), factor analysis (Sylvain Brouard, Tinette Schnatterer and Laure Squarcioni), automatic coding (Anne-Sophie Behm) etc.

Eric Kerrouche conducted the French part of the CITREP-project (Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany ). This project wants to give insights into the process of political representation in both countries. The citizens' perspective on political representation was examined through a survey. The elected officials' perspective on political representation was investigated through the local work, also named the constituency service of the MPs.

Prof. Olivier Costa published in April 2014 with Nathalie Brack: "How the EU really works", Ashgate. This aim of this study is to understand the evolution of the EU, how the institutions work, the decision-making process and the interactions between the EU and various actors.

He also published with Anne-Sophie Behm "Les deputes connaissent-ils l'entreprise? " (Cahiers de l'association en Temps Réel  $n^{\circ}52$ , 1 Dec. 2013) about the relationship between the MPs and the business sector.

Olivier Costa edited a book "Parliamentary Representation in France", Routledge, Library of Legislative Studies, 2014 and co-edited a book with Stelios Stavridis and Clarissa Dri "Parliaments, Regioanal Integrations and Globalization. The role of international parliamentary institutions" Palgrave, 2013.

Sylvain Brouard and Eric Kerrouche published an article about the candidate's evaluation by voters, based on the candidate effect hypothesis: "L'effet candidat lors des élections parlementaires. L'exemple des élections législatives en France". Revue Française de Science Politique. Vol. 63 (6). Dec. 2013.

#### **Sciences Po Grenoble**

2.1 Professor Saurugger's main area of EU related research is threefold: interest groups and democracy, law and politics in the EU, resistance to soft law in European integration. Research at Sciences Po Grenoble concentrates more generally on economic aspects of EU integration (the





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ECB, EMU, economy and law), EU law and more specifically the European Court of Justice, politics of law as well as non compliance with soft law, and finally the relationship between public opinion, parties and public policies. Dr. Isabelle Guinaudeau and Dr. Céline Belot work on the politicization of European integration, with two particular focuses: the measurement of public opinion towards European integration, in particular using the "policy mood" approach, as well as the determinants of variations across time and countries; and party strategies and campaigning on EU issues.

- 2.2. Professor Yann Echinard is interested in the relationship between the economic governance system and Parliamentary Democracy in the EU, Professor Fabien Terpan works on the Common Defence and Security Policy. Professor Saurugger is particularly interested in the link between interest groups and Parliamentary Democracy. Dr. Isabelle Guinaudeau, Professor Frederic Gonthier and Dr Céline Belot work on the link between public opinion, political parties and public policies in parliamentary democracy.
- 2.3. The members of PADEMIA have published extensively on the areas below in French and in international journals and volumes (see selection below). Dr. Guinaudeau has obtained funding from the French National Research Agency for the project PARTIPOL on partisanship in lawmaking (https://sites.google.com/a/iepg.fr/partipol/), to which Professor Saurugger and several colleagues from Sciences Po Bordeaux and Paris are contributing until 2017. The members of the team are also actively involved in fostering the emergence of a transnational network of scholars working on partisanship in lawmaking. Dr. Guinaudeau is, for instance, coorganizing (with Dr. Simon Persico) a symposium on this topic gathering leading experts at the next Council for European Studies and an APSA panel on partisan bargaining on policies in the parliamentary area, with Dr. Sylvain Brouard and Prof. Michael Becher.

#### Selection of publications:

Guinaudeau, I. (2012) Les élections européennes, un défi pour la politique comparée ? Politique européenne, 37, autumn 2012, 170-176.

Persico, S., Froio, C., & Guinaudeau, I. (2012). Action publique et partis politiques. Gouvernement et action publique, (1), 11-35.

Brouard, S., Gougou, F., Guinaudeau, I., & Persico, S. (2014). Un effet de campagne. Revue française de science politique, 63(6), 1051-1079.

Guinaudeau, I., & Persico, S. (2013). EU politicization through the lens of salience: How the EU enters the French, British and German electoral agenda (1986–2009). French Politics, 11(2), 143-168.

Guinaudeau, I., & Persico, S. (2014). What is Issue Competition? Conflict, Consensus and Issue Ownership in Party Competition. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, 24(3), 312-333.





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Saurugger, S., & Terpan, F. (2014). La Cour de justice au cœur de la gouvernance européenne. Pouvoirs, (2), 59-75.

Crespy, A., & Saurugger, S. (2014). Resistances to policy change in the European Union. An actor-centred perspective.

Saurugger, S. (2014). 'The Changing Nature of Instruments. Why and How Instruments of Participation Change in the European Union?'. L'instrumentation de l'action publique, 317-340.

Crespy, A., & Saurugger, S. (2014). Resistances to policy change in the European Union. An actor-centred perspective.

Belot, C. (2014). Backing our men. Gouvernement et action publique, (4), 595-619.

Guinaudeau, I. (2014) Toward a conditional model of partisanship in policymaking. French Politics 12(3): 265-281.

Brouard, S., Guinaudeau, I. (2014) Policy beyond politics? Public opinion, party politics and the French pro-nuclear energy policy. Journal of Public Policy, forthcoming.

Belot, C., Guinaudeau, I. (2014) Le soutien des citoyens à l'intégration européenne : quel rôle pour les clivages traditionnels ? In : BRÉCHON Pierre, GONTHIER Frédéric (eds.) Les valeurs des Européens : évolutions et clivages, Paris : Armand Colin.

Selection of international conference presentations:

Guinaudeau, I., Schnatterer, T. (2013) (Not) in the Mood for European Integration? Long-term trends of the European 'mood' in 15 EU member states, ECPR General conference, Bordeaux.

Guinaudeau, I., Palau, A. (2013) How the EU enters domestic agendas. European integration, political parties and the media in France, Germany and the UK (1990-2012)", ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux.

Froio, C., Grossman, E., & Guinaudeau, I. (2014) How party systems shape the dynamics of issue competition, MPSA, Chicago.

Belot, C., & Guinaudeau, I. (2014) Economic crisis, crisis of support? How macro-economic performance shapes citizens' support for the EU, ECSA-CA.

Brouard, S., Froio, C., Grossman, E., Guinaudeau, I. (2014) Post-partisan world or condditional influence? Toward a general theory of party influence. Comparative Agendas Project annuel conference, Konstanz.

Becher, M., Brouard, S., & Guinaudeau, I. (2015) Electoral incentives and the strategic use of restrictive procedures in French legislative bargaining. APSA, San Francisco.

#### **WZB Berlin**

At the WZB, De Wilde is part of a group of researchers interested in the politicization of the EU in terms of its public contestedness in mass media, parliamentary debates, public opinion, elections, referenda and street protests. The focus of the WZB lies not only on political issues related to European integration and the functioning of the EU, but also on other issues related to globalization such as migration and climate change. Furthermore, we study the politicization of





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international organizations from the UN Security Council to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our interest in parliamentary democracy is related to this and focuses on political conflict within the parliamentary arena relating to migration, climate change, European integration, the EU, the UN etc. Having finalized a large scale quantitative content analysis project, we published the codebook, intercoder reliability results and descriptive data in a technical report as WZB Discussion Paper .

De Wilde has also published an article on how institutional features of national parliaments affect the way they discuss EU affairs as part of a special issue consisting of many PADEMIA members in the Journal of Legislative Studies.

#### **University of Macedonia**

The main area of EU-related research at the Department of International and European Studies lies within the field of EU external relations as well as European Regional Policy. There is, however, within the Department a research interest on the relation between citizens and parliamentarians or parties within the context of representative democracy and, most particularly, on measuring the issue congruence between voters and candidates or parties as well as its impact on electoral preferences. Last, but not least, some junior faculty members have recently started working on the impact of populism on the issue congruence between voters and their preferred candidates or parties. Some early work on both issues has been presented at several conferences across Europe, including PADEMIA's Annual Conference in Brussels.

#### **Corvinus University Budapest**

The functioning of parliamentary democracy along other issues of legislative studies has been in the focus of the Institute research activities for more than two decades. In the reporting period two research themes dominated the parliamentary research agenda at the Institute: the role of opposition in parliaments and candidates and MPs in parliaments. The research on parliamentary opposition is carried out within an international network and its aim is to analyze the dynamics of parliamentary opposition in European democracies. Within the framework two datasets were developed: one is a comprehensive dataset of roll-call voting in the Hungarian Parliament in the 1994-2010 period while the other dataset includes information about parliamentary questions in the Hungarian Parliament. Within the research project special attention is devoted to the changing parliamentary legal framework as one of the key institutional determinants shaping the structure of opportunity of the parliamentary opposition. In the reporting period a paper entitled "Efficiency, redistribution and symbolic changes in parliamentary rules in Hungary" written by Réka Várnagy and Gabriella Ilonszki was presented at the ECPR General Conference in Bourdeaux, 4-7 September, 2013. In 2012 a research funded by the Hungarian Science and Research Foundation was launched focusing on the behavior of candidates and elected parliamentarians entitled "Candidates and Parliamentarians.





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Individualistic and Partisan Representation". In the spring of 2014 a survey including questions about attitudes towards the European Union was conducted among the candidates and MPs running at the 2014 general elections. The first results of the survey are expected to be published in 2015. Individual research projects including a PhD dissertation entitled "Party-based Euroscepticism" (completed and defended in 2014) also touch on the impact of the European Union and its effect on the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

#### **University College Dublin**

UCD Sutherland Law School has a broad interest in European affairs in such areas as competition law, and European constitutional law. It cooperates with UCD SPIRE (the School of Politics and International Relations) in operating the Dublin European Institute, which carries out many activities in the European field. In August 2014, funding was approved for a Jean Monnet professorship in the Law School in the shape of a Professorship of European Constitutional and Economic Law. (Co-ordinator Professor Gavin Barrett) and a a Jean Monnet network for "Addressing the needs of Teaching Education and Research on European Foreign Policy" (Co-ordinator Professor Ben Tonra)

Aspects of parliamentary democracy that have proved fruitful avenues of research have included the role of the Irish parliament in European matters, the operation of the subsidiarity control mechanism, the use of referendums (particularly in relation to European questions) and justice and home affairs cooperation.

#### Instituto Affari Internazionali Rome

The Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) is an Italian think-tank on international affairs founded by Altiero Spinelli in 1965 and based in Rome. The Institute's main objective is to promote an understanding of the problems of international politics through studies, research, meetings and publications, with the aim of increasing the opportunities of all countries to move in the direction of supranational organization, democratic freedom and social justice. ! During the reporting period (Autumn 2013 - Summer 2014), the Institute organized several events on Parliamentary democracy, both at European and National level. These events included conferences and research presentations opened to an academic and general audience.

The most relevant issues regarding the last European election were largely covered by the Seminar series "Towards the 2014 European Election", organized by the Institute under the supervision of Gianni Bonvicini (IAI Executive Vice president) and Nicoletta Pirozzi (IAI Senior Fellow). This seminar series focused on the road leading to the May 2014 European Parliament (EP) elections. Public events were preceded by preliminary studies and deal with the challenges and opportunities for the next EP in four thematic areas: Economy, World, Society and Institutions. The conferences took place in Rome and Turin. Participants included representatives of Italian and European political parties, institutional partners, civil society, and interested citizens.





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On April 14, IAI presented, in a public event held in Turin, the result of the research "EP votes that shaped EU and national politics 2009-2014". The project was conducted in collaboration with Notre Europe, within the framework of the Vote Watch Europe Annual Report. Twelve European thinktanks took part in the project, which aimed to evaluate the European Parliament's activity during the 7th legislation (2009-2014), and spread the results to the national public opinion before the last election. The national impact of the fifteen most significative EP votes has been analysed with the direct involvement of national politicians and stakeholders. The report was edited by IAI in cooperation with Centro Studi sul Federalismo (an Italian think-tank on federalism based in Turin).

