

# Contents

Introduction	I
The imagery of constitutional courts	I
A methodological vantage point: gains and losses of middle-level abstraction	5
A roadmap of the argument	9
1. Political Deliberation and Collective Decision-making	12
1 Introduction	12
2 The conceptual frame of political deliberation	14
3 Values of political deliberation	19
4 Promises and perils of political deliberation	22
5 Circumstances of political deliberation	36
6 Sites of political deliberation	42
7 Taking stock: the realistic aspirations of deliberative performance	48
2. Political Deliberation and Legal Decision-making	53
1 Introduction	53
2 Deliberation and adjudication: politicizing law?	54
3 Between monocratic and collegiate adjudication	61
4 Conclusion	71
3. Political Deliberation and Constitutional Review	72
1 Introduction	72
2 The singularity of constitutional scrutiny	73
3 The conception of constitutional courts as deliberative institutions	82
4 Conclusion	99
4. Deliberative Performance of Constitutional Courts	101
1 Introduction	101
2 The three-tiered model of deliberative performance	103
3 The core meaning of deliberative performance	105
4 Internal and external deliberation: a reconfiguration	113
5 Prologue to the next chapters	118
5. The Ethics of Political Deliberation	122
1 Introduction	122
2 The character of an ethics of deliberation	123
3 Pre-decisional phase and public contestation	127



4	Decisional phase and collegial engagement	128
5	Post-decisional phase and deliberative written decision	136
6	Conclusion	139
6.	Institutional Design: Augmenting Deliberative Potential	142
1	Introduction	142
2	Institutional design as a facilitator of deliberative performance	145
3	Constitutive devices	149
4	Pre-decisional devices: promoting public contestation, preparing for collegial engagement	159
5	Decisional devices: promoting collegial engagement	164
6	Post-decisional devices: drafting a deliberative written decision	169
7	Conclusion	173
7.	The Legal Backdrop of Constitutional Scrutiny	176
1	Introduction	176
2	Deliberating about the constitution	177
3	Responding to law: exoteric deliberation through public reasons	194
8.	The Political Circumstances of Constitutional Scrutiny	196
1	Introduction	196
2	Devising political strategies	198
3	Managing the constraints of politics: esoteric political instinct	209
4	Between prudence and courage: a deliberative court as a tightrope walker	211
5	Conclusion	219
9.	Concluding Remarks	220
	No heroic court, no heroic judges	220
	What is new?	222
	What next?	223
	<i>Bibliography</i>	229
	<i>Index</i>	247