

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xvi
LIST OF BOXES	xviii
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION	xx
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION	xxii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxiv
1 Introduction to contemporary European politics	1
The rationale of the book: the emergence of new European politics	2
A comparative approach: cross-country differences, similarities and convergences	2
Reducing complexity through the use of regional clusters	5
The 'great transformation' of the late twentieth century	9
The growing importance of the European integration process	16
Constitutions and constitutionalism	17
Suggested reading	30
Questions for revision	30
2 The historical development of European politics	32
The emergence of European politics in the Late Middle Ages	33
The Reformation, wars of religion and the European state system	34
The French Revolution and the emergence of the national state	38

CONTENTS

The democratic revolution of 1848 and the rise of liberal democracy	41
Industrialisation, the proletariat and the social question	48
The new imperialism, new militarism and the First World War (1914–18)	50
The Russian Revolution and the expansion of communism (1917–89)	51
The politics of totalitarianism: fascism, national socialism and Stalinism	52
Reconstruction, consensus and the division of Europe after 1945	55
Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and the beginnings of European integration	59
The 1970s: the end of the glorious thirty years	60
The fall of the Berlin Wall and the emergence of a new European era	63
The multiple crises of European politics: refugees, euro crisis and the transition to a low-carbon society and economy	68
Conclusions: European politics as a kaleidoscope of experiment, innovation and tradition	71
Suggested reading	71
Questions for revision	71
3 The transformation of European politics	72
Towards a new understanding of European politics	73
Stein Rokkan's theory of European politics	73
The postmodernisation of European politics: the society of individuals and the impact of the new media	88
Conclusions: the great transformation of the late twentieth century	117
Suggested reading	117
Questions for revision	117
4 Government in multilevel Europe	119
A two-headed executive: the European model	120
The head of state: moderating party politics	120
The government: the centre of executive power	132
The exception to the rule of divided European governments: presidentialism in Cyprus and the directoire in Switzerland and Bosnia-Herzegovina	166
Diversity in the quality of democratic governance	168
Conclusions: government in Europe – majoritarian versus consensus politics	172

Suggested reading	172
Questions for revision	173
5 The diversity of parliamentarism in multilevel Europe	174
The main functions of parliament in postmodern European political systems: patterns of parliamentarism in Europe	175
New democratic parliaments in Central and Eastern Europe	207
Conclusions: parliament as a moderating institution	224
Suggested reading	225
Questions for revision	225
6 Judicial power in multilevel Europe	226
Introduction	227
Patterns of judicial power in Europe	228
The judicialisation of politics and the politicisation of the judiciary: a constitutional review, European style	248
The European dimension: the growing impact on national legislation	253
Conclusions: the Europeanisation of judicial power	254
Suggested reading	254
Questions for revision	254
7 Political parties, party systems and elections in Europe	255
The Americanisation of European parties and party systems	256
The transformation of political parties: from cadre to cartel parties	257
The main party families	262
The decline of party membership	273
The importance of public funding for political parties	274
The impact of electoral systems on party systems	275
Party systems in Europe	284
The European Parliament: towards Americanisation of politics?	343
Conclusions: party politics in Americanised electoral markets	344
Suggested reading	347
Questions for revision	348
8 Interest groups and systems of interest intermediation	349
Patterns of interest intermediation and industrial relations at national level	350
Towards a multilevel system of interest intermediation	379

Conclusions: from national systems of interest intermediation to a multilevel EU governance system	380
Suggested reading	380
Questions for revision	381
9 Regional and local government in multilevel Europe	382
Decentralisation in Europe	383
Patterns of territorial administration in Europe	388
The European dimension of subnational government	414
Conclusions: towards a Europe of the regions	414
Suggested reading	415
Questions for revision	415
10 National politics and the European Union	416
European integration from the Schuman Plan to the Lisbon Treaty of 2009	417
The institutional framework of the supranational level of the EU	419
Europeanisation of national politics and Euromestication	427
National governments, parliaments and judiciaries in the EU multilevel governance system	433
The growing importance of European public policy	438
Conclusions: the intertwinedness of the EU multilevel governance system	455
Suggested reading	455
Questions for revision	456
11 The political systems of the wider Europe: Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus and Georgia	457
The wider European common house and geopolitics	458
Neo-patrimonialism, political corruption and façade democracies	458
Russia: the re-emergence of a superpower	462
The limits of export of the Russian model: 'managed democracy' in Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova	466
Belarus: the last dictatorship of Europe	474
Turkey: between democracy and dictatorship	476
The Eastern partnership of the EU: the need for a recalibration	479
Conclusions: the struggle for democracy, rule of law and economic prosperity in wider Europe	481

Suggested reading	481
Questions for revision	481
12 Conclusions: reinventing Europe	482
Learning from each other: diversity and convergence of European politics	483
Mediatiation and electoral markets in Europe	483
A multilevel governance system: European, national, regional and local	485
Flexible means of communication: positive and critical issues of e-government and e-democracy	485
Towards multicultural societies? The challenge of immigration	486
The unification of the continent as an historical milestone: towards a region of democratic peace and stability	487
The borders of the EU: Turkey and the post-Soviet space	489
Conclusions: the rise of post-sovereign European politics	490
REFERENCES	491
INDEX	548