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Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies



European Union Democracy Observatory

Proceedings of the
2010 EUDO Dissemination Conference

Brussels, 18 - 19 November 2010

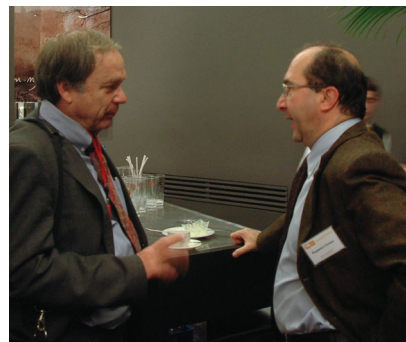


Proceedings of the 2010 EUDO Dissemination Conference

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Introduction

The EUDO Annual Dissemination Conference 2010 “Approaching European Democracy” took place on 18-19 November of that year. It was held in Brussels in order to fully connect EUDO activities to EU Institutions and in parallel with the PIREDEU Final Conference “Auditing Electoral Democracy in the European Union” so as to boost both events – about 150 attended. During this two-day event, social scientists and practitioners were given the opportunity to meet and exchange views on European democracy. All members of the four EUDO observatories participated and presented extensive material on their research activities.

The president of the EUI, Mr. Josep Borrell, opened the Conference and expressed strong support for the EUDO initiative as a key project for the study of democracy in Europe. The importance of EUDO as a common platform to examine democracy in Europe was further stressed in the first panel, a EUDO and PIREDEU joint session, show-casing the activities of the Observatory of Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media. All participants in this panel agreed on the need to bring all data and projects on democracy in Europe together into a common infrastructure. EUDO was offered as the perfect instrument to link all these projects together, and commitments were given for future collaboration.

Two more panels took place on the first day: the panel of the Political Parties and Representation Observatory and the panel of the Institutional Changes and Reforms Observatory. In both panels members of the European Parliament and Commission gave practical contributions regarding, respectively, the role of the parties in the Parliament and the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty. The first day was concluded with a dinner where all participants had the opportunity to informally discuss their future projects in relation to the development of EUDO.

On 19 November, the Observatory on Citizenship presented its main findings for the previous year, particularly the need to define what a European citizen is and who is entitled to that status. Members of the European Commission and other European organizations commented on these results. Lastly, a roundtable was held, with participants including journalists, academics, and members of the European Parliament and of the Council of Europe. The main conclusion was that it is necessary to link academic work and political practice: and that EUDO has the potential to create this link.



Programme

EUDO – European Union Democracy Observatory Dissemination Conference: Approaching European Democracy

Silken Berlaymont Brussels Hotel
11-19 Boulevard Charlemagne
Brussels
18-19 November 2010

Day 1 – Thursday, 18 November

09.30-10.00 Welcome by:

Josep Borrell (President of the European
University Institute, EUI)

Stefano Bartolini (Director of Robert Schuman
Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI)

Alexander Trechsel (Director of EUDO, EUI)

Mark Franklin (Chair of the PIREDEU Steering
Committee, EUI)

10.00-10.30 Coffee break

Panel 1 *Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media* (EUDO and PIREDEU joint session)

10.30-10.45 Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI)
*Advances in the Analyses of EU Profiler Generated
Data*

10.45-11.00 Mark Franklin (EUI)
*Auditing Electoral Democracy in Europe:
Achievements of the PIREDEU Project*

11.00-11.20 Pierangelo Isernia (University of Siena)
*Challenges in Studying Elite-Public Relationships:
The Case of European Integration and
Transatlantic Relations*

11.20-11.40 Jacques Nancy (European Parliament)
*Le travail du suivi de l'opinion publique au
Parlement européen*

11.40-12.00 Tim King (European Voice)
*In Search of the Public: a View from a Brussels
News Organisation*

12.00-12.30 *Discussion*

12.30-14.00 Lunch

Panel 2 *Political Parties and Representation*

14.00-14.15 Peter Mair (EUI) and Luciano Bardi
(EUI)

