Carleton University
Fall 2019
Department of Political Science
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

PSCI 5113F / EURR 5113A
Democracy in the European Union
Mondays, 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Professor Achim Hurrelmann
Office: D687 Loeb Building
Office Hours: Mondays, 2:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m., and by appointment
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Course description:
Over the past seventy years, European integration has made significant contributions to peace, economic prosperity and cultural exchange in Europe. By contrast, the effects of integration on the democratic quality of government have been more ambiguous. The European Union (EU) possesses more mechanisms of democratic input than any other international organization, most importantly the directly elected European Parliament (EP). At the same time, the EU’s political processes are often described as insufficiently democratic, and European integration is said to have undermined the quality of national democracy in the member states. Concerns about a “democratic deficit” of the EU have not only been an important topic of scholarly debate about European integration, but have also constituted a major argument of populist and Euroskeptic political mobilization, for instance in the “Brexit” referendum.

This course approaches democracy in the EU from three angles. First, it reviews the EU’s democratic institutions and associated practices of citizen participation: How does the EP work, and can it be considered an effective representative of the European citizens? How can citizens and civil society influence EU decision-making? Second, it examines recent developments and challenges in European democracy: Does European integration only benefit some parts of the population? What accounts for the growing popularity of Euroscepticism? What can the EU do about illiberal forms of democracy in some member states? Finally, the course turns to normative assessments of the EU’s democratic quality: Is there indeed a “democratic deficit” in EU politics? If so, which strategies can be pursued to make the EU more democratic?

The course will introduce students to the most important positions in advanced academic debates about democracy in the EU. Beyond that, students will learn about research approaches and results in state-of-the-art scholarly work on topics such as parliamentarism and elections, parties and interest groups, public opinion, contentious politics, and multilevel governance. They will also develop a good understanding of the most important arguments and approaches in contemporary democratic theory.

Reading list:
The seminar will be based on the detailed and text-based discussion of core readings. All required texts are accessible as electronic course reserves through the ARES system (available via cuLearn). This course is designed for students who already possess a working knowledge of the EU’s political system and decision-making processes. Students without this kind of knowledge are advised to read a general textbook on EU politics in preparation for the course. Please consult the instructor for advice if this applies to you.

**Evaluation:**

- Participation in class discussions: 20%
- Class presentation: 20%
- Paper #1: 20% (due Oct. 7, 2019)
- Paper #2: 20% (due Nov. 11, 2019)
- Paper #3: 20% (due Dec. 6, 2019)

**Participation in class discussion:** Each seminar session will be constructed around a discussion of a set of required readings (around 60-90 pages per week). In addition, some sessions will make use of teaching methods that require active student participation, such as in-class research exercises, group work, debates, or role-playing. It is essential that all students do all of the required readings for each session, bring electronic or printed copies of the texts to class, and take the time to think about questions they would like to discuss. In addition, it is expected that students follow ongoing developments in the EU closely in the press (for instance in European newspapers such as *The Guardian* or *The Economist*, or in more specialized EU-focused publications like *Politico Europe*, *EUobserver*, or *Euractiv*). Participation marks will be assigned according to the quality and quantity of contributions. Regular attendance is a prerequisite for obtaining a good participation grade.

**Class presentation:** Each student is expected to give a presentation on a topic that can serve as background information for the class discussion. Topics for the presentations will be assigned in consultation with the students in one of the first sessions. They might include (a) “classic” contributions to the EU studies literature that still influence debates today, such as the ideas of “permissive consensus” (Lindberg and Scheingold) or “second-order elections” (Reif and Schmitt); (b) examples that illustrate how the EU’s democratic institutions – such as the Ordinary Legislative Procedure or the European Citizens’ Initiative – work in practice; or (c) current events that are not yet fully reflected in the literature but can be illustrated in its light, such as the 2019 EP election and nomination of a new European Commission. Students are welcome to suggest a topic for their presentation. Presentations should be no longer than 15 minutes; presenters are encouraged to use visualization methods (PowerPoint presentation, handout, etc.).

**Papers:** Students will have to complete three short papers using different formats. Each of the following formats must be used once; students are free to determine the order in which they hand in the three papers:

(a) **Literature review:** The purpose of this paper is to summarize the academic debate on a particular topic (e.g., the participation of interest groups in EU decision-making). Literature reviews must list various approaches and perspectives taken on the issue, name the most important authors, identify and explain crucial dimensions and differences in their treatment of the issue, and highlight potential omissions or biases in the academic debate.

(b) **Empirical case study:** The purpose of this paper is to discuss a specific aspect of democracy in the EU in a small original study, starting from some of the concepts discussed in this
course, which then form the basis for the student’s own research. Topics of case studies can include EP decision-making and coalition-formation in a specific legislative process; interest group mobilization and political protest on a selected issue; democratic processes in a selected member state that are relevant to European integration; or secondary analysis of public opinion data to answer a specific question.

(c) **Theoretical essay**: This purpose of this paper is to engage critically with theoretical arguments about democracy in the EU. Theoretical essays can discuss a particular theoretical position (e.g., democracy); the contribution of a specific author (e.g., Vivien Schmidt); a prominent issue or controversy (e.g., the relationship between democracy and collective identity); or a specific reform proposal (e.g., the introduction of referendums).