Also in April, the volume "The European Parliament for the New Union" edited by Gianni Bonvicini was presented in two public conferences. The first held by the University of Turin and a second one in Rome. On the eve of the elections to the European Parliament, this study – elaborated within the framework of a strategic partnership between IAI and Compagnia di San Paolo – aimed to increase public awareness of its largely ignored roles and to discuss its future prospects. The publication is divided into six chapters focussing on the functions of the assembly in Strasbourg: economic governance, foreign and security policy, innovations to the Treaty, the creation of a European political space, relations with national parliaments, and, finally, the behaviour of the Member States.

The Institute can count on different main areas of EU-related research. IAI focuses its interests on the interaction between the evolution of the international system and the internal dynamics of the EU. Numerous studies of successive treaties' revisions, including the recent Lisbon Treaty, have been conducted. Prospective EU institutional reforms remain one of the central research issues, as well as the problems concerning the application of the treaties in force. Moreover, special attention is paid to the development of the enlargement process, to the EU responsibilities in the world (especially in the Eastern and Mediterranean neighbourhood areas), to the EU's increasing security projection on extra-European areas, and to Italy's role in the EU. In the reporting period, for instance, the Institute carried out several research projects dealing with the future model of governance the EU could head towards ("Towards a More United and Effective Europe: Beyond the 2014 European Parliament Election", N. Tocci, E. Poli; "New Pact for Europe", G. Bonvicini, N. Pirozzi). The EU's global role was tackled ("The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for Global Challenge?", N. Tocci, E. Poli; "The EU-Africa Partnership in the field of security", N. Pirozzi), considering also the domestic perspective ("EU crisis management missions and the role of Italy", N. Pirozzi). The current Italian Presidency of the Council gave the opportunity to organise in collaboration with the Tepsa Network and the Centro study sul Federalimo and with the support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a "Pre-Presidency Conference" that took place in Rome on March 24-25. The event tried to tackle the most important issues expected by the Italian Presidency, and was divided in two general sessions and four roundtables, followed by a policy paper on the main priorities and challenges awaiting Italy. Furthermore, in the light of the political consequences at the European level generated by the economic crisis, the Institute participated in the "New Voices in the European Debate" (N. Tocci, E. Poli). This project aimed to engage in dialogue with emerging and reemerging political actors and social movements in three southern member states (Greece, Spain and Italy), to shed the cultural stereotypes that are fuelling Euroscepticsm and intra-European divisions while at the same time developing concrete





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ideas to jointly exit the crisis, drawing on practical and grassroots experiences already at work across the Member States. In the framework of the project a political seminar took place in Berlin on 7-8 November 2013 and a working paper was released. During the reporting period, the Institute was also able to offer a programme of scholarship in European studies dedicated to junior researchers. The activities focused on political and institutional aspects of European integration and are conducted at the IAI in Rome (for three months) and at the Department of Culture, Politics and Society of the University of Turin and at the Centro Studi sul Federalismo in Turin (for six months).

Specifically on parliamentary democracy, IAI focus its interests on the institutional role assumed by the European Parliament, its powers and competencies, its functioning, its behavioral dynamics at the political groups and members level, and the relations and balances with the other EU institutions. At the national level, the Institute's researches seek to investigate the scrutiny conducted by the Italian Parliament on the EU dossiers, and its interparliamentary cooperation with the EP and the other Member States' parliaments.

On these topics IAI produced two significant publications: E. Poli, L. Vai (N. Pirozzi, eds.), How relevant is the European Parliament in Italy? An analysis of the Italian public and parliamentary debate between 2009 and 2004 (original title: Quanto conta il Parlamento europeo per l'Italia? Un'analisi del dibattito parlamentare e pubblico tra il 2009 e il 2014), and G. Bonvicini (eds.) The European Parliament for the New Union (original title: Il Parlamento europeo per la nuova Unione). The first study aims at investigating the extent to which the European Parliament might have influenced Italian institutional, political and public opinions. Specifically, the analysis addresses 15 positions or binding resolutions voted by the EP during its 7th term (2009-2014) and attempts to measure their impact on three levels, namely on debates held by Italian institutional representatives, political actors and civil society. The analysis is part of a wider research project titled "European Parliament votes that shaped EU and national politics 2009-2014". Promoted by Notre Europe and VoteWatch Europe, the above project has involved 19 European research centres from 28 Member States. The methodology adopted to conduct the study has included speech analysis and the examination of public sources, political statements, parliamentary and official documents, newspapers article, working papers and open debates. The second publication collected in a volume a number of studies on the new powers owned by the European Parliament and its potential role in building a more united and effective EU. Indeed, the setting of the coming European Parliament elections is going to be quite different from preceding ones. The reasons are many. First, the Lisbon Treaty. If on the one hand it increased some powers of the EP, on the other it shifted the institutional balance towards the European Council to the detriment of the Commission, which now has a more bureaucratic function, and the European Parliament. Then, the way in which the emergency caused by the economic crisis was dealt with further complicated things. Instead of seeking the tools for handling it in the Treaty, the Council worked out institutional solutions that lie outside of it - two new international treaties, the Fiscal Compact and the European Stability Mechanism - thus again reducing the EP's role. The EP's actions targeting these problems and its attempts to





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influence the political-institutional evolution taking place in recent years are largely unknown. They certainly have had little effect on public opinion, which is increasingly sceptical and critical towards the European institutions. The contributions try to fill the gap in knowledge of the European Parliament and points the way to enhancing the integration process, starting out from the central and strategic role of the future.

#### **EUI Florence**

EUDO's research focus is democracy in the European Union. In particular, the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media focuses on the analysis of the attitudes and preferences of electorates, the media and elites, and aims to measure the extent and way in which these converge or diverge. The Observatory on Political Parties and Representation is devoted to the study of European parties as representative channels, agenda setters, and gatekeepers on the uncertain road towards a full-fledged and effective Euro-party system. The Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms, is devoted to reforms and adaptations in the current institutional design of the EU, particularly those reforms and adaptations that are most likely to foster increased popular acceptance and legitimacy for the Union. The Observatory on Citizenship, is devoted to the development of citizenship in the European Union and its Member States and its impact on democratic inclusion and participation.

One of the most important research activity carried out by EUDO in 2013-2014 was related to the European Parliament elections of 2014. In occasion of these elections, EUDO launched euandi (www.euandi.eu) – an online Voting Advice Application (VAA) that builds on the successful experience of the EU Profiler(www.euprofiler.eu). euandi fulfilled all the functions any traditional VAA would offer its users: documentation of party positions and matching of a user's positions with the political supply. Fundamentally new, however, was that the data generated enable like-minded citizens to connect and jointly act on a continent-wide level. This has never been attempted. Through social-media-linked applications, like Facebook and Twitter, users could transnationally connect with their peers. Available in 24 languages, euandi invited users to react to 28 policy statements covering a wide range of contemporary policy issues and political values in European politics, as well as two policy statements specific to the user's national political context. The euandi project was led by the Director of EUDO Alexander H. Trechsel in close cooperation with the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, directed by Professor Urs Gasser.

An International Advisory Board consisting of more than 40 of the world's leading political scientists in Europe and the United States, are overseeing the project. 28 country teams including over 120 highly trained and knowledgeable social scientists at the doctoral or post-doctoral level were responsible for researching and coding the political parties featured in the tool.





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Two fundamental sets of data were produced:

-A party data set that situates 242 parties competing in the 2014 European elections in a political spectrum, according to their positioning with regard to the euandi 30 statements. The Parties could motivate their choices by supplying supporting material. The supporting material is part of the dataset.

-A dataset on users' profiles that situates millions of users from overall Europe in the same political spectrum.

In Spring 2014 EUDO Institutions made available online a new dataset on The Informal Politics of Codecision reporting all 797 legislative files concluded under codecision between 1999 and 2009:

http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDOInstitutions/DatasetonTheInformalPoliticsofCodecision.aspx In 2014 the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation prepared the study "Political Parties and Political Foundations at European Level. Challenges and Opportunities" for the Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO) of the European Parliament. This report has been drafted by Luciano Bardi, Edoardo Bressanelli, Enrico Calossi, Lorenzo Cicchi, Wojciech Gagatek, Eugenio Pizzimenti. It is based on a follow-up study on "How to create a transnational party system", and, four years after the original study, provides policy-makers with a thorough understanding of both long-term and recent challenges or opportunities regarding the emergence of transnational parties and a transnational party system at the European Union (EU) level and, ultimately, of the constraints and opportunities for representative democracy in the EU. The Report focuses on the following aspects: (a) the policy positions and coherence of the EP Party Groups after the Euro-crisis; (b) the regulation and funding of political parties at European level (PPELs); (c) the role of political foundations at European level (PFELs).

After the European elections the OPPR has collected electoral data about the 2009 and 2014 European Elections. The electoral results have been aggregated according the Europarty affiliation of the national lists. This will allow OPPR to produce several interactive maps where the strength of difference Europarties will be easily shown.

In this period the following publications were produced which are relevant in the field of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe:

**Books and Special Issues** 

BARDI, L., KRIESI, H., TRECHSEL A. H. (eds)( 2014), Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis: Contributions from the 2013 EUDO Dissemination Conference, Florence: EUI-RSCAS, http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/31871

GARZIA D., Personalization of Politics and Electoral Change (2014), Houndmills; Basingstoke; Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan: http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/29555

GARZIA D. and MARSCHALL S. (eds) (2014), Matching Voters with Parties and Candidates. Voting Advice Applications in a Comparative Perspective, ECPR studies, Colchester: ECPR Press GROFMAN, B.; TRECHSEL, A. H.; FRANKLIN, M. (eds) (2014), The Internet and Democracy in Global Perspective: Voters, Candidates, Parties, and Social Movements, Berlin: Springer





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KRIESIi H., and Müller L. (2013), Democracy: An Ongoing Challenge, Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers

VALBRUZZI, M. and VIGNATI, R (eds) 2014, L'Italia e l'Europa al bivio delle riforme. Le elezioni europee e amministrative del 25 maggio 2014, Bologna, Istituto Carlo Cattaneo, [Italy and Europe at the Crossroad of Reforms. The European and Local Elections of 25 May 2014]

BARDI L., BARTOLINI S., TRECHSEL, A.H.(edited by) Special Issue "Responsive and Responsible? The Role of Parties in Twenty-First Century Politics", in West European Politics, Volume 37, Issue 2, 2014.

IGNAZI P., BARDI L., MASSARI O. (eds) (2013) Non solo Roma. Partiti e classi dirigenti nelle regioni italiane, Milano, Egea. [Not Only Rome. Parties and Political Elites in the Italian Regions] Articles or contributions in books

BARDI L., and PIZZIMENTI E., "Old Logics for New Games: The Appointment of the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy" in Contemporary Italian Politics, Volume 5, Issue n. 1, 2013.

