

**PSCI 5113 / EURR 5113**  
**Democracy in the European Union**  
**Mondays, 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.**  
**Online course**

Instructor: Achim Hurrelmann  
Office: D687 Loeb Building  
Office Hours: Thursdays, 1:00-2:00pm (accessible on *cuLearn*), and by appointment  
Email: [achim.hurrelmann@carleton.ca](mailto:achim.hurrelmann@carleton.ca)  
Twitter: @achimhurrelmann

**DELIVERY FORMAT:**

**This online course will use mainly synchronous methods of online learning. Course meetings will take place weekly on Mondays, 11:30am – 2:30pm (with a break from 12:45pm – 1:15pm). In some weeks, the synchronous session will be cut short and some asynchronous material (videos, recorded lectures, etc.) will be used instead; students will be informed about this in class and per email.**

**Course description and learning outcomes:**

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 Eurosceptic 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? Has the EU been an effective advocate of democratization abroad? 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?

At the end of the course, students will be familiar with the most important positions in advanced academic debates about democracy in the EU. Beyond that, students will be able to identify and critically assess research approaches and research 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 through the Library Reserves block on *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. 19, 2020)
Paper #2	20% (due Nov. 16, 2020)
Paper #3	20% (due Dec. 11, 2020)

**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 or recent democratic developments in selected member states. 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 8-10 pages in length (double-spaced, ca. 2500 words). The papers are due on October 19, November 16, and December 11.

**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):**

- Sept. 14, 2020 Introduction: Debating Democracy in the European Union  
Course Administration
- Hurrelmann 2018

*Part I – Democratic Institutions and Procedures*

- Sept. 21, 2020 The European Parliament: A Normal Legislature?
- Hix and Høyland 2013
  - Roederer-Rynning 2019
  - Rose and Borz 2013
- Sept. 28, 2020 The European Parliament: A Voice of the Citizens?
- Franklin and Hobolt 2015
  - Schmitt, Hobolt and Popa 2015
  - Baglioni and Hurrelmann 2016
  - *Read 10 articles of your choice (1 page each) from:*  
Bolin, Falasca, Grusell and Nord 2019
- Oct 5, 2020 National Democracy: Elections, Referendums, Parliamentary Oversight
- Hutter and Grande 2014
  - Atikcan 2018
  - Auel, Rozenberg and Tacea 2015
  - Cooper 2019
- Oct. 12, 2020 No class (Thanksgiving)
- Oct. 19, 2020 Civil Society and Interest Groups: Participatory Governance in the Making?
- Greenwood 2007
  - Kohler-Koch 2010
  - Greenwood 2019
- [Paper #1 is due.]**
- Oct. 26, 2020 No class (Fall Break)

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

- Nov. 2, 2020 Winners and Losers of Integration: A Neoliberal Bias?
- Balme and Chabanet 2008
  - Scharpf 2010
  - Zhang and Lillie 2015
- Nov. 9, 2020 Euroscepticism, Populism, and Illiberal Democracy
- Hooghe and Marks 2018
  - Ruzza 2019
  - Ágh 2016
  - Sedelmeier 2017

- Nov. 16, 2020 EU Democracy Promotion: “Normative Power Europe?”
- Manners 2002
  - Lavenex and Schimmelfennig 2011
  - Theuns 2019
- [Paper #2 is due.]**

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

- Nov. 23, 2020 Taking Stock: Is there a Democratic Deficit in EU Politics?
- Majone 1998
  - Moravcsik 2002
  - Mair 2007
  - Schmidt 2005
- Nov. 30, 2020 Supranational Democracy: How to Strengthen EU-Level Procedures?
- Greven 2000
  - Habermas 2001
  - Hix and Bartolini 2006
- Dec. 7, 2020 Multilevel Governance and Democracy: “Together, But Not as One”?
- Benz 2015
  - Nicolaïdis 2013
  - Scharpf 2015
  - Hurrelmann and DeBardeleben 2019
- Dec. 11, 2020 Concluding Discussion: A Legitimacy Crisis of EU Governance?
- Hurrelmann 2019
- [Paper #3 is due.]**