Towards a Transnational Party System

14.15-14.30 Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex)
*Party Politics in East and West: Convergence and
Divergence?*

14.30-14.50 Ingrid van Biezen (Leiden University)
*Models of Party Democracy: Patterns and
Paradoxes of State Intervention in Party Politics*

14.50-15.10 Roland Freudenstein (Centre for
European Studies)

Foreign Policy Ideas of Populist Parties

15.10-15.30 Jo Leinen (European Parliament)
*Approaching European Political Parties: An
Insider's View*

15.30-16.00 *Discussion*

16.00-16.30 Coffee break





Panel 3 Institutional Change and Reforms

- 16.30-16.45 Bruno de Witte (EUI)
After the Lisbon Treaty: Tools for a European Policy on Justice
- 16.45-17.00 Adrienne Héritier (EUI)
Continuous Institutional Change in Europe: Codecision and Comitology
- 17.00-17.20 Christine Reh (University College London)
The Informal Politics of Legislation: Explaining Secluded Decision-Making in the European Union
- Catherine Moury (CIES-Lisbon University Institute)
Contested Delegation: The Impact of Codecision on Comitology
- 17.20-17.40 Martin Westlake (European Economic and Social Committee)
Laeken Re-Visited: the New EU Institutional Landscape after the Lisbon Treaty
- 17.40-18.00 Cécile Barbier (European Social Observatory)
Les politiques sociales de l'UE entre le Traité et la Stratégie de Lisbonne
- 18.00-18.30 Discussion 18.30-19.30 Opening reception PIREDEU-EUDO
- 19.30 Conference dinner



Day 2 – Friday, 19 November

Panel 4 Citizenship

- 10.00-10.20 Rainer Bauböck (EUI)
Naturalisation
- 10.20-10.40 Iseult Honohan (UCD Dublin, presented by Rainer Bauböck)
Birthright Citizenship in Europe
- 10.40-11.00 Rainer Münz, (Erste Group Bank)
Citizenship in an European Context
- 11.00-11.20 Aurel Ciobanu-Dordea (European Commission)
Taking EU Citizenship Rights Seriously. A Comprehensive Approach Based on the Effective Enjoyment of Rights
- 11.20-11.40 Tony Venables (European Citizens' Action Service)
Cinderella Citizenship
- 11.40-12.20 Discussion
- 12.20-14.30 Lunch

Roundtable

European Democracy in Times of Crisis

- EUDO and PIREDEU joint session
- Chair: Nick Thorpe (BBC)
- 14.30-16.00 Fleur de Beaufort (European Liberal Forum asbl; Teldersstichting)
- Renaud Dehousse (Sciences Po)
- Andrew Duff (European Parliament)
- Gerald Haefner (European Parliament)
- Rainer Münz (Erste Group Bank)
- Michael Remmert (Council of Europe)
- 16.00-16.30 Coffee break

Introducing the EUDO Data Centre - An Interactive Show Case Session

- 16.30-18.00 Lorenzo De Sio (EUI) and Holger Döring (University of Bremen)
- 18.00-18.30 Discussion



Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media

During the 2010 Dissemination Conference, the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media organized a joint session with the PIREDEU project in order to highlight certain common elements of study.

The members of the panel were Prof. Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI), director of EUDO and co-director of the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media, who presented *Advances in the Analyses of EU Profiler Generated Data*; Prof. Mark Franklin (EUI), co-director of the Observatory on Public Opinion, who presented *Auditing Electoral Democracy in Europe: Achievements of the PIREDEU Project*; Prof. Pierangelo Isernia (University of Siena) who spoke of the *Challenges in Studying Elite-Public Relationships: The Case of European Integration and Transatlantic Relations*; followed by Mr. Jacques Nancy (European Parliament) who presented *Le travail du suivi de l'opinion publique au Parlement européen*; with, finally, Mr. Tim King (The European Voice), who presented *In Search of the Public: a View from a Brussels News Organisation*.