**EUDO Working Papers** 

BRIGHT, J., GARZIA, D., LACEY, J.; TRECHSEL, A. H., Trans-nationalising Europe's Voting Space (2014), EUI RSCAS; 2014/02; EUDO - European Union Democracy Observatory: http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/29657

BRESSANELLI, E.; HERITIER, A.; KOOP, C.; REH, C., The Informal Politics of Codecision: Introducing a New Data Set on Early Agreements in the European Union (2014), EUI RSCAS; 2014/64; EUDO - European Union Democracy Observatory:

http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/31612

MORISI, D., Shaping Voting Intentions: an Experimental Study on the Role of Information in the Scottish Independence Referendum (2014), EUI RSCAS; 2014/88; EUDO - European Union Democracy Observatory: http://hdl.handle.net/1814/32411

**EUDO Reports** 

Portugal nas decisões europeias. Introdução ao estudo by Richard Rose e Alexander Trechsel, Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation, May 2014,

https://www.ffms.pt/upload/docs/introducao-ao-estudo\_KYYm4b9eoUuxE0j1b2D4ZQ.pdf

Portugal no Parlamento europeu, by Alexander Trechsel, Richard Rose, in collaboration with Daniela Corona, Filipa Raimundo, José Santana-Pereira and Jorge Fernandes, May 2014, Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation: https://www.ffms.pt/upload/docs/portugal-nas-decisoes-europeias-capitulo-2\_DP3q6CUwCEaa0Ex9Mcp5XQ.pdf

Definição vertical e horizontal de políticas na UE, by Alexander Trechsel, Richard Rose, in collaboration with Daniela Corona, Filipa Raimundo, José Santana-Pereira and Jorge Fernandes, May 2014, Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation:

 $https://www.ffms.pt/upload/docs/portugal-nas-decisoes-europeias-capitulo-3\_mnpKIdpVhU-STdRUYhXmFg.pdf\\$ 





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Representação de interesses portugueses na UE, by Alexander Trechsel, Richard Rose, in collaboration with Daniela Corona, Filipa Raimundo, José Santana-Pereira and Jorge Fernandes, May 2014, Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation:

https://www.ffms.pt/upload/docs/portugal-nas-decisoes-europeias-capitulo-

4\_FynVLRwzkkW6u\_W8pXJBRg.pdf

O capital político europeu dos portugueses, by Alexander Trechsel, Richard Rose, in collaboration with Daniela Corona, Filipa Raimundo, José Santana-Pereira and Jorge Fernandes, May 2014, Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation:

 $https://www.ffms.pt/upload/docs/portugal-nas-decisoes-europeias-capitulo-5\_xI0sX5RZ7E-Va\_00D0PYew.pdf.$ 

#### **LIIA Riga**

- 2.1. Economic and institutional developments in the European Union, effects of the economic crisis, preparations for the Latvian EU presidency, European Parliament
- 2.2. Ability of MEPs to represent the society efficiently; the nexus between representing the society and being a representative of a particular member state; the role of the European Parliament in the institutional structure of the EU, etc.
- 2.3. "European Political Challenges in the Context of the European Parliament Elections and Latvia's Presidency of the Council of the European Union" (Eiropas politiskie izaicinājumi Eiropas Parlamenta vēlēšanu un Latvijas prezidentūras ES Padomē kontekstā). Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 2014. http://liia.lv/en/publications/european-political-challenges-in-the-context-of-th/

Kārlis Bukovskis and Viljar Veebel, "European institutional adjustments and three choices and perspectives for Latvia and Estonia" in Latvian Foreign Policy Yearbook 2013, ed. by A. Sprūds. Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 2014. http://liia.lv/en/publications/latvian-foreign-policy-yearbook-2013/

Diāna Potjomkina, "Latvia" in 2014 European Parliament Elections: Views from Across Europe. Ed. Andrei Kulikov. Moscow, August 2014. http://stranovedenie.info/en/publikacii/

Diāna Potjomkina and Elizabete Vizgunova, "Latvia" in EU-28 Watch, Institut für Europäische Politik, 2014, http://www.eu-28watch.org/?q=node/1210

Ieva Bloma, Diāna Potjomkina and Agnese Gerharde, contributing to the EU and I project by the European University Institute in collaboration with the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, 2014, http://euandi.eu/

Diāna Potjomkina, contributing to the TEPSA Report "The 2014 EP Election Campaign in the Member States: National Debates, European Elections" by Mirte van den Berge, Brussels: TEPSA, June 2014. http://www.tepsa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/TEPSA-Report-EP-election-campaigns-Mirte-van-den-Berge.pdf





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#### **Vilnius University**

The main, though not the single, area of IIRPS of EU-related research is the Europeanization – the focus is on impact of the EU membership on national political institutions and structures. A team of scholars is working on the research project, funded by the Research Council of Lithuania, with the aim to develop an explanatory model of the variation of effects on domestic institutions of EU pressure. The first results of this research are to be published in Autumn 2014.

The main results of research related to Parliamentary Democracy in the reporting period are the following:

•The electoral study (funded by the Research Council of Lithuania) to determine whether and to what extent the Lithuanian citizens' electoral behavior is possible to interpret on the basis of party identification and whether social, economic voting, voting problematic theories of the impact of citizens' preferences makes strategic political communication.

The book is prepared for publication (to be published in autumn 2014), some results were published in Lithuanian, in the journal of political science "Politologija", 2014, issue no. 1, summaries in English available at:

http://www.vu.lt/leidyba/lt/mokslo-zurnalai/politologija/archyvas/politologija-2014-1-73

•The study of the change and politicisation of the senior levels of management of different groups of Lithuanian public sector organizations.

The results of the research demonstrated that "their politicisation is associated with party entrenchment in power, density of the party networks and politicians' beliefs. In the context of alternating ruling majorities, changing governments and positions, patronage strategies are exercised by political parties and incumbent managers on the 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' basis. These strategies are more actively pursued in policy areas and organisations that are characterised by higher political salience, larger funding or revenue. The likelihood and scope of politicisation is also affected by such facilitating factors as party networks or such constraining factors as legal regulation of the civil service". (Nakrosis, 2014)

The results were published in Lithuanian, in the journal of political science "Politologija", 2014, issue no. 2, summaries in English available at:

http://www.vu.lt/leidyba/lt/mokslo-zurnalai/politologija/archyvas/politologija-2014-2-74 Some preliminary results were published in Nakrošis, Vitalis, Gudžinskas, Liutauras, Party patronage and state politicisation in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe: a game theory approach. // NISPAcee journal of public administration and policy. Bratislava: NISPAcee Press. ISSN 1337-9038. 2013, Vol. 5, no. 2, p. 89-120.

#### **University of Malta**

While the Institute has sought to establish a broad range of research interests, a principal area of focus is the Euro-Mediterranean region and the EU's involvement in this area. To this end we are currently in the final year of a Jean Monnet Project on 'An Evolving EU Engaging a Changing





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Mediterranean Region'. A dimension of this project focuses upon parliamentary democracy in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Other areas of EU-related research EU and comparative agenda-setting, and comparative party politics.

2.2: Of particular interest is the work of the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly, and the evolution of parliamentary legislative and non-legislative functions at the comparative and Maltese level.

2.3: Scholars from the Institute completed the collection of datasets of bills (2002-2012), laws (1995-2012), parliamentary questions (2004-2012), budgets (1776-2013) in Malta. Data were coded following established international protocols which permit to trace the EU impulse in domestic political processes.

Some recent relevant publications:

Prof. Roderick Pace, Director of the Institute for European Studies at the University of Malta: "The electoral system and governability in Malta"; President's Forum. Book published in 2013 includes President's Forum held in April 2012 and 2013 entitled "Does Malta's Constitution still cater for the people's needs?

Prof. Pace also contributed to the following; The Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments and the European Union, Edited by Claudia Hefftler (Cologne University), Christine Neuhold (Maastricht University), Olivier Rozenberg (Sciences Po Paris), Julie Smith (Cambridge University) and Wolfang Wessels (Cologne University) - forthcoming

Borghetto, Enrico, and Marcello Carammia (forthcoming 2014) "Party priorities, government formation and the making of the executive agenda". in Nicolò Conti and Francesco Marangoni (eds) The Challenge of Coalition Government: The Italian case. Abingdon: Routledge.

Borghetto, Enrico, Marcello Carammia, and Francesco Zucchini (2014) "The impact of government party policy priorities on Italian law-making from the First to the Second Republic (1987-2006)". in Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Stefaan Walgrave (eds) Agenda Setting, Policies, and Political Systems. A Comparative Approach. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 164-182

Carammia, Marcello, and Roderick Pace (2014) "Malta: Hidden Change?". In Lorenzo De Sio, Vincenzo Emanuele and Nicola Maggini (eds.) (2014) The European Parliament Elections of 2014. Rome: CISE – Centro Italiano di Studi Elettorali, 215-222.

Carammia, Marcello, and Roderick Pace (2014) "Malta: mutamento sottotraccia?". In Lorenzo De Sio, Vincenzo Emanuele and Nicola Maggini (eds.) Le elezioni europee 2014. Rome: CISE – Centro Italiano di Studi Elettorali, 251-258.

#### The NL Institute of International Relations Clingendael

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael" is a platform that enhances knowledge and insight in international relations. Clingendael acts as a think tank as well as a diplomatic academy. The work of the Europa unit covers both the internal as well as the external





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dimensions of the European Union. The main subjects of research include the changing institutional structures of the EU, EU economic and monetary policy and parliamentary democracy. Research on EU topics is presented via the project 'EUforum.nl', a website which addresses relevant policy questions on several themes from a Dutch perspective. By means of analysis, opinion articles, interviews and blogs EUforum will provide insights on the themes sustainability, governance and politics, economics and finance and the position of the EU in the world. Contributions to the website will be written both by Clingendael staff and external experts. Our research framework starts from a political-institutional perspective with special attention for the (changing) role of different actors, questions on input- and output legitimacy and transparency of decision-making processes.

2.2) Firstly, we have a special interest in subsidiarity and the role of the national parliaments in EU-policymaking. In specific, we conduct a review on the yellow-card procedure and question whether this is an effective tool for parliamentary engagement in EU-decision making. Secondly, we focus on the involvement of the European Parliament in the EMU, thereby focusing on the role of the EP in the European Semester. Thirdly, we have started a research on the expansion of supervisory tasks at the European Central Bank in the context of the EU Banking Union and the broader democratic legitimacy of economic governance.

We have produced a number of research results in the field of parliamentary democracy.

Schout, A., J. Rood (eds) (2013) The Netherlands as an EU member state: a normal partner at last? Portland: Eleven International Publishing.

Schout A., Hoevenaars J., Wiersma J. (2014): Obstacles to a strengthened role for national parliaments in the European Union. Clingendael Website.

Schout, A., J. Hoevenaars, J.M. Wiersma, L. Mourik (2014) Voting Behaviour in the Dutch House of Representatives and the European Parliament: Misleading Parallelism, Votewatch.

Schout, A., J. Hoevenaars, J.M. Wiersma (2014) 'The European Elections 2014: This time it's different!', Internationale Spectator, 68(4) pp 15-23.

Schout, A. and T. Buirma (2014) 'Ten years of Barroso's presidency: Passive or smooth operator?', Internationale Spectator 68(2) pp 30-35.

Schout A. en T. Buirma (2014) 'Tien jaar Barroso: laf of 'smooth operator', Internationale Spectator, 68(2) pp 30-35.

Schout, A. (2013) 'Europe: What doesn't the PVDA want?', S&D 70(6) 9-13.

Schout, A. (2013) 'Europa: Wat wil de PVDA niet?', S&D 70(6) 9-13.

#### **Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam**

Political science research at VUA is organized around the central theme of 'Multi-layered governance in Europe and beyond'. With its focus on multi-layered governance, this theme aspires to exploit the intersection between the traditional sub-disciplines of comparative politics





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and international relations. The department holds particular expertise on the topics of EU politicization (Hooghe, Marks, Crum), multilevel governance (Hooghe & Marks), party programs (Keman, Pennings), European welfare states (Hemerijck), European political economy (Overbeek, van Apeldoorn), European foreign and security policy (Wagner) and EU democracy (Crum). With particular regard to parliamentary democracy, Ben Crum's research has been focusing on institutional reform, the impact of the eurocrisis on EU democracy, EU executive accountability, and inter-parliamentary relations. With regard to the latter, there is also regular collaboration with Wolfgang Wagner, who has a special research focus on inter-parliamentary cooperation in security and defence policy.

In this context, the most notable publication from the last period has been the volume that Crum co-edited with John Erik Fossum (ARENA, Oslo), which includes three co-authored chapters by Crum and one by Wagner.

Furthermore, Crum has published a number of more popular articles in Dutch on the impact of the eurocrisis on democracy in the EU. He also presented a paper on multilevel democracy at the conference of the ECPR Standing Group on the EU in The Hague (June 2014) and chaired a panel on the same topic at the first annual conference of the PADEMIA-network. However, the main topic on which he has made several academic and more popular presentations over the last year has been the challenge of executive accountability in the EU (both in the context of the eurocrisis and more generally). The main publication coming out of this is a co-authored chapter with Deirdre Curtin (University of Amsterdam) on this topic that is due to come out in 2015.

