

Research Seminar Autumn 2015  
Philipp Genschel and Alexander H. Trechsel  
Mondays, 17:00-19:00  
Seminar Room 3  
Please register with Adele.Battistini@eui.eu

# Governance and Democracy in Multilevel Systems

---

## Description

On September 12 2012, the German Constitutional Court decided on the constitutionality of Germany's ratification of the European Stability Mechanism. It was therefore up to a court of a single EU Member State to decide, indirectly, on the future of the Eurozone. One could argue that this is an example of the enormous difficulties the European polity has to face due to its incompletely federalized structures.

This summer, the Syriza Government in Greece held a referendum on the third bail-out programme by the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission and the European Central Bank. During the one-week campaign preceding the popular vote, then-finance-minister Yannis Varoufakis said in an interview with the Spanish newspaper "El Mundo": "What they're doing with Greece has a name: terrorism. What Brussels and the troika want today is for the yes [vote] to win so they could humiliate the Greeks. Why did they force us to close the banks? To instil fear in people. And spreading fear is called terrorism." One of the first high-ranking politicians to go on the record in the aftermath of the no-vote was the German Vice-Chancellor Sigmar Gabriel who declared that "Mr Tsipras had torn down the last bridges on which Greece and Europe could have moved towards a compromise". Shortly after, Martin Schulz, the President of the European Parliament declared: "This is a difficult day. The Greek people have said No, but 18 other member states agreed to the proposal to which the Greek people said No. Now it is up to the Greek government to make proposals that can convince the 18 other member states and the institutions in Brussels." One could argue that this is an example of the enormous difficulties the European polity has to face due to its incompletely democratized structure.

Very recently, in an interview with "The Banker", IMF's Christine Lagarde said: "I think that the Eurozone as a Monetary Union was unfinished business when it was hit by the crisis. And ever since it has been work in progress. And it continues to be so." One could argue that this is an

example of the enormous difficulties the European polity has to face due to its governance set-up and its relationship with other international organisations.

Governance and democracy in a multilevel, quasi-federal system such as the European Union are fundamental concepts for understanding the latter. Within the field of EU studies, these topics occupy an ever more central place. In the state of acute crisis that befalls Europe, getting a better grasp of the tensions between democratic legitimacy, federalisation and global governance becomes indispensable. How “federal” is the EU really? How “democratic” is the EU? How harmonious or, to the contrary, antagonistic are the concepts of multi-level governance and multi-level democracy? What are the tensions affecting both representation and more direct forms of democratic participation at the EU level?

If you opt for taking this class for credit, but also if you are taking it as an auditor, you commit to read the texts we propose for each session. Over the course of the seminar students must submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website at the latest by Sunday evening before class. These response papers are fundamental for the holding of a good discussion of the materials, as is a thorough reading of the assigned texts.

Writing a term paper is encouraged. Please get in touch with Profs. Genschel and Trechsel if you have the intention to do so.

Please register with Adele Battistini (adele.battistini@eui.eu)

### 1. Introduction: Governance, Democracy and Multilevel Systems (5 October)

- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G., 2010. “Types of multi-level governance” in Enderlein, H., Wälti, S. and Zürn, M. (eds.) *Handbook on Multi-level Governance*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 17-31.
- Benz, A. and Papadopoulos, Y. 2006. “Governance and Democracy: Concepts and Key Issues” in Benz, A. and Papadopoulos, Y. (eds.) *Governance and Democracy. Comparing National, European and International Experiences*. New York: Routledge, 1-26.
- Dahl, R. 1998. *On Democracy*, 35-62.

## Federalism

### 2. Classic Perspectives (12 October)

- Elazar, D. J., 1968. "Federalism" pp. 353-367 in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 5.
- Riker W. H., 1975. "Federalism" pp. 93-172 in *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. 5.
- Lane, Jan-Erik and Svante Ersson, 2000. "Federalism: Althusius" pp. 77-101 in Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson *The New Institutional Politics. Performance and Outcomes*. London and New York: Routledge.

### 3. Modern Perspectives (19 October)

- Bednar, Jenna. 2011. "The Political Science of Federalism." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 7: 269-288.
- Stepan, Alfred, 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model", *Journal of Democracy* 10, 4: 19-34.
- Filippov, Mikhail, Ordeshook, Peter C., Shvetsova, Olga, 2004. *Designing Federalism. A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1).
- Bednar, Jenna, 2004. "Authority Migration in Federations: A Framework for Analysis", *PS* 37 (2), 403-408.
- Eichenberger & Frey 1999. "the New Democratic Federalism for Europe: FOCJ, 3-42.
- Burgess, Michael, 2012. "Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: the Conditions of Success and Failure in Federations", pp. 220 ff. in *In Search of the Federal Spirit: New Comparative Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, Oxford: OUP.

