

 <p>PADEMIA PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE</p>	<p><b>Third Annual Report</b></p>
<p>ERASMUS Academic Network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe</p>	<p><a href="http://www.pademia.eu">www.pademia.eu</a></p>

PADEMIA Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary  
Democracy in Europe

Third Annual Report

October 2015 – September 2016

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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.

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## Section I: Teaching on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe

### University of Cologne

The chair of European Politics at the University of Cologne has a broad teaching syllabus which covers manifold aspects of EU politics. In the reporting period, the manifold European political crises continued to shape the content of seminars and lectures in Cologne. Students approached its causes, but also and importantly its consequences on the EU polity and its institutions. One focus has been the economic crisis and how it has been tackled both at EU and national level. Further, a BA seminar including a field trip to Brussels aimed at giving students a first-hand insight into how the crises influence the day-to-day proceedings in the European institutions. A special focus has been on parliamentary institutions and actors, such as an MEP, the representation of the German Bundestag in Brussels as well as the Brussels office of the German parliamentary group of the Green party.

A different approach of introducing BA students to parliamentary debating cultures was via a debating seminar in which students discussed salient EU topics, such as the democratic deficit, the refugee crisis or the rule of law crises in Hungary and Poland in a structured debate, following clear rules. Thereby, they did not only acquire knowledge about the EU, but also applied and improved their debating and presentation skills. An open debate on the British referendum, taking place on the evening before the actual voting in Great Britain, attracted a wide audience.

Several seminars directly focused parliamentary institutions in the EU, such as one tackling the European Parliament's role in during the crisis and whether the latter has strengthened or rather weakened it, especially in light of a possible increased importance of the European Council. Several seminars examined questions of democratic legitimacy which are recurrently raised in the public discourse and academic debates. The different tasks assigned to representative chambers in the EU, i.e. the European Parliament, national and regional Parliaments, have been discussed and the ability of different institutions to live up to the expectations addressed to them by the national electorates has been evaluated.

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Especially on MA level, seminars were designed to introduce students to different research techniques by writing research papers themselves. One of these seminars had a direct focus on parliamentary democracy, while in general topics including PADEMIA foci have been popular with students. For more information, see the list of courses provided below.

### University of Salzburg

Like every year, the European Union played an important role in the teaching syllabus of the Political Science Department at the University of Salzburg during the reporting period on both the B.A. and the M.A. level. In total, nine courses were offered that focused on the European Union exclusively or, in one case, to 50 percent. Some aimed at making students familiar with EU institutions and the nature of EU decision-making more generally. Like in previous years, one of these courses was organized around a one-week trip to EU institutions in Brussels (European Parliament, European Commission), Luxembourg (European Court of Justice), and Frankfurt (European Central Bank), which provided students with an impression about how the EU works ‘in practice’. It also allowed students to discuss topical issues like the financial crisis or current developments in the field of the EU’s common foreign and security policy directly with actors actually engaged with these issues on the EU level. This course was open to M.A. as well as B.A. students. Others courses, again, focused on specific aspects of EU integration like on milestones and challenges of political and economic integration, on the role of Austria as an actor in the EU decision-making, or on the relations between the European Union and Russia and the Eastern Partnership. The course on milestones and challenges thereby was divided into two parts over the whole reporting period, focusing on theoretical aspects and the state of the art in the topic covered in the winter term, while discussing and training students’ methodological skills to support them when writing their final papers in the summer term.

Again in line with previous years, no course was offered that dealt with parliamentary democracy within the EU exclusively during the reporting period. As before, however, in many courses one or more classes were devoted to this topic, discussing the EU’s democratic legitimacy from a variety of perspectives. Amongst others, classes discussed the nature of the ‘electoral link’ between institutions on the EU level and citizens on the national level, recent trends towards a ‘politicization’ of EU decision-making in light of

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the Eurocrisis, or the impact of this Eurocrisis on national party systems and the rise of Eurosceptic parties.

### **IHS Vienna**

The IHS offers a thematically focused, three years taught program for doctoral students. The current program (2013 – 2016) is organized around the topic ‘The Politics of Representation in Europe’. During the reporting period, courses on topics related to political representation in the EU included seminars by Professor Mark E. Warren (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada) on ‘Political Representation’ and by Professor Kaare Wallace Strøm (University of California, San Diego, and University of Oslo, Norway) on ‘Political Representation and Delegation’.

In addition, academics from the IHS taught seminars and courses at other Universities. Dr Katrin Auel was invited to teach a seminar on ‘The Extraordinary Experiment ‘European Union’ - Development, Politics and Challenges ’ at Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan, (unfortunately, this seminar had to be cancelled due to family reasons), Peter Grand gave seminars on ‘the Political System of Austria and the EU’, Professor Johannes Pollak offered courses and lectures on Issues in International Politics: Politics and Institutions of the EU at Webster University, as well as a seminar on ‘Introduction into European Integration’ at the University of Salzburg.

Finally, the Department is also a partner of a number of EU funded projects aimed at teaching and training:

PEGASUS, an EU-funded project coordinated by the University of Cologne and aimed at improving teaching and training through an upgrade of academic and transversal skills embodied in a joint transnational Ph.D program.

PONT (Professional Training on EU Affairs), an ERASMUS+/Jean Monnet Support to Institutions project, led by the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), to provide a bridge connecting young academics and EU practitioners, in order to improve the employability of young researchers.

PLATO (Post-Crisis Legitimacy of the European Union) is a European Training Network funded under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions. The aim of this Horizon 2020 funding scheme is to train a new generation of creative and innovative researchers by bringing together universities, research centres and non-academic partners from different countries.

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### Université Catholique de Louvain

Teachings on the EU and on parliamentary democracy in Europe took place around two axes: ex-cathedra lectures and research seminars.

Firstly, most courses on the EU are obligatory for Master students in European Studies, Public Administration, and Political Sciences. The parliamentary dimension of the European Union was debated and the role of the European Parliament and national parliaments in EU policy-making were discussed (in some courses with a particular emphasis on the Belgian case) in several courses: ‘Political Theories and Regimes of the European Union’, ‘Europeanisation of national political systems and European policies of the member states’ and ‘Actors of the European political system’ (all taught by Prof. Tom Delreux), ‘Advanced Comparative Politics: party systems, parliaments and governments’ (taught by Prof. Lieven De Winter), ‘Système politique et administratif de la Belgique’ (taught by Prof. Benoît Rihoux, Christian de Visscher and Lieven de Winter) and ‘Comparative approach to national and international democratic challenges’ (taught by Dr. Jérémy Dodeigne).

Secondly, students are also dealing specifically with parliamentary democracy and EU affairs during a research seminar ‘(Sub)national parliaments and the European Union: adapting to Europe?’ with François Randour (PhD candidate) in the third year of their bachelor programme in Political Science. The research seminar relies on a reader of 15 articles and on several debates between the students.

### New Bulgarian University

The topics European integration and European governance are two of the main focuses in the teaching programs of the department of political sciences, 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 sciences and European integration and governance.

According to the rules and practice of the NBU, the reporting period encompasses two semesters: the autumn semester 2015/2016 and the spring semester 2015/2016. During the reporting period (autumn 2015 – autumn 2016), the department offered a broad range of courses on the topics of European integration, European governance and Parliamentary democracy.

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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 regime.


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 the 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 of the EU; Prof. D. Kanev offered a course (in Bulgarian) on Political process in Bulgaria after 1989, which was attended by 91 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).



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### Charles University Prague

Both the Institute of Political Studies and Institute of International Studies offer a wide range of courses on the European Union, mostly within the Master degree programmes International Relations and European Studies, but also on the Bachelor level. Specialized courses on the Master level focus on various aspects of the European integration, such as decision-making on various levels, economic aspects of European integration, EU policies, European public sphere and European debates, interest representation, etc.

Dr. Viera Knutelská taught a seminar focusing largely on the issue of national parliaments and European integration - Inter-institutional Relations: European vs. Domestic Institutions. The seminar introduced different perspectives on the national parliamentary scrutiny and inter-parliamentary cooperation and familiarized students with the current research on the subject.


Prof. Lenka Rovná co-organized a special cross-campus course “Rebuilding Europe for students” of the University of Gothenburg, Charles University in Prague, and Sciences Po, Paris. The project addressed the Greek Euro crisis and invited students to offer solutions to the problem.

### IRMO Zagreb

Being a public research institute, IRMO has no educational programs of its own except the Interdisciplinary University Postgraduate Programme “Preparation and implementation of EU projects” which IRMO implements together with four faculties within the University of Zagreb (Faculty of Law, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Civil Engineering and the Faculty of Agriculture). However, this program is not focused on the topic of parliamentary democracy. Besides, several IRMO researchers regularly teach within the European Studies postgraduate programs offered by Croatian universities. The courses covered by the IRMO researchers’ address: economic and institutional aspects of the EU enlargement; EU regional policy and EU funds; EU project management; economy of the EU public sector; economy of culture in the EU and other. Within the mentioned courses some aspects of Parliamentary Democracy are occasionally discussed.

IRMO researchers do not offer a course focused exclusively on the subject of Parliamentary Democracy but some aspects of it are incorporated in the existing courses.



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No other means of teaching dealing with Parliamentary Democracy were developed or used by the IRMO researches.

### University of Southern Denmark

The course “The parliamentarization of EU politics- what implications for democracy in Europe?” on the MA level focused exclusively on our topic of parliamentary democracy in Europe with an emphasis on the European Parliament. Other courses offered are: “Introduction to EU-Studies” (BA-level) and “European Public Policy” (MA-level).

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 the Danish MEP Christel Schaldemose presented her views followed by a discussion.

### University of Copenhagen

Together with Yoseh Bhatt, Mads Dagnis Jensen has edited a special issue of the Danish journal Økonomi & Politik dealing with 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 journalists participated. The debate is centred on the perceived increased Euroscepticism and the power battle over the appointment of the president of the Commission.

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 of the European Parliament Mads Dagnis Jensen functioned as an expert informing students and journalists about the topic.

### University of Tartu

The Johan Skytte Institute at the University of Tartu offers a wide range of courses on the EU, including on the EU’s historical evolution, theories of European integration, institutions and policy-making, political dynamics and recent developments, external relations, and relations with its neighbours. These are offered both on the BA and MA level.


There is no course focusing specifically on parliamentary democracy in the EU. However, the subject received considerable attention in the framework of several broader courses. Specifically:

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Dr Piret Ehin taught an MA- level course on “Theories of European integration” (6 ECTS) in autumn semester 2015 which also covered issues of democracy and legitimacy in the EU, including arguments for and against holding the EU to a liberal-democratic standard of legitimacy as described by David Beetham and Christopher Lord in their seminal book “Legitimacy and the EU”(1998).

In spring semester 2016, Dr Piret Ehin taught a completely new MA-level course on „EU institutions and policy-making“(6 ECTS) which dedicated five 90-minute class meetings to issues related (completely or partially) to parliamentary democracy in the EU, including the role and functions of the European Parliament, its relations with other EU institutions, the role of national parliaments, EU legislative processes, and EU policy-making. New slides and handouts were developed for this course. The course entailed a 2-day study trip to the European Parliament in May 2016 which was attended by 28 students and 2 instructors (Dr Ehin and Dr Braghiroli). The course also featured a presentation by Estonian MEP Marju Lauristin on EU legislative processes.

Dr. Stefano Braghiroli taught the BA-level course “European Union” (6 ECTS) during spring semester 2016 and devoted three class meetings to the institutional and inter-institutional dimension, as well as two meetings concerning the discussion of the EU parliamentary dynamics and the democratic deficit. In spring 2016, the courses “EU Enlargement, Transition and Neighbourhood Policy” (6 ECTS) and “Ideas of Europe” (6 ECTS) were taught by Stefano Braghiroli. The former included a significant focus on the institutional factors playing a role in the definition of the ENP, the role of the parliamentary scrutiny, and the level of democratic accountability in the decision-making process, while the latter course, dealing with the century-long debate on European and continental unity, explored the connection between ideals and concepts of integration and the peoples of Europe. In the fall semester 2015, Dr. Braghiroli taught two MA level courses including “History and processes of the EU and Russia” and “History and processes of the EU”. In both cases the EU parliamentary dimension played a significant role, with the theoretical and conceptual components of the teaching process going hand-in-hand with more practical exposure to decision-making with the direct involvement in the form of guest lectures of almost the entire delegation of Estonian MEPs (5 out of 6).

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### University of Tampere

The Degree Program 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 politics and/or EU politics. In the academic year 2014-2015 these courses covered topics such as integration theories, European energy policy, the euro crisis, Finnish and British politics, political parties, EU-Russian relations and EU's foreign and security policy.

Professor Tapio Raunio taught a course 'Does the EU Suffer from a Democratic Deficit?' in fall 2015. The course examined the question of European or EU democracy from a variety of angles, including public opinion, referenda, and the roles of national parliaments and the European Parliament. PhD student Hyeon Su Seo offered in spring 2016 a course on 'Parliament and New Forms of Citizen Participation', which looked at the relationship between legislatures and citizens and also at the tensions between representative democracy and new modes of citizens' participation.


### Sciences Po Bordeaux

Prof. Olivier Costa is in charge of one course in Sciences Po Bordeaux: « *The European Union policy-making* », attended by around 40 Master 1 students and around 20 international students (Erasmus, Erasmus Mundus). The course is taught in English.

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),

Damien Elkind (Phd-Student in European Law, University of Bordeaux) offered an introductory 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 within the frame of the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence in Aquitaine (26-27

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November 2015: “L’ESPACE SCHENGEN : Problème ou solution aux flux migratoires et à la sécurité en Europe?” in Sciences Po Bordeaux ([www.cejma.eu](http://www.cejma.eu)).

Generally speaking, Sciences Po Bordeaux, as an institution focused on political science, is proposing numerous courses dealing with EU, international affairs, political institutions and actors.

### Sciences Po Grenoble

Sciences Po Grenoble offers courses on European integration at both the undergraduate and the graduate level, covering introductory courses (Droit de l’Union européenne) as well as specialized seminars on public policies or EU institutions.

The majority of courses however takes place in the framework of the École de Gouvernance européenne and its Master in European Governance. This multidisciplinary program brings together economists, legal scholars and political scientists, who teach general EU courses and more specific aspects of European integration. While one of the classes deals with parties and the European parliament, none of the classes is specialized on Parliamentary democracy in the EU.

Undergraduate courses take the plain lecture format, whereas graduate courses are seminars, more than 60 % of them in English. Two of them are based on textbooks Prof. Terpan (Law) and Prof Saurugger (Theories of European integration) have written.

Sciences Po Grenoble also has a webbased-teaching program in the framework of the École de gouvernance européenne, where all courses are provided with an electronic teaching material.

### Institut für Medienwissenschaften Berlin

Leonard Novy taught a course at Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen, Media Systems and Europeanization (25 January 2016 – 28 January 2016). The course examined a broad range of phenomena associated with Europeanization, both in terms of media and political communication as well as parliamentary democracy. Students were able to discuss to which extent concepts such as the public sphere, political communication, public opinion and will formation, which have long been seen as firmly, if not inextricably linked to the nation state, are challenged by processes of Europeanization. This involved tacking stock of theoretical accounts of the role of the media and of the way identity, the public sphere and democracy are interrelated as well as discussing


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recent empirical research in the field, e.g. on journalism cultures, on the Europeanization of public spheres and on the impact of technological innovations.

Furthermore, the Institute, represented by Leonard Novy and Orkan Torun, has been actively involved in the foundation of the European Leadership and Debate Academy (E.L.D.A.). Proceeding from the assumption that mounting challenges to democracy both in many countries of the EU and in its neighborhood have made it increasingly obvious that Europe needs more than formal democratic rules but requires a political culture that is based on new forms of leadership, civic participation and debate, the ELDA offers seminars for young academics and professionals. The week-long ELDA seminars, which were held twice in Kiev (June and July 2016) and Odessa (September 2015) and funded by the German Foreign Office, address young leaders from various countries of the EU and its neighborhood with special focus on Central, Southern and Eastern Europe. They consist of academic inputs and joint discussions on pluralist democracies and the challenges associated with public communication.

### **WZB Berlin**

During the reporting period, Dr. Pieter de Wilde and Dr. Christian Rauh organized a workshop on advanced content analysis at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center. It was attended by PhD candidates from a range of PADEMIA partner institutions. Given that parliaments in Europe produce a lot of documents, whether transcripts of plenary debates or policy documents, content analysis of these documents provides a valuable way of analyzing the nature, causal processes and other characteristics of parliamentary democracy in Europe. Many parliamentary documents are publicly available and an increasing amount of it is made available digitally in online portals of the government or parliamentary archives. Furthermore, rapidly advancing technologies for the automated collection and analysis of such digital documentation open up new frontiers in the systematic research of parliamentary democracy. During the two days' workshop held in November 2015, we discussed the principles of parliamentary democracy, the types of documents made available by parliaments and various methods for collecting and analyzing these documents. Participants presented their own research projects with a specific focus on the extent to which content analysis as method featured in there and how their choice of method, sampling etc. was structured by the research question and dealt with technical and methodological challenges along the way. Evaluations of the workshop were highly positive, stressing the added value of having both teaching

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sessions by the workshop organizers and presentation sessions for individual participants as well as the combined methodological interest and focus that brought everyone together.