#### **Maastricht University**

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of Maastricht University focuses on Europe in a global world and on administrative politics in the European Union.

The Pademia project team consisting of Prof. Thomas Christiansen, Dr. Anna-Lena Högenauer and Prof. Christine Neuhold, assisted by Afke Groen, has been working on the role of parliamentary administrations in European politics on the regional, national and European level. As part of their work they have been developing a typology of the roles of parliamentary administrations and assess the risks and benefits of delegation to parliamentary administrations and administrative networks. They are also working on the impact of resource-constraints on parliamentary scrutiny.

As part of their ongoing work, the Pademia project team has produced both academic publications and policy advice between September 2013 and summer 2014.

- •K. Gattermann, A.L. Högenauer, A. Huff (2013), "National Parliaments After Lisbon: Towards Mainstreaming of EU Affairs?" OPAL Online Paper No. 13/2013.
- •T. Christiansen, A.L. Högenauer and C. Neuhold (2014), National Parliaments in the Post-Lisbon European Union: Bureaucratization rather than Democratization?, Comparative European





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Politics, 12(2), pp. 121-40. Published as advanced online publication: doi:10.1057/cep.2012.38, 14 January 2013.

- •Christiansen T, Högenauer AL, Neuhold C (2014), More European Democracy = More Parliamentary Bureaucracy?, EUDO Café Blog, 28 April 2014.
- •Written evidence: House of Lords European Union Committee call for evidence on the role of national parliaments in the European Union (A.L. Högenauer and C. Neuhold), 26 September 2013.
- •Neuhold, C. and Dobbels, M (2014).: Paper-keepers or policy shapers? The role of unelected officials in the European Parliament, Comparative European Politics, doi:10.1057/cep.2014.7
- •Hefftler, C., Neuhold, C. Rozenberg, O., Smith, J. (eds): The Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments, London: Palgrave, Macmillan (manuscript submitted to Palgrave in July 2014, forthcoming)
- •A.Groen and T.Christiansen, 'From "Second Chamber" to "Yellow Cards": Tracing the Ideas on National Parliaments in the EU's Constitutional Process', in C.Hefftler et al.(eds) The Palgrave Handbook on National Parliaments in the European Union (Basingstoke, Palgrave, forthcoming in 2014).
- •A-L. Högenauer and T.Christiansen, 'Conceptualising Parliamentary Administrations in Europe' in C.Hefftler et al.(eds) The Palgrave Handbook on National Parliaments in the European Union (Basingstoke, Palgrave, forthcoming in 2014).
- •A.L. Högenauer (forthcoming 2014), "The Dutch Parliament", in: C. Heffler, C. Neuhold, O. Rozenberg, J. Smith, The Palgrave Handbook on National Parliaments and the European Union, Palgrave.
- •A.L. Högenauer, G. Vara Arribas (forthcoming 2014), "Legislative Regions after Lisbon: A New Role for Regional Assemblies?" in: C. Heffler, C. Neuhold, O. Rozenberg, J. Smith, The Palgrave Handbook on National Parliaments and the European Union, Palgrave.
- •A.L. Högenauer (forthcoming 2014) "The Scottish Parliament An Active Player in a Multi-level European Union?" in G. Abels and A. Eppler (eds.), Subnational Parliaments in an EU Multi-level Parliamentary System: Taking Stock of the Post-Lisbon Era, Studienverlag Innsbruck und Transaction Publishers New Jersey, USA, Foster Europe International Studies Series vol. 3.

In addition to their own research activites, Professor Christiansen and Dr. Högenauer have been editing the Pademia online paper series (which builds on the previous OPAL Online Paper series they had set up). The first four submissions to the Pademia paper series are currently under review.

#### **Leiden University**

Research on the EU of the institute of public administration focuses on parliamentary democracy in the EU, the implementation of EU legislation, public opinion/responsiveness and the EU,





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interest group representation, the Europeanisation of national public administrations, enlargement, and EU legislative politics.

The aspects of parliamentary democracy of interests are the increased networking between national parliaments of EU member states as a response to the Early Warning Mechanism, the role of Upper Houses in the scrutiny of EU affairs, the interaction between the EU legislative process and debates in national parliaments on the EU, and the new scrutiny reserve of the Dutch parliament.

List of publications:

- -De Ruiter, R. (2015) 'Houses of abstention or Houses of reflection? Upper Houses in EU member states and the ex ante scrutiny of EU legislation'. Journal of European Integration, forthcoming
- -De Ruiter, R (2014) 'Public Parliamentary Activities and Open Methods of Coordination', Journal of Legislative Studies, 20(1): 62-77.

### **University of Oslo**

ARENA covers several areas of EU research. It has a special interest in a) Democracy, Legitimacy and the EU; ii) EU institutions and organization theory; iii) the Common Foreign and Security policy. ARENA also has research funded by the Norwegian research council on differentiated integration (EURODIV) and the role of experts in Union decisions (EPISTO).

Within its broad interest in democracy, legitimacy and the European Union, ARENA has an interest in both the European and national parliaments. Christopher Lord has written extensively on the European Parliament and its party groups. John Erik Fossum (with Ben Crum) has developed the concept of a parliamentary field to analyse interactions between the European Parliament and national parliaments on European Union questions.

Crum, B. and Fossum, J.-E. (2013) (eds) Practices of Interparliamentary Co-operation in International Politics, The European Union and Beyond', European Consortium for Political Research.

This volume provides a thorough empirical investigation of how an internationalizing context drives parliamentarians to engage in inter-parliamentary co-operation; how it affects their power relations vis-à-vis executive actors; among themselves; and in society in general. Building on these empirical insights the book also whether parliamentary democracy can remain sustainable under changing conditions. Indeed, if parliaments remain central to our understanding of modern democracy, it is of central importance that to track their responses to internationalization, the fragmentation of sovereignty and the proliferation of multi-level politics.

### **Kozminski University**

At present there are three main areas of the Department of International Public Law and EU Law:





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- •The role of the national parliaments in the decision making in EU
- •The role of the national parliaments in early warning mechanism
- •The role of the national parliaments in the course of the creation of the banking union and political union

In the reporting period our department produced the following research results

- •A. Pudło, The role of the national parliament in EU affairs after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, Warsaw 2014
- $\bullet A.$  Pudło, The selection policy for the European Parliament , "Prawo Europejskie w praktyce" 2014~no.1
- •A. Pudło, The test procedure of the subsidiarity principle in the Polish Parliament, "Roczniki Administracji I Prawa Teoria I Praktyka" rok XIII, Sosnowiec 2013
- $\bullet$ J. Barcz, Polish Policy in the Context of the Euro Area Reform, Yearbook of Polish European Studies vol. 16/2013
- •J. Barcz, Searching for the EU Centre of Power Against the Background of Eurozone Reform: What's the Stake in the Game? 4LIBERTY.eu Posted on May, 2 2014;
- •J. Kranz, Gibt es ein Demokratiedefizit in der Europäischen Union? Archiv des Völkerrechts 2013, H. 4
- •D. Adamiec, The Position of National Parliaments within the New EU Economic Governance, "Yearbook of Polish European Studies" 2013, vol. 16.

#### **Polish Institute of International Affairs**

European Union Programme at PISM focuses on analysis of the strategic developments of the EU in order to support Polish European engagement. We monitor economic situation and reforms, political and institutional changes, major EU initiatives, EU foreign and security policy as well as relations between Member States.

In the reporting period special emphasis was put in our work on the elections to the European Parliament to which special issue of The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs (1/2014) was devoted. It collects contributions from both PISM and external researchers who analyzed possible impact of the elections on the European Parliament's legitimacy, campaign challenges in the Germany, Great Britain and France, prospects for inter-parliamentary cooperation and relations between European Parliament and European Commission. Different aspects of the functioning of the European Parliament, its developments and relations with other institutions were also tackled in the series of shorter publications (in a chronological order):

- •Agata Gostyńska, Roderick Parkes, The May 2014 Elections: Towards a Europe of Political Parties Competition, PISM Bulletin no.137 (590), December 2013
- •Roderick Parkes, Parliamentarasing the Commission: A CEE's View on the EU's democratic Legitimacy, PISM Bulletin no.12 (607), January 2014





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- •Paweł Tokarski, The European Parliament Assessment of the Troika: Good Points, Bad Timing, PISM Bulletin, no.45 (640), March 2014
- •Patryk Toporowski, Youth Unemployment and the Election Campaign for the European Parliament, PISM Bulletin no. 58 (635), May 2014
- •Agata Gostyńska, The May 2014 Vote: Europeanizing the "European" Elections, PISM Bulletin np.66 (661), May 2014
- •Roderick Parkes, A Game-Changer for the EU: Why Major Treaty Change is a Real Prospect?, PISM Bulletin no.90(685), June 2014.

### **Comenius University Bratislava**

At IESIR, we conduct research on:

a) political parties and elections including EP elections

b)right-wing extremism (RWE) and its antagonistic relationship to parliamentary democracy. The research is focused on the identification of moral foundations of "reluctant radicals" – the political mainstream supporters of RWE – and how this knowledge can inform the design of potential interventions aimed at reducing the numbers of these radicals.

#### Lecture:

Ol'ga Gyarfášová participated at the First Annual Conference of PADEMIA, June 12-13, 2014 in Brussels with a presentation on Alternative parties, alternative representation? Publications:

Gyárfášová, Oľga: Slovak public and European integration: auditing the first decade, in: International issues & Slovak foreign policy affairs. - ISSN 1337-5482. - Vol. 23, No. 1-2 (2014), s. 71-89

Gyarfášová, Oľga: Nationalists "Selling" EU. The 2009 European parliament elections in Slovakia and beyond , in: Constructing and communicating EUrope, Vol. 2. - Berlin : LIT Verlag, 2014. - ISBN 978-3-643-90515-4. - S. 99-119

Findor, Andrej (2015): Countering Radicalization via Effective Messaging and Popular Inclusion. Bratislava: CENAA Working Papers.

#### **University of Ljubljana**

European Parliament, Comparative analysis of international parliamentary institutions, Political Participation, Citizenship, Political Parties, Elections, Youth, Political Communication.

Relations between interest groups and parliament; role of MPs; regulation of parliament's work, particulary reasons for changes; EP elections; elections; political parties; participation; parliamentary party groups; cohesion/unity/discipline of MPs; intergroups; gender and minorities; types of representation; post-communist parliaments; international parliamentary institutions





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FINK-HAFNER, Danica, KRAŠOVEC, Alenka. Factors affecting the long-term success of new parliamentary parties: findings in a post-communist context. Revista românæa de ştiinţe politice, ISSN 1582-456X, Win. 2013, vol. 13, no. 2, 40-68.

HAUGHTON, Timothy, KRAŠOVEC, Alenka. Are European elections ever about Europe?. The Washington post. [Online ed.], 23. May 2014. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/05/23/european-parliamentary-elections-slovenia/.

KRAŠOVEC, Alenka (2013): Paradoxes in Development of Democracy in Slovenia or Just an Ordinary Story of Disillusionment? Paper presented at the 18th CEPSA Conference, Plzen, 24 – 26 October.

ŠABIČ, Zlatko. International parliamentary institutions: a research agenda. V: COSTA, Olivier (ur.). Parliamentary dimensions of regionalization and globalization: the role of interparliamentary institutions. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 20-41.

#### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

In the department there is a specialization on links between politicians/parties and electorates from a comparative perspective. In addition there is a line of research based on federalism and European political system. Regarding this, there is a subject which is taught in the grade degrees of Political Science, International Relations, Political Science and Law

Main area of research of the members of the group are:

Prof. Paniagua: parliamentary organization and standing orders of parliaments

Prof. Sanchez: parliamentary accountability, and parliamentary committees

Prof Ruiz: political parties, links between politicians/parties and electorates, and parliamentary elites.