All types of papers must start from a clearly stated research question. Students are encouraged to consult with the instructor about this question, preferably during his office hours. Each paper should be about 10 pages in length (double-spaced, i.e., ca. 2500-3000 words). The papers are due on October 7, November 11, and December 6.

**Submission of coursework:**

All written assignments must be submitted in an electronic format via cuLearn. Unless a specific exception has been arranged with the instructor, assignments sent per email or submitted as hardcopies will not be accepted. Comments on assignments, as well as grades, will be made available in cuLearn. Unless a medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided, late assignments will be penalized by two percentage points per day (including weekends); assignments more than a week late will receive a grade of 0%. Unexcused absence on the date of the presentation will result in a grade of 0% on this course component.

**Class schedule and reading list (see table below for details on required readings):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 9, 2019</td>
<td>Introduction: Debating Democracy in the European Union</td>
<td>Course Administration</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>▪ Hurrelmann 2018</td>
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**Part I – Democratic Institutions and Procedures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Roederer-Rynning 2018</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Rose and Borz 2013</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Schmitt, Hobolt and Popa 2015</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Baglioni and Hurrelmann 2016</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Read 10 articles of your choice (1 page each) from:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Bolin, Falasca, Grusell and Nord 2019</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Atikcan 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Auel, Rozenberg and Tacea 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Cooper 2018

Oct. 7, 2019  Civil Society and Interest Groups: Participatory Governance in the Making?
  • Greenwood 2007
  • Kohler-Koch 2010
  • Greenwood 2018
  [Paper #1 is due.]

Oct. 14, 2019  No class (Thanksgiving)
Oct. 21, 2019  No class (Fall Break)

Part II – EU Democracy and the Citizens: Opportunities and Challenges

Oct. 28, 2019  Winners and Losers of Integration: A Neoliberal Bias?
  • Balme and Chabanet 2008
  • Scharpf 2010
  • Zhang and Lillie 2015

Nov. 4, 2019  The Politicization of Integration and the Rise of Euroscepticism
  • Mair 2007
  • De Vries 2018
  • Hooghe and Marks 2018

Nov. 11, 2019  Populism and Illiberal Democracy in the Member States
  • Ruzza 2019
  • Ágh 2016
  • Baldini and Giglioto 2019
  • Sedelmeier 2017
  [Paper #2 is due.]

Part III – Assessing and Improving the Democratic Quality of the EU

Nov. 18, 2019  Taking Stock: Is there a Democratic Deficit in EU Politics?
  • Moravcsik 2002
  • Føllesdal and Hix 2006
  • Schmidt 2005

Nov. 25, 2019  Supranational Democracy: How to Strengthen EU-Level Procedures?
  • Greven 2000
  • Hix and Bartolini 2006

Dec. 2, 2019  Multilevel Governance and Demoi-cracy: “Together, But Not as One”?
  • Benz 2015
  • Nicolaïdis 2013
  • Scharpf 2015
  • Hurrelmann and DeBardeleben 2019

Dec. 6, 2019  Concluding Discussion: A Legitimacy Crisis of EU Governance?
  • Hurrelmann 2019
  [Paper #3 is due.]
## Reading list and supplementary literature:

### Introduction: Debating Democracy in the European Union (Sept. 9, 2019)

#### Required reading (20 pages)

#### Background literature

### The European Parliament: A Normal Legislature? (Sept. 16, 2019)

#### Required readings (60 pages)

#### Background literature


#### Required readings (73 pages)
### Background literature

### National Democracy: Elections, Referendums, Parliamentary Oversight (Sept. 30, 2019)

#### Required readings (84 pages)

### Background literature

### Civil Society and Interest Groups: Participatory Governance in the Making? (Oct. 7, 2019)

#### Required readings (59 pages)

#### Background literature

### Winners and Losers of Integration: A Neoliberal Bias? (Oct. 28, 2019)

**Required readings**


**Background literature**


### The Politicization of Integration and the Rise of Euroscepticism (Nov. 4, 2019)

**Required readings**


**Background literature**

### Populism and Illiberal Democracy in the Member States (Nov. 11, 2019)

**Required readings**


**Background literature**


### Taking Stock: Is There a Democratic Deficit in EU Politics? (Nov. 18, 2019)

**Required readings**


**Background literature**


### Supranational Democracy: How to Strengthen EU-Level Procedures? (Nov. 25, 2019)

**Required readings**


**Background literature**


### Multilevel Governance and Democracy: “Together, But Not As One”? (Dec. 2, 2019)

**Required readings (77 pages)**


**Background literature**


### Concluding Discussion: A Legitimacy Crisis of EU Governance? (Dec. 6, 2019)

**Required readings (20 pages)**


**Background literature**

**Academic Accommodations:**

**Requests for academic accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

- **Pregnancy obligation:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

- **Religious obligation:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

- **Students with disabilities:** If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, visit the PMC website: [carleton.ca/pmc](http://carleton.ca/pmc).

- **Survivors of sexual violence:** As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

- **Accommodation for student activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit: [https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf](https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf).

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](http://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).
Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and return of course work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>A+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67-69</td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63-66</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60-62</td>
<td>C-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>77-79</td>
<td>B+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>57-59</td>
<td>D+</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>73-76</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53-56</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>D-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Approval of final grades**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton e-mail accounts**

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Carleton Political Science Society**

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook [https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/](https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/) and our website [https://carletonpss.com/](https://carletonpss.com/), or stop by our office in Loeb D688!

**Official course outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.