### **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**

At the start of June 2016, Dr. James P. Cross and Prof. Gavin Barret hosted a PADEMIA summer school on the topic of “Parliamentary accountability: Assessing the link between citizens and elites in national and supranational politics. The summer school was jointly hosted by the Dublin European Institute, based at University College Dublin. The summer school was attended by 14 junior scholars from around Europe and focused on innovative new ways to analyze the roles and workings of Parliaments across different national settings and at the EU level. Research was presented on topics including:

- The impact of national and European parliamentary elections on parliamentary activities
- The link between citizens and parliamentarians at the national and supranational levels



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- Parliamentary speeches and their content, including the application of quantitative and qualitative text-analysis techniques
- The communication strategies of parliamentary representatives through the media, and online through social media platforms
- The role of parliamentary committees in policy-making processes
- The evolving role of national parliaments in European and EU politics
- The impact of formal and informal institutions on parliamentary decision-making processes


Summer school attendees also visited the Irish Parliament and were introduced to the new Parliamentary reforms currently being implemented. This experience provided interesting context for the discussions engaged in by participants about their current research.

### Vilnius University

The Institute of International Relations and Political Science of Vilnius University (IIRPS VU) offers the MA study program in European Studies. The program is organized in such a way as to provide a possibility for a student to choose one of the two “sub-specializations”: European political economy or European ideas and politics. The major focus of the programme is on the EU, and the study subjects range from more general ones, focused on integration processes, to more specific, focused on particular policies or institutions.

There are several study subjects within the program, closely, though not exclusively connected to the subject of the project. Those who study EU institutions and policies are mainly concerned with the decision making processes and the actors who participate in these processes. Another related question discussed by the students of the program is the question of EP elections and the prospects of European party system. An important related issue discussed in a number of classes is the question of political identity, political attachment and legitimacy – as democracy in Europe implies a European demos, its prospects and its implications for existing identities are scrutinized as well. To sum up, the topic of parliamentary democracy in Europe emerged and discussed both as part of studying EU institutional structure and as part of analyzing the transformations of the nation state.



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No textbooks or other learning materials on the topic were prepared during the reporting period.

### University of Luxembourg

The University of Luxembourg offers a 2-year MA degree in European Governance. In this framework, the institute of political science offers courses on European integration in general, but also on specific EU policies (monetary policy, environment policy, social policy...).

The course on the political system of the European Union includes two lectures on the European Parliament. The course on multi-level governance in the European Union includes a lecture on national parliaments and their control over EU policy-making. In addition, Philippe Poirier offered a course on Démocraties et Parlementarismes. Anna-Lena Högenauer's course on Research Techniques provided students with an introduction to quantitative method based on a student project on the coding and analysis of parliamentary questions.

### 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.

### Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

As in the previous years, the two courses in the VUA Political Science programs that really concern the EU and give particular attention to issues of parliamentary representations were the course 'EU Governance in an International Context' in the BA Political Science and the course 'Selected Issues in European Politics and Multilevel Governance' in the MSc Political Science.

The BA course mostly stayed the same in 2015-2016, as it 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.

With specific regard to the subject matter of the PADEMIA project, the MSc course on European Politics and Multilevel Governance included classes on issues like the impact

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of European integration on party-ideologies, the politicization of EU affairs and the parliamentary accountability of EU executive power, this year.

Finally, Ben Crum co-taught a tutorial on “Diversity and Democracy in European Governance” together with Prof. Dr. Jonathan Zeitlin of the University of Amsterdam for two Social Science Research Master students at that university. In Crum’s part of the course, issues concerning parliamentary democracy in the EU were discussed in relation to broader themes like integration theory, EU identity and the current crises of the EU.


### Maastricht University

The topic of parliamentary democracy is touched upon within several courses at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS). Just to give some examples: At the Bachelor level in courses such as EU Politics (year 1), students have assignments on the European Parliament. It is also a focus at MA level, for example within the Master European Affairs and the Master European Studies. Here Christine Neuhold has been giving lectures on the role of democratic representation in the EU (in October 2015) and the role of political parties in parliaments (in spring of 2016). Christine Neuhold also supervised a group of Bachelor students writing their BA thesis on issues related to parliamentary democracy in the EU in the summer term of 2016.

Within the Research Master European Studies, Christine Neuhold has developed a course on ‘Democratic Governance and Representation on Europe’. This 8 weeks course, which ran during the Winter Term of 2015, consisted of several sessions on parliamentary representation both at the EU and the national level.

### Leiden University

The courses taught by the institute of public administration of Leiden University (Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs) on the EU and parliamentary democracy are *Introduction to Public Administration* (BA-1, taught by Prof. Dr. Kutsal Yesilkagit), *EU politics and policy* (BA-2, taught by dr. Rik de Ruiter), *Introduction to Political Science* (BA-3, taught by prof. dr. Bernard Steunenberg), and *EU decision making* (MA, track international and EU governance, taught by Dr. Antoaneta Dimitrova). In each of these courses the role of national parliaments and the European parliament are discussed. This is most visible in the course introduction to political science for the first year BA students, EU politics and policy for the second year BA students and the MA course in the track international and EU governance on EU decision making. In the context of the political science introductory course in the first year of the BA, a debate on the working

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of Dutch parliamentary democracy, the role of populism and the impact of European integration between two MPs of the Dutch Lower House (Dr. Peter Omtzigt (Christen Democrats) and Harry van Bommel (Socialist Party) was organized. Both MPs reacted on theses put forward by the students and students prepared questions for the MPs. In the context of the European Union Politics and Policy BA course, a lecture was devoted to the European Parliament and the possibility of national parliaments to influence the EU legislative process through the early warning mechanism. In the MA course on EU decision making an entire session was devoted to the role of national parliaments in the European integration process. Moreover, a capstone MA thesis group was organized in which students wrote individually their Master thesis on the theme of national parliaments and EU affairs and every other week meet up to discuss their progress, give feedback on each other's manuscripts and receive feedback of the supervisor.


### University of Oslo

ARENA does not provide courses, though our colleagues have contributed to teaching at other Universities, notably the University of Krakow, the University of Bratislava, the University of Lucerne and the College of Europe. These contributions have promoted understanding of the role of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe in important ways. The Masters course at the University of Krakow (taught in partnership with Krakow) explored the relationship between knowledge and democracy, including the indispensable role of parliamentary institutions in mediating the relationship between the two. The Masters courses at Bratislava and Lucerne shared with students important new research which ARENA is conducting into the problematic relationship between democracy and differentiated, including problems raised by incongruences between the participation of European countries in EU policies and their representation in parliaments with powers over those policies.

### Kozminski University

In the reporting period, the teaching syllabus of the EU Department of the Kozminski University has been influenced by the ongoing crises in the European Union (mainly Brexit and migrant crisis) and an EU control mechanism on the rule of law and fundamental rights.

The main focus has been analyzing the present problems of the EU and trying to answer the question - what should be done in the future of EU?

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Lectures and courses about EU law have been offered at the MA-level (mainly addressed to Erasmus students and international program students).

During those lectures, electronic material and textbooks have been used to analyze the main cases of the ECJ and other courts (mainly national Constitutional Tribunal).

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

Between September 2015 and February 2016, Dr Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka (Head of the EU Program at PISM and PADEMIA coordinator) continued giving lectures entitled “Focus on the EU” at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) Academy. These courses directed at postgraduate students were oriented towards broadening students’ knowledge about the current trends in European integration and the dynamics of the current EU-related crises. The main focus of the course lied on the question of Brexit and the migration crisis.

Within the course one lecture was devoted to the question of strengthening national parliaments in the EU – a postulate put forward by David Cameron in his EU-UK renegotiation package. Students were familiarized with the current state of play as regards the parliamentary involvement in monitoring of subsidiarity but also the new idea that became formalized in 2015 of introducing the so called “green card” for national parliaments in the EU.

During the courses, in aspects related to parliamentary democracy, Dr Borońska-Hryniewiecka was using her own research as well as works published by other PADEMIA scholars.

### **University of Lisbon**

The Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais of the New University of Lisbon (IPRI-NOVA) organized courses on the EU in undergraduate and Master level during the second semester. These courses help shed light on how the EU functions nowadays and to what extent it is democratic. The factors that strengthen and weaken the quality of democracy at the EU level are also described. Additionally, these courses aim on one hand to provide students with knowledge about the functioning of the European Union, and on the other to develop their capacity to analyze economic and policy decisions taken at the European level. It is explained which are the European Union's main actors and institutions, their roles, competences and powers, and how these have evolved since the creation of the European communities so the students can understand the

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mechanisms that are responsible for this evolution. Recent events in the EU are analyzed in the final part of the course.

Classes are organized as follow:

1) The first part of the class will be a lecture. Students will have been given texts each week to prepare for the second part of the class; they must read these carefully, prepare a one or two page report (review) and be ready to discuss them in class. The reports must be handed in on the day of the discussion; they will not be evaluated if handed in late. Each week, the students must present the texts.

2) In addition to actively participating in classes, over the semester students must present some "European press reviews", that is, a press review of events that took place in the European Union in the previous week. Each presentation must last between 10 and 15 minutes. The focus must be specifically on issues at the European Union level raised in the week prior to the presentation and students must be ready to answer questions on the topic from the professor.


The use of specialist journals such as 'Politico' is mandatory. Students must inform the teacher of the date they would like to present their press-review(s) (see calendar) and texts. It will be organized on a "first come first served" basis.

Evaluation methods:

Class participation and the presentation of articles and the press review represent 20% of the final grade; the reports (reviews) represent 30% and the exam 50%. The exam is in two parts: a multiple choice section (with a deduction of 0.5 points per error) and a discussion section on a current day issue.

### **Comenius University Bratislava**

During the reporting period the teaching syllabus of the Institute of European Studies and International Relations (IESIR) followed the established courses, on the other hand reflected challenging processes within the EU – above all the economic and debt crises, post-Lisbon architecture as well as the refugees' crises which emerged in spring/summer 2015. Courses have been offered at the BA-, MA-, and PhD level. The key courses teaching about EU democracy, institutions and discourse are: Introduction to European Integration; Institutions of the EU; EU Integration of Western Balkans in the Context of the Security Situation; European Neighborhood-Roles and Policies of the EU, which are offered (in English) for the BA level. Moreover: Security Studies; Symbols and Myths of European Integration; Internal Market of the European Union; European Union

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in Political and Public Discourse; International Political Economy at the MA level. For the PhD students' courses on EU policies and Organizations and Institutions are offered.

The courses which are exclusively targeted on PADEMIA topics are *Institutions of the EU and the Law of the EU* (BA) focused also on European Law - character of the Law, direct applicability, direct effect, non-direct effect, state responsibility; sources of the EU law and Implementation of EU law in the area of common market and common policies. At the MA level the course *EU policies* which consists of following topics: EU as a political entity: 'Europeanization' and polity formation; EU Institutions as "Living Institutions" ; Crisis of Trust and the Political Order in the EU; The challenge of democratic governance in the EU; Reconstituting democracy in the EU?; Unity and diversity in the EU: Models of social policy.


### University of Ljubljana

The Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana (FSS) continues to offer several courses related to the EU in general, and parliamentary democracy in Europe in particular. The courses are offered at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. At the undergraduate level, the course "Basics of the EU" is offered as one of the core courses, in which the European Parliament is presented to students. The course 'European institutions' broadens the focus on the European institutional architecture and deals in particular with cross-parliamentary co-operation, focusing on co-operation between the EP and the PACE, the EP, and the NATO PA. 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.

More information on the range of courses and expertise are available at <http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/en/study/departments-and-chairs/department-of-political-science>.

As for specific means of teaching, we co-operate with the National Assembly and offer regular study visits there. We also co-operate with the European Parliament Office in Slovenia, especially in the organization of the simulation 'Model EP' which we hope will become a traditional event at the Faculty of Social Sciences.



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### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

At graduate level (Degrees on Political science, Political science and Law, International relations, Public administration and Sociology) our department offers courses on Comparative Politics, European politics and EU politics. At master level (Master Universitario en Analisis Politico-UCM) the department offers courses on Governance of democracy and EU and multilevel government. The first one taught by prof. Manuel Sanchez de Dios is mainly focused on parliamentary democracy in Europe, though there are students from all over the world (several from Latin America). At doctorate level (Programa de Doctorado en Ciencias Política y de la Administración y Relaciones Internacionales- UCM) the department participates in two sessions of the research seminar for second year students. In addition Prf. Leticia Ruiz is director in the program of the field of Política y Administración comparada.

At the degree level, the means of teaching are mainly manuals of Spanish authors and at the master and doctoral level readings of review articles and books in English or Spanish. The UCM has an electronic system called “Campus virtual” where students can find electronic material such as syllabuses, presentations on power point, scripts, etc..


### Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Teaching of parliamentary democracy (and issues involved) at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide is developing conveniently. The unit responsible for PADEMIA is the research group called “Democracy and Autonomies: Politics and Society” (DASP, <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 undergraduate 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 Contemporary 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



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(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 female politicians in parliamentary democracies, Manuel Portillo focuses on political vocations in parliamentarians of multilevel democracies.

### 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 to democracy beyond the state in and beyond Europe (in Autumn). The European Politics Group at ETH Zurich also convened 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).

### University of Cambridge

Dr. Geoffrey Edwards taught a MPhil course on “Europe in the World: Crises and Challenges”. There was also a final year undergraduate paper on European Politics.

Dr. Edwards supervised a large number of dissertations on a variety of European topics during the course of the year, including four MPhil and four PhD students as well as four dissertations for the International program senior year American Semester Abroad at Pembroke College. Dr. Julie Smith supervised a PhD student working on the far right parties in Europe, focused on Flanders, Wallonia, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

There was no specific teaching on democracy in the EU during the reporting year.

Dr. Julie Smith spoke at a number of events in Cambridge, including the POLIS Department and the Centre for European Legal studies, on matters related to the UK referendum on the EU, as did several other colleagues, including Professor Brendan Simms, Dr. Geoffrey Edwards and Dr. Christ Bickerton.


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### University College London

In the reporting period, UCL offered a range of courses on the EU in general. The majority of teaching on the EU is offered in the Department of Political Science, including its Constitution Unit. The Department's teaching embeds the study of the EU in the wider theoretical and methodological context of Comparative Politics, Public Policy and International Relations, with a particular focus on research design and research methods. Students usually combine EU-specific classes with modules from other sub-disciplines of Political Science; very few of the students leave the MSc in European Public Policy, the Department's main EU course, with a purely EU-focused programme. Courses of the latter included sessions on the European Parliament, on EU legitimacy, the impact of the EU on executive-legislative relations at the national level and on national democracies in more general. The EP also features prominently in the sessions on the European Commission, the Council of Ministers and Lobbying.

The Department also offers courses on democracy, constitutional design and democratic political institutions, including a Masters-level comparative course on Parliaments, Political Parties and Policy-Making, which encompasses domestic parliaments and parties within EU member states and around the world. It also offers an undergraduate course on British Parliamentary Studies taught in collaboration with the Westminster parliamentary authorities, and Masters and undergraduate courses on British Government and Politics, which dedicate a week each to parliament.

Teaching is carried out in a variety of forms in addition to classroom teaching. The MSc European Public Policy organised a study trip to Brussels, which included a visit to the European Parliament, as well as simulation games. Assignments include traditional exams and essays as well as negotiation briefs and policy briefs. The Department also cooperates closely with policy makers both in teaching and in extra-curricular activities offered. Uniquely, one of the Department's courses is jointly delivered with the parliamentary authorities in Westminster, and part taught in parliament itself. It has a vocational element as well as answering academic questions, and combines formal, procedural knowledge with more political analysis of the role of political parties, and other actors/groups.

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### University of Exeter


Dr Sandra Kröger taught a two-term course on ‘Democracy in the European Union’. In this course, a whole series of actors were addressed, of obviously both national parliaments and the European Parliament. The course consisted of lectures, student discussions as well as small in-class research exercises, and it used the University’s virtual learning platform ELE to store readings as well as power point presentations. Rather unusually, a simulation about EU law-making was also part of this course. The simulation ran over two weeks and integrated the European Parliament as one crucial actor. In what follows, I will give a description of how the simulation passed off.