#### **BOOKS and ARTICLES:**

Manuel Sánchez: (2013) "El control parlamentario en el Reino Unido" in F. Pau (Ed.) El control del Gobierno en democracia, Madrid. Tecnos, 41-67

J.L. Paniagua (2012): "España: Un parlamentarismo racionalizado de <corte presidencial>", en Jorge Lanzaro, Presidencialismo y Parlamentarismo. América Latina y Europa Meridional, Madrid, CEPC.

Leticia M. Ruiz and Patricia Otero (2013): Indicadores de partidos y sistemas de partidos, Cuadernos Metodológicos, núm. 51, CIS, Madrid.

Leticia M. Ruiz (2014): "Partidos políticos y sistemas de partidos en las democracias latinoamericanas", en M. Barreda (ed.), Las instituciones políticas de las democracias latinoamericanas, Huygens-Plural, Barcelona, 137-178.

Leticia M. Ruiz (2013): "Comportamento eleitoral e oferta partidária na América Latina", en H. Telles y Alejandro Moreno (eds.) Comportamento eleitoral e comunicação política na América Latina, editorial Universidade Federal Minas Gerais (UFMG), Belo Horizonte.





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Leticia M. Ruiz y M. Barreda (2014): "Una Aproximación al Estudio de la Actividad Distrital de los Diputados: los Casos de Chile y Bolivia", Revista Debates, vol 8, núm. 1, 81-103. http://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/debates/issue/current/showToc

Leticia M. Ruiz (2013): "Instituciones de representación y calidad de la democracia:

agenda de estudio", LASA Forum, Vol. 44, núm. 1, 11-13, LASA, Pittsburgh.

PAPER IN CONFERENCES:

Manuel SANCHEZ: "Different comparative approaches in the study of parliaments" in First Annual Conference of PADEMIA, Brussels, 12-13 June, 2014

J.L. Paniagua: "El control parlamentario en las Asambleas Legislativas de las Comunidades Autónomas" in Seminario de la Fundación Jimenez Abad de Estudios Parlamentarios y Autonómicos, Zaragoza, 1st October 2014.

Leticia M. Ruiz: "Political representation and districts: from above or from below" in annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 3-6 Abril 2014.

Leticia M. Ruiz: "¿Diputados autónomos?: el ejercicio de la representación en Perú y Chile" i anual conference of the Latin American Studies Association (2013).

Coordination of Panel by Leticia Ruiz: "Actividad distrital y 'constituency services' en América Latina: partidos políticos y diputados en contextos competitivos", Washington DC , (29th May-1st June 2013)

Coordination of workshop by Leticia M. Ruiz.: "La representación política en América Latina", bianual conference of AECPA, Sevilla, 18-20 September 2013).

#### Institute of Public Goods and Policies Madrid

Articles in referred journals:

Closa, C. and Maatsch, A. (2014) 'In a spirit of solidarity? Justifying the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) in national parliamentary debates', in: Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 52(4).

Maatsch, A. (2014) 'Are we all austerians now? An analysis of national parliamentary parties' positioning on anti-crisis measures in the eurozone', in: Journal of European Public Policy, vol. 21(1).

Maatsch, A. and Galella, P. (under review) National parliaments and the oversight of the EU NAVFOR Operation Atalanta: Stakeholders or bystanders?

Books:

Maatsch, A. (2015) Parliaments and the Economic Governance of the European Union: Talking Shops or Deliberative Bodies? (Under contract with Palgrave Macmillan). Book chapters:





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Maatsch, A. (2013) 'Watch-dogs that cannot bite? New national parliamentary control mechanisms under the Lisbon Treaty', in: Liebert, U. (ed) Democratizing the EU from below? Citizenship, civil society and the public sphere (NY: Ashgate).

#### Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Professor Coller's main area off EU-related research is political elites. His interests on parliamentary democracy focus on how parliaments (and parliamentarians) are more receptive to citizens' demands and accountable to the citizenry. Professor Harguindéguy's main area off EU-related research is regional studies and policy analysis.

Some of the results on Parliamentary Democracies and related issues are (not included those works under review)

Xavier Coller and Antonio M. Jaime (eds) (2013), El perfil del poder. Radiografía de los parlamentarios andaluces (2008-2012), Sevilla: Parlamento de Andalucía. ISBN: 978-84-92911-15-8.

Cordero, Guillermo and Xavier Coller (2014), "Candidate Selection and Party discipline", Parliamentary Affairs (doi:10.1093/pa/gsu008, JCR: 0.814).

Santana, Andrés, Xavier Coller and Susana Aguilar (2014), "Representación descriptiva de las parlamentarias regionales en España: masa crítica, experiencia parlamentaria e influencia política", Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas, (in press).

Coller, Xavier, Andrés Santana and Antonio Jaime (2014), "Problemas y soluciones para la construcción de bases de datos de políticos", Revista Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración, nº 34, pp: 169-198.

Carrillo-López, Ana and Harguindéguy, Jean-Baptiste (2013) "Parlamento y Unión Europea", in El perfil del poder. Radiografía de los parlamentarios andaluces (2008-2012), Sevilla: Parlamento de Andalucía. ISBN: 978-84-92911-15-8.

Harguindéguy, Jean-Baptiste and Coller, Xavier (2014), "Minority Representation and the Spanish Senate: How to Escape from the Institutional Deadlock?", Minority Representation in Upper Chambers: Institutions, Instruments and Results, International Political Science Association Congress, Montreal.

#### The Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

The Royal Academy of War Sciences engages in research with an ambition of a high academic level in its publications as well as its magazine, which uses peer-reviewing. During the period of reporting there were, however, no publications/articles dealing with parliamentary democracy. Members of the Academy may, however, have published articles on parliamentary democracy in other fora. Below are relevant articles by Gunilla Herolf:

"Security and Defence – An Issue for the European Citizen?" TEPSA Policy Paper, March 2014. (Article dealing with the upcoming European elections)





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"Nån som bryr sig om säkerhet?" [Anyone who cares about security?], Vårt Försvar [Our Defence], (Article dealing with the just held European and the upcoming Swedish elections), Issue, no. 2, June 2014.

"EU-28 Sweden", Analysis of the Swedish part of the election to the European Parliament, June 2014. The full publication is published by Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP), Berlin.

#### **ETH Zurich**

The European Politics Group of Prof. Schimmelfennig concentrates on institutions, politics, and policy-making in European integration. Important concerns are the theoretical and empirical analysis of the EU's institutional development, its democratic quality and democratisation, implementation and compliance with its policies, and the EU's enlargement and external relations.

On the one hand, we are interested in the involvement of parliaments in EU politics and policy-making through the creation of parliamentary rights and competences as well as through the behaviour of parliamentarians and parties. On the other hand, we are interested in whether, why and in what way parliaments as well as EU institutions in general are responsive to European citizens. In addition, we study the development of international parliamentary institutions so as to compare the parliamentarisation of the EU to other regional and international organisation. We have produced the following publications on the topic since autumn 2013:

- •Bølstad, Jørgen, 2015, "Dynamics of European Integration: Public Opinion in the Core and Periphery", forthcoming in European Union Politics, 16 (1).
- •Cheneval, Francis, Sandra Lavenex, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2014. "Demoi-cracy in the European Union: Institutions and Policies." Journal of European Public Policy (early view).
- •Winzen, Thomas. 2013. Beyond the Decline of Parliament: European Integration and National Representative Democracy. Doctoral dissertation, ETH Zurich.
- •Winzen, Thomas. 2014. "Bureaucracy and Democracy: Intra-Parliamentary Delegation in European Union Affairs." Journal of European Integration 36 (7) (early view).
- •Roger, Léa and Thomas Winzen. 2014. "Party groups and committee negotiations in the European Parliament: Outside attention and the anticipation of plenary conflict." Journal of European Public Policy (early view).
- •Winzen, Thomas, Christilla Roederer-Rynning, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2014. "Parliamentary Co-Evolution: National Parliamentary Reactions to the Empowerment of the European Parliament." Journal of European Public Policy (early view).

#### **University of Cambridge**

2.1 During the reporting period, the main focus of the European Centre was on National Parliaments and the EU, with colleagues researching, writing and giving papers on these themes in a range of for a, including at the first Pademia Annual Conference where Dr Geoffrey Edwards





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and Dr Ian Cooper both spoke. Dr Ian Cooper focused mainly on interparliamentary cooperation, looking at COSAC and IPC on Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy and Article 13. He also followed the two yellow cards submitted by National Parliaments regarding Monti II and the European Public Prosecutor. Dr Huff focused particularly on scrutiny of CFSP/CSDP. Dr Smith and Dr Huff as well as Research Assistant Ania Dzieszkowska also worked on parliaments and budgetary politics. All four colleagues plus Dr Alexandra Maatsch are collaborating on a special section of *Parliamentary Affairs* on legitimacy and accountability in Economic Governance since Lisbon and the Eurozone Crisis.

- 2.2. In addition to the remarks under 2.1, Dr Smith is particularly interested in Westminster and the EU as well as European Parliament elections.
- 2.3. Members of the OPAL Cambridge presented research findings and work in progress at the UACES conference in Leeds and at the ECPR conference in Bordeaux both in September 2013. A wide range of publications are currently in preparation, including some in print. These will be reported in the annual report for 2014-15.

Various members of the team made written submissions to the House of Lords European Union Select Committee's inquiry into the Role of National Parliaments in the EU and Dr Smith also gave oral evidence. Contributions from the team were cited in the final report, which was published in Spring 2014.

### **University College London**

EU-related research at UCL centres around three main areas:

- 1.EU decision-making and institutions. Christine Reh, Senior Lecturer in European Politics, has recently completed an ESRC-funded project on the reasons for and the consequences of the informalisation of the EU's legislative process since 1999. She also works more widely on issues relation to decision-making in the EU.
- 2.EU legitimacy. Richard Bellamy, Professor of Political Science and founder of UCL's European Institute, has published widely on representation and democracy, liberal justice, and constitutionalism.
- 3.EU regulation, business and government, lobbying. David Coen, Professor of Public Policy, has a range of expertise relating to the efficacy of lobbying both in the UK and the EU. His recent work explores lobbying from the perspective of individuals and institutions and has conducted qualitative and quantitative analysis of the changing EU public policy arena.
- 4.EU Law. Piet Eeckhout, Professor of EU Law; Joanne Scott, Professor European Law, Ioannis Lianos, Reader in Competition Law and Economics, are among several staff with research interests in EU Law.





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Professor Richard Bellamy is interested in the role of National Parliaments as part of the 'demoicratic' normative ordering of the EU, particularly their response to the financial crisis and the measures brought in by the Fiscal Compact.

Dr Christine Reh is particularly interested in the shift of legislative decision-making from public inclusive to restricted secluded arenas and the resulting "informalisation" of the EU's codecision procedure since 1999.

Prof Albert Weale is interested in the role of national parliaments in EU decision making, and the scrutiny of EU policies.

Heleen Jalvingh, PhD candidate in the UCL School of Public Policy, is carrying out research on the formal role of national parliaments (NPs) in relation to other external conditions under which they operate – in particular, the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty.

#### Short list of publications:

- •Coen, D. and Katsaitis, A. (2013). "Cameleon Pluralism in the EU: An Empirical Study of the European Commission Interest Group Density and Diversity Across Policy Domains". Journal of European Public Policy 20(8): 1104-19.
- •Bressanelli, E., A. Héritier, C. Koop and C. Reh (2014). "The Informal Politics of Codecision: Introducing a New Data Set on Early Agreements in the European Union". EUI Working Paper 64.
- •Bressanelli, E., C. Koop and C. Reh (2014). "Informal Politics and Voting Cohesion in the European Parliament: The Impact of Early Agreements on Political Groups". Paper presented at the ECPR-SGEU conference in The Hague in June.
- •Reh, C. (2014). "Is Informal Politics Undemocratic? Trilogues, Early Agreements and the Selection Model of Representation". Journal of European Public Policy 21:6, 822-841.
- •Bellamy, R. and D. Castiglione (2013). "Three Models of Democracy, Political Community and Representation in the EU", Journal of European Public Policy, 20:2, 206-223
- •Bellamy, R. (2013) "An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Demoi-cracy and Representation in the EU". Journal of European Integration, 35: 5, 499-516.
- •Bellamy, R 'The Democratic Qualities of Courts: a Critical Analysis of Three Arguments, Representation, 49:3 (2013)., pp. 333-346.
- •Bellamy, R and S. Kröger (2014). "Domesticating the Democratic Deficit? The Role of National Parliaments and Parties in the EU's System of Government". forthcoming in Parliamentary Affairs, 67:2, 437–457
- •Weale, A. (forthcoming). "Political Legitimacy, Credible Commitment and Euro Governance". 2015 Hertie Governance Report (makes reference to current discussions about the role of national parliaments in a legitimate system of EU governance).