Prof. Trechsel started off by clarifying that there are two main ongoing projects that the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and Media had been focusing on since the 2009 European Parliament elections, namely PIREDEU and EU Profiler. These both represent huge research projects gathering and analyzing data from the European Parliamentary elections. He then explained that there are several new and very interesting projects in the pipeline for this Observatory addressing public opinion in European policy making, ICT's in opinion research and internet-based campaigning and voting.

Then Prof. Trechsel turned to explain that EU profiler used the European elections as a laboratory and runs simultaneous VAA's in 30 countries in 24 languages and as such represents 274 political parties' positions on 30 statements with over 2.5 million users. The data output is used both for party positioning and user data. The theoretical approach is that at the macro-level one will be able to study electoral and party-system dependence and at the micro-level users will be able to locate their own political position and get access to campaign information. This helps the user to determine his or her party preferences based on his or her preferences on a series of issues. Instead of a conclusion Prof. Trechsel highlighted that the



Mark Franklin, Tim King, Jacques Nancy, Alexander H. Trechsel and Ingo Linsenmann



EU profiler provides a refined understanding of data structures and of cross-level processes which will potentially have significant implications for representative democracy.

Thereafter Prof. Mark Franklin, a Stein Rokkan, Professor of Comparative Politics at the European University Institute, went on to present the achievements of the PIREDEU Project. PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the EU) is a post-election research study funded by the EU's DG Research under their FP7 programme and by the British ESRC. It has involved 14 institutions in 9 countries and collaborators in all 27 EU countries, providing both a public service and data collection on party positions and the evolution of party support over the 2009 EP campaign.

Prof. Franklin presented the main findings of the PIREDEU infrastructure design study. This study demonstrated that that a multi-component election study is, indeed, possible across countries and that researchers from different national and intellectual traditions can design a common study that is highly integrated and, what is more, that this can be done at reasonable cost. However, it also became clear that an infrastructure that focuses on European Parliament elections alone is not viable as the European Parliament elections occur within a wider context that includes national elections. National elections are also strongly affected by European Parliament elections and by the wider EU context. In his concluding remarks, Prof. Franklin announced that in order to look into the challenges and opportunities identified under the PIREDEU project, the partners have agreed to establish a Consortium for European Research with Election Studies, CERES.

Prof. Pierangelo Isernia from the University of Siena then went on to explore the *Challenges in Studying Elite-Public Relationships: The Case of European Integration and Transatlantic Relations*. He started off by emphasizing the importance of research studies such as PIREDEU and EU-Profiler for future generations of social scientists

and historians. Prof. Isernia then went on to explore the similarities and difference between PIREDEU and EU-Profiler, on the one hand, and similar projects in the US, on the other, in looking at the “real” public and not just elites.



Pierangelo Isernia

After this Mr. Jacques Nancy from the European Parliament went on to present *Le travail du suivi de l'opinion publique au Parlement européen* in which he described how politicians and academics could and should work closer together in order to better understand the policy priorities of the Europeans for the 2014 European elections. He emphasized that academics and politicians have the ideas and the means to conduct the research necessary for the European Election in 2014, but that it is also important to have the Commission on board for funding such studies.

Finally, Mr. Tim King from the European Voice gave a talk entitled *In Search of the Public: a View from a Brussels News Organisation*. He clarified how it is becoming increasingly difficult for the media to cover European Parliament elections for two reasons: first, because the younger generation expect to have access to news for free and, second, due to the sheer size of the coverage of such vast elections and the disparity between European and National elections. Hence the coverage of the European Parliament elections remains rather general, as it is not possible to cover all 27 national perspectives in the space given in a traditional newspaper.



Observatory on Political Parties and Representation

During the 2010 Dissemination Conference, the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR) organized a panel in which academics, policy-makers and politicians addressed the main questions related to political representation in the EU both in theoretical and empirical terms. The principal objective of the panel was to disseminate the latest comparative research results relating these to the practical experiences of politicians.