## Reading list and supplementary literature:

<b>Introduction: Debating Democracy in of the European Union (Sept. 14, 2020)</b>	
Required reading (20 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A. Hurrelmann (2018), “Democracy in the European Union”, in: E. Brunet-Jailly, A. Hurrelmann and A. Verdun, eds., <i>European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective</i> (University of Toronto Press), 339-358.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ D. Beetham and C. Lord (1998), <i>Legitimacy and the European Union</i> (London: Longman).</li> <li>▪ D. N. Chrysochoou (1998), <i>Democracy in the European Union</i> (London: Tauris).</li> <li>▪ B. Kohler-Koch and B. Rittberger, eds. (2007), <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> (Lanham: Rowman &amp; Littlefield).</li> <li>▪ A. Warleigh (2003), <i>Democracy and the European Union: Theory, Practice, and Reform</i> (London: Sage).</li> </ul>
<b>The European Parliament: A Normal Legislature? (Sept. 21, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (60 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ S. Hix and B. Høyland (2013), “Empowerment of the European Parliament”, <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 16, 171-189.</li> <li>▪ C. Roederer-Rynning (2019), “Passage to Bicameralism: Lisbon’s Ordinary Legislative Procedure at Ten”, <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 17:6, 957-973.</li> <li>▪ R. Rose and G. Borz (2013), “Aggregation and Representation in European Parliament Party Groups”, <i>West European Politics</i> 36:3, 474-497.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ R. Corbett, F. Jacobs and M. Shackleton (2016), <i>The European Parliament</i>, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (London: John Harper).</li> <li>▪ S. Hix, A. G. Noury and C. Roland (2007), <i>Democratic Politics in the European Parliament</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> <li>▪ A. Kreppel (2002), <i>The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> <li>▪ A. Ripoll Servant (2018), <i>The European Parliament</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).</li> <li>▪ B. Rittberger (2005), <i>Building Europe’s Parliament: Democratic Representation Beyond the Nation State</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> </ul>
<b>The European Parliament: A Voice of the Citizens? (Sept. 28, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (73 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ M. Franklin and S. B. Hobolt (2015), “European Elections and the European Voter”, in J. Richardson and S. Mazey, eds., <i>European Union: Power and Policy-Making</i>, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Routledge), 399-418.</li> <li>▪ H. Schmitt, S. B. Hobolt and S. A. Popa (2015), “Does Personalization Increase Turnout? Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament Elections”, <i>European Union Politics</i> 16:3, 347-368.</li> <li>▪ S. Baglioni and A. Hurrelmann (2016), “The Eurozone Crisis and Citizen Engagement in EU Affairs”, <i>West European Politics</i> 39:11, 104-124.</li> <li>▪ N. Bolin, K. Falasca, M. Grusell and L. Nord, eds. (2019), <i>Euroreflections: Leading Academics on the European Elections 2019</i> (Sundsvall: Mid Sweden University), <a href="http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1323936/FULLTEXT01.pdf">http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1323936/FULLTEXT01.pdf</a>. [Read 10 chapters of your choice.]</li> </ul>

Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ D. M. Farrell and R. Scully (2007), <i>Representing Europe's Citizens? Electoral Institutions and the Failure of Parliamentary Representation</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ J. Hassing Nielsen and M. N. Franklin, eds. (2017), <i>The Eurosceptic 2014 European Parliament Elections: Second Order or Second Rate?</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)</li> <li>▪ C. Holtz-Bacha, E. Novelli and K. Rafter, eds. (2017), <i>Political Advertising in the 2014 European Parliament Elections</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).</li> <li>▪ H. Schmitt, ed. (2010), <i>European Parliament Elections after Eastern Enlargement</i> (London: Routledge).</li> </ul>
<b>National Democracy: Elections, Referendums, Parliamentary Oversight (Oct. 5, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (84 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ S. Hutter and E. Grande (2014), "Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970-2010", <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 52:5, 1002-1018.</li> <li>▪ E. Ö. Atikcan (2018), "Agenda Control in EU Referendum Campaigns: The Power of the Anti-EU Side", <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 57:1, 93-115.</li> <li>▪ K. Auel, O. Rozenberg and A. Tacea (2015), "To Scrutinise or Not to Scrutinise? Explaining Variation in EU-Related Activities in National Parliaments", <i>West European Politics</i> 38:2, 282-304.</li> <li>▪ I. Cooper (2019), "National Parliaments in the Democratic Politics of the EU: The Subsidiarity Early Warning Mechanism, 2009-2017", <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 17:6, 919-939.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E. Ö. Atikcan (2015), <i>Framing the European Union: The Power of Political Arguments in Shaping European Integration</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> <li>▪ K. Auel and T. Raunio, eds. (2015), <i>Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs: Connecting with the Electorate?</i> (London: Routledge).</li> <li>▪ B. Crum and J. E. Fossum, eds. (2013), <i>Practices of Interparliamentary Coordination in International Politics: The European Union and beyond</i> (Colchester: ECPR Press).</li> <li>▪ S. Hobolt (2009), <i>Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ D. Jančić, ed. (2017), <i>National Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty and the Euro Crisis</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ C. J. Schneider (2019), <i>The Responsive Union: National Elections and European Governance</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> </ul>
<b>Civil Society and Interest Groups: Participatory Governance in the Making? (Oct. 19, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (59 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ J. Greenwood (2007), "Review Article: Organized Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union", <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 37:2, 333-357.</li> <li>▪ B. Kohler-Koch (2010), "Civil Society and EU Democracy: 'Astroturf' Representation?", <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 17:1, 100-116.</li> <li>▪ J. Greenwood (2019), "The European Citizens' Initiative: Bringing the EU Closer to its Citizens?", <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 17:6, 940-956.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ J. Greenwood (2017), <i>Interest Representation in the European Union</i>, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).</li> <li>▪ A. Héritier and M. Thodes, eds. (2010), <i>New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ H. Klüver (2013), <i>Lobbying in the European Union: Interest Groups, Lobbying Coalitions, and Policy Change</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ B. Kohler-Koch and C. Quittkat (2013), <i>De-Mystification of Participatory Democracy: EU Governance and Civil Society</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ D. Naurin (2007), <i>Deliberation behind Closed Doors: Transparency and Lobbying in the European Union</i> (Colchester: ECPR Press).</li> </ul>
<b>Winners and Losers of Integration: A Neoliberal Bias? (Nov. 2, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (83 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ R. Balme and D. Chabanet (2008), <i>European Governance and Democracy: Power and Protest in the EU</i> (Lanham: Rowman &amp; Littlefield), pp. 93-116.</li> <li>▪ F. W. Scharpf (2010), “The Asymmetry of European Integration, or Why the EU Cannot Be a ‘Social Market Economy’”, <i>Socio-Economic Review</i> 8:2, 211-250.</li> <li>▪ C. Zhang and N. Lillie (2015), “Industrial Citizenship, Cosmopolitanism and European Integration”, <i>European Journal of Social Theory</i> 18:1, 93-111.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ S. Bartolini (2005), <i>Restructuring Europe: Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).</li> <li>▪ N. Fligstein (2008), <i>Euro-Clash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe</i> (Oxford: Oxford UP).</li> <li>▪ D. Imig and S. Tarrow, eds. (2001), <i>Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity</i> (Lanham: Rowman &amp; Littlefield).</li> <li>▪ W. Streeck (2017), <i>Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism</i>, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: Verso).</li> <li>▪ B. Van Apeldoorn (2002), <i>Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration</i> (London: Routledge).</li> </ul>
<b>Euro-scepticism, Populism, and Illiberal Democracy (Nov. 9, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (70 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ L. Hooghe and G. Marks (2018), “Cleavage Theory Meets Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage”, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 25:1, 109-135.</li> <li>▪ C. Ruzza (2019), “Populism, Migration and Xenophobia in Europe”, in C. de la Torre, ed., <i>Routledge Handbook of Global Populism</i> (London: Routledge), pp. 201-217.</li> <li>▪ A. Ágh (2016), “The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe: Hungary as the Worst-Case Scenario”, <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 63:5-6, 277-287.</li> <li>▪ U. Sedelmeier (2017), “Political Safeguards against Democratic Backsliding in the EU: The Limits of Material Sanctions and the Scope of Social Pressure”, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 24:3, 337-351.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ C. De Vries (2018), <i>Euro-scepticism and the Future of European Integration</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ P. De Wilde, A. Leupold and H. Schmidtke, eds. (2016), <i>The Differentiated Politicisation of European Governance</i>, Special Issue of <i>West European Politics</i> 39:1.</li> <li>▪ P. De Wilde, A. Michailidou, and H. J. Trenz, eds. (2013), <i>Contesting Europe: Exploring Euro-scepticism in Online Media Coverage</i> (Colchester: ECPR Press).</li> <li>▪ S. Hutter, E. Grande and H. Kriesi, eds. (2016), <i>Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ S. Hutter and H. Kriesi, eds. (2019), <i>European Party Politics in Times of Crisis</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> <li>▪ C. Mudde (2016), <i>On Extremism and Democracy in Europe</i> (London: Routledge)</li> <li>▪ P. Norris and R. Inglehart (2019), <i>Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian Populism</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> </ul>