*Simulation of the EU’s handling of the refugee crisis by undergraduate students:*

‘It helped me to understand how complex these issues are to solve’ (Hannah Robinson)

Simulations are some of the most interesting and newer techniques used in University teaching. Generally speaking, they are a form of active learning which involves students through active participation, enabling them to take the learning into their own hands. The aim of simulations is to work with real-life situations and to provide an opportunity for students to engage with and directly apply the materials they have learnt: ‘I understood the theory in practice better; I could actually see what it looks like in real life’ (Anetta Nemethova). They support students immersing in a topic rather than just memorizing facts, thereby moving from ‘surface learning’ to ‘deep learning’. In so doing, simulations greatly increase students’ ability to understand a topic and remember the subject in the future whilst at the same time being fun for students.

In this politics course led by Dr Sandra Kröger, the simulation aimed at helping students to actively experience the complexities of EU politics. The workings of the European Union (EU) have become increasingly complex, and a simulation can allow for the complexities and varying nuances of the EU decision-making to be better understood, an experience much confirmed by the participating students: ‘I understand better how difficult it must be to actually pass legislation’ (Oliver Skinner). Overall, students agreed that they ‘now have a much better grasp of how the process works’ (Alex Rolfe). This is reflected in a post-simulation evaluation in which, on a scale from 1-5 (disagree-agree), the proposition that the ‘simulation has increased my knowledge and understanding of decision-making processes in the EU’ received 4.74 on average by students, and the proposition that ‘the simulation has sharpened my understanding of the importance of compromise, in EU policy-making’ received 4.52.


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The present simulation engaged with the on-going negotiations around how to best address the current refugee crisis, one of the biggest challenges the EU has faced to date. Students were assigned to different delegations (to eight different Member States, the European institutions as well as the press) and researched the actual position of the respective actors towards the refugee crisis. They thereby gained an in-depth insight into the position specific actors take on the refugee crisis ('I now have a much better knowledge of the refugee crisis when it comes to the EU' – Mateo Cook; 'The simulation helped me understand each Member State's view' – Maybelle Chan). Over a two-weeks period, they engaged in negotiation processes between the involved actors and thereby experienced how much the EU political system is based on consensus-seeking and compromise: 'I understand the decision-making process much better. I also realise how difficult it is to come to an agreement' (Maria Petrescu). As one student pointed out, 'reaching a compromise that works for everyone was a difficult aspect' (Alexander Thompson), not least because certain Member States proved to be fairly 'stubborn' (Charles Evans). After initial substantial disagreements, between the different national delegations, but also with the European institutions, over the legislative proposal by the European Commission, students were able to agree on five out of the six proposed articles. Evaluating the simulation, the students representing the UK pointed out how frustrating it was for them to be able to participate in the discussions (around a Schengen-related article), but to not be able to participate in the related vote (given UK's opt-out in the policy). A condition that would become much more permanent were the UK to leave the EU. Indeed, in a context where the EU is sometimes seen as an unattractive and disenchanting topic, a simulation can show how the EU can be a fascinating topic of study, and can help changing how students perceive of and understand the EU.

### University of York

During the academic year 2015-2016, Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou taught a year 3 UG module entitled 'The European Far right'.

Module description: One of the key developments in contemporary European politics is the emergence and persistence of far right parties whose ideology and agenda seeks to profoundly challenge the political system. Structural changes to European democracies, including the transfer of the locus of power and decision-making away from the nation state to international organisations, such as the European Union, have brought about

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tremendous changes in traditional representative politics and, by extension, in the predominant belief systems of European citizens. Far right politics are a symptom of a general feeling of malaise, political dissatisfaction with mainstream political parties, fear of globalisation, weakening electoral alignments, increased anti-government sentiment and protest. This course aims to provide students with a systematic introduction to key academic debates and empirical realities in the comparative analysis of far right politics in Europe. To do so, it will develop comparisons across a range of countries in both long-established Western democracies and newer democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, for example among others Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia etc.

### 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 three advanced optional courses offered to third and fourth year students on the European Union. Three courses are also offered at postgraduate level specializing on institutions and policies and the role of the EU in international development. Two courses are offered on 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.

Dr Thomas Lundberg taught a postgraduate course on European Politics as part of the University of Glasgow/Nankai University Joint Graduate School's International Relations programme. This course featured a great deal of European Union content, as well as a

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focus on political parties, elections, interest groups, and political institutions. Nankai University is located in Tianjin, China, and the Joint Graduate School awards degrees from both Nakai and Glasgow Universities. Students must meet the academic requirements of both universities and courses are taught in English.

Dr Myrto Tsakatika organized a 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 decision-making procedures. The topic was the Services Directive.


### University of Iceland

In the academic year 2015-2016, the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Iceland offered eight courses on European integration in general. These courses dealt with a variety of subjects related to the EU, for example institutional structure, decision-making processes, particular policy sectors and small states. Many other courses dealt partly with the European project (at least six courses) such as courses on Iceland’s foreign policy, security and defense and globalization. None of the courses deals exclusively with the Parliamentary Democracy but some of the courses do address the topic.

The Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies at the University of Iceland organized a number of lectures on European affairs during the academic year 2015-2016. None of these lectures has dealt directly with Parliamentary Democracy in Europe. Most speakers have been academics, from Iceland and abroad, but also a number of EU officials and European politicians spoke at these events. Lastly, the Centre runs a two-week intensive Summer School in Reykjavík, sponsored by an Erasmus+ strategic partnership grant, with 5 partner universities in Europe. The summer school focuses entirely on how small European states have responded to European integration and works within the decision-making processes of the European Union.

At the turn of the year, the Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies published a new textbook on European Integration and Iceland’s participation in the European project, primarily written for senior high-school students and undergraduates at the university level. The book promotes a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the European project and is the first textbook on the topic available in Icelandic. Furthermore, it addresses a shortage of teaching material in



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Icelandic on the European integration. One of the chapters of the book is about the democratic deficit in the EU.

### LUISS Guido Carli


In 2016 the LUISS Center for Parliamentary Studies promoted the organization of three main activities related to PADEMIA research interests.

Firstly, it organized the fifth edition of the Summer School on “Parliamentary Democracy in Europe” (Rome, 11-15 July 2016), co-organized by the LUISS School of Government and PADEMIA. This Summer School was awarded as a Jean Monnet module co-financed by the European Commission in 2013, 2014, 2015 and in 2015 winner of the PADEMIA teaching award. The 2016 Summer School has been dedicated to the “Legislative initiative and agenda-setting in the European Union”. This summer school applies research-based knowledge to the practical contexts that European Parliament and national parliaments as well as executives face nowadays in the framework of the legislative procedures (including the definition of the legislative agenda and the pre-legislative stage). The teaching method of the summer school includes lectures (given by top-level and senior academics); thematic workshops; paper discussions and simulation exercises.

Secondly, in the framework of the MAPPP (one-year post-graduate program in “Parliament and public policies”), the course on “Democratic principles in the EU” had the objective to study the various democratic principle of the European Union, particularly in the light of the institutional innovations introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon.

Finally, during the year preparatory works for EUPADRA were performed. The CESP has become a promoter of the Application for the Erasmus + Joint Masters in Legislative Drafting and Parliamentary Procedures, then he incardinated at the LUISS School of Government and the LUISS School of Law. Funded by the European Commission Erasmus+Programme, the Joint Master Program in Parliamentary Procedures and Legislative Drafting (EUPADRA) is an intensive post-graduate course offered by three top-ranked European academic institutions: LUISS Guido Carli, Universidad Complutense (Madrid, Spain) and University of London (London, UK). The overall coordination of the initiative is led by LUISS Guido Carli.



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

### **University of Cologne**


Parliamentary democracy has been a focus of research of the Jean Monnet Chair in Cologne ever since the very successful OPAL project. Also in this reporting period, one event that still was of interest were the European parliamentary elections of 2014 and the newly introduced procedure of Spitzenkandidaten. Müller Gómez and Wessels reflected on the future prospects of this procedure in their IAI working paper “The Spitzenkandidaten Procedure: Reflecting on the future of an Electoral experiment”. Further, the chair contributed to both, “Europa von A bis Z” as well as “Jahrbuch der europäischen Integration”, with manifold contributions, below others on national parliaments in the EU.

The future of the European Union as a political system has also been a focal point. In “Wege aus der Legitimitätskrise: Chancen eines europäischen Föderalismus”, Müller Gómez and Hoppe investigate whether and in how far a further federalization of the EU polity could contribute to stronger democratic credentials and higher acceptance in the European public.

Further, several contributions to broader discussions in EU politics haven been contributed. A full list is provided below.

### **University of Salzburg**

Members of the Department of Political Science at the University of Salzburg have been engaged in various research projects dealing with different aspects of EU integration. Looking at externally funded projects, the Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies (which is closely linked to the department organisationally and in terms of staff) has continued its research on member state’s preferences for economic and fiscal integration, a four-years project lead by two members of the department (Sonja Puntscher Riekmann and Fabio Wasserfallen) and involving partner universities from eight different countries, founded within the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (‘The choice for Europe since Maastricht’). In addition, a team around Michael Blauburger is currently involved in a project that, together with partners from three other universities, is looking at the ‘Transnationalization and the Judicialization of Welfare’ (TRANSJUDFARE), which is funded through the NORFACE

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research program 'Welfare State'. Smaller projects, conducted without external funding, were dealing with the impact of the financial crisis on Euroscepticism and voting behaviour in Central and Eastern Europe or the nature and future of European Integration in times of crisis.


Looking specifically at parliamentary democracy in Europe, two smaller studies have been conducted/ finished in the reporting period. First, Eric Miklin has conducted a study examining the impact of the Early Warning System on the behaviour and standing of national parliaments in EU affairs in Austria and the Netherlands. Second, Zoe Lefkofridi, together with Nathalie Giger, has conducted a study examining the EU Council of ministers' congruence with the European citizens. Finally, Eric Miklin continued his research on the activities of national parliamentary party groups during the Eurocrisis, thereby comparing the role and efficiency of official and informal channels for information and coordination, amongst others.

### **IHS Vienna**

Research within the Department of Political Science focuses on various aspects of representation in Europe. Within this field, parliamentary representation in EU affairs is one major area of research.

Several projects focused on how national parliaments communicate EU affairs to their citizens. This was investigated from both a parliamentary and party group perspective (project PACE, Dr Katrin Auel), as well as from the perspective of individual MPs (PhD Resul Umit). A related topic under investigation has been whom MPs claim to represent in parliamentary debates and under which conditions they Europeanize their focus of representation. This is based on the assumption that MPs need to be responsive to the interests of their national citizens, yet also have to take the interconnectedness of EU decision-making and thus the interests of other EU citizens into account (PhD project Lucy Kinski).

An ongoing project by Dr. Katrin Auel, undertaken in cooperation with Olivier Rozenberg (CEE Sciences Po Paris) and the Observatoire des institutions européennes (OIE) Paris analyses how national parliamentary scrutiny of EU affairs is embedded within EU decision-making processes. Focussing on key characteristics such the timing, the level of contestation and conflict as well as the thematic emphasis of policy processes at the domestic and the European level, the main aim of the project is to investigate the impact of parliamentary scrutiny on EU decision-making.


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Finally, based on the assumption that citizens experience politics mainly through the media, a third research focus of the Department lies on the media coverage of both national parliaments (project PACE) and the European Parliament (PhD project Olga Eisele).

A second research topic focuses on elections and vote choice. Here, Dr Guido Tiemann's research explores models of issue voting which are well-situated to capture dynamics of electoral behaviour and its interactions with party strategies and programmatic proposals. These formal models also consider non-policy effects such as economic voting in a systematic-comparative framework, which focuses both on national elections and on elections to the European Parliament.

A third topic focuses on the connection between political representation and parliamentary democracy. The main question is whether liberal democracy depends on territorially organized elections as means of selecting representatives (standard model of representation) or if representative claims can also be based on different grounds, and if so with what legitimacy. A book project (Professor Johannes Pollak jointly with Dario Castiglione) will be finished in 2016.

The Department has also been very much engaged in research on EU issues in more generally. One important research endeavour is the European Social Survey (ESS), where the Department is responsible for conducting the ESS for Austria since the 7th wave (Professor Pollak, Dr Peter Grand). This focus on public opinion is also reflected in the new project on Public Attitudes towards Welfare, Climate, and Energy Policy in The EU and Russia (PAWCER), funded by the Austrian Research Council. In addition, research focused on European Energy Policy (Professor Johannes Pollak), and, since September 2015, the Department takes part in ERASMUS+ Programme Network on Agencification of EU Executive Governance (TARN), which aims at promoting in-depth multi- and interdisciplinary research on critical issues concerning the role and operation of EU agencies and agency-like bodies in EU policy-making (Professor Johannes Pollak). Finally, during the reporting period PhD projects focused on topics related to EU studies and political representation such as social-democratic party discourses on European integration, The European Citizens' Initiative, Electoral Rules and Party Switching, Transnational Social Movements and the European Public Sphere, Party Cues in Multiparty Systems as well as Political Participation in Eastern Europe.

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### Université Catholique de Louvain


Researchers at the Centre d'études européennes (CEE) within the Institut de sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE) of the University of Louvain, directed by Prof. Tom Delreux, have interests on the EU's external relations, inter- and intra-institutional relations and decision-making in the EU, legislative policy-making in the EU, (sub)national parliaments and on principal-agent modelling of EU politics.

Specifically on parliamentary democracy, François Randour is conducting a PhD project under the supervision of Prof. Tom Delreux on the parliamentary scrutiny of European affairs by regional and national parliaments in Austria, Belgium and Germany. He adopts a case-specific approach (four policy-making processes on EU environmental legislation) and analyses the scrutiny conducted by regional and national parliaments in a multi-level perspective. François Randour and Prof. Peter Bursens (Universiteit Antwerpen) have launched a survey at the beginning of June 2016 on the involvement of Belgian regional parliaments regarding EU affairs. Preliminary results were presented at the beginning of September at the 2016 UACES conference (London).

In addition, Xavier Follebouckt (PhD Candidate), under the supervision of Prof. Tanguy de Wilde, analyzes the positioning of the European Parliament towards Russia and the role the EP tries to take in EU foreign policy. Thomas Laloux (PhD Candidate), under the supervision of Prof. Tom Delreux, studies the relationship between the rapporteur and the responsible committee in the European Parliament in the context of trilogue negotiations leading to early agreements. Ferdinand Teuber (PhD Candidate), under the supervision of Prof. Benoît Rihoux, focuses on the Europeanization of legislative agenda in Belgium. Finally, Dr. Jérémy Dodeigne (Post-Doctoral researcher), under the supervision of Dr. Virginie van Ingelgom and prof. Min Reuchamps, analyzes to what extent MEPs' office seeking ambition shapes their legislative ambition. Dr. Dodeigne also focuses his research on the development of national and regional MPs' career pattern in European democracies (RENACA project).

### New Bulgarian University

At the beginning of the reporting period (autumn 2015 – autumn 2016) the main part of the department members were involved in the complementation of a three – year project called 'Quality of Democracy in Bulgaria: Democratic Consensus and Civil 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

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Political Sciences at New Bulgarian University. As a main research result the realization of the collective book (in English) “Quality of democracy in Bulgaria” could be mentioned.

Almost all members of the department were involved in the completion of the book: Prof. D. Kanev and Prof. A. Todorov were directors of the project and scientific editors of the collective book chapters. Prof. D. Kanev created two chapters of 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. The second one is focused on the Bulgarian party system and its problems as an important element of the democratic rule. Prof. A. Todorov wrote one chapter of 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. Hristova PhD, as. Z. Minkov PhD, as. I. Todorova PhD, as. E. Stajkova PhD, as. G. Prodanov PhD also contributed chapters to the collective book, focused on different elements of the chosen concept for evaluating the quality of democracy in Bulgaria.

Until the end of the reporting period the members of the department also developed broad research activities connected with the topics of the EU and parliamentary democracy. For example: Under the scientific guidance of prof. D. Kanev, prof. A. Todorov, ass.prof. PhD K. Hristova-Valcheva and ass. Prof. PhD. Irena Todorova the department developed a new research project “Presidential elections in Bulgaria 2016 – candidates, debates and outcomes”, focused on the forthcoming presidential elections in Bulgaria (November 2016). The application of the project was approved for financing by the Strategic fund for scientific researches of the NBU at the end of June 2016 and the planned activities (data collection, media monitoring, speeches analysis, discussion round tables) are carried on. As a final outcome from the project, we have planned to produce a collective book, under the same topic (“Presidential elections in Bulgaria 2016 – candidates, debates and outcomes,, - expected in December 2016 or January 2017). The project team consists of 19 members of the department and each of them is expected to prepare one chapter of the book.