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### **University of Exeter**

Dr Kröger's main area of EU-related research has been to conclude a study on representation by civil society organizations in the EU and to continue reflection on the role of national parliaments in the EU.

Dr Kröger is particularly interested in the role of national parliaments in the EU. In that context, she has been reflecting what national parliaments can and should do on their own, and which roles they might better perform together.

Dr Kröger has organized an international workshop on the role of national parliaments in the EU whilst on research leave as a fellow as the Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg (Delmenhorst, Germany). With Richard Bellamy, she co-drafted a paper for this workshop. Most of the papers are part of an ongoing special issue publication project with Comparative European Politics.

In the reporting period, these publications seem relevant to the PADEMIA project:

Kröger, S. (ed.) (2014) Political Representation in the European Union: Still Democratic in Times of Crisis? London: Routledge.

Kröger, S. (2014) The search for democratic representation in times of crisis. In: Kröger, S. (ed.) Political Representation in the European Union: Still Democratic in Times of Crisis? London: Routledge, 1-16.

Bellamy, R. and Kröger, S. (2014) Domesticating the Democratic Deficit? The Role of National Parliaments and Parties in the EU's System of Governance, Parliamentary Affairs, 67(2), 437-457.

### **University of York**

Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou's work is very relevant to Parliamentary Democracy in Europe. Her main area of research is couched within the wider theme of political dissatisfaction with democracy and democratic institutions across Europe. It seeks to explain and understand the various aspects of political dissent by focusing on the loss of faith in traditional politics by voters and elites and examining the domestic responses to the process of European integration and the current Eurozone crisis. An additional strand of her work focuses on the democratic legitimacy of the Members of the European Parliament and the European Union more broadly.

Her work seeks to develop new theories and discover empirical patterns in the following four inter-related themes:

- (1)Right-wing extremism and populism in Europe: she is interested in the strategic behavior and transformation of this party family, i.e. the ways in which these parties change their rhetoric in order to appeal to a wider electorate; the role of new issues in their agenda; and the reasons behind their popular support.
- (2)The domestic party politics of Euroscepticism: Vasilopoulou is interested in the nature and scope of Euroscepticism since the early stages of European integration. She has worked





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extensively the measurement and causality of Euroscepticism, in particular on radical right and radical left wing Euroscepticism examining the dynamics behind such attitudes.

- (3)Domestic response to the economic crisis: This strand of Vasilopoulou's work focuses on the ways in which member states have reacted to the crisis; and the impact of the latter on democratic politics at the domestic level.
- (4)Members of the European Parliament (MEP) behavior: Couched within the democratic deficit debate, this strand of Vasilopoulou's work studies the parliamentary behavior of MEPs, and in particular opinion congruence between European voters and individual MEPs; and different patters of MEP visibility in the domestic European press.

Relevant publications in international peer-reviewed journals (2013-2014):

- •Halikiopoulou, D. and S. Vasilopoulou (forthcoming 2014) Support for the far right in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: a comparative perspective, Political Quarterly.
- •Vasilopoulou, S., D. Halikiopoulou and T. Exadaktylos (2014) 'Greece in crisis: austerity, populism and the politics of blame', Journal of Common Market Studies. 52(2): 388–402.
- •Vasilopoulou, S. and D. Halikiopoulou (2013) 'In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 11 June 2012', South European Society and Politics, 18(4): 523-542.
- •Vasilopoulou, S. and K. Gattermann (2013) 'Matching policy preferences: the linkage between voters and MEPs', Journal of European Public Policy, 20(40): 606-625.
- •Vasilopoulou, S. (2013) 'Continuity and change in the study of Euroscepticism: plus ça change?', Journal of Common Market Studies, 51(1): 153–168.
- •Halikiopoulou, D., S. Mock and S. Vasilopoulou (2013) 'The civic Zeitgeist: nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right', Nations and Nationalism, 19(1): 107-127.

Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou co-organised a panel on 'Political Parties and the EU' in the ECPR General Confernece held in Glasgow, September 2014.

Panel abstract: European policy tends to be an issue of low salience for most voters and political parties across the EU. Existing academic literature highlights that parties tend to focus on issues closer to home. Explanations for this behavior vary. Some authors argue that the EU issue does not fit easily into the existing left-right spectrum of party politics, and that as a consequence, most mainstream centre-left and centre-right parties try to avoid EU debates. Other authors point to the electorate's indifference towards the EU, demonstrating that EU issues do not attract voters. This lack of debate on the EU has arguably led to between and within party divisions and divergence of opinion between parties, their members and their voters, which has significant implications on democracy and representation in the EU. In this panel, we aim to explore how political parties across Europe manage the EU issue and the extent to which this is close to their voters' preferences.

Papers included:

•Interest, Indifference, or Ignorance? How Centre-Left Parties Deal with the EU at Grassroots Level by HERTNER, Isabelle (University of Birmingham)





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- •Programmatic European Union Opposition by LUETGERT, Brooke (Sabancı University) and HATIPOĞLU, Emre (Sabancı University)
- •Still Europeanists? A Careful Look at Mainstream Parties' EU Positions by MAAG, Simon (University of Zurich)
- •The Influence of Decreasing Policy Congruence on the Politicisation of the EU and Rising Euroscepticism by NANOU, Kyriaki (University of Nottingham) and ZAPRYANOVA, Galina (Universität Mannheim)
- •Towards Convergence in Times of Crisis? Assessing Opinion Congruence between Voters and Parties in Seven EU Elections by VASILOPOULOU, Sofia (University of York) and GATTERMANN, Katjana (University of Amsterdam).

### **University of Glasgow**

In terms of EU related research Politics in Glasgow specialises in normative theories of democracy in the Euroepan Union (Dr. Myrto Tsakatika), governance modes, particularly the open method of co-ordination and its democratic legitimacy (Dr. Myrto Tsakatika), the study of European Parliament standing committees (David Alexander), Euroscepticism (Professor Lauren MacLaren and Dr. Myrto Tsakatika), EU employment policy (Dr. Myrto Tsakatika) and EU development policy (Professor Maurizio Carbone).

The aspects of Parliamentary Democracy of interest in the Politics subject in Glasgow are the links between citizens and their representatives (Dr Thomas Lundberg); the quality of democracy (Dr. Myrto Tsakatika, Dr. Thomas Lundberg, Professor Christopher Carman; Professon Sarah Birch, Dr. Philip Habel); the study of parliamentary committees (David Alexander); the study of congressional behaviour.

Selected publications and presentations of related research in the reporting period by members of the Glasgow team participating in PADEMIA:

Lundberg, Thomas (2014) 'Tensions Between Constituency and Regional Members of the Scottish Parliament Under Mixed-Member Proportional Representation: A Failure of the New Politics', Parliamentary Affairs, 67(2): 351-370, April 2014.

Alexander, David (2014) The asymmetrical legislative influence of the committees of the European parliament , paper presented at the PADEMIA PhD School "Democracy in Europe: Institutions and Practices", Comenius University, Bratislava, June 16-19, 2014

#### **TEPSA**

TEPSA, as the first transeuropean research network, gathers leading research institutes in the field of European affairs from all over Europe. It has thus a specific focus on EU related research. It aims at providing high quality research on European integration based on a triple "A" approach: Analysis, Assessment and Advice in order to stimulate discussion on policies and political options for Europe. TEPSA and its member institutes are a link between the EU and





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national level governments and the citizens. In terms of research, this means that TEPSA is both interacting with governments and politics at the EU and national level, but also with the civil society, which allows the network to provide governments with guidance and recommendations on EU politics, for instance during its pre-presidency conferences. The objective is always to push the EU integration forward. What is more, by fostering the cooperation among researchers from all over Europe, it contributes to build up a real transeuropean perspective on EU affairs, gathering diverse point of views and enhancing mutual understanding.

TEPSA aims at stimulating discussion on policies and political options by organising research projects, conferences and facilitating interaction between the research and policy-making communities and between citizens from different member states.

The link between citizens and the Parliamentary Democracy is of special interest to me. Indeed, the issue of representation is central to Parliamentary Democracy. When the citizens do not feel represented anymore in such regimes, then it became an empty shell and further studies on other aspects loose relevance. This question in times of economic crisis always gains prominence in my view, and this is well illustrated by the rise of populism all over Europe.

TEPSA Report "The 2014 EP Election Campaign in the Member States: National Debates, European Elections" by Mirte van den Berge.

#### **College of Europe**

The College of Europe's Department of European Political and Administrative Studies has a wide-range of EU-related research. The main aspect of parliamentary democracy that is of interest is related to the European Parliament.

A paper was published in the Bruges Political Research Paper series by Laurent Bonfond, Le Parlement européen et les actes délégués: De la conquête d'un pouvoir à son exercice.

The abstract is: Le traité de Lisbonne a procédé à une importante réforme de la comitologie, en établissant deux catégories d'instruments: les actes d'exécution et les actes délégués. Pour ces derniers, le Parlement européen a obtenu des pouvoirs importants et est pour la première fois sur un strict pied d'égalité avec le Conseil dans le système exécutif. En vertu d'une approche institutionnaliste rationnelle, cet article analyse comment le Parlement, à l'origine exclu du système, est parvenu à acquérir les pouvoirs qui sont formellement les siens aujourd'hui. Ensuite, l'action du Parlement face à ses nouveaux pouvoirs dans le cadre des actes délégués est abordée. Il s'agit d'étudier comment le Parlement défend ses prérogatives dans les relations interinstitutionnelles et agit après l'acquisition de nouvelles prérogatives. Cette analyse permet plus globalement d'aborder des aspects essentiels du fonctionnement du Parlement européen, de l'Union européenne ainsi que ses dynamiques (inter)institutionnelles.





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### **University of Iceland**

Dr. Conrad's research focuses on various aspects related to the EU's democratic deficit and the possibility of transnational participatory and deliberative democracy. In particular, Dr. Conrad studies the impact of the newly established European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) on the democratic character of EU decision making, not least in relation to existing representative and participatory elements of EU governance. The ECI is studied as a possible path to the emergence of transnational discursive spheres and a European demos.

Dr. Conrad's research emphasizes the connection between the shortcomings of European-level parliamentary democracy and existing and essentially complementary forms of participatory and deliberative democracy. Additionally, Adjunct Professor Alyson Bailes is writing a chapter for a book project edited by Wolfgang Wagner in the Netherlands and Jyrki Raunio of Finland, focusing on comparative parliamentary powers in the field of security. Her contribution will be on parliamentary handling of national security strategies' and it will use the five Nordic nations and the Faroes as a comparative case study.

A volume on the opportunities and constraints of the ECI, edited by Dr. Conrad alongside two German colleagues, is planned to be published in 2015.





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## **Section III: Other important aspects**

### **University of Salzburg**

Definitely one of the most interesting and fascinating events with regard to Parliamentary Democracy in Europe during the reporting period where the elections to the European Parliament, or – to be more precise – the fact that EP party groups in the run-up to these elections for the first time ever nominated their own candidates for the position of the President of the European Commission.