<b>EU Democracy Promotion: “Normative Power Europe”? (Nov. 16, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (70 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ I. Manners (2002), “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?”, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 40:2, 235-258.</li> <li>▪ S. Lavenex and S. Schimmelfennig (2011), “EU Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?”, <i>Democratization</i> 18:4, 885-909.</li> <li>▪ T. Theuns (2019), “The Legitimacy of Free Trade Agreements as Tools of EU Democracy Promotion”, <i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i> 32:1, 3-21.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ T. Freyburg, S. Lavenex, F. Schimmelfennig, T. Skripka, and A. Wetzel (2015), <i>Democracy Promotion by Functional Cooperation: The European Union and its Neighbourhood</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).</li> <li>▪ M. Neumann, ed. (2019), <i>Democracy Promotion and the Normative Power Europe Framework: The European Union in South Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia</i> (Heidelberg: Springer).</li> <li>▪ M. Pace (2009), “Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU Democracy Promotion in the Mediterranean: The Limits of EU Normative Power”, <i>Democratization</i> 16:1, 39-58.</li> <li>▪ M. A. Vachudova (2005), <i>Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> </ul>
<b>Taking Stock: Is There a Democratic Deficit in EU Politics? (Nov. 23, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (84 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ G. Majone (1998), ‘Europe’s “Democratic Deficit”: The Question of Standards’, <i>European Law Journal</i> 4:1, 5-28.</li> <li>▪ A. Moravcsik (2002), “In Defence of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union”, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 40:4, 603-624.</li> <li>▪ P. Mair (2007), “Political Opposition and the European Union”, <i>Government and Opposition</i> 42:1, 1-17.</li> <li>▪ V. Schmidt (2005), “Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration”, <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 3:4, 761-779.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A. Føllesdal and S. Hix (2006), “Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik”, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 44:3, 533-562.</li> <li>▪ G. Majone (2014), <i>Rethinking the Union of Europe Post-Crisis: Has Integration Gone too far?</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).</li> <li>▪ F. W. Scharpf (1999), <i>Governance in the European Union: Effective and Democratic?</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ V. Schmidt (2006), <i>Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> </ul>
<b>Supranational Democracy: How to Strengthen EU-Level Procedures? (Nov. 30, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (89 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ M. T. Greven (2000), “Can the European Union Finally Become a Democracy?”, in M. T. Greven and L. W. Pauly, eds., <i>Democracy beyond the State: The European Dilemma and the Emerging Global Order</i> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 35-61.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ J. Habermas (2001), “Why Europe Needs a Constitution”, <i>New Left Review</i> 42:11, 5-26.</li> <li>▪ S. Hix and S. Bartolini (2006), <i>Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?</i> (Paris: Notre Europe).</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ S. Bartolini (2005), <i>Restructuring Europe: Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).</li> <li>▪ J. Habermas (2001), <i>The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press).</li> <li>▪ S. Hix (2008), <i>What’s Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press).</li> <li>▪ P. C. Schmitter (2000), <i>How to Democratize the European Union ... and Why Bother?</i> (Lanham: Rowman &amp; Littlefield).</li> </ul>
<b>Multilevel Governance and Demoi-cracy: “Together, But Not As One”? (Dec. 7, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (77 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A. Benz (2015), “Multilevel Governance in the European Union: Loosely Coupled Arenas of Representation, Participation, and Accountability”, in S. Piattoni, ed., <i>The European Union: Democratic Principles and Institutional Architectures in Times of Crisis</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 201-218.</li> <li>▪ K. Nicolaidis (2013), “European Demoi-cracy and its Crises”, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 51:2, 351-369.</li> <li>▪ F. W. Scharpf (2015), “After the Crash: A Perspective on Multilevel European Democracy”, <i>European Law Journal</i> 21:3, 384-405.</li> <li>▪ A. Hurrelmann and J. DeBardeleben (2019), “Demoi-cracy: A Useful Framework for Theorizing the Democratization of Multilevel Governance?”, in N. Behnke, J. Broschek and J. Sonnicksen, eds., <i>Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 293-310.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ I. Bache and M. Flinders, eds. (2004), <i>Multi-level Governance</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ A. Benz and Y. Papadopoulos, eds. (2006), <i>Governance and Democracy: Comparing National, European and International Experiences</i> (London: Routledge).</li> <li>▪ F. Cheneval, S. Lavenex and F. Schimmelfennig, eds. (2015), <i>Demoi-cracy in the European Union</i>, Special Issue of the <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 22:1.</li> </ul>
<b>Concluding Discussion: A Legitimacy Crisis of EU Governance? (Dec. 11, 2020)</b>	
Required readings (20 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A. Hurrelmann (2019), “Legitimacy and European Union Politics”, in: <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press), DOI:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1112.</li> </ul>
Background literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ O. Cramme and S. B. Hobolt, eds. (2015), <i>Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> <li>▪ M. Longo and P. Murray (2015), <i>Europe’s Legitimacy Crisis: From Causes to Solutions</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).</li> <li>▪ C. Schweiger (2016), <i>Exploring the EU’s Legitimacy Crisis: The Dark Heart of Europe</i> (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).</li> <li>▪ J. White (2020), <i>Politics of Last Resort: Governing by Emergency in the European Union</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press).</li> </ul>

## **Accommodations during COVID**

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: [https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19\\_Self-declaration.pdf](https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf)

## **Academic Accommodations**

Pregnancy: 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](https://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](https://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.

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 its 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](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

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. <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](https://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.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at:

<https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

## **Intellectual property**

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).