At the beginning of the reporting period Prof. D. Kanev developed a book chapter on the topic of the Bulgarian National Assembly and its experience and activities, connected to

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the EU affairs: Furthermore prof. D. Kanev and as. K. Hristova PhD compiled a country report – chapter about the character, processes and outcomes of the European elections in Bulgaria.

At the same time Prof. A. Krasteva wrote an article on the topic of religion, politics and contemporary nationalism in Post-communist Bulgaria. Furthermore prof. A. Krasteva , as. E. Staykova PhD and some of the youngest and successful graduated PhD colleagues, working with the department, like Ildiko Otova, Vanya Ivanova and Denitza Kamenova produced articles for a Palgrave’s collective book on the topic of contemporary populism.

Another example for an active research in the field of the EU and parliamentary democracy are the four articles from as. P. Guergieva PhD. 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” (in French) is focused on the role and influence of the European parliamentary elections in Bulgaria. The third and fourth ones (also in French) are on the topics of the Bulgarian political parties and their important role as agents of democratic norms and practices and in the field of the E-citizenship and the role of the E-social networks in the contemporary policy.

### Charles University Prague


The research at both Institutes focuses on several areas of European integration, especially EU institutions and decision-making, future of the EU and great European debates, relations between the EU and its Member States, and EU policies, especially the external relations.

Viera Knutelská presented the first draft of her research assessing the role of national parliaments as possible European strong publics at the Prague Pademia workshop on Variation in national parliamentary control and inter-parliamentary cooperation in EU affairs and at the 8th Pan-European Conference on the European Union (ECPR Standing Group on EU) in Trento within the section on The Representative Dimension of the EU, organized by Pademia.

### IRMO Zagreb

The IRMO 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, especially internal EU reforms, the



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position of Croatia as the new EU member (policy issues) and the enlargement to the South-Eastern. The other IRMO departments are, among others, also dealing with the CFSP, the EU economic, regional, environmental and cultural policies.

Of special interest within the area of parliamentary democracy is the development of the parliamentary scrutiny system in the EU affairs in Croatia. Prof Višnja Samardžija actively took part in the work of the Croatian Parliament’s European Affairs Committee and in the thematic conferences the Committee has organized (being its external member in 2014 and 2015). Additional topics of interest are representation of Croatian citizens in the European Parliament and direct democracy in Croatia and rest of the EU.

### University of Tartu

There are two researchers at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies at the University of Tartu who conduct research on parliamentary democracy in the context of the EU.

Dr Piret Ehin has a long-standing interest in theoretical approaches to EU democracy and legitimacy, as well as EU elections and the role of national parliaments in the EU political process. In the reporting period, she published a chapter on EP elections in Estonia in the Routledge Handbook of European Elections.

Dr Stefano Braghiroli’s research interests include party politics in the European Parliament, EU politics, and EU-Russia relations, directly related to parliamentary democracy in the EU. A number of his works deal with the voting behaviour of the MEPs and with the determinants of voting dynamics in the assembly. During the reporting period, he published some articles and book chapters as you can find below.

### 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.

Three research projects examine questions directly relevant for domestic parliaments. ‘Consortium of Trust Research – Pathways to Political Trust (CONTRE)’, led by university lecturer Elina Kestilä-Kekkonen and funded by the Academy of Finland, seeks to enhance the understanding of long- and short-term variations of political trust in contemporary established democracies. The project looks also at trust in key political institutions such as national parliaments. Professors David Arter and Tapio Raunio co-

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direct a research project ‘Parliaments, Citizens and Democracy in the Nordic Countries’, also funded by the Academy of Finland, which analyzes the transparency of Nordic legislatures and how they link with citizens and the civil society. Professor Raunio - together with professor Wolfgang Wagner (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)- also works on the project ‘Legislative-Executive Relations in Foreign and Security Policy’ which aims at overcoming the lack of scholarly attention to parliaments (other than the US Congress) in foreign and security policy. The guiding question of the project concerns the very heart of legislative-executive relations: which factors allow parliaments to exercise influence over the executive and, by implication, under which circumstances does the executive succeed in maintaining or re-capturing executive privilege?

### Sciences Po Paris

Based on the fact that there are very few comparative available databases on legislatures, the research project “Vital statistics on European legislatures and legislators” aims at gathering already produced basic statistics on the work of the Lower Chambers of European Parliaments and of MPs. The aim is twofold: firstly to identify whether such data exist and secondly to collect the data for the creation of a comparative dataset. The dataset which is to be created will be shared with academics and practitioners all over the world, offering an important point of reference for comparative legislative studies. The survey was conducted in Paris by Associate Professor Olivier Rozenberg (Sciences Po) and Research Assistant Eleni Tsireli (Sciences Po). The project is funded as part of the PADEMIA network.

The survey took place from early June to early August 2016, and consisted of a questionnaire with seventeen (17) open-ended questions. It focused on the EU member-states, along with some countries in the European periphery. The questionnaire was communicated via email to Parliaments’ specialized services and specialized academics from each country, notably PADEMIA members. All were asked to fill in the questionnaire with pre-existing data and not conduct any new research on the questions raised.

Inspired by the yearly publication Vital Statistics on US Congress, the survey is divided into two parts: The first one deals with the work of national parliaments in the course of one year of business, while the second is focused on the sociology of MPs (age, sex, seniority). The goal is to gather already existing statistics on the questions raised and not to create new ones. For this purpose, the questionnaire that was created has been

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communicated to National Parliaments, academics in Europe and elsewhere. All in all, the study includes data for 34 Parliaments: 27 EU member-states, Turkey, Israel, the US Congress and the European Parliament. From the initial goal of thirty-seven Parliaments, the only missing data are from Spain and Switzerland.

Most of the data collected refer to the years between 2011 and 2016 (most often the latest data available in each case) and cover a full year of work in the Parliamentary business. The questionnaire consists of seventeen (17) questions referring to both the business of the Parliament and the sociology of MPs. The questions referring to the sociology of MPs, such as age, representation of women and seniority, have been easier to track creating a rather comprehensive dataset on the matter. Also, questions that refer to the organization of the Parliament, such as the annual budget or the number of civil servants working there were easy to track through the Parliament's' annual reports. On the contrary, some questions were particularly difficult to collect data for, since it became apparent that no such data exist in most of the cases. Most notably, we can refer to questions on the hours dedicated to oral questions and the hours of work of Parliamentary Committees, with less than 40% of the selected cases having available data. Questions referring to the number of statements of the Prime Minister, to the dates and outcomes of procedures of vote of confidence and the traffic of official websites were particularly difficult to track, with almost 50% of cases having access to such data. On the questions that refer to the actual work of the Parliaments, meaning the bills and amendments introduced and adopted, we could observe that most of the times data were missing for the introduction and adoption of amendments, mainly due to the different procedures in each country.

The data collected will become available online for researchers, academics and practitioners to access a complete and comparable dataset and setting the basis for further development in the field of comparative analysis. We kindly ask all PADEMIA members to indicate further potential sources or colleagues that could assist us with the completion of this dataset. Once the survey is concluded, all data will become available online on a website where all contributors will have free access to. It is also possible that a publication will be prepared in order to gather and present all the collected data.

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### Sciences Po Bordeaux

In our research Center (Centre Emile Durkheim, CNRS/FNSP/Sciences Po Bordeaux), there are several Scholars and PhD students working on EU and Parliamentary democracy.

Olivier Costa focuses his research on the EU in general (regime, political system, policy making), the European Parliament (powers, activities, transformations, connections with the local level) and the French Parliament (composition, activities, Europeanization). He has paid much attention to the evolution of the European Parliament after the 2014 elections. He has also completed several publications dealing with the work of national and European MPs on the ground.

Eric Kerrouche works on national MPs (identity, behavior, activities). Vincent Tiberj and Viviane Lehayé are specialists of elections and public opinion. Isabelle Guinaudeau works on policy-making, and pays specific attention to the role of the parliament in this respect. Corentin Poyet and Laure Squarcioni (Ph D students) work on national MPs (local involvement and relations with their political party).

### Sciences Po Grenoble

Prof. Sabine Saurugger's main area of EU related research is the relationship between politics and law. She just completed a book with Dr. Fabien Terpan on the European Court of Justice and the Politics of Law. In the past, she has worked on interest groups in the EU, Europeanization of Public policies and theories of European integration.

More generally, the scholars at the institution specialized in EU-related research work on European public policies, parties, European law and European economics (Dr Fabien Terpan, Dr. Claire Dupuy, Dr. Dorian Guinard, Dr. Yann Echinard, Dr. Irène Laurent, Dr. Françoise Berger, Prof. Sonja Zmerli).

### WZB Berlin

During the reporting period, the researchers Dr. Pieter de Wilde and Dr. Christian Rauh aided by student assistants engaged in the webscraping of the online digital archives of the UK House of Commons, German Bundestag, Dutch Tweede Kamer, Finnish Eduskunta, Spanish Congreso de los Diputados and Czech Poslanecká sněmovna Parlamentu. Depending on the extent to which the chambers provide documentation freely, we have gathered all speeches made in the plenary going back to the early 1990s. While we are still in the process of organizing the database, this currently consists of

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more than 2,5 million individual speeches. Currently, we employ these data in a project on the comparative EU salience on the national plenary floor. This database and the method to gather it will be a valuable resource for researchers of parliamentary democracy in Europe in future.

### Institut für Medienwissenschaften Berlin

Leonard Novy and Orkan Torun's research is focused on the European dimension of media policy, notably the culture, structure, funding and reform of Public Service Media in the age of digital media. The research will be published in the context of an edited volume entitled "Transparenz und Finanzierung im öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk" by VS Springer in 2017. In addition, Leonard Novy is preparing an edited volume entitled Medienwandel 2014-2016 (VS Springer), jointly with Prof. Jan Krone and Christoph Kappes.

### 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.

### University College Dublin

Dr. James P. Cross is conducting research on the European Parliament, specifically developing and using topic models to unveil the topics talked about in the EP plenary.

### Instituto Affari Internazionali Rome

The IAI's EU-related research mainly deals with the functioning and future developments of the EU institutional architecture and with its role in the world. The role of the European Parliament as to its different aspects (i.e.: legal powers, involvement in the decision making, interinstitutional relations, internal political and

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institutional dynamics, interparliamentary cooperation, democratic accountability) represents the traditional area of interest of the Institute. In the reporting period, through the “Governing Europe” the IAI has focused its studies related to Parliamentary Democracy with respect to the current EU system of government/governance, putting forward a series of policy and institutional recommendations aimed primarily at improving the democratic nature and the effectiveness of the European decision-making processes.

### EUI Florence

In 2016, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been working on integrating the most recent updates to the regulation of electoral rights in Europe and the Americas. The third ELECLAW dataset will be available in October 2016. In the course of 2016, through its forum debates and blog contributions, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has also engaged key scholars of citizenship, democracy, and participation in scholarly discussions on matters such as prisoner voting, enfranchisement in the Brexit referendum, and free movement as the core of European citizenship. At conferences and through media outreach, EUDO CITIZENSHIP co-directors and collaborators have contributed to discussions of the state of parliamentary democracy in the European Union and challenges faced by multi-level democracy in the context of crisis.

With the joint financial support of EUDO and Nuffield College (University of Oxford), between April and June 2016 Davide Morisi conducted an experimental study on the Britain's EU-membership referendum. The study explored how campaign arguments influenced participants' intentions to vote in the referendum and their attitudes towards EU membership. It involved a convenient sample of 260 British voters that were contacted online twice, firstly for a brief survey (Wave 1) and secondly for a randomized experiment (Wave 2). In the experiment, the participants were assigned to different conditions in which campaign arguments were presented, in addition to manipulating the saliency of the risks involved in the 'Leave' option. Thanks to this particular design, the experiment allows to test how participants' inclination to take risks affect both their voting intentions in the referendum and their reception of campaign arguments. Preliminary findings show that information increases the support for leaving the EU among those who are more risk-averse, due to a mechanism of uncertainty reduction. For more information see: <http://www.the-plot.org/2016/07/18/risk-worth-taking-effect-information-brexite-referendum/>



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In 2016 EUDO produced the study on “Potential and challenges of e-Voting in the European Union” by Prof. Alexander H. Trechsel in collaboration with Dr. Vasyl Kucherenko, Frederico Silva and Prof. Urs Gasser. This study was commissioned and supervised by the European Parliament’s Department for Citizens’ Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO Committee. It addresses the potentials and challenges of the implementation of Internet voting in European Parliament elections. It considers the social, political, legal, and technological implications of its introduction as an alternative to on-paper ballot and builds on the recent experience of previous trials and successful e-enabled elections to issue technical recommendations regarding Internet voting in the European Union.

### Vilnius University

Several EU-related and Parliamentary democracy- related research projects, already completed or going on, could be mentioned.

In 2013-2015, a team of scholars implemented a research project on Europeanization, aiming the development of an explanatory model of the variation of effects on domestic institutions of EU pressure. The results are published in Maniokas K. (ed.) *Pirmasis Lietuvos dešimtmetis Europos Sąjungoje: transformacija ar imitacija (Lithuania’s First Decade in the European Union: Transformation or Imitation?)*, Vilnius: Vilnius University Press, 2015. The book has a summary of findings in English.

In 2015-2016, a couple of new research projects were started.

“Good Governance And Trust In Public Institutions Creating Welfare Society In Lithuania” – the project aims to unite three important concepts of social sciences – institutions, trust and good governance – and explain the welfare society development in Lithuania as well as to provide a policy brief for decision-makers.

The National Electoral Study 2016, continuing a similar electoral study 2014 (the latter one focused on national election in 2012, and the present will analyze the national election, taking place in October 2016), aiming to determine the factors affecting Lithuanian citizens’ electoral behavior and to build the empirical and methodological foundation for long-term systemic Lithuanian people's political behavior research.

In 2008, a team of scholars, working at IIRPS, has created a voting advice application online, which is adapted for the national parliamentary and presidential elections, and the application for the national election 2016 is about to be launched as well. See: <http://www.manobalsas.lt/index/index.php#>

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A couple of PhD dissertations, relevant to the topic, are under preparation during the reporting period: (a) focused specifically on the questions of European identity and construction of common European memory; (b) aiming at explaining the decisions, related to euro-zone crisis; (c) discussing the nature of populist challenge to contemporary representative democracy.

### 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. In 2015 the Institute concluded the Jean Monnet Project on 'An Evolving EU Engaging a Changing Mediterranean Region'. A dimension of this project was upon parliamentary democracy in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Other areas of EU-related research are the comparative agenda-setting and comparative party politics. 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.

### Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

The VU political science department hosts expertise on a wide range of EU-related themes: multi-level governance (Hooghe, Marks, Crum), social and economic policy (Hemerijck, van Apeldoorn), foreign policy (Wagner, Palm), political behavior (Pennings), the EU's bureaucracy (Hooghe, Bes) and institutions and democracy (Crum). In autumn 2015, Ben Crum co-authored a chapter with Deirdre Curtin (EUI/University of Amsterdam) on 'The Challenge of Making European Union Executive Power Accountable' in a volume edited by Simona Piattoni *The European Union: Democratic Principles and Institutional Architectures in Times of Crisis* (OUP). In an article that Crum is currently revising for publication in a special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, he applies a similar but more specified line of argument to the role of parliaments in the new EU economic governance. In autumn 2015, Crum also held his inaugural lecture on the occasion of his appointment as professor at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on democracy as collective self-government in an era of internationalization, a shortened version of which was published in Dutch in *Res Publica*. Other VUA research highlights of the past year include the publication of the first volumes by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe on 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of

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Governance’ in the Oxford University Press series on “Transformations in Governance”. Wolfgang Wagner is co-editing a special issue with Tapio Raunio (University of Tampere) on Legislative-Executive Relations in Foreign and Security Policy. Wagner’s most recent work looks into the party politics of the parliamentary approval of military missions. Finally, in autumn 2016 Yoav Shemer-Kunz is expected to conclude and defend his PhD dissertation entitled ‘Parties’ Transnational Coordination in the EU after Lisbon: The Greens and Beyond’.


### **Maastricht University**

Several scholars within the Department of Political Science, such as Thomas Christiansen, Anna Herranz, Christine Neuhold, Alexander Strelkov and Michael Shackelton work on issues related to parliamentary democracy.

During the reporting period one area of attention was the role of unelected officials in parliaments and an attempt to conceptualize the role of national parliaments in EU affairs after the Treaty of Lisbon. You can find selected publications below.