On the one hand, this attempt to personalise and Europeanise EP elections may not (yet?) have delivered the results some would have hoped for, and in most member states candidates had little effect on national election campaigns. On the other hand, however, it was highly interesting to see how the European Parliament was able to use the concept of Parliamentary Democracy to put public and normative pressure on its institutional 'counter-parts' on the EU level and – as a result – once again managed to enhance its powers in the EUs institutional system. It seems as it is still very difficult to publicly 'deny' a democratically elected parliament powers when it openly/publicly claims them.

### Université Catholique de Louvain

Belgium is usually considered as one of the most 'pro-EU' member states, preferring a strong and supranationally organized European Union. However, when Belgium is one of the best students when looking at its support for the European Integration, it is only 'a very average student when it comes to the implementation of European policies' but also, and more particularly, when it comes to the scrutiny of European affairs . This situation is striking especially when knowing that at the governmental level, the European integration led to the development of a strong collaboration between the governments of the subnational and national level on EU issues . So far, such an evolution at the parliamentary level is still missing.

François Randour has used the tutorial opportunities offered by the PADEMIA network. Following the first PADEMIA annual conference, François Randour and Prof. Miklin have now started a fruitful collaboration.

### **Leuven Center for Global Governance Studies**

Parliamentary Democracy in Europe is organized increasingly in multi-level governance. In that regard, the cooperation between parliaments on different levels of governance seems important. However, both the academic literature and also public debate about the meaningful idea and actual practice of parliamentary cooperation is not yet fully developed.

PADEMIA is a useful network of academics exchanging ideas on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe. However, participating in the last annual conference in Brussels it became obvious that there was no exchange with practitioners, neither from national parliaments nor the EP.





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Moreover, other experts from national and EU level institutions and civil society were not present. In the future, a meaningful contribution of PADEMIA can be to foster not only the exchange with academics but also with officials for national and European (parliamentary) institutions. Moreover, it may be useful to open the debate to disciplines beyond political science. Especially, academics of Comparative and European/International law have increasingly raised their voice when it comes to question of parliamentary democracy in Europe. As such, PADEMIA should try to make use of a truly interdisciplinary debate on the subject matter.

### **IRMO Zagreb**

In Croatia the issues which in 2014 attracted major public attention were proposals for the reform of the national election legislation. These initiatives were to a certain extent motivated by the experiences of the EP elections held in Croatia in April 2013 and May 2014 when the country applied the system of preferential voting for the first time. This allowed the citizens to vote for particular candidates and not just for specific slate. It clearly showed deficiencies of inner party democracy since the candidates which won most preferential votes have often been placed very low on the party lists.

In June 2014 two parliamentary political parties (Croatian People's Party – The Reformists, and Croatian Labour Party) submitted requests for the legislative amendments that will allow introduction of preferential voting at the national elections. At the same time the civil society association GONG published a comprehensive proposal for the reform of the national electoral legislation which includes: introduction of preferential voting, reform of electoral constituencies, changes to regulations on referenda, ban on candidacies for individuals convicted for corruption and war crimes, incompatibility of the MP mandate with holding the office of a city or county mayor, coordination of electoral procedures, further professionalization of electoral committees and changes to the media rules on election reporting. Soon after its' publication, the GONG's proposal was presented at the special meeting in Croatian Parliament when 29 out of 501 MPs signed the statement in its support. However, the MPs belonging to the ruling Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP) and to the largest opposition Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) sustained from supporting the proposal.

The reform of election legislation is supported by the leading national scholars. At the round table held in Zagreb in June 2014 Prof. Ivan Rimac from the Zagreb Faculty of Law stressed that electoral constituencies should be changed because currently the votes casted in different constituencies weigh differently. At the same event Prof. Berto Šalaj from the Zagreb Faculty of Political Science noted that among the leading political parties there is no political will to embark on reform of election legislation because the current model suits their interests.

During summer 2014 the civil society association "On Behalf of the Family" published its own proposal for the reform of the national election legislation which in content largely corresponds with the GONG's proposal. However, unlike the GONG's proposal it plans to bypass the





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opposition from the big parties by means of a referendum. In the period between 21 September and 5 October 2014 the "On Behalf of the Family" will attempt to collect 430.000 signatures from the citizens which would allow it to call for a national referendum on the new election rules. The positive outcome of that referendum would oblige the law makers to include preferential voting, the new rules on the constituencies and some additional election rules in Croatian Constitution. The regular parliamentary elections in Croatia should be held at the end of 2015. Therefore the issue of the possible reform of election legislation should be resolved before the end of 2014. Namely recommendations of the Council of Europe's Venetian Commission underline non-desirability of election reforms 12 months or less prior to the elections.

The practical experience which contributes to the quality of the parliamentary democracy study is participation of IRMO researcher in the parliamentary practice. Namely, in early 2014 Prof. Višnja Samardžija was elected as an external member of the European Affairs Committee in the Croatian Parliament. This provides the opportunity for active participation in the parliamentary democracy procedures as well for the insight into the practices of the other EU countries.

#### **University of Copenhagen**

That parliaments (that be national and the European) are seen as solutions to remedy democracy and legitimacy concerns in the EU and its member states but that there is no evidence that granting them more powers will solve the perceived problems. Maybe it is time to develop new concepts for Parliamentary Democracy in Europe instead of applying old ones?

### **University of Tampere**

The euro crisis showed how parliaments, even when vested with significant constitutional powers, can find it difficult to follow and control EU decision-making, including the actions of their own governments. The war in Ukraine has brought to the fore another issue area, foreign and security policy, where parliamentary influence has traditionally been viewed as weak. Unfortunately there is in Europe hardly any empirical research on how national parliaments engage in foreign policy. As a result, Professor Raunio has started with Professor Wolfgang Wagner (VU University Amsterdam) a comparative project on this topic, with a particular emphasis on how legislatures shape security and military issues.

#### **WZB** Berlin

A particularly promising avenue of research in parliamentary democracy in Europe is the communicative function of parliaments on 'new' political issues. From a democratic point of view, the question is how and to what extent such issues are debated within parliament and communicated to the outside world. From an organizational or institutional perspective, the question arises what institutional features support and hinder communication on such issues. And from a methodological point of view, the question is what data are available and how to





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effectively deal with the increasing amount of online available documents that parliaments produce.

#### **University of Macedonia**

What currently seems to attract academic interest on the Network's subject within the Greek academic community at the moment is the rise of right-wing extremism across Europe and its impact on mainstream and pro-EU parties' level of commitment to the EU project. Quite unexpectedly, moderate parties of the centre-left or the centre-right are shifting towards less enthusiastic, EU-centered positions, naturally driven by their electoral losses at the domestic level. This clearly points towards an unexpected U-turn of the EU integration project, but it also accounts for lower levels of issue congruence between voters and their preferred parties at the national level, since the former prefer to vote for parties which are hostile to EU, even if their policy positions on domestic issues are not those closest to them.

### **Corvinus University Budapest**

Due to the recent transformation of the Hungarian political system and especially the legal and partisan framework of parliamentary democracy, the topic is currently in the forefront of political studies. While many scholars focus on the dynamics of change, the case-study approach which is widely applied limits the comparative use of the results. Despite the fact that there is active international networking at the Institute of Political Science, there is a need to develop a more comprehensive, comparative approach within the research topics.

#### **University College Dublin**

Within Ireland (and also, it seems, in the United Kingdom) parliamentary democracy has gained ground in terms of academic focus and is now a subject of considerable academic activity, as has been demonstrated by its being a session topic at the annual 44th UACES annual conference in Cork on 1-3 September 2014 where several speakers provided interesting papers which provoked a lively discussion, and also demonstrated by the international conference hosted by European Parliament National Parliaments in the European Integration Process: Finally 'Learning to Play the European Game' in the Aftermath of the Lisbon Treaty Reforms and the Economic Crisis, Dublin 6-7 December, 2013 where Professor Gavin Barrett delivered a paper on The Early Warning System, Subsidiarity and Law: Some Reflections on Subsidiarity, the Subsidiarity Early Warning System and the Role which National Parliaments Have Been Given from a Lawyer's Perspective

Not only has European parliamentary democracy formed the subject of academic discussion but there is also an increased level of interest from parliamentarians and in particular from sectoral committees of the Oireachtas in comparison with previous years. Thus Professor Barrett was invited to address the topic of The Oireachtas and the European Union: The Evolving Role of a





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National Parliament in European Union Affairs by the Joint Oireachtas Committee on European Union Affairs, on 9 October 2013, Leinster House, Dublin. He also delivered an invited address to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality, 25 September 2013, Leinster House, Dublin on the topic of A Briefing on the Proposed United Kingdom Justice and Home Affair Block Opt-Out, Including Any Possible Implications for Ireland and has recently been invited to address the same Committee on the topic of the Commission's operation of the subsidiarity early warning system.

#### **EUI Florence**

The research activities and publications produced in 2013-2014 show an important difference between parliamentary democracy at the EU level and parliamentary democracy at the national level. Research activities both on political parties (see in particular the Special Issue "Responsive and Responsible? The Role of Parties in Twenty-First Century Politics", in West European Politics, Volume 37, Issue 2, 2014 edited by Luciano Bardi, Stefano Bartolini and Alexander H. Trechsel) and on voters' behavior at the national level (see in particular the book by Diego Garzia, Personalization of Politics and Electoral Change) converge in remarking a trend towards the personalization of politics and a declining trust in political parties at the national level. The data collected through the euandi project, instead, show that policy issues, rather than political leaders, have dominated the last European elections campaigns and determined the correspondent outcomes.

### **LIIA Riga**

The first time the European level political parties were appearing more actively on stage during the 2014 European Parliament elections. The process of picking the frontrunners for the post of the European Commission is the right move towards more democratic, more engaging style of European politics. The principle preserved and advanced in the form of personal campaigning could contribute to more popular engagement during the 2019 European Parliament elections and thus, also higher recognizability of the European politics in general among the EU's population.

#### **Vilnius University**

In Lithuania, there is journal "Parliamentary studies", whose publication was initiated by four academic institutions and national library. The aim of this journal is not only to publish research, related to the questions of Parliamentary Democracy. Its aim is to improve the general image of Seimas (Parliament of Lithuanian) among Lithuanians by providing extensive analysis and comments on both European and national parliamentary traditions. Despite these aims, journal is scholarly magazine of a rather interdisciplinary outlook, with contributions from the specialists, working in the fields of law, history, political communication, as well as political





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science. Yet, during the last three years none of the articles touched on the question European Parliament, for example.

#### **University of Malta**

Parliamentary democracy in Europe is heterogeneous although the democratic systems in place in Europe can still be grouped under certain headings such as Westminster model, Presidential regime, semi presidential etc. The same applies to electoral systems. However, due to separate evolution taking place in each of these democratic systems, parliamentary and electoral systems based on the same or similar model at the start of their life-cycle gradually begin to evolve in different directions. Hence Malta and Ireland both have the STV electoral system, but as a result of different electoral / political experiences they have started to diverge from each other. The same goes for the Westminster system of governance: to what extent has divergence occurred between countries based on this model of governance? Are developments in a 'sister democratic system' watched or copied by members of the same group? What fires the evolution of our democratic system, endogenous or exogenous stimuli or both. Are positive experiences shared or ignored?

### The NL Institute of International Relations Clingendael

The European Semester and the integration of the budgetary and economic framework raises questions regarding parliamentary democracy on the national and the European level.

The reformed governance of EMU has brought with it difficulties for parliaments. The involvement of the national parliaments and the European Parliament has not been thought through sufficiently before adapting EU legislation. Now that the reform of the economic and monetary policy took, it seems hard for the parliaments to become involved in policy- and decision-making in the area of economic governance, regardless of secret developments.

### Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

In my view three topical themes comes to the fore regarding the present state of democracy in the EU. One is that politicians, academics and the public at large still have to come to grips with the impact that the eurocrisis has had on democracy in Europe. That applies above all to the 'damage' done to democracy in the bail-out countries but also to the way that the crisis response has, more generally, constrained democratic decision-making at the national level and to the deeply disputable democratic credentials of (elements of) the European crisis response.