## European Union

### 4. EU Federalism? (26 October)

- Riker W. H., 1996. "European Federalism: The Lessons of Past Experiences" pp. 9-24 in Joachim Jens Hesse and Vincent Wright (eds.) *Federalizing Europe? The Costs, Benefits, and Preconditions of Federal Political Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weiler, J. H. H., 2001. "Federalism without constitutionalism: Europe's Sonderweg", pp. 54-70 in Nicolaidis, Kalypso and Robert Howse (eds.) *The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 2001. "Federalism in the European Union: Rhetoric and Reality", pp. 161-187 in Nicolaidis, Kalypso and Robert Howse (eds.) *The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelemen, D., 2014, "Building the New European State? Federalism, Core State Powers, and European Integration, in Philipp Genschel and Markus Jachtenfuchs (eds.) *Beyond the Regulatory Polity? The European Integration of Core State Powers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 211-229.

## 5. The EU after Maastricht (2 November)

- Bickerton, Hodson, Puetter, and Schimmelfennig, 2015, "Intergovernmentalism: A debate" in *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (4), 703-736
- Genschel, P. and Jachtenfuchs, M., 2015, "More Integration, less Federation: The European Integration of Core State Powers" in *Journal of European Public Policy*, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1055782
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G., 2009, "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus" in *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1), 1-23.
- Trechsel, Alexander H. 2005. "How to federalize the European Union ... and why bother." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(3):401-418.

## 6. Democracy in the EU (16 November)

- Fossum, J.E. (2015) "Democracy and differentiation in Europe", in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22:6, 799-815
- Cheneval, F. and Schimmelfennig, F., 2013, "The Case for Democracy in the European Union", in *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (2), 334-350.
- Notre Europe, 2006. "Politics: The Right or the Wrong Sort of Medicine for the EU?" Two Papers by Simon Hix and Stefano Bartolini.
- Bright, Jonathan, Garzia, Diego, Lacey, Joseph and Alexander H. Trechsel, 2015. 'Transnationalising Europe's voting space', *European Union Politics* (accepted for publication).

## 7. The Euro-crisis (23 November)

Guest: Jack Seddon

- Caporaso, J.A., Kim, M., Durrett, W. N., Wesley, R.B., 2015 "Still a regulatory state? The European Union and the financial crisis", in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(7), 889-907.
- Scharpf, F.W., 2014, *After the Crash. A Perspective on Multilevel European Democracy*. Cologne: MPIfG Discussion Paper 14/21.
- Streeck, W. and Elsässer, L., 2014, *Monetary Disunion. The Domestic Politics of Euroland*. Cologne: MPIfG Discussion Paper 14/17.
- Bellamy, R. and Weale, A., 2015, "Political legitimacy and European monetary union: contracts, constitutionalism and the normative logic of two-level games", in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(2), 257-274.

## Global Governance

### 8. Global Multi-level Governance? (30 November)

- Zürn, M., 2012, "Global Governance as Multi-Level Governance", in Levi-Faur, D. (ed.) *Oxford Handbook on Governance*, 730-744
- Slaughter, A.-M. and Hale, T. N. (2010), "Transgovernmental Networks and Multi-level Governance" in Enderlein, H., Wälti, S. and Zürn, M. (eds.) *Handbook on Multi-level Governance*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 358-369.
- Ruggie, J.G. 2004. "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain — Issues, Actors, and Practices" in *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (4), 499-531.
- Genschel, P. and Zangl, B. 2016 "The Rise of Nonstate Authority and the Transformation of the State" in King, D. and Le Gales, P. (eds.) *The Reconfiguration of European States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

### 9. Global Democracy? (7 December)

- Christiano, T. 2010. "Democratic Legitimacy and International Institutions" in Besson, S. and Tasioulas, J. (eds.) *Philosophy of International Law*, 119-137.
- Held, D. 2006, *Models of Democracy*, 290-311.
- Grant, R.W. and Keohane, R.O. 2005. "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics" in *American Political Science Review* 99(1), 29-43.
- Bexell, M., Tallberg, J. and Uhlin, A. 2010. "Democracy in Global Governance": The Promises and Pitfalls of Transnational Actors" in *Global Governance* 16, 81-101.

### 10. Instead of conclusions: reflections on the future of the EU (14 December)

#### Guest: Sergio Fabbrini

- Fabbrini, Sergio, 2015. "The constitutional conundrum of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming.
- Fabbrini, Sergio, 2015. "A new political order", in *Which European Union? Europe after the Euro Crisis*. Cambridge: CUP.