### **Leiden University**

The general EU-related research interests of the institution of public administration at Leiden University focus on lobbying in the European Union, EU interest groups, transposition and compliance with EU law and regulatory governance. Research on parliaments and EU affairs from academic staff of Leiden University was presented at various conferences, among which the annual meetings of the Dutch political science association (Brussels) and the Netherlands Institute for Government (Nijmegen). Members of the academic staff of the institute of public administration of Leiden University also applied for several national and international research grants and wrote research proposals on topics related with parliamentary democracy in Europe, for example ‘National parliaments and mass media as transmission belts of European integration? The effect of politicization of European legislative processes on public opinion’ (Principal investigator: Dr. Rik de Ruiter; Dutch national grant authority; reviews: triple A+, not granted), and ‘Discursive styles of politics: towards a public scrutiny tool for monitoring political debates’ (in the Dutch Tweede Kamer and British House of Commons) (Principal investigators: Prof. dr. Bernard Steunenberg, Dr. Jelmer Schalk, Dr. Rik de Ruiter; Leiden University Fund; under review). Publications of interest

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published by members of the academic staff of the institute of public administration at Leiden University in the reporting period of this annual report are listed below.

### University of Oslo

ARENA has a long-standing general interest in problems of legitimacy and democracy beyond the state. This has resulted in important contributions to the study of parliamentary democracy, including a) work on how the national and European parliaments can work together in a parliamentary field (John Erik Fossum with Ben Crum) ; b) extensive research on how the European Parliament can contribute to the legitimacy of the Union, including, most recently, the counter-intuitive possibility that the EP can contribute to the indirect legitimacy of the Union via its member state democracies (Christopher Lord); c) research into the participation of the European Parliament in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Guri Rosen and Marianne Riddervold) and d) research into the role of the European Parliament in Trade Policy (Guri Rosen).


### Kozminski University

The main area of EU-related research was the question about the future of EU. In the reporting period researchers from EU Department of the Kozminski University studied the legal aspects of the Brexit and an EU control mechanism on the rule of law and fundamental rights. The principal effects of scientific research task included:

- Analysis of the legal aspects of strengthening the Stability and Growth Pact by the six-pack and two-pack; (follow-up)
- Analysis of recommendations to the Commission on an EU mechanism on democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights
- The migration and refugee crisis (analysis of legal and economic aspects)
- The June 23, 2016 United Kingdom referendum on EU membership. (analysis of many aspects).

### Polish Institute of International Affairs

Dr. Borońska-Hryniewiecka has been working on the parliamentary dimension of EU governance for the last 4 years. She has also widely published on the topic, including issues such as: Early Warning System for subsidiarity control, national and regional parliaments in subsidiarity monitoring, comparative perspective of parliamentary

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activity in EU affairs. In 2015 Dr. Borońska published an article in the prestigious *European Political Science Review* (Cambridge) entitled: Differential Europeanization? Explaining the impact of the Early Warning System on sub-national parliaments in Europe. In 2016 she also contributed four academic papers on parliamentary democracy:

- 1) Regional parliamentary empowerment: towards a framework of analysis, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Special Issue (in reviews)
- 2) From the Early Warning System to a 'Green Card' for National Parliaments: Hindering or Accelerating EU Lawmaking? in D. Jancic (ed.), *National Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty and the Euro Crisis: Resilience or Resignation?* Oxford University Press 2017
- 3) From legislative controllers to policy proponents: the evolving role of national parliaments in the EU multi-level governance, in B. Perez de las Heras, *Building a European demos: democratic legitimacy in the post-Lisbon European Union and its impact on global governance*, Palgrave Macmillan 2017
- 4) A new player in the 'multi-level parliamentary field'. Cooperation and communication of regional parliaments in the post-Lisbon scenario in (eds.) A. Johnson Cornell and M. Goldoni, *National and Regional Parliaments in the EU-Legislative Procedure Post-Lisbon: The Impact of the Early Warning Mechanism*, Bloomsbury Academic 2016

### University of Lisbon

The main area of EU-related research is the European Parliament. In particular, our research analyzes the increasing role played by the European Parliament (EP) in the EU decision-making process. Our research focusses on how the EP acquired more power in legislation, comitology, in the appointment of the European Commission and in the budgetary field.

Our main finding is that EP's formal and informal powers in legislation, comitology, Commission investiture, the budgetary process, economic governance and international agreements have increased strikingly since the Treaty of Rome. This empowerment is partially explained by the concern for democratic legitimacy on the part of some member states (and the Commission). To another important part the empowerment may be explained by the fact that treaties frequently contain ambiguous provisions and

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thus allow room for informal rules to emerge through bargaining specifying the details of treaty provisions.

### Comenius University Bratislava

Since IESIR is about „European Studies“, the scope of EU-related research is broad. The topics range from EU law and institutions to electoral behaviour and participation at the EU level, political parties and EU-related communication.

Dr. Lucia Mokrá published a study „Slovak constitutional court: citizenship law in the European context: judgment of 24 October 2012, In: ICL Journal: Vienna Journal on International Constitutional Law. - Vol. 9, No. 3 (2015), s. 457-462.


The areas of electoral behaviour and political parties have strong presence, namely Dr. Olga Gyarfasova published a study about the 2014 EP election in Slovakia pointing at critically low turnout *Euroscpticism: A mobilizing appeal? Not for Everyone!* Appeared in Politics in Central Europe Vol. 11, No. 1 (2015), s. 31-50. Similar issues has been analyzed in a paper *Slovakia and the turnout conundrum* (Gyarfasova and Karen Henderson) which the authors presented at the annual conference of EES in Mannheim. They argue that among the which explain low turnout in post-communist member states we have to see very low levels of political trust (although EU institutions are frequently regarded as more trustworthy than domestic ones) and secondly the fact that the EU is regarded primarily as providing solutions for domestic economic problems while other aspects of European integration appear less salient. Such an instrumental attitude to EU membership may ultimately prove more problematic than low electoral participation.

Karen Henderson also participated at the PADEMIA workshop ‘Political Parties and the European Crises’ (Cambridge, 26-27 November 2015) with a paper *Slovakia: The ‘missing left’ as a threat to European integration* dealing with the deficits of the Slovak political system vis-á-vis the European integration.

### University of Ljubljana

We keep continuity of EU-related research with a special emphasis on parliamentary democracy. Thus, Europeanization of political parties and interest groups, EU public policies and national perspective, EU and its institutions as an actor in international and/or economic relations are those topics that we are mostly interested in.



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### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Our department is in charge of different courses on EU politics and politics of European countries. There are two main subjects on EU politics. One is “Sistema comunitario europeo” which is an obligatory course of third year (6 ECTS) in the Degrees of political science, international relations and political science and Law. The other one is an optative course on “Union Europea y gobierno multinivel” (6 ECTS), offered in the Master Universitario en Análisis Político. Another subject is an optative course on European political systems in the Degree of political science.

Among the team members there are some differences of academic interest. Prof. J.L. Paniagua is more interested in the study of parliamentary organization and activity, Prof. Manuel Sanchez de Dios is more specialized on parliamentary accountability and legislative activity, finally, Prof. Leticia Ruiz is more interested in the study of parliamentary elites. She has been working on that field with the team of Prof. Manuel Alcantara from the University of Salamanca (Spain)

### Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Professor Coller’s main area of EU-related research are political elites. His interests on parliamentary democracy focus on the interplay between institutions and individual decisions to enter politics. The selection of politicians and the cognitive framework of representatives are his main interests. Professor Harguindéguy’s main area of EU-related research are regional studies and policy analysis. He just finished a funded research project titled ITT-Spain. Territorial tensions in Spain (1978-2014) exploring the territorial reform and the role of upper chambers, especially the representation of peripheral elites.

Some further special interests of the Universidad Pablo de Olavide are: Political representatives (social profile, survival in chambers, cognitive frameworks, selection, opinion and attitudes), upper chambers role in democratic governance and society’s relations to chambers (especially with the use of ICTs).

Members of the DASP team finished a research project based on semi-structured interviews about the relationships between MPs and society.

### ETH Zurich

The European Politics Group led by 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

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quality and democratization, implementation and compliance with its policies, and the EU's enlargement and external relations.

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. In addition, we study the development of international parliamentary institutions in order to compare the parliamentarization of the EU to other regional and international organisation.

You can find a list of relevant publications produced by members of the European Politics Group below.

### University of Cambridge

Dr. Geoffrey Edwards's research focuses predominantly on European foreign and security policy. He secured DAAD funding to host a British-German workshop on the EU Global Strategy.

Dr. Julie Smith's work focuses extensively on a range of inter-related themes associated with the UK's relationship with EU, with particular reference to the party politics of the relationship and the decision to hold the referendum, and on the role of Westminster in the EU question, in addition to work on the role of national parliaments and the EU. She completed a chapter on 'National Parliaments and the European Union: A View from Westminster' for an edited volume by Dr Davor Jancic (OUP forthcoming 2017). Her article, 'David Cameron's EU renegotiation and referendum pledge: A case of déjà' was published in British Politics (May 2016, advance view: doi...). A short monograph, working title Destinations Unknown – the UK's Journeys to and from the European Union, is expected to be published by Routledge in early 2017.

Work continued on a special issue of Parliamentary Affairs, which is due to be published in late 2017, with a discussion of draft papers in the Pademia workshop hosted in Cambridge in November 2015 (see below for further details).

### University College London

EU decision-making and institutions: Dr. Christine Reh's research focuses on EU institutions, politics and decision-making, informal governance, and legitimacy beyond the state. Christine is particularly interested in the reasons for and the (normative) consequences of the "informalization" of the EU's co-decision procedure. More recently, she has begun to investigate the EU's increasing politicisation, with a focus on how

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domestic electoral politics impacts on legislative behaviour and outcomes at the supranational level.

Parliamentary democracy at the national level: Within the Constitution Unit at UCL's Department of Political Science, Professor Meg Russell examines the nature and influence of parliamentary institutions, particularly, but not exclusively, in the UK. Dr Alan Renwick looks at wider aspects of parliamentary democracy, including parliamentary electoral systems and the relationship between representative and direct or deliberative democratic institutions.

EU legitimacy and national parliaments: Richard Bellamy, Professor of Political Science, has published widely on representation and democracy, liberal justice, and constitutionalism. He is particularly interested in the role of National Parliaments as part of the 'demoi-cratic' normative ordering of the EU. Prof Albert Weale is interested in the role of national parliaments in EU decision-making, and the scrutiny of EU policies. Heleen Jalvingh has completed a PhD in the UCL School of Public Policy, specifically investigating 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. Dr Claudia Sternberg (UCL European Institute) has published widely on EU legitimacy. Her book on the EU's struggle for legitimacy received, among others, the 2015 PADEMIA Award.


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.

EU Law: Piet Eeckhout, Professor of EU Law; Joanne Scott, Professor of European Law, Ioannis Lianos, Professor of Competition Law and Economics, are among several staff with research interests in EU Law.

### University of Exeter

My main area of EU-related research could be called: The EU between integration, Euroscepticism, and differentiated integration, and the following will shortly sketch what the involved issues are.

European integration has become salient and contested in public opinion and party competition, a development often dubbed as 'politicization'. Politicization in this context

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involves greater ‘awareness of, mobilization around and polarization of European politics’, stemming from the increased political authority of the EU (de Wilde and Zürn 2012: 139-40). Politicization occurs when a European issue is politicized to the extent it is raised as a relevant object of – or factor in – political contestation within the main arenas of a domestic political system of the collective, decision-making process. There can be no doubting that politicization in this sense has occurred to an ever-greater degree in recent years (Hutter and Grande 2014; Kriesi and Grande 2012; Miklin 2014; De Wilde and Zürn 2012). It has manifested itself particularly in electoral defeats for governments deemed to have been too submissive towards contested EU-level policies or in the increase of votes for Eurosceptic parties.

Such politicization at the domestic level can involve either hostility to the integration process, as in the case of the rise of populist Eurosceptic movements, or the assimilation of EU affairs into mainstream political debate by the main government and opposition parties. To adapt Hurrelmann’s (2012) categorisation, the first relates to constitutional and identity issues and involves a cleavage between pro- and anti- EU, whereas the second concerns predominantly concrete policies and involves a cleavage between left and right that involves a debate about which kind of EU to have rather than whether the EU should exist at all. Many commentators have regarded the domestic politicization of the EU as tending towards the former, Eurosceptic, rather than the latter, left-right, variety. For example, Hooghe and Marks (2009) characterise politicization of the EU as operating primarily along a ‘GAL-TAN’ dimension, with green/alternative/libertarian parties arguing for, and traditional/authoritarian/nationalist parties arguing against (further) integration. From this perspective, the politicization of EU affairs becomes associated with waning support for the EU. However, other commentators argue that such attitudes derive from the failure of the main parties to politicize EU issues themselves (Kröger and Bellamy 2016).

Differentiated integration (DI) has been transformed from being taboo to one of the main sources of pragmatic compromise in EU politics. Therefore, it is now much harder to assume that DI may just be ‘noise’ around an underlying trajectory towards more uniform forms of integration. Rather, DI seems to have become a permanent, organizational principle of the EU, grounded in a need to manage divisions and disagreements that just do not go away. Differentiation may even be one of the major reasons why the EU continues to integration despite political disagreements,

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enlargements, increased heterogeneity and euroscepticism. Therefore, DI is now fully part of European integration rather than the exception to the rule.

These developments arguably challenge the traditional theories of integration. Neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism are united by a shared focus on the functional, efficiency-based rationale for European integration, economic preferences and bargaining between interest groups whilst neglecting public support for the EU, Euroscepticism or the democratic deficit of the EU as a relevant explanatory factor of the integration process. As a result, it has been claimed that they have ‘become less useful guides for research on the European Union’ (Hooghe and Marks 2009: 3). Likewise, democratic theory arguing that civil society organisations (CSOs) could possibly contribute to the creation of a European demos and with it a European (supranational) polity have become increasingly under pressure by the above sketched recent developments. For each of these themes respectively, these seem relevant questions:

The involvement of CSOs in EU affairs:

- For which reasons do CSOs get involved with EU affairs?
- Is there a problem with CSOs being Europeanised, but not European?
- Are they nonetheless contributing to EU democracy?

The increasing Euroscepticism in the EU:

- What are the sources of Euroscepticism?
- Which assumptions do we make about the course and nature of European integration when talking about ‘Euroscepticism’?
- What keeps parties from reflecting the Euroscepticism of their voters more? Have they, rather than EU policies, become a main cause of Euroscepticism?
- What are its effects? On Parties? On Policies? On institutional design of the EU?

The increasing recourse to differentiated integration in the EU:

- Are politicization and Euroscepticism by definition a constraint on further integration that work in favour of DI or even disintegration?
- Does DI undermine theories of integration that assume a teleology towards some finalité of the EU?
- Are some forms of DI more legitimate than others, and if so why?
- When does democratic legitimacy require DI, and when doesn’t it?
- Does DI undermine the legitimacy of the European Parliament further?

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### University of York

Dr. Vasilopoulou is very active in the field of Parliamentary democracy. Her research agenda 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 Euroscepticism, anti-politics and loss of faith in traditional politics. The findings of her research feed into debates about democratic legitimacy, accountability and representation in Europe and the European Union (EU). Her work seeks to develop new theories and discover empirical patterns in the following three inter-related themes that feed into questions of Parliamentary Democracy: Euroscepticism, Extremism/populism and elite-public opinion congruence.

### University of Glasgow


In terms of EU related research Politics, Glasgow specializes on normative theories of democracy in the European 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), EU environmental policy (Dr. Patrick Beyer), EU external trade (Dr. Evgeny Postnikov) 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; Professor Sarah Birch, Dr. Philip Habel); the study of parliamentary committees (David Alexander); the study of congressional behaviour (Dr. Inaki Sagarzazu).

### College of Europe

Michele Chang's Research interests are: Economic and Monetary Union, euro area, euro area economic governance, European Central Bank, fiscal policy coordination, Banking Union, financial crises

Olivier Costa focuses his research on the EU in general (regime, political system, policy making), the European Parliament (powers, activities, transformations, connections with the local level) and the French Parliament (composition, activities, Europeanization). He has paid much attention to the 2014 European elections and their consequences on the EU political regime.



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The Department of political and administrative studies is working on a collective book dealing with the latest developments within the European Parliament.

### University of Iceland

The main research activities of the Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Small State Studies are related to European integration. The IIA/CSSS has published a number of books and working papers dealing with different aspects of the European project. It is also involved in a number of research and teaching activities related to the EU. Three academics at the Faculty of Political Science, all of them associated with the IIA/CSSS, focus almost exclusively on the EU in their research. Other academics in the Faculty have also increasingly been working on particular projects regarding the EU. Professor Maximilian Conrad is mainly interested in democratic theory, post-national and transnational democracy, institutional developments, European identity, European constitutional patriotism, European Citizens' Initiative. Professor Conrad has worked on a research project on the ECI, funded by the University of Iceland's research fund. It focuses on the transnational networks drawn on (and possibly established for the purpose of) launching European citizens' initiatives.