Second, there are of course the elections for the European Parliament in 2014 and the remarkable way in which they have translated in the election of the new president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, and his college. We may be witnessing a politicization of EU politics both at the level of elections as well as the level of supranational





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government. However, the real nature and magnitude of the changes involved can only be properly assessed in the longer run.

Third, both these former issues point towards the on-going pressures on the EU's constitutional structure and its tendency to transmute. The majority of the EU's political elite seems to be committed to the stance that the era of treaty change has been brought to an end with the Treaty of Lisbon. At the same time, there are some prominent individual voices (Cameron, Schäuble) that have floated the need for EU treaty change – albeit on rather diverse political grounds. From a viewpoint of democracy, I think both the institutional shifts that we have been witnessing as well as the popular sentiment make treaty change unavoidable, quite possibly already in the new EP term that has just started. In that light I was fascinated by the opportunity to speak on this issue at an EP hearing in April 2014 and by the campaign that is being initiated by <a href="http://democraticeuropenow.eu/">http://democraticeuropenow.eu/</a>.

#### **Maastricht University**

National parliaments, for a long time regarded as "losers" within the European integration process, have more recently moved centre stage in debates about enhancing the legitimacy of European governance. In part due to the new empowerment that has come with the introduction of the Early Warning Mechanism in the Lisbon Treaty, in part in response to the greater politicization of European integration at the domestic level following the developments in the Eurozone crisis, and in part as an issue in the debates, in particular in the UK, about the 'repatriation' of EU powers to the member states, national parliaments now play a big role in debates about future institutional reforms of the Union – a centrality that is not (yet) matched by their actual involvement in EU decision-making. Two factors seem to play a particularly important role in determining how active (and successful) parliaments are in the scrutiny of EU affairs: The institutional capacity, including formal powers, administrative support, access to information, and their level of motivation.

### **Leiden University**

There is limited awareness/knowledge about the EU among national parliamentarians in the Netherlands, but this is changing due to the efforts of the administrative staff of the Dutch Eerste and Tweede Kamer. The Tweede Kamer has more instruments than before to follow EU decision making and uses these instruments sporadically.

### **University of Oslo**

The fact that the European Union has a directly elected parliament that operates from beyond the state.





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### **European Foundation of European Studies - European Institute**

Once the results of the EP elections of May 2014 have been known the most interesting phenomenon is the raise in activity and strength of eurosceptic/anti-integrationist parties and Europe and in Poland, which in our view deserves closer attention.

Another issue worth closer attention is, in the FES-EI view, the surprisingly low turnout in EP elections, which seems to contradict with very high support of Poles for the Union and Poland's membership.

#### **Polish Institute of International Affairs**

In the reporting period it was naturally the European Parliament elections that caught most attention and provoked discussion on EU's legitimacy, changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty, personalization and Europeanization of the elections, raise od the Eurosceptic parties as well as inter-institutional relations. These discussions are likely to be continued. Probably more attention will be devoted to possible roles of the European Parliament in the EU economic governance and quest for better involvement of national parliaments in European affairs.

### University of Ljubljana

In the last several years the debate on declining of democracy or De-Democratization has been one of the topic which seems interested and important, particularly in the CEE countries, and it is connected with questions over quality of democracy. On the other hand, the topic on the (lack of) social dimension of parties seems to be at least partially connected with these problems as well as with instability of party systems in the CEE countries seen in last several years enev a bigger extent than previously.

### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

First is selection of the parliamentary elite, second is parliamentary accountability, third is the committee system of parliaments. All of them are related with the topic of the relationship between politicians and citizenship in democratic systems: representation, accountability and coalition formation. Finally one of the main questions from the south European perspective is parliamentary democracy and federalism.

#### Universidad Pablo de Olavide

The one thing that strikes prof. Coller is how parliaments are going to meet citizens' demands for more participation in the political process that are seen across Europe. Prof Harguindéguy is stroken by the effects generated by the 2008 crisis on the different parliamentarian majorities in countries like Spain, France or Greece.





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### The Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences

The results coming out of the project are interesting and the thorough research made on this subject is impressive. From a Swedish point of view it is interesting to see the results in Katjana Gattermann and Claudia Hefftler: "Political Motivation and Institutional Capacity: Assessing National Parliaments' Incentives to Participate in the Early Warning System".

The extraordinary difference between the very high number of "reasoned opinions" by the Swedish Riksdag as compared by those of others was surprising. The hypotheses that were seen to be confirmed seem plausible but the deepened analysis that the authors plan to undertake on, among other things, parliamentary traditions in different countries, will most probably shed even more light on the reasons for such differences.

#### **ETH Zurich**

Our research suggests a number of interesting observations about parliamentary democracy in Europe:

- •First, we note that, unlike in the history of the nation-state, parliamentary competences at the European level have developed in the absence of strong social and economic pressure. Their development rather depends on the constitutional preferences and normative commitments of policy-makers in Europe and the member states. The role of the European Parliament is contested among policy-makers with different preferences as to the design of parliamentary democracy in the EU.
- •Second, it appears that the development of national parliamentary competences in EU policy-making has less to do with party conflict over the direction of public policy than with partisan, public and institutional resistance to the centralisation of policy authority and democratic representation at the European level.
- •Third, we find robust evidence that the EU institutions are responsive to public opinion in terms of their legislative productivity, even though electoral lines of accountability are often said to be either lacking or not functioning well.

### **University of Cambridge**

The two most striking aspects of parliamentary democracy in Europe in the 21st Century are: 1) the extent to which national parliaments/parliamentarians remain ignorant of European affairs, including of the powers of the European Parliament, and are reluctant to engage seriously with EU matters. This inevitably varies from chamber to chamber with some such as the Dutch mainstreaming European affairs, but it appears to be a general problem as parliamentarians are expected to focus on the more immediate, and frequently more domestic, concerns of their electors. 2) the extent to which Eurosceptic parties and movements have come to the fore over the past two decades. This was seen to some extent in repeated referendums on treaty reforms from Maastricht onwards but has become increasingly prevalent in elections to the European





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Parliament, as shown across the EU in the 2014 elections. The situation is particularly marked in the UK where the anti-EU UK Independence Party secured the largest share of the vote in the EP elections and subsequently won two Westminster parliamentary by-elections following defections from the Conservative Party. The issue of Europe had dominated the UK media and is likely to remain a key feature in the run-up to the general election due on 7th May 2015, not least as there is also a possibility that the UK will hold a referendum on whether to remain in the EU.

3.2 In August 2014 it was announced that Dr Julie Smith would become a member of the House of Lords. In this capacity she combines the academic study of parliaments with political practice, taking a particular interest in EU matters. She took her seat only in October 2014, so her activities in the Lords will be reported on further in subsequent annual reports. Since the end of the OPAL project, Dr Huff has been appointed as a Specialist in the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, again combining theory and practice.

### **University College London**

Christine Reh's recently completed ESRC project on "The Informal Politics of Codecision" (with Adrienne Héritier, European University Institute) started from a puzzling observation: although the European Parliament was empowered over the last two decades to increase the inclusiveness and transparency of EU legislation, de facto decision-making has increasingly shifted from public inclusive to informal secluded arenas. The project and Christine Reh's ongoing research explore(d) the reasons for and the (democratic) consequences of informalisation. Given the impact on the possibility to effectively scrutinise governments in EU affairs, this topic is of relevance and concern for national parliaments.

Heleen Jalvingh's findings highlight as particularly remarkable the existing variation in dealing with EU affairs between NPs, but at the same time the gradual increase in similarities, in particular since the development of their European Affairs Committees. She also notes the potential increase in contacts via COSAC and offices in Brussels as possible factors.

Richard Bellamy finds that the increasing use of interparliamentary bodies in EU decision-making and the developing relationship between national parliaments and the European Parliament is of particular interest. It will also be interesting to see whether the last elections and their role in the selection of the President of the Commission have added weight to the EP or not.

Albert Weale finds remarkable how variable the capacity of national parliaments is to scrutinize EU policies.





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### **University of York**

In an era of mass public disillusionment with democratic politics both at the national and EU levels, our research needs to focus on the accountability nexus between national elites, European publics and European elites. This could be done through:

- (1) examining and evaluating the impact of Euroscepticism on domestic and EU politics. This is particularly the case at a time when the Eurozone crisis has profoundly shaken the foundations of the EU project, revealing that widespread opposition to, doubt or reservation about the European project have become a structural factor of European integration.
- (2) identifying and explaining variation in opinion congruence between parties and their voters on the left-right and the pro-anti-EU dimensions as well as on specific policy issues in EU and national elections across time.

### **University of Glasgow**

Throughout the reporting period the Politics subject in Glasgow University, in particular Dr Thomas Lundberg and Dr. Myrto Tsakatika have been very closely involved in the public debate on Scottish independence, the independence referendum and the implications for the strengthening of the Scottish Parliament (Holyrood) and Scottish parliamentary democracy more broadly as well as Scotland's relationship with the European Union. The referendum campaign has certainly revitalized democracy inside and outside of Parliament in a profound way, triggering extensive participation on the part of citizens, public debate and the active role of the Scottish Parliament and its committees in the deliberative process. We have found this a remarkable period in terms of local developments for parliamentary democracy.

#### **TEPSA**

As already said above, the possibility of a crisis of parliamentary democracy is striking me in Europe, characterized by a changing voting behavior among the youth compared to the eldest (lower turnout), the rise of populism, or the emergence of alternatives to traditional parties and representations that are too volatile, which do not come up with new ideas but benefit from the frustration and political dissatisfaction of the citizens. The presentations of Olga Gyarfasova (Alternative Parties, alternative Representation?) and Petia Gueorguieva ("Citizens versus Parliament": of the Parliamentary Crisis and the Crisis of Parliamentarianism in Bulgaria) during the annual conference illustrated this concern well, pointing out some new ways of being represented, less established. Their reason for being seems to be the only distrust toward the traditional parties. Yoav Shemer-Kunz also raised a similar question during the annual conference, pointing out that the voting behavior of the youth is rather non-voter. So what will happen when those young people will be older? Is it a long term trend? If the turnout keeps decreasing, the legitimacy of the regime will follow a similar trend. This ongoing development





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jeopardizes all parliamentary democracies as western countries have been building it for several centuries.

This might be the reflection of the economic crisis, or of something more deeply rooted. In

France for instance, the Front National has been rising steadily for nearly 20 years, blooming on the growing political distrust toward the traditional parties. If the French regime might not be considered as a purely parliamentary regime, and more as a presidential one, we still talk about representative democracy in general. Is it going through a crisis? This was already observed during the 2012 European Conference of Presidents of **Parliaments** (http://assembly.coe.int/Conferences/2012Strasbourg/Background/ECPPDemocracyRepresent ativeF.pdf), during which the lack of trust of the citizens in their institutions, be it the government or the parliament, was pointed out. It leads to the question whether representative democracy is still the best way to rule a country. In any case, this trend has been confirmed since then, especially during last spring's elections both at national and EU level. Although it does not necessary means that parliamentary democracies are endangered, the situation is worrisome. However, parliamentary democracy has already been through many crises and its strength has always been its resilience and capacity of renewal. For instance, the research project LEGIPAR (2009-2011) called into question the link between the growing distrust of the citizens in their national and European institutions, and the role and place of parliaments in the institutional framework. They tried to evaluate how far parliaments may be marginalized and delegitimized in that context, and finally end up with support for another thesis: given the difficulty for the new forms of political representation and participation to stand out as legitimate and workable at a national scale, the parliaments may in fact contribute to perpetuate the legitimacy in

Although the parliamentary democracy is obviously going through a crisis, I think we might trust its capacity of adaptation for the future, and build up a more committed civil society.

political systems which are under pressure (globalization, individualism, ...).

#### **University of Iceland**

At the European level, it is obviously still highly puzzling that in a situation characterized both by economic crisis and increasing skepticism towards the very idea of European integration, voters still largely choose to ignore the most important element in the EU's system of representative democracy, namely the elections to the European Parliament.