Member of the panel were Prof. Peter Mair (EUI), co-director of the OPPR, who spoke about the results of the report *Towards a Transnational Party System* prepared by the observatory on the behalf of the EP Committee of Constitutional Affairs; Prof. Luciano Bardi (University of Pisa), co-director of the OPPR, who presented the future research projects of the OPPR; Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex) who discussed the theme *Party Politics in East and West: Convergence and Divergence*; Prof. Ingrid van Biezen (Leiden University), who presented the research *Models of Party Democracy: Patterns and Paradoxes of State Intervention in Party Politics*; Mr. Roland Freudenstein (Centre for European Studies), who presented the paper: *Foreign Policy Ideas of Populist Parties*; and MEP Jo Leinen (SPD-PES at the European Parliament), who reported to the participants about his personal experience with his talk: *Approaching European Political Parties: An Insider's View*.

Prof. Mair started by presenting the principal aims of the tender won by OPPR and proposed by the Committee of Constitutional Affairs. This research was commissioned in order to study the homogeneity of party practices in candidate selection, the different political cultures of party organization, and the convergence in party finance electoral laws. OPPR tried to investigate to what extent nationality makes a difference for party ideologies and party strategies; to what extent the

political system makes a difference for political ideology and political strategy; and to what extent differences between Western Europe and ex-communist countries still persist. An additional element in the research approach was to shift attention from individual parties to party systems.

The results showed a convergence in ideological, organizational, and in financial regulations' terms. But these elements do not allow us to talk about a common European Party System. The parties operating in different countries live a sort of convergence but there is not a forum in which these parties compete at the electoral level.

Convergence of parties is one thing, the emergence or the making of a transnational party system is something else. For this reason the study concludes that – and this is a strong conclusion – the development of transnational parties is a necessary not a sufficient condition for the development of a transnational party system.

The main problem for the emergence of a transnational party system is the lack of an arena for competition. Parties are getting stronger at the transnational level, party foundations are receiving more resources becoming more ambitious and more active, the party groups in the EP are getting stronger but, as Prof. Mair said, “they are as well trained horses who are in the stables and cannot go



Peter Mair



outside to run because there is no race. Until we do get a common arena for competition they would not be able to get out of the stables to compete against ones another". The birth of this arena would require the revision of some EU treaties. Since such a revision seems unlikely, the question is: how far can the parties compete within the existing EU constitutional structure?

Prof. Bardi wanted to illustrate two possible future research projects that will involve the OPPR. Before explaining these projects, Prof. Bardi spoke with satisfaction of the pronounced convergence amongst the activities of the observatories, even during the dissemination conference itself, a feature that underlined the synergy of the various components of EUDO. Even if the observatories and their researchers come from different experiences they study the same things and, Prof. Bardi added, it is an inspiring and potentially useful finding that in the end all the observatories came up with comparable conclusions

For the future the OPPR has two studies that require research both at the national and at the European level:

The first one will focus on Parties as electoral campaign at national and European level. As Prof. Mair had mentioned parties have a potential role in nominating the EU Commission President and



Luciano Bardi and Jo Leinen

the High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy. This could change the nature of the European campaigns. But at the same time there is a long lasting problem: determining how non-European EP election campaigns have operated. So OPPR's aim is to seek funding to study in a five-year period through all 27 countries to better understand how these campaigns are conducted: this will include at least one national election and the European elections for all 27 countries. Hopefully in this way it will be possible to provide an answer to both questions.

The second one will underline the Impact of electoral law discrepancies on the multilevel party system. Prof. Bardi reported that European party system is, to a large extent, a fictionalized expression. It could become more European only if it does not conflict in its Euro-level expression with the national level party systems. Looking how different electoral laws impact on the individual member state party systems at national and European level could allow party scholars to come to some meaningful conclusions.

Prof. Szczerbiak reported that there are at least 5 connected reflections about how parties from Western Europe and from post-communist Europe approach European Issues. There are some elements of convergence and others of divergence. In any case, as Prof. Szczerbiak remarked, even if Europe is very much a secondary issue, there is a different political debate over Europe, producing different level of support for euroscepticism. This led to the fact that even the debate between deepening or not deepening the integration process is different between Western and Post-Communist European member states.