Professor Stefanía Óskarsdóttir has focused extensively on Parliamentary Democracy throughout her academic career. Recently, at a PADEMIA Conference in Paris 3-4 December 2015 on 'Strengthening Parliaments Through Institutional Engineering', she presented her ongoing research project 'Iceland's Parliament in the aftermath of the Economic Crisis'.

Professor Alyson Bailes' main research focus is European security and defence. She has several recent publications on the EU's strategic/security role in the regions just beyond the ENP, and completed other writings on the EU's relations with Iceland, the Nordic region generally, and the development of the Arctic. She started a project looking at the role of parliaments, including the EP, in approving 'security strategies'.

Professor Baldur Thorhallsson's area of EU-related research is within the field of small state studies (European small states inside and outside the EU). He has also written extensively on Iceland's engagement with Europe. Professor Thorhallsson is a Jean Monnet Chair and has received several ERASMUS teaching grants. A number of Ph.D. students and Master students have written theses about European integration in this period. None of them focused explicitly on Parliamentary Democracy though some of them dealt with the EU institutional structure and decision-making processes.

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### LUISS Guido Carli


The attention of the LUISS Center for Parliamentary Studies focused primarily on the course of research relevant to Euro-national parliamentary system, believed crucial for the good functioning and the future balance of European democracy, submitted recently to the challenges of not small importance, both at the EU institutions both in the Member States.

Not only the constitutional law assumed “composite” character, but also the parliamentary law, which is also “composite” as Euro-national.

There have been many publications of the members of the LUISS Center for Parliamentary Studies that referred to the parliamentary democracy in Europe. In particular, it is being published a volume by N. Lupo and C. Fasone (eds.), titled “Interparliamentary Cooperation in the European ‘Composite’ Constitution”, Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2016, 336 pages.

This is the first book of the new series of Hart Publishing entitled “Parliamentary democracy in Europe” (the series is directed by N. Lupo and R. Schuetze). The series offers new insights into rules and conventions shaping parliaments and parliamentary democracy in Europe. Its aim is to provide a better understanding of the role parliaments are playing in European constitutional law and its idea of “representative democracy”.

The second book of the series (“The Italian Parliament in the European Union”), has already been planned for the first half of 2017, to be edited by N. Lupo and G. Piccirilli.

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## Section III: Other important aspects

### IHS Vienna

As part of the PADEMIA dissemination strategy, the Department established and edited the PADEMIA Research Note Series, a new series of short papers with the aim of presenting current research findings from members of the PADEMIA network to a broader and not necessarily academic audience (Dr Katrin Auel and Resul Umit). The Series is published on the PADEMIA Website.

Members of the Department also organized several sections as well as panels for International Conferences: As Co-Chair of the ECPR Standing Group on 'Political Representation', Professor Johannes Pollak was engaged in the preparation of the Group's contributions to the ECPR's Annual Conferences.

Dr. Auel (together with Amie Kreppel) organized the section 'The Representative Dimension of the EU' for the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union Conference in Trento in June 2016 and, together with Olga Eisele, organised a panel on 'The Media and Political Representation in EU Politics: Legitimisers or Discreditors?' for the 2016 ECPR Annual Conference in Prague in September 2016.

Finally, the Department organized a number of lectures on various topics related to EU studies and parliamentary democracy.

You can find a List of Publications and Public Lectures organized by the Department below.

### Université Catholique de Louvain

François Randour (with Wouter Wolfs, KU Leuven) submitted a paper for the forthcoming special issue on Regional parliaments (2017): 'Regional Parliaments: effective actors in EU Policy-Making' (forthcoming in *the Journal of Legislative Studies*). Furthermore, François Randour participated at the final round tables organized during the 2016 Pademia Conference in Brussels.

### 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 the public debate about the

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meaningful idea and actual practice of parliamentary cooperation are 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. 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.

### Charles University Prague

The Faculty of Social Sciences organized a PADEMIA workshop on Variation in national parliamentary control and inter-parliamentary cooperation in EU affairs, held in Prague on April 8, that included 11 participants in two panels. The contributions dealt with various aspects of parliamentary scrutiny and subnational, national and European levels, both in European Member States and (possible) candidate countries.

Other events related to the issues of European integration and parliamentary democracy organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences in Prague included a special lecture by Dr. Julie Smith on British Party Politics and Europe on 5 October 2015, a lecture by Nando Pagnoncelli, President of the Ipsos Italy and specialist in public opinion research, "Italy today and tomorrow: opportunities and challenges" on 9 November 2015, a lecture by Prof. Jacques Rupnik "Evropa a evropská studia na rozcestí" on 14 December 2015 and a lecture by Daniel Johnson, editor of Standpoint, "From the Berlin Wall to Brexit: Why Politics needs a Free Press" on 25 April 2016.

### IRMO Zagreb

Since 2015 IRMO implements the Jean Monnet Support to Institutions project "POLO-Cro28". The triennial Jean Monnet project, coordinated by Prof Samardzija, is aimed at fostering IRMO's activities in multidisciplinary policy analysis and making high quality policy papers on the European Union's subjects. The project is thematically focused on

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in-depth analysis of six selected EU policy areas (economic policy and European Semester, social policy and youth unemployment, cohesion policy and management of the EU funds, energy policy, competitiveness, as well as environmental protection) and their implementation in Croatia. Among others, the analyses of mentioned policies cover the role of Croatian Parliament in implementation of mentioned EU policies. In the observed period researchers on the “POLO-Cro28” project organized two round tables and published two corresponding policy papers focusing on the European Semester and the environmental protection.

As part of the project “Euroscepticism and survival of the European integration project in small member states” (coordinated by the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, LIIA) Prof Višnja Samardžija has prepared the book chapter on Croatia. One of the aspects covered by the Chapter was parliamentary dimension of Euroscepticism, positions of Croatian political parties and the experiences of recent parliamentary elections in Croatia. Namely, the parliamentary elections held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 2015, the first after the country joined the EU, did not end successfully. The elections failed to produce the outright winner as no party was able to secure a majority in Croatian Parliament, requiring 76 seats. The Patriotic Coalition, led by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won 59 seats while the coalition Croatia is Growing, led by the Social Democratic Party (SDP), took 56 seats. The third placed was the new reform-oriented party Bridge of Independent Lists (MOST) which won 19 seats and thus became a deciding factor in the formation of the new government. After five tough rounds of consultations with the leaders of parliamentary parties, the Croatian President has appointed Tihomir Oreskovic, a businessman with a long career in Canada, to form the government. He was nominated following a post-electoral bipartite cooperation agreement between the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and MOST to form a minority government, and approved as a non-partisan mandate on 22 January 2016. The program of a new government announced a set of comprehensive reforms in line with the EU policies. However, it already became clear in June 2016 that the government, burdened with internal disputes and lack of communication, was not functional at all. In early June the Prime-minister urged his two deputies (the HDZ and MOST leaders) to step down and end the political deadlock. Thus the deepest government crisis in Croatia’s recent history started. The HDZ leader Karamarko stepped down, having been accused of conflict of interest. Finally, upon the no-confidence motion to the Prime-minister Oreskovic filed by HDZ, the fragile Croatian government has fallen on June 16th and

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became “technical” while the Parliament was dissolved on June 29. The new irregular elections will be held the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2016.

### Science Po Paris

International Workshop: December 3-4, 2015 (programme attached): “Strengthening Parliaments Through Institutional Engineering“, Sciences Po.

During two days, twenty-five scholars came from all around Europe and discussed the politics, features and evaluation of institutional reforms aimed at strengthening parliaments. They discuss many issues in that respect: Why do those reforms tend to be more numerous all around Europe? How are they developed, realized and implemented? And, what are there consequences? Cases studies from many countries (Iceland, Israel, Spain, Finland, UK, France...) made clear that beyond idiosyncratic features, institutional engineering reforms face similar challenges and processes, especially the fitness between the reforms and good practices on the one hand, and MPs’ individual interest on the other. Institutional development paths also matter for adopting successfully parliamentary reforms. In the end, the great interest of the workshop confirms that the issue of reforms in parliament and institutional engineering tend to be increasingly central to the attention of the scientific community.

Panel during the Annual Conference PADEMIA: June 2016 « legislatures & public policies », Brussels

### University of Tartu


The Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies at the University of Tartu organized a series of guest lectures in autumn 2015 featuring 5 of the 6 Estonian MEP as speakers. Each lecture was attended by 80-100 students.

In May 2016, Dr Ehin and Dr Braghiroli took a group of 28 University of Tartu students to the European Parliament where they were hosted by the Socialist and Democrats group. The students were able to attend a political group meeting and have an extensive discussion with MEP Marju Lauristin (Estonia), as well as visit the Parliamentarium and various buildings of the EP.

### University of Tampere

Professor Tapio Raunio organized in April 2016 a PADEMIA workshop ‘Legislatures and foreign affairs: political parties, committees, and individual MPs’ in Tampere.



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### Sciences Po Grenobles

In the framework of the École de Gouvernance européenne, discussion panels are organized regularly, featuring EU experts and EU officials (i.e. Judge Stéphane Gervasoni), on broad topics such as immigration, interest groups representation, EU foreign affairs etc..

### Institut für Medienwissenschaften Berlin

The Institute organized the public conference “EU communication transformed? Politics and media in crisis mode” on 8 March 2016 in Cologne, Germany. The conference consisted of a PADEMIA lecture by Dr. Sofia Vasilopoulou (Department of Politics, University of York) as well as a workshop. The latter featured paper presentations by academics from within and outside the PADEMIA-network on topics pertaining to changing communicative environment media and parliamentary actors find themselves, notably:

- Crisis communication: Communication efforts and strategies employed by political actors to respond to the EU’s crises.
- The way the legislative and electoral functions of parliaments as well as the traditional "linkage function" of political parties are being transformed by social and technological change, notably the rising importance of the internet. How are extra-parliamentary movements, e.g. populist, anti-European networks, making use of the internet?
- Implications for parliamentary democracy and the public sphere at the European level.
- Patterns of politicization through media and communication of EU politics in crisis situations

Leonard Novy developed the concept for the upcoming M100-Sanssouci Colloquium “War or Peace. The return of geopolitics, disintegration and the radicalization of society in Europe” (14 September 2016) in Potsdam, which involves presentations by academics, media practitioners and politicians and a key note by Angela Merkel. Novy will chair the discussions on „Europe between autocratic Challenges and Disintegration“.

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## EUI Florence

In Spring 2016, EUDO Citizenship organized two Lectures. The first one was given by Peter Spiro on The Equality Puzzles of Plural Citizenship. In this lecture Peter Spiro suggested that a good strategy to address the inequalities of dual citizenship would be to further interrogate and dilute the advantages of citizenship itself. The second lecture was given by Patti Lenard on The (re)turn to Conditional Citizenship. In this lecture, she examined the right to citizenship in the context of reinvigorated denationalization laws and she refuted common defenses of the state's supposed right to expel, including that this power is essential to protect the safety and security of citizens of democracies.

On 4 March 2016, a workshop on The Role of the EU Institutions in the Protection of the Rule of Law in the EU was organized by the EUI Fellow Dr. Günter Wilms also member of the Legal service of the European Commission. See programme: <http://www.eui.eu/SeminarsAndEvents/Events/2016/March/TheRoleofEUInstitutionsintheProtectionoftheRuleofLawintheEU.aspx>

On 25 May a Seminar with Edgar Grande on European integration politicization and intra-party conflict was organized. When do parties give their voters a choice on Europe? Does intra-party conflict determine the salience of European issues in election campaigns? These questions directly speak to the expanding literature on the politicization of Europe. The scholarly literature assumes that intra-party conflict works as a 'damper' on the salience of European issues in elections because mainstream parties tend to avoid public controversies over matters on which they are internally divided. This presentation aimed at challenging this assumption. Based on new data from public debates on major integration steps and national election campaigns, it explored the link between intra-party conflict on European issues, the salience of these issues in national election campaigns, and the role of party strategy in emphasizing or de-emphasizing European issues.

On 8 June, a special luncheon seminar was organized on Discourses of Fear, Practices of Solidarity, and Politics of Populism in Europe. The 2008 global financial crisis and the latest refugee flows of 2015-2016 have fuelled contrasted trends in Europe: Practices of transnational solidarity have sprawled along with xenophobic discourses. Far right parties are mobilizing citizens' fears but also left wing parties adopted populist strategies in putting into question neoliberal social policies. This seminar invited a reflection on the crossroads on which Europe stands today and on the role of a more

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politicised, conflictual but also populist debate in the present and future of a united Europe.

On 22 June, the book *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics* by Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi was presented. *Politicising Europe* presents the most comprehensive contribution to empirical research on politicisation to date. The study is innovative in both conceptual and empirical terms. Conceptually, the contributors develop and apply a new index and typology of politicisation. Empirically, the volume presents a huge amount of original data, tracing politicisation in a comparative perspective over more than forty years. Focusing on six European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK) from the 1970s to the current euro crisis, the book examines conflicts over Europe in election campaigns, street protests, and public debates on every major step in the integration process. It shows that European integration has indeed become politicised. However, the patterns and developments differ markedly across countries and arenas, and many of the key hypotheses on the driving forces of change need to be revisited in view of new findings.

On 28 June, Brigid Laffan organized a Forum on Brexit with Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxnHePvrYgQ>).

On 30 June, Liesbet Hooghe, Brigid Laffan and Gary Marks organized a Conference on *When Theory Meets Crisis*. This conference took up the question of how the Eurocrisis has confirmed, undermined, or reshaped theoretically grounded expectations in five fields of studies: Varieties of capitalism; political contestation; European integration; the politics of redistribution; and democracy. How has the crisis influenced our understanding of these fields? Has the crisis confirmed some theories and disconfirmed others? How has it shifted the problematics of research in these fields? What new puzzles and questions have come to the fore?

## Vilnius University

Several events could be mentioned.

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First, on 25 – 26 September 2015, the 20th Annual Conference of Central European Political Science Association was organized in Vilnius, together with VU IIRPS. The theme of the conference was Security Architecture in the CEE: Present Threats and Prospects for Cooperation, and several panels were devoted to discussing the “internal” challenges to security, such as populism, party politics, etc..

Second, on June 15-18, 2016 a conference “Statehood and its Discontents: Russia, Eastern Europe and Eurasia” was organized together with Havighurst Centre of Miami university. One of the keynote lectures of the conference was a lecture by prof. Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, “Revolt Against Internationalism and the State of the Nation State”, in which he argued that what appears as a revolt against internationalism is actually a reflection of deep dissatisfaction with the state of political representation today.

### Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

In the context of ACCESS EUROPE ([www.accesseurope.org](http://www.accesseurope.org)), the Amsterdam Centre for Contemporary European Studies, that is being run jointly by the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Universiteit van Amsterdam, various events have been organized that touch upon the topic of parliamentary democracy in Europe. These included topical public events on the Brexit referendum, the referendum in the Netherlands on the EU cooperation agreement with the Ukraine, and the Dutch presidency of the EU Council. They also included more academic events, like a book launch of the edited volume on *(Un)intended consequences of European parliamentary elections* by Van der Brug and De Vreese and a presentation by prof. Simon Hix on researching campaign influences ahead of the Brexit referendum.

### Maastricht University

Thomas Christiansen and Christine Neuhold co-organized a PADEMIA workshop on Opening the Parliamentary “Black Box” – The Internal Politics of National Parliaments in the Shaping of EU Affairs at UM Campus Brussels in May 2016.

Christine Neuhold was invited to give evidence at Hearings at the European Parliament on issues related to parliamentary democracy:

Glass half empty, glass half full? Parliamentary control after the Lisbon Treaty, Hearing at the Inter-parliamentary Committee meeting organized by the Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO) of the European Parliament, 19. November 2015, Brussels,

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<http://audiovisual.europarl.europa.eu/AssetDetail.aspx?id=dba19634-74cf-4028-8cad-a55501183ece>

A more parliamentary EU(?) Evaluating national parliamentary control of EU decision making after the Lisbon Treaty, EIN Seminar on An EU more interparliamentary, intergovernmental or communitarian?, 23 February 2016, Brussels

Christine Neuhold also gave a guest-lecture on Parliamentary Democracy in the EU at the European University Institute in Florence in February 2016.

### University of Oslo

ARENA has recently published the following research of special importance to the study of parliamentary democracy. John Erik Fossum has extended his path-breaking research into a multi-level parliamentary field by considering implications for sub-national parliaments in the European Union. Christopher Lord has published work with Pieter de Wilde on the complementary contributions of parliamentary politics and mediatization to the politicization of the Union. Jørgen Bølstad has (with James Cross) published an important study of how the Lisbon Treaty has affected the legislative efficiency of the Union. Guri Rosén and Marianne Riddervold have used case studies of an EU naval mission and of the EU's maritime strategy to appraise the informal influence of the Commission and the European Parliament over the EU's Common Foreign Security.

