Bibliography

- Arnardóttir OM, 'Organised Retreat? The Move from "Substantive" to "Procedural" Review in the ECtHR's Case Law on the Margin of Appreciation' (2015) European Society of International Law (ESIL) 2015 Annual Conference (Oslo)
- Arnstein S, 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation' (1969) 35 Journal of American Institute of Planners 216
- Barnett A and P Carty, The Athenian Option: Radical Reform for the House of Lords (Sortition and Public Policy) (Imprint Academic 2008)
- Bates E, The Evolution of the European Convention on Human Rights: From Its Inception to the Creation of a Permanent Court of Human Rights (Oxford University Press 2010)
- Beetham D, Democracy and Human Rights (Polity 1999)
- Bellamy B, 'The Advent of the Masses and the Making of the Modern Theory of Democracy' in T Ball and R Bellamy (eds) *The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press 2001)
- Berman S, Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to the Present Day (Oxford University Press 2019)
- Brems E, 'Indirect Protection of Social Rights by the European Court of Human Rights' in A Barak-Erez A and A Gross (eds) Exploring Social Rights (Hart 2007)
 - 'Positive Subsidiarity and Its Implications for the Margin of Appreciation Doctrine' (2019) 37 Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights 210
- Brunkhorst H, Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to a Global Legal Community (MIT Press 2005)
- Bugarič B, 'A Crisis of Constitutional Democracy in Post-Communist Europe: "Lands in-between" Democracy and Authoritarianism' (2015) 13 (1) International Journal of Constitutional Law 219
- Chahbazian C, 'The Contribution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to Soft Law in Electoral Matters' in H Hardman and B Dickson (eds) Electoral Rights in Europe: Advances and Challenges (Taylor & Francis 2017)

- Chernishova O, 'Electoral Rights in Russia: Mapping the Situation at the European Court of Human Rights' in H Hardman and B Dickson (eds) Electoral Rights in Europe: Advances and Challenges (Taylor & Francis 2017)
- Constant B, Principles of Politics Applicable to All Representative Governments in B Constant and B Fontana (ed) Constant: Political Writings (Cambridge University Press 1988 [1815])
 - The Liberties of the Ancients Compared with That of the Moderns in B Constant and B Fontana (ed) Constant: Political Writings (Cambridge University Press 1988 [1820])
- Cumper P and T Lewis, 'Blanket Bans, Subsidiarity, and the Procedural Turn of the European Court of Human Rights' (2019) 68 International & Comparative Law Quarterly 611
- Cunningham F, Theories of Democracy (Routledge 2002)
- Dahl RA, On Political Equality (Yale University Press 2006)
- De Beco G, Human Rights Monitoring Mechanisms of the Council of Europe (Routledge 2011)
- Dembour MB, Who Believes in Human Rights? Reflections on the European Convention (Cambridge University Press 2006)
- Dickson B, 'Special Issue on Positive Obligations and the European Court of Human Rights' (2010) 61 (3) Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly 203
 - 'Electoral Finances, Human Rights and Fairness' in H Hardman and B Dickson (eds) Electoral Rights in Europe: Advances and Challenges (Taylor & Francis 2017).
- Dryzek JS, Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance (Oxford University Press 2012)
- Dworkin R, 'The Moral Reading and the Majoritarian Premise' in R Dworkin (ed) Freedom's Law (Harvard University Press 1996)
 - 'The Moral Reading and the Majoritarian Premise' in HH Koh and R Slye (eds) Deliberative Democracy and Human Rights (Yale University Press 2000)
- Dzehtsiarou K, 'Prisoner Voting Saga: Reasons for Challenges' in H Hardman and B Dickson (eds) Electoral Rights in Europe: Advances and Challenges (Taylor & Francis 2017)
- Eatwell R and M Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt against Liberal Democracy (Penguin UK 2018)
- Ely JH, Democracy and Distrust (Harvard University Press 1980)
- Ewing KD, 'The Unbalanced Constitution' in T Campbell, K Ewing and A Tomkins (eds) Sceptical Essays on Human Rights (Oxford University Press 2001).
- Fishkin JS, Democracy When the People Are Thinking: Revitalizing Our Politics through Public Deliberation (Oxford University Press 2018)
- Fox G and G Nolte, 'Intolerant Democracies' (1995) 36 Harvard International Law Journal 1
- Fredman S, 'Scepticism under Scrutiny: Labour Law and Human Rights' in T Campbell, K Ewing and A Tomkins (eds) Sceptical Essays on Human Rights (Oxford University Press 2001)