Prof. van Biezen reported the results of her research about State regulation on party politics. In recent years parties have been increasingly subject to state regulation; as a result, parties became more closed, managed and controlled by the state. In this presentation Prof. van Biezen explained some empirical and normative dimensions of this phenomenon and the analytical framework that



has been employed. At the end she presented the preliminary results of her study.

Party laws and constitutions show that intensity of regulation has increased substantially over time. With few exceptions European countries have adopted more and more laws which introduce an increasing number of rules in an increasing number of areas. In terms of the particular dimension of intervention the regulation of electoral or parliamentary parties has diminished substantially. What is increasing in importance, on the other hand, is the regulation of the extra-parliamentary party organization, as well as the parties' rights, and, in particular, the duties of parties. For example, all the European parties have now to follow the fundamental democratic principles of the European Union.

Mr. Freudenstein started his presentation with a clarification. When scholars mention political populism people usually mean right-wing populism. But there is also a left-wing populism. Mr. Freudenstein's paper also showed how foreign policy, which, as he said, is not a classical strong core element of populist politics, is an important instrument for populist parties to gain electoral support. The parties looked at in his research included the Dutch Socialist Party, the German *Die Linke*, and, from the right wing, the French *Front National*, the Austrian FPOE, and, a right-wing party of a new type, the PVV, the Dutch party of Geert Wilders. These 5 parties were looked at through the prism of various key issues in foreign policy: transatlantic relations, policy towards Russia, attitudes to conflict in the Middle East, development assistance, and European integration. On most of these foreign-policy issues most of these parties, regardless of whether they are left and right, are in complete agreement.

Mr. Leinen started his presentation asserting that European parties are even more an umbrella for tendencies than political families. This is common in national parties: in the CDU there are two parties in one, the SPD has two parties in one, the Liberals have two parties in one, the Greens

have the "Fundamentalists" and the "Realists" – of these two tendencies one is more conservative, the other more progressive. This feature is even more in evidence at the European level. For example, in the Climate Network (the PES committee which discusses climate) sister parties from Poland, and other countries, if they participate, politely listen to but they don't really share the Network ambitious goals. Or, another example: in the Social Network (the PES committee about working issues) when the commissioners discuss Working Time Directive, colleagues from Britain do not intervene, regarding this as a "continental issue".

These two examples illustrate how difficult it is to create messages to express European policy with one voice. Nevertheless the political groups in the parliament are definitely the most integrated entities. Their members meet weekly. There is clearly a very well developed culture of preparing messages or political lines. And on almost 90 percent of occasions MEPs of the same group vote together, whereas they vote "nationally" only 10 percent of the time.

To conclude Mr. Leinen reported two of the most common questions when visitors come to the European Parliament: "How do you vote? And do you vote German or European?" Mr. Leinen usually answers: "Once I have been elected in the EP I work with my political group and voting according to my political group is the rule. The exception is voting occasionally nationally".





Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms

During the 2010 Dissemination Conference, the Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms organized a panel in which academics, policy-makers, and a civil society representative analyzed, from different perspectives, the questions related to the institutional changes that take place, both as a consequence of the Lisbon Treaty, and outside the formal treaty revisions.

The panel was made up of Prof. Bruno de Witte (University of Maastricht and EUI), co-director of the Observatory, who presented: *After the Lisbon Treaty: Tools for a European Policy on Justice*; Prof. Adrienne Héritier (EUI), co-director of the Observatory, who spoke about: *Continuous Institutional Change in Europe: Codecision and Comitology*; Dr. Christine Reh (University College London), who discussed *The Informal Politics of Legislation: Explaining Secluded Decision-Making in the European Union*; Prof. Catherine Moury (CIES-Lisbon University Institute), with a speech on: *Contested Delegation: The Impact of Codecision on Comitology*; Mr. Martin Westlake (European Economic and Social Committee), who presented on: *Laeken Re-Visited: the New EU Institutional Landscape after the Lisbon Treaty*; and Ms. Cécile Barbier (European Social Observatory) who spoke on: *Les politiques sociales de l'UE entre le Traité et la Stratégie de Lisbonne*.