### Kozminski University

In the last year (2015/2016), our researchers have published articles and one book (J. Barcz, main directions of the reform of the political system post-Lisbon European Union (2010-2015). Sanitation and consolidation of the euro zone. Edition II, Piaseczno 2016 (Open Access: [www.janbarcz.republika.pl](http://www.janbarcz.republika.pl)). Besides of this our research group organized three conferences.

Conferences organized by the EU Department examined the main problems of EU (especially Brexit, migrant crisis and an EU control mechanism on the rule of law and fundamental rights).

On February 2016, in the department of EU law the doctoral dissertation about "Procedure for the bridge as a simplified procedure for amendment of the Treaties on which the European Union" by Jolanta Pawlicka was defended (some consider concerns the role of parliaments in relation to the procedures footbridge).

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Next doctoral thesis should be defended in autumn 2016 (Danuta Adamiec, "Procedure for control of national parliaments to respect the principle of subsidiarity in the draft legislative acts of the European Union).

### Polish Institute of International Affairs

In November 2015, Dr Borońska-Hryniewiecka presented a paper on the evolving role of national parliaments in the EU governance at the international conference *Building a European Demos: democratic legitimacy in the post-Lisbon European Union and its impact on global governance* at the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence of the University of Deusto in Bilbao.

### Comenius University Bratislava

IESIR organizes research seminars at regular basis. During the spring 2015 there were two topics related to PADEMIA: Europe Inspiring? Reality Check from the Eastern Partnership Countries by Marta Králiková, PhD candidate at IESIR and professor Baldur Thoralsson, head of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Iceland gave a lecture entitled How Do Little Frogs Fly? Small States in the International System.

The series continued in fall 2015. Among the topics discussed two seminars have been concentrated on different aspect of Europeanization of development cooperation, namely Reluctant Donors? The Europeanization of International Development Policies in the New Member States by Dr. Simon Lightfoot, Senior Lecturer in European Politics, University of Leeds and New in the Name, Old in the Discourse: A Comparison of Slovak and Austrian Development Apparatuses by Dr. Tomáš Profant from IESIR.


Olga Gyarfasova and Marta Králiková from IESIR authored the country report "Slovakia" for the EU-28 Watch, Issue No. 11, project and publication coordinated by the IEP jointly with TEPSA (<http://eu-28watch.org/issues/issue-no-11/slovakia/>).

This issue aims at enhancing citizens' understanding of the Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia's policy and filtering common concerns and interests at the Eastern border of the EU. Therefore it strongly relates to the Ukraine crisis that has been developing since 2013 but also connects to the crisis in Syria and more recently to the refugee crisis the EU is facing.

### University of Ljubljana

This year two conferences took place in Ljubljana that at least in part touched the topic of parliamentary democracy as well. One was the Central European Political Science



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Association (<http://www.spod.si/sl/node/51>) and the other Central and East European International Science Association (<http://www.isanet.org/Conferences/CEEISA-Ljubljana-2016/Program>). Both of them have offered rich programs. I have co-operated in the planning and carrying out of the panel on “Parliamentary diplomacy in the world” (the structure of the panel below) - the panel was organized in the framework of the CEEISA-ISA conference.

Chair: Charalambos Tsardanidis (University of the Aegean. Director, Institute of International Economic Relations)

Discussant: Zlatko Sabic (University of Ljubljana)

Panel:

French and British Parliaments reactions to the Libyan and Syrian conflicts, Stelios Stavridis (University of Zaragoza)

Small states and parliamentary institutions: some preliminary thoughts, Zlatko Sabic (University of Ljubljana)

The European Parliament and the Middle East: promoting coherence and consistency in EU foreign policy, Maria Gianniou (University of the Peloponnese)

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean and Its Contribution to Democracy Promotion and Crisis Management, Andrea Cofelice (Centre for Studies on Federalism)

The impact of Venezuela’s political and electoral situation on interparliamentary EU-LAC relations: strengthening political convergence among Latin American regional parliaments?, Bruno Theodoro Luciano (University of Birmingham)

### **Universidad Complutense de Madrid**

Prof. Sanchez de Dios participated in two conferences organized by the PADEMIA members. One was about: Strengthening Parliaments through Institutional Engineering, Organised by PADEMIA, and the Centre d’études européennes (CEE), & the Laboratoire interdisciplinaire d’évaluation des politiques publiques (LIEPP) of Sciences Po held on December 3rd – 4th, 2015 in Paris, with a paper on “Parliamentary reform in the Spanish Cortes”. The other was in the third PADEMIA annual conference in Brussels, 19-20 may of 2016, about: Legislative activity of South European parliaments: Have they some common trends in the 21st century?

Direction of two PhD theses by prf. Manuel Sanchez de Dios: Both were read at the UCM, one in December 2015 form D. Gibran CRUZ MARTINEZ (con beca FPU-2010) : „Análisis

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multidimensional del estado de bienestar emergente y la pobreza en América latina y el Caribe: Puerto Rico como estudio de caso" (Cum Laude). The other (codirected with Prf. Dr. Hector Gomez Peralta) presented in february of 2016 from D<sup>a</sup> Karen RAMIREZ GONZALEZ: „Divergencias y convergencias de la disputa educativa por la construcción de la nación entre el nacionalismo revolucionario y el conservadurismo católico en México: 1857-1982“.

Publication of Leticia Ruiz (with Mikel Barreda) of an article about: „Los diputados en sus distritos y en el Congreso: ¿representación desde arriba o desde abajo?“ in Revista Latinoamericana de política comparada, 2015 (9).

### University of Cambridge

The Cambridge Pademia team organized two Pademia workshops in the reporting period and one panel at the Annual Conference. The first workshop, on 26th & 27th November 2015, was on the theme outlined in Workpackage 3, which Cambridge was leading, namely on political parties and the European crises (Eurozone and refugee). Alongside a series of papers presented in the general part of the workshop, draft articles for a Special Issue of Parliamentary Affairs on National Parliaments and the Eurozone Crisis were presented and subjected to expert criticism. The panel convened by Dr. Julie Smith focused on the relationship between parliamentary democracy and the increasingly common use of referendums as tools of direct democracy. These themes were also at the heart of the second workshop, hosted by and co-organized with, PADEMIA-partner TEPSA, and held on 19th & 20th September 2016. That workshop, initiated in the light of the UK's vote to leave the EU in a referendum held on 23rd June 2016, looked at the general principles of holding referendums and at the specifics of the UK-EU-referendum and the situation in Ireland. It also served as a forum for a preliminary brain-storming on a possible publication on referendums in Europe, which would further explore the relationship between direct and parliamentary democracy.

In November 2015, the Cambridge team also ran a workshop on the UK's relations with the EU in Brussels, co-organised and hosted by the IEE at ULB. The workshop brought together a wide range of academics and practitioners including from the EU institutions. Dr. Julie Smith gave several lectures on various aspects of the party politics of the UK's relations with the EU and on the membership referendum in Autumn 2015. These included the inaugural lecture of the academic year at the IEE at the Université Libre de Bruxelles on 'The Risks of Brexit' on 29th September 2015; a lecture on British Party

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Politics and Europe at the Charles University, Prague on 5th October 2015; and a lecture on ‘Reform, Renegotiation and Referendum’ at the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs on 19th November 2015.

Dr Geoffrey Edwards gave a lecture on EU Presidencies to Foreign and Commonwealth Office Fast Stream Trainees on 10th February 2016 and on European Foreign and Security Policy at the University of Maastricht on 18th April 2016.

### University College London

Quite obviously, in the run-up to the UK referendum on EU membership, the role of National Parliaments and issues of EU democracy provided a significant focus in the study and discussion of our topic. The role of Parliament in triggering and conducting negotiations of withdrawal, have been a specific focus of work since 23 June 2016.

UCL produced a wide range of events, briefing papers and blogs in the reporting period. Events included a Policy Panel on National Parliaments and the EU under the UCL European Institute’s “Britain & Europe” Series, held on 12 October 2015, and curated by Professor Albert Weale, Dr Claudia Sternberg, and the Director of the Centre for European Reform, Dr Charles Grant. A short video summary is available online. The Institute also ran its Britain & Europe blog, which published various contributions on the role of National Parliaments in the EU from authors including Sandra Kröger (Exeter) and Agata Gostyńska (CER). It also republished a number of blog posts from UCL scholars Alan Renwick (UCL SPP), Jeff King (UCL Laws) and others on the impact of Brexit on the UK Parliament and the latter’s role in triggering Art. 50.

The widely-read Constitution Unit blog from the Department of Political Science has a significant focus on UK parliament. Dr Renwick was widely interviewed in the media on the constitutional impact of Brexit.

Several events had a clear focus on the upcoming EU referendum. The Department of Political Science and the European Institute co-hosted a series on the Constitutional Consequences of Brexit, funded by the ESRC UK in a Changing Europe programme. The first two discussion events, on the impact on Westminster/Whitehall and on the EU’s Political System, were of particular importance in PADEMIA’s context. A briefing paper and a video short were produced for each topic. More information here: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/europe>

As part of the Department’s Policy & Practice series, an event on 8 October 2015 focused on the “The EU Referendum: Campaigning in London and Brussels” with speakers from

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the European Commission, the European Movement and academia. On 10 December 2015, MEP Mary Honeyball discussed the EU Referendum, and on 11 February 2016, Richard Corbett MEP and Nereo Garcia from the EP discussed the European Presidency in view of the next elections in 2019.

Heleen Javingh attended two PADEMIA conferences Paris (3-4 Dec 2015: 'Strengthening Parliaments Through Institutional Engineering'), PADEMIA Annual Conference in Brussels (19-20 May 2016).

### University of Exeter

Kröger, S. (2016) Dilemmas of Democratic Representation in a Differentiated European Union, Paper presented at the ECPR-SGEU conference, Trento, 16-18 June 2016. This paper was presented in a panel I organized, on differentiated integration in the EU.

Kröger, S. (2016) Europeanised or European? Contribution to a workshop on 'The social deficit of the EU: Diagnosis and Implications', 23 May 2016, University of Exeter.

The second contribution was part of a workshop I organized in my own department, in which the main findings of my newly published monograph (see publications below) were presented and discussed as well as recent research efforts and findings of three guest speakers I invited to the event and who work on CSOs, Euroscepticism and differentiated integration respectively, i.e. the topics I will want to research in the near future. The workshop thus served as an opportunity to discuss both past research and look into future research avenues.

Research of special importance – the article that won the 2016 PADEMIA price (category journal article) for outstanding research on parliamentary democracy in the EU.

### University of York

I have organized and participated in a lot of outreach events related to Brexit. Some examples include:

- The spectre of Brexit: Until referendum do us part? Sofia Vasilopoulou (Speaker) (<https://www.ceps.eu/events/spectre-brexit-until-referendum-do-us-part>)
- Event organized in collaboration with the Brussels-based Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS): 13 June 2016 1:15 pm to 2:30 pm, Venue: CEPS Conference room, Place du Congrès 1 – 1000 Brussels

With 10 days to go until the historic in-or-out referendum that will decide whether the United Kingdom will leave or remain in the European Union, the University of York and

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CEPS are hosting a final debate on the issue. This is the second time Britons are asked to vote in such a plebiscite. A number of EU referendums have been held across the EU, usually asking citizens whether they should join the EU or whether a new Treaty should be ratified. The 2016 Brexit referendum, however, is somewhat different. First, there is no clear plan regarding the UK's relationship with the EU in the case of Brexit. Second, leaving the EU would not only entail a change of the UK's relationship with the EU but also potentially trigger discussions over its own internal constitutional future. Third, a potential Brexit will also have a profound political and economic impact on both the UK and the EU. This event will focus on the electoral politics of the referendum, and the potential political and economic impact of 'Brexit' on the UK and the EU. In collaboration with the Centre for European Policy Studies <https://www.ceps.eu/events/spectre-brexit-until-referendum-do-us-part>:


- 17 May 2016: EU Q&A Find out what the experts say! GreenSpeak, organized by York Green Party, Sofia Vasilopoulou (Presenter)
- 12 May 2016: UK and EU: Ask the Experts, Sofia Vasilopoulou (Organizer and Presenter) (<http://ukandeu.ac.uk/event/uk-and-eu-ask-the-experts-york/>)
- 10 May 2016: BREXIT: Making an Informed Decision, Sofia Vasilopoulou (Presenter), University of York
- 26 April 2016: York Professionals EU Referendum Debate, Sofia Vasilopoulou (Presenter).

### University of Glasgow

Dr. Tsakatika co-founded a new Glasgow University European Union Network whose aim is to engage in outreach activities related to informing the Scottish public on aspects of the UK's membership of the European Union in sight of the Brexit referendum. Two events have been organized over the past six months, a panel discussion engaging academics specializing on EU studies from Glasgow University with small and medium enterprise associations and trade unions in Scotland and a similar event with the Scottish Trades Unions Confederation in April and May 2016. Dr. Tsakatika also participated in a panel of experts organized by the Stevenson Trust for Citizenship on the potential consequences of Brexit in June 2016.

### TEPSA

On January 28th and 29th 2016, TEPSA hosted a two-day event, organized with the Jean Monnet Chair of the University of Cologne, for both the kick-off conference to the

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SUMMIT project and two PADEMIA workshops. The event gathered academics and practitioners (EU officials and administrators as well as diplomats) around topics relating to the European Council as a key institution within European governance. Mr. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council emeritus, opened the conference, and keynote addresses were delivered by Mr. Martin Selmayr (European Commission), Mr. Didier Seeuws (Council of the European Union), Mr. Zoltàn Martinusz (Council of the European Union) and Mr. Shahin Vallée (Bruegel, LSE).

Among the eight workshops taking place over the two days, two were hosted under the PADEMIA banner.

Under the tile "Legitimacy in the Multi-Level System: the European Council and the European Parliament", the first working group addressed the role of the European Parliament in its relations with the European Council, building on two research papers presented by their authors, Prof Johannes Polak (Institute of Advanced Studies, Vienna) and Prof Jon Erik Fossum (ARENA Centre for European Studies, Oslo).

Under the title "Inter-institutional relations: the European Council and National Parliaments", the second PADEMIA workshop discussed the role and power of national parliaments with respect to their governments' activities in the European Council, building on two papers by Dr Fotis Fitsilis (Scientific service of the Hellenic Parliament) and Mr. Alexander Hoppe (University of Cologne).


On May 19th and 20th 2016, Tepsa hosted and organized the third and final PADEMIA Annual Conference, with the involvement of the Project Coordinator University of Cologne. The event took place in Brussels and gathered around seventy participants from all over Europe and beyond.

After meetings of PADEMIA's Steering Committee and General Assembly, all participants were invited to take part into two sets of parallel thematic workshops.

The first panel addressed the influence of parliaments over public policies, building on case studies from Turkey, Macedonia and Southern Europe, and with scholars from LUISS (Rome), the University of Skopje, Marmara University Istanbul and Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

The second panel discussed the scrutiny of EU matters in national parliaments, with case studies from Portugal and academics from Universidad Nova de Lisbon, ETH Zurich and Leiden University.



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The third working group debated the role of referendums in representative democracy, with panellists from Goethe University, the scientific service of the Hellenic Parliaments and a specific case study from Greece (Aristotle University Thessaloniki).

The fourth and last panel considered the role of European parliaments in situations of crisis, with a special focus on economic governance during the financial and Euro crises, with researchers from EUI Florence, the University of Duisburg-Essen, College of Europe Natolin and the University of Luxembourg.

This first day of the PADEMIA Third Annual conference was concluded by a keynote address by Prof Kaare Strom (University of California) on "The Perils of Parliamentary Democracy". The keynote speech was recorded and made publicly available on the PADEMIA website.

The conference dinner on 19th May was the occasion to continue the discussions on the conference topics and to honour the 2016 PADEMIA award winners: Michael Kaeding (University of Duisburg/Essen); Pierpaolo Settembri and Costanza Hermanin (College of Europe, Bruges); Wim van Meurs (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen); Anna-Lena Högenauer (University of Luxembourg), Christine Neuhold & Thomas Christiansen; Sandra Kröger (University of Exeter) and Richard Bellamy (EUI Florence); Lisa Kastner (Max Planck Sciences Po Center); and Camille Kelbel (Universite libre de Bruxelles).

The second day was devoted to the conclusions drawn from the PADEMIA project over the course of three years of academic activity, not only in terms of research but also with respect to the PhD summer schools, workshops and virtual tutorials developed within the project, with nine presentations from academic PADEMIA members. Dr Geoffrey Edwards (Cambridge University) offered his concluding words.

