

Outline Contents

Detailed Contents	vii
List of Figures	xv
List of Tables	xvi
List of Boxes	xvii
List of Abbreviations	xix
About the Editors	xxii
Notes on Contributors	xxiii
How to Use This Book	xxv
Guided Tour of the Online Resources	xxvii

Introduction	1
Rory Costello	

PART ONE **Democratic Representation**

1 Electoral Systems	13
Jean-Benoit Pilet and Alan Renwick	
2 Political Parties	31
André Krouwel	
3 Voting Behaviour	57
Erik Tillman	
4 Political Participation	79
Patrick Bernhagen and Angelika Vetter	
5 Democracy and the EU	101
Tapio Raunio	
6 Beyond Electoral Representation: Direct and Deliberative Democracy	119
David M. Farrell and Luke Field	

PART TWO **The Process of Government**

7 The Executive Branch	143
Petra Schleiter	
8 Parties in Government	163
Petia Kostadinova and Robert Thomson	

9	Parliaments	183
	Shane Martin	
10	Constitutions and Courts	205
	Nuno Garoupa and Pedro C. Magalhães	
11	Levels of Government	227
	Michael Keating	

PART THREE **Common Challenges**

12	Politics and Markets	249
	Neil Robinson and Owen Worth	
13	Migration	271
	Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas	
14	Security and Terrorism	289
	Mai'a K. Davis Cross	
15	The Rise of Anti-Establishment Parties	307
	Mara Morini	
16	Defence	327
	Nikola Tomić and Ben Tonra	
	Index	347

Detailed Contents

List of Figures	xv
List of Tables	xvi
List of Boxes	xvii
List of Abbreviations	xix
About the Editors	xxii
Notes on Contributors	xxiii
How to Use This Book	xxv
Guided Tour of the Online Resources	xxvii

Introduction **1**

Rory Costello	
Introduction	1
What is Europe?	2
Democracy in Europe	3
Distinctive democracies	4
Common challenges	6
Why compare?	7
Outline of the book	8

PART ONE Democratic Representation

1 Electoral Systems **13**

Jean-Benoit Pilet and Alan Renwick	
Introduction	13
Electoral formula	14
The dominance of PR systems in Europe	16
Districts and district magnitude	18
Ballot structure and the intraparty dimension of electoral systems	20
The main consequences of electoral systems	23
The impact of electoral systems on the interparty dimension of politics	23
The impact of electoral systems on the intraparty dimension of politics	26
Conclusion	26

2 Political Parties **31**

André Krouwel	
Introduction	31
Parties and democracy	32

Social cleavages shaping party systems and party 'families'	34
Old conflicts frozen in time: Lipset and Rokkan's freeze hypothesis	36
How political parties transformed over time	37
The beginning of party politics: elite parties	38
The mobilization of the politically excluded lower classes: mass parties	38
The professionalization of politics: the catch-all party	39
The state becomes partisan: the party cartel?	40
Politics Incorporated: the emergence of the business-firm party	41
Changes in European cleavage structures and party landscapes	43
Mapping contemporary European party landscapes: the realignment of party politics	44
Conclusion	51
3 Voting Behaviour	57
Erik Tillman	
Introduction	57
Sociological models of voting	58
Political cleavages	58
Party identification	59
Rationalist models of voting	60
The spatial model	60
Performance voting	62
Evaluating the evidence	65
Political change?	67
Values change and realignment	68
Globalization and realignment	70
Dealignment	71
Voting behaviour in post-communist Europe	72
The post-communist context	72
A post-communist alignment?	73
Post-communist values	74
Post-communist performance voting	75
Conclusion	76
4 Political Participation	79
Patrick Bernhagen and Angelika Vetter	
Introduction	79
Voting and protesting in Europe	80
Voter turnout	81
Protest participation	84
Voting and protesting	87
Theories of political participation	89
Individual-level, ('micro') determinants of participation	89
Resources	89

Values and attitudes	90
Mobilizing contexts	91
Macro-level determinants of participation	91
What explains the decline in participation?	94
What lies ahead: 'democratic innovations' in local politics?	95
Conclusion	96
5 Democracy and the EU	101
Tapio Raunio	
Introduction	101
Democratic deficit?	102
Output legitimacy	102
Input legitimacy	103
Representation through national institutions	105
National elections	105
National parliaments	106
Referendums	108
Emerging supranational democracy	108
European Parliament elections	109
European party groups	110
Conclusion	113
6 Beyond Electoral Representation: Direct and Deliberative Democracy	119
David M. Farrell and Luke Field	
Introduction	119
Referendums	120
The post-communist democracies	121
European Union referendums	123
Sub-national referendums	124
Do referendums accomplish 'direct democracy'?	125
The referendum process	125
The rules of referendums	127
Deliberative democracy	129
Is direct citizen engagement in between elections for everyone?	133
Conclusion	135

PART TWO **The Process of Government**

.....