- Human Rights Transformed: Positive Rights and Positive Duties (Oxford University Press 2008)
- Ganser D, NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe (Frank Cass 2005)
- Gearty C, 'Democracy and Human Rights in the European Court of Human Rights: A Critical Appraisal' (2000) 51 (3) Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly 381
- Gerards J, General Principles of the European Convention on Human Rights (Cambridge University Press 2019)
- Gerards J and E Brems, Procedural Review in European Fundamental Rights Cases (Cambridge University Press 2017)
- Ghosh E, 'Deliberative Democracy and the Countermajoritarian Difficulty: Considering Constitutional Juries' (2010) 30 (2) Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 327
- Goldsworthy JD, The Sovereignty of Parliament (Clarendon 1999)
- Gonzalez-Salzberg D and L Hodson, Research Methods for International Human Rights Law: Beyond the Traditional Paradigm (Routledge 2020)
- Greer S, The European Convention on Human Rights: Achievements, Problems and Prospects (Cambridge University Press 2006)
- Habermas J, Between Facts and Norms (MIT Press 1996)
 - The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory (Polity Press 1998)
 - The Crisis of the European Union: A Response (Polity 2012)
 - The Lure of Technocracy (John Wiley & Sons 2015)
- Hailbronner M, 'Beyond Legitimacy: Europe's Crisis of Constitutional Democracy' in MA Graber, S Levinson and M Tushnet (eds) Constitutional Democracy in Crisis (Oxford University Press 2018)
- Halmai G, 'An Illiberal Constitutional System in the Middle of Europe' (2014) European Yearbook of Human Rights 497
- Hardman H and B Dickson, 'Conclusions' in H Hardman and B Dickson (eds) Electoral Rights in Europe: Advances and Challenges (Taylor & Francis 2017)
- Harris DJ, E Bates, M O'Boyle, C Warbrick and C Buckley, Law of the European Convention on Human Rights (4th edn, Oxford University Press 2018)
- Hathaway O and S Shapiro, The Internationalists: And Their Plan to Outlaw War (Penguin UK 2017)
- Held D, Models of Democracy (Polity 2006)
- Hobsbawm W, Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991 (Michael Joseph 1994)
- James MR, Deliberative Democracy and the Plural Polity (University of Kansas Press 2004)
- Judt T, Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945 (Penguin Press 2005)
- Lauren PG, The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen (3rd edn, University of Pennsylvania Press 2011)
- Lauterpacht H, 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (1948) 25 British Year-book of International Law 354

Macpherson CB, The Theory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford University Press 1962)

The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy (Oxford University Press 1977)

Malkopoulou A, The History of Compulsory Voting in Europe: Democracy's Duty? (Routledge 2014).

Marks S, 'From the "Single Confused Page" to the "Decalogue for Six Billion Persons": The Roots of the Universal Declaration in the French Revolution' (1998) 20 Human Rights Quarterly 459

The Riddle of All Constitutions (Oxford University Press 2000)

Marx K, 'On the Jewish Question' in E Easton and K Guddat (eds) Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society (Doubleday Books 1967, [1843])

Mazower M, Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century (Allen Lane 1998)

Mersel Y, 'The Dissolution of Political Parties: The Problem of Internal Democracy' (2006) 4 International Journal of Constitutional Law 84

Morison J, 'Models of Democracy: From Representation to Participation' in J Jowell and O Oliver (eds) *The Changing Constitution* (Oxford University Press 2007)

Morsink J, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, Drafting and Intent (University of Pennsylvania Press 2000)

Mowbray A, The Development of Positive Obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights by the European Court of Human Rights (Hart 2004)

Müller JW, What Is Populism? (Penguin 2017)

Normand R and S Zaidi, Human Rights at the UN: The Political History of Universal Justice (Indiana University Press 2008).

O'Connell R, 'Towards a Stronger Conception of Democracy in the Strasbourg Convention' (2006) European Human Rights Law Review 281

O'Connell R, A Nolan, C Harvey, M Dutschke and E Rooney, Applying an International Human Rights Framework to State Budget Allocations: Rights and Resources (Routledge 2014)

O'Sullivan N, European Political Thought since 1945 (Palgrave 2004)

Offe C, 'The Union Entrapped: Does the EU have the Political Capacity to Overcome its Current Crisis?' in C Offe and K Preuß (eds) Citizens in Europe: Essays on Democracy, Constitutionalism and European Integration (ECPR Press 2016)

Offe C and UK Preuß, 'The Union's Course: Between a Supranational Welfare State and Creeping Decay' in C Offe and UK Preuß (eds) Citizens in Europe: Essays on Democracy, Constitutionalism and European Integration (ECPR Press 2016)

Ottaway M, Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2003)

Paine T, Rights of Man (Penguin 1984 [1791])

Palmer E, 'Protecting Socio-Economic Rights through the European Convention on Human Rights: Trends and Developments in the European Court of Human Rights' (2009) 2 (4) Erasmus Law Review 397

Pateman C, Participation and Democratic Theory (Cambridge University Press 1970) Phillips A, Which Equalities Matter? (Polity 1999)