On September 19th and 20th 2016, Tepsa hosted and organised a final PADEMIA workshop on the role of referendums in parliamentary democracy. The event gathered more than 30 participants from academia, think tanks, EU institutions and Member States' representations in Brussels. Speakers included renowned academics, policy-oriented researchers and policymakers.

The first day was devoted to a general discussion about the principles of direct and representative democracy, and about the political and legal aspects of sovereignty in the EU, with presentations by Prof Ben Crum (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Dr Julie Smith and Prof Catherine Barnard (Cambridge University), Bernard Jenkin (British MP), Andrew Duff (European Policy Centre, former MEP), and Prof Jaap de Zwaan (Erasmus

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University). The presentations were followed by a keynote speech by Dara Murphy, Irish Minister of State for European affairs.

The second day of the workshop was specifically aimed at addressing constitutional questions in the UK in light of the recent Brexit vote. The session looked at the constitutional rules around referendums, the legal challenges to triggering article 50 and the impact of the vote on the nations of the UK and on its relations with Ireland. Addresses were given by Prof Philip Norton (University of Hull) and Graham Avery (Oxford University, European Policy Centre).

### University of Iceland

The Icelandic EU debate concentrates overwhelmingly on Iceland's own accession process and thus only on the most relevant issues for the nation: Eurozone crisis, fish, agriculture, and to a much lesser extent Schengen and migration plus scare-stories on defence. Only a narrow pro-European elite follows the development in Europe. The public is badly informed about the EU in general.


The IIA/ESS and associated academics have tried to do their best in informing the public objectively and encouraging serious debate. Its lectures have been covered by the media and its speakers, mainly academics from abroad, are often quoted in the media.

The Institute of International Affairs at the University of Iceland released an Icelandic textbook on European integration in December 2015. It is the first textbook on the EU in Icelandic. One of the chapters of the book is about the democratic deficit in the EU.

### LUISS Guido Carli

The LUISS Center for Parliamentary Studies also organized a series of conferences and workshops on the issues of European integration and parliamentary democracy in Europe.

- December 3, 2015, workshop on "Parliamentary Administrations in the European Union Evolution and New Challenges" (Nicola Lupo, Thomas Christiansen, Fabrizio Castaldi, Bernardo Giorgio Mattarella, Federico Silvio Toniato, Carmela Decaro)"
- December 4, 2015, workshop entitled "'Shaping legal identities in the EU. The role of Courts and Parliaments" (Bill Davies, Cristina Fasone, Roberto Cisotta, Giovanni Orsina, Fernanda Nicola, Daniele Gallo, Roberto Mastroianni, Melina Decaro, Giovanni Piccirilli, Giorgio Repetto, Pietro Faraguna, Nicola Lupo).

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- January 21, 2016, workshop entitled “Bicameralism in the EU. Upper Chambers in EU Parliamentary Democracies” (Nicola Lupo, Maria Romaniello, Diane Fromage, Ian Cooper)
- February 23, 2016, seminar on the topic “Reinventing Upper Houses: the case of the UK and Italy” (Peter Leyland, Alessandro Torre, Carmela Decaro, Nicola Lupo, Giovanni Rizzoni, Eduardo Gianfrancesco).
- On April 29, 2016 seminar on the topic “The Swedish Riksdag as Scrutinizer of the Principle of Subsidiarity in a Comparative Perspective” (Nicola Lupo, Anna Jonsson Cornell, Cristina Fasone, Elena Griglio, Antonio Esposito, Paola Piciacchia).
- On 2 and 3 May 2016 the CESP has organized (in cooperation with the University of Milan, Department of National and Supranational Public Law; the International Society of Public Law, ICON-S, the Younger Comparativists Committee and American Society of Comparative Law) an international conference entitled “Bicameralism under pressure. Constitutional reform of national legislatures” (in memory of Gabriella Angiulli) with the presence of top-level and senior academics and with the intervention of the Italian Minister for Constitutional reforms and relations with Parliament Maria Elena Boschi (Carmela Decaro, Nicola Lupo, Richard Albert, Sabino Cassese, Marta Cartabia, Lorenza Violini, Leonardo Morlino, Raffaele Bifulco, Meg Russell, Leonard Besselink, Cesare Pinelli, Jan Wouters, Robert Schutze , Antonia Baraggia, Cristina Fasone, and 23 scholar who presented their paper).
- Finally, on July 8 and 9, 2016, preparatory workshop for a special issue proposal, with the support of PADEMIA, on the topic “Member State Parliaments and the European challenge(s)” (Diane Fromage, Pierre Schmitt, Cristina Fasone, Antonio Esposito, Kolja Raube, Jan Wouters, Angela Tacea, Elena Griglio, Yoav Shemer-Kunz, Davide Alberto Capuano, Giovanni Piccirilli, Renato Ibrido, Giuliano Vosa, Sabina Cavatorto).

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## List of Courses

'A Challenging Neighbourhood: EU-Russia Relations and the Eastern Partnership' Winter Term 2015/16 (M.A. seminar)

'Introduction to EU Politics I'      Winter Term 2015/16 (B.A. lecture)

'Introduction to EU Politics II'      Winter Term 2015/16 (B.A. seminar)

'Political and Economic Integration in the EU: Milestones, State of the Art and Challenges (Part 1)' Winter Term 2015/16 (B.A. & M.A. seminar)

'Austria as an actor in the European Union' Summer Term 2016 (B.A. & M.A. seminar)

'Essential readings – Austria and the EU Summer Term 2016 (M.A. seminar)

'Political and Economic Integration in the EU: Milestones, State of the Art and Challenges (Part 2)' Summer Term 2016 (B.A. & M.A. seminar)

'Introduction into EU Politics II' Summer Term 2016 (B.A. seminar)

'Institutions of the European Union (& study trip)' Summer Term 2016 (B.A. & M.A. seminar)

Tapio Raunio, 'Does the EU Suffer from a Democratic Deficit?'

Hyeon Su Seo, 'Parliament and New Forms of Citizen Participation',

EU-related courses in 2014-15 delivered by Pademia members at the University of Luxembourg

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All courses were organized in the framework of the MA on European Governance of the University of Luxembourg:

Political System of the European Union (Anna-Lena Högenauer)

Research Techniques in the Political Sciences (Philippe Poirier 2014, Anna-Lena Högenauer 2015)

Démocraties et parlementarismes (Philippe Poirier)

European Integration (Autumn 2015)

Democracy (Autumn 2015)

Development and current issues of European integration (Autumn 2015)

Comparative and European Politics (Spring 2016)

Professor Mark E. Warren (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada): 'Political Representation' (IHS Vienna)

Professor Kaare Wallace Strøm (University of California, San Diego, and University of Oslo, Norway): 'Political Representation and Delegation'. (IHS Vienna)

Dr Katrin Auel: 'The Extraordinary Experiment 'European Union' - Development, Politics and Challenges ' at Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan (IHS Vienna)


Peter Grand: 'The Political System of Austria and the EU' (IHS Vienna)

Professor Johannes Pollak: Politics and Institutions of the EU at Webster University, 'Introduction into European Integration' at the University of Salzburg (IHS Vienna)

Prof. Tom Delreux: 'Political Theories and Regimes of the European Union', 'Europeanisation of national political systems and European policies of the member states', 'Actors of the European political system' (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Prof. Lieven De Winter: 'Advanced Comparative Politics: party systems, parliaments and governments' (Université Catholique de Louvain)



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Prof. Benoît Rihoux, Christian de Visscher and Lieven de Winter : ‘Système politique et administratif de la Belgique’ (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Dr. Jerémy Dodeigne ‘Comparative approach to national and international democratic challenges’ (Université Catholique de Louvain)

François Randour(PhD candidate) (B.A.) : ‘(Sub)national parliaments and the European Union: adapting to Europe?’ (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Prof. D. Kanev (in Bulgarian): “Democracy: basic models and practices” (Bulgarian University)

Prof. Krasteva (in Bulgarian): Cyber society and internet democracy (Bulgarian University)

As. P. Guergieva, PhD. (in Bulgarian): Political regimes (Bulgarian University)

Prof. D. Kanev and As. K. Hristova, PhD. (in Bulgarian): Political system of the EU (Bulgarian University)

Prof. D. Kanev (in Bulgarian): Political process in Bulgaria after 1989 (Bulgarian University)

As. K. Hristova PhD (in Bulgarian): Institutions and decision making in the EU (Bulgarian University)

As. K. Hristova, PhD (in Bulgarian): the Comparative European governance (Bulgarian University)

As. P. Guergieva, PhD: Political parties in The EU (Bulgarian University)

As. Z. Minkov. PhD (in German): Political systems of the German speaking countries (Bulgarian University)

As. P. Guergieva, PhD (in French): Parties and cleavages (Partis et clivages) (M.A.) (Bulgarian University)

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As. P. Guergieva, PhD (in French): Transition to democracy (Transitions democratiques) (M.A.) (Bulgarian University)

Dr. Viera Knutelská: National parliaments and European integration (Charles University Prague)

Prof. Lenka Rovná: Rebuilding Europe for students, (University of Gothenburg, Charles University in Prague, and Sciences Po, Paris)The Parliamentarization of EU Politics: What Implications for Democracy in Europe? (M.A.) (Southern University of Denmark)

Introduction to EU–Studies (BA) (Southern University of Denmark)

European Public Policy (MA) (Southern University of Denmark)

Nikolay Rumenov Vasev: Constitutional Features of European State Politics and European Union Decision Making (University of Copenhagen)

Ayca Uygur: Eastern Europeanization (University of Copenhagen)

Ian Manners: Myth and Symbols of European Integration (University of Copenhagen)

Ben Rosammond: Theorizing European Integration (University of Copenhagen)


Henrik Larsen: 'The European Union as an International Actor (Jean Monnet Lectures)' (University of Copenhagen)

Dr Piret Ehin: “Theories of European integration” (6 ECTS, M.A.), autumn semester 2015 (University of Tartu)

Dr Piret Ehin: “EU institutions and policy-making“ (6 ECTS, M.A.), spring semester 2016 (University of Tartu)

Dr. Stefano Braghiroli: “European Union” (6 ECTS, B.A.), spring semester 2016 (University of Tartu)

Stefano Braghiroli: “EU Enlargement, Transition and Neighbourhood Policy” (6 ECTS); “Ideas of Europe” (6 ECTS, B.A.), spring 2016, University of Tartu

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Dr. Braghiroli: “History and processes of the EU and Russia”; “History and processes of the EU” (M.A.), fall semester 2015. (University of Tartu)

Prof. Tapio Raunio: ‘Does the EU Suffer from a Democratic Deficit?’, fall 2015 (University of Tampere)

Hyeon Su Seo (Phd): ‘Parliament and New Forms of Citizen Participation’, spring 2016 (University of Tampere)

Prof. Olivier Costa: “The European Union policy-making” (Science Po Bordeaux)

Prof. David Szymczak: “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) (Science Po Bordeaux)

Damien Elkind (Phd): Introductory course about the EU (M.A.) (Science Po Bordeaux)

Leonard Novy: “Media Systems and Europeanisation” (25 January 2016 – 28 January 2016) (Institut für Medienwissenschaften Berlin)

ELDA seminars in Kiev (June and July 2016) and Odessa (September 2015) (Institut für Medienwissenschaften Berlin)

Dr. Pieter de Wilde and Dr. Christian Rauh: Workshop on advanced content (PhD) (WZB Berlin)

“The Political System of the European Union”, “Lobbying and Interest Reconciliation at the European Union” and “The Political Economy of the European Union” (Corvinus University Budapest)

„Parliaments in Central-Eastern Europe” (M.A.) (Corvinus University Budapest)

“Introduction to Political Science” (B.A.) (Corvinus University Budapest)

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Dr. James P. Cross and Prof. Gavin Barret: “Parliamentary accountability” (PADEMIA Summer school June 2006) (University College of Dublin)

“Introduction to Comparative Politics of Europe”; “Politics of the European Union”; “Malta in the European Union”; “Political Parties in Europe”; “Comparative Federalism and the EU”; “Theories and Issue in Political Science” (University of Malta)

Dr Liam Weeks, University of Cork: "Is the party over? The role of the independent in Irish politics" and "STV: Understanding STV Irish-style" (Public Lecture on 5th April 2016) (University of Malta)

‘EU Governance in an International Context’ (B.A.) (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

‘Selected Issues in European Politics and Multilevel Governance’ (M.A.) (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Ben Crum, Prof. Dr. Jonathan Zeitlin: “Diversity and Democracy in European Governance” (M.A.) (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

“EU Politics” (B.A.) (Maastricht University)

Christine Neuhold: “The role of democratic representation in the EU” (lecture in October 2015), “The role of political parties in parliaments” (in spring of 2016); “Democratic Governance and Representation on Europe” (Winter term 2015, M.A.) (Maastricht University)

Prof. Dr. Kutsal Yesilkagit: “Introduction to Public Administration” (B.A.) (Leiden University)

Dr. Rik de Ruiter. “EU politics and policy” (B.A.) (Leiden University)

Prof. Dr. Bernard Steunenberg: “ Introduction to Political Science” (B.A.) (Leiden University)

Dr. Antoaneta Dimitrova: “EU decision making” (M.A.) (Leiden University)

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Dr Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka: “Focus on the EU” (Lectures, September 2015 and February 2016) (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

“Introduction to European Integration” (BA); “Institutions of the EU” (BA); “EU Integration of Western Balkans in the Context of the Security Situation” (BA); “European Neighborhood-Roles and Policies of the EU” (BA) (Comenius University Bratislava)

“Security Studies” (MA); “Symbols and Myths of European Integration” (MA); “Internal Market of the European Union” (MA); “European Union in Political and Public Discourse” (MA); “International Political Economy”(MA) (Comenius University Bratislava)

“EU policies and Organizations and Institutions” (PhD) (Comenius University Bratislava)

“Institutions of the EU and the Law of the EU” (BA) (Comenius University Bratislava)

“EU as a political entity: ‘Europeanization’” (MA); “Polity Formation” (MA); “EU Institutions as ‘Living Institutions’” (MA); “Crisis of Trust and the Political Order in the EU” (MA); “The challenge of democratic governance in the EU” (MA); “Reconstituting democracy in the EU?” (MA); “Unity and diversity in the EU: Models of social policy” (MA) (Comenius University Bratislava)

Prof. Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy: “Spanish Contemporary Politics”; “Lobbying in Europe”; “Federal Systems” (Universidad Pablo de Olavide)

Xavier Coller: “Political elites in parliamentary democracies” (M.A.) (Universidad Pablo de Olavide).

“Citizens, Parliaments and Democracy” (PhD) (Universidad Pablo de Olavide)

Prof. Schimmelfennig: “European Integration” (BA, in Autumn), “Comparative and European Politics” (MA, in Spring; “Democracy” (in Autumn) (ETH Zurich)

“Development and current issues of European integration” (MA, in Autumn).

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Dr Geoffrey Edwards: “Europe in the World: Crises and Challenges” (MPhil) (University of Cambridge)

Dr Sandra Kröger: “Democracy in the European Union” (University of Exeter)

Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou: “The European Far right” (2015/2016) (University of York).

Dr Thomas Lundberg: “European Politics” (University of Glasgow)

Costa, O.: “Politics and Policies of the European Union” (7 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Greenwood, J. : “Interest Representation in the EU” (5 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Hrbek, R.: “Political Parties as National and Transnational Politicisation Agents in the EU and the Phenomenon of Euroscepticism” (5 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Kreppel, A. : “The character and evolution of EU political institutions” (5 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Priestley, J.: “The European Parliament and its Role within the Union” (5 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Wessels, W.: “Member States’ leadership in the EU: Strategies via the European Council, the Council and committees” (5 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Costa, O. : “Le policy-making de l’Union européenne” (16 ECTS) (College of Europe)


Dehousse, R.: “Institutions et gouvernance dans l’Union européenne : défis, évolution et dynamiques” (16 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Hrbek, R.: “Civil Society Actors, Interest Groups and Political Parties in EU Multi-Level Governance” (16 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Ladrech, R.: “Europeanisation of National Politics : The Impact of the EU on its Member States and beyond” (16 ECTS) (College of Europe)

Westlake, M.: “Reforming the European Union : Political, Institutional and Constitutional Issues” (16 ECTS) (College of Europe)



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Legris, G. : “Les relations interinstitutionnelles” (College of Europe)

Saint Martin, F. :” Assistants parlementaires et collaborateurs d’élus” (College of Europe)

Wassenberg, B.: “La coopération transfrontalière en Europe: participer au système de gouvernance multi-niveau de l’UE” (College of Europe)

“Parliamentary Democracy in Europe” (Summer School, Rome, 11-15 July 2016) (LUISS Guido Carlo)

“Democratic principles in the EU” (LUISS Guido Carlo)