7 The Executive Branch	143
Petra Schleiter	
Introduction	143
The constitutional position of the political executive	144

The structure and make-up of the political executive	147
The institutional powers of the prime minister, cabinet, and president	150
The political implications of the powers of premiers, cabinets, and presidents	154
The relationship between the political executive and the civil service	155
Conclusion: executive autonomy and power	157
8 Parties in Government	163
Petia Kostadinova and Robert Thomson	
Introduction	163
Translating public opinion into policy	164
Coalition formation	165
Classical theories of coalition formation	166
Minority governments	168
Coalition agreements between parties	169
Ministerial portfolio allocation	171
Policy outputs	173
Welfare states	173
Spending on particular areas	174
Fulfilment of pledges	176
Conclusion	178
9 Parliaments	183
Shane Martin	
Introduction	183
Fundamental design	184
Cameral structure	184
Size	187
Internal legislative organization	188
Roles and functions	190
Law-making	190
Government formation	191
Oversight	192
Representation	194
Strong parties, weak parliaments	196
Conclusion	200
10 Constitutions and Courts	205
Nuno Garoupa and Pedro C. Magalhães	
Introduction	205
Constitutions	206
Historical evolution of constitutionalism in Europe	206
Contemporary European constitutions	207
Courts	210

Arguments against and for constitutional review	211
Legislative supremacy: the cases of the UK and the Netherlands	213
The case of Germany	213
The case of France	214
The cases of Poland and Hungary	214
Centralized constitutional review	216
Forms of constitutional review	216
Dissenting in constitutional courts	217
Appointment to constitutional courts	217
The political impact of constitutional adjudication	220
Supranational European courts	221
Conclusion	223
11 Levels of Government	227
Michael Keating	
Introduction	227
The nation state	228
Arguments for decentralization	229
Variations on territorial government	231
The municipality	232
The province	233
Metropolitan government	233
The meso level	234
Territorial finance	237
Territorial politics	238
Secession	239
Conclusion: rescaling Europe	241

PART THREE **Common Challenges**

12 Politics and Markets	249
Neil Robinson and Owen Worth	
Introduction	249
Varieties of capitalism	250
Anglo-Saxon model	251
Continental model	252
Nordic model	253
Mediterranean capitalism	253
Internationalization and neoliberalism	255
Building capitalism in Eastern Europe	255
Sources of divergence	255

Varieties of post-communist capitalism	258
European political economy and the global financial crisis	259
The crisis comes to Europe	260
Crisis in the West	262
Crisis in the East	263
Coronavirus: a new crisis	264
Conclusion	266
13 Migration	271
Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas	
Introduction	271
Who is an immigrant?	273
Migrants or asylum-seekers: mixed flows and mixed motivations	274
Foreign-born and natives, citizenship and naturalization	275
An overview of migration patterns in and to Europe since World War II	276
Migration in post-1989 Europe	277
Migration in the new century: 9/11, the global recession, and the post-Arab Spring period	278
Different immigration experiences: organizing European countries into a typology	281
Migration policies and politics in Europe today	282
Conclusion	284
14 Security and Terrorism	289
Mai'a K. Davis Cross	
Introduction	289
National responses to the terrorist threat	291
The development of EU internal security policy	293
Policies on terrorism and organized crime	294
Europol	295
Information sharing and IntCen	295
Resilience	296
The impact of Da'esh terrorist attacks	296
New levels of intelligence sharing	298
Internal–external nexus	299
Formal and informal diplomacy	300
Controversies and consequences	302
Conclusion	303
15 The Rise of Anti-Establishment Parties	307
Mara Morini	
Introduction	307
Historical factors behind the rise of anti-establishment parties	309
Radical-left parties	311

The 'traditional' radical left	312
The new radical left	313
Extreme-right parties	315
To be or not to be <i>populist</i> ?	319
Coronavirus and populism	321
Conclusion	322
16 Defence	327
Nikola Tomić and Ben Tonra	
Introduction: defence at the core of the state	327
What is there to defend: threat and threat perception	329
Territorial threats	329
Thematic threats	331
How to defend: reacting to threats	332
Strategic culture	333
Means and strategies for defence	334
Defending together: European common defence?	340
Conclusion	342
Index	347