- Pishchikova K, 'Between Democracy and Authoritarianism: The Hybrid Nature of Post-Soviet Political Transformation' in S Benhabib, D Cameron, A Dolidze, G Halmai, G Hellmann, K Pishchikova and R Youngs (eds) *The Democratic Disconnect* (Transatlantic Academy 2013)
- Rodriguez-Ruiz B and R Rubio-Marín 'The Gender of Representation: On Democracy, Equality, and Parity' (2008) 6 (2) International Journal of Constitutional Law 287
 - 'Constitutional Justification of Parity Democracy' (2009) 60 Alabama Law Review 1171
- Rubio-Marín R, 'A New European Parity-Democracy Sex Equality Model and Why It Won't Fly in the United States' (2012) 60 (1) American Journal of Comparative Law 99
- Rubio-Marín R and R O'Connell, 'The European Convention and the Relative Rights of Resident Aliens' (1999) 5 European Law Journal 4
- Sandel M, Liberalism and the Limits of Justice (Cambridge University Press 1982)
 - 'The Procedural Republic and the Unencumbered Self in S Avineri and A De-Shalit (eds) Communitarianism and Individualism (Oxford University Press 1992)
- Scheppele KL, "The Rule of Law and the Frankenstate: Why Governance Checklists Do Not Work' (2013) 26 (4) Governance 559
 - 'Autocratic Legalism' (2018) 85 University of Chicago Law Review 545
- Schmitt C, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy (MIT Press 1988, [1923])
- Schumpeter J, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (5th edn, Allen and Unwin 1976)
- Simpson AWB, Human Rights and the End of Empire: Britain and the Genesis of the European Convention (Oxford University Press 2001)
- Spano R, 'Universality or Diversity of Human Rights? Strasbourg in the Age of Subsidiarity' (2014) 14 Human Rights Law Review 487
 - 'The Future of the European Court of Human Rights Subsidiarity, Process-Based Review and the Rule of Law' (2018) 18 Human Rights Law Review 473
- Sunstein C, One Case at a Time: Judicial Minimalism on the Supreme Court (Harvard University Press, 1999)
- Teubner G, 'Quod omnes tangit: Transnational Constitutions without Democracy?' (2018) 45 Journal of Law and Society S5
- Thornhill C, The Sociology of Law and the Global Transformation of Democracy (Cambridge University Press 2018)
- Waldron J, Law and Disagreement (Oxford University Press 2001)
- Walzer M, Spheres of Justice (Robertson 1983)
- Watt B, UK Election Law: A Critical Examination (Cavendish 2005)
- Whitty N, T Murphy and S Livingstone, Civil Liberties Law: The Human Rights Act Era (Butterworths 2001)
- Wolin SS, Democracy Incorporated: Managed Democracy and The Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism (Princeton University Press 2008)
- Young IM, Inclusion and Democracy (Oxford University Press 2000)

OTHER SOURCES

- Council of Europe, Annual Report for 2012 of the European Court of Human Rights (Council of Europe 2013)
 - Annual Report for 2018 of the European Court of Human Rights (Council of Europe 2019)
 - Brighton Declaration: High Level Conference on the Future of the European Court of Human Rights (2012) available at <www.echr.coe.int/Documents/2012_Brighton_FinalDeclaration_ENG.pdf> accessed 20 August 2019
 - Copenhagen Declaration (2018) available at < www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Copenhagen_Declaration_ENG.pdf> accessed 16 June 2020
 - Collected Edition of the Travaux Preparatoires, Volume 5 (Martinus Nijhoff 1979)
 - Collected Edition of the Travaux Preparatoires, Volume 3 (Martinus Nijhoff 1976)
 - Collected Edition of the Travaux Preparatoires, Volume 4 (Martinus Nijhoff 1977)
 - Collected Edition of the Travaux Preparatoires, Volume 1 (Martinus Nijhoff 1975)
 - Collected Edition of the Travaux Preparatoires, Volume 8 (Martinus Nijhoff 1985)
- European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) Report on Electoral Rules and Affirmative Action for National Minorities' Participation in Decision-making Process in European Countries (Council of Europe Pub 2005)
 - Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters (Guidelines and Explanatory Report) (Council of Europe 2002)
 - 488/2008 Report on the Imperative Mandate and Similar Practices (Council of Europe Pub 2009).
 - Study no. 352 / 2005 Report on Electoral Law and Electoral Administration in Europe (Council of Europe Pub 2006)
 - Opinion No. 832/2015 Interim Opinion on the Amendments to the Federal Constitutional Law of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (Council of Europe Pub 2016).
 - CDL-AD(2017)005-e Turkey Opinion on the amendments to the Constitution adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 21 January 2017 and to be submitted to a National Referendum on 16 April 2017, adopted by the Venice Commission at its 110th Plenary Session (Venice, 10–11 March 2017) (Council of Europe Pub 2017) 371/2006 Referendum Guidelines (Council of Europe Pub 2006)
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt 'State of the Union Address' (1944) www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/210825, accessed 7 August 2019