Prof. Bruno de Witte introduced the Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms as an interdisciplinary environment, one that has grown out of collaboration between lawyers and political scientists. Although its very name seems tautological, Prof. De Witte explained that it was been chosen to indicate two different fields of research. On the one hand, the focus of its activities is the formal treaty reforms. On the other, the research emphasizes the continuous institutional change that takes place in between treaty reform and outside the context of treaty revision. The Observatory constitutes an interesting combination of these two related fields of research.

Prof. De Witte then moved to his own paper, noting that, though it cannot be said that the epoch of treaty revision is completely finished, in the years to come research in this field will focus mainly on the institutional reforms that take place outside the frame of the formal treaty revisions. Prof. De Witte singled out two strands: the first could be called "the institutional implementation of the Lisbon Treaty" (for example: the creation of the External Action Service, the mechanism for the citizen's initiative, the new mechanism for delegated powers, the reform of the comitology system, and how to deal with the Charter of Fundamental Rights that has now binding legal status) and, beyond this, the piecemeal changes, that is, the changes in the institutional landscape, developing in practice over the coming years.



The development of a European policy on justice was mentioned by Prof. De Witte as an illustration of the fact that institutional changes can have policy implications, and are in fact changing the nature of EU law. The creation in July 2010 of a separate Directorate-General for Justice in the Commission, in charge of criminal justice, civil justice, but also fundamental rights and European citizenship, and the appointment, six months before, of a Commissioner for Citizenship, Justice and Fundamental Rights, followed the request of the EP, and was a direct consequence of the Lisbon Treaty, that gave a more privileged position to the Charter of Rights. Prof. De Witte then noted that, in the last months, we had seen the results of this in the Communication of the Commission on the strategy for the effective implementation of the Charter of fundamental rights by the EU and the Communication from the Commission about the dismantling of the obstacles to EU citizens' rights. With regard to the latter, the rights of EU citizens had mainly been developed, in the past, through the activity of the Court of Justice, while now you could also see a deliberate policy being launched by the Commission to identify the obstacles to citizens' rights.

This is just one of the dimensions of the new justice policy which is being put in place. But

this, noted Prof. De Witte, raises many questions. First: will there be a follow up? Will the initiatives or announcements of initiatives become effective? Second: is this policy internally consistent? Third: there is the issue of competence and subsidiarity: what is the proper role here for the EU, as it enters into new fields which used to be controlled by the Member States.

Prof. Adrienne Héritier, Dr. Christine Reh and Prof. Catherine Moury tackled the second field of the Observatory's interest, namely the process of continuous institutional change.

The process, noted Prof. Héritier, sometimes implies a redistribution of power between the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament and the Commission. Whereas the Parliament has gained power particularly in legislation, but also in controlling the Commission's implementing powers (comitology). These changes occurred in the context of formal Treaty changes, but also when reshaping these rules during application. The newly emerging rules may subsequently be formalized in another round of formal rule change. Consequently, the questions raised by Prof. Héritier were: why has European decision-making been subject to a continuous process of institutional change and how does this change happen and what is its impact?



Bruno de Witte



Adrienne Héritier



Prof. Hérítier, Dr. Reh and Prof. Moury set out the results of their most recent research (funded by the European University Institute, the Swedish Institute for European Studies in Stockholm (SIEPS), the British Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)), on continuous institutional change in two important areas of European decision-making, codecision and comitology.

They showed how legislation under codecision was transformed into fast-track-legislation and why under comitology the EU Parliament was able to gradually gain more and more influence. Prof. Hérítier, Dr. Reh and Prof. Moury explained that the main motive for the stark increase of early agreements, under codecision, is to save the transaction costs of long and cumbersome negotiations. Also, the power shift induced by to fast-track legislation between actors in the Parliament was partially remedied in the course of an overall parliamentary reform of procedures but not triggered by the steep increase in early agreements itself. In comitology a clear pattern emerges: the European Parliament successfully used its veto power under codecision to obtain more institutional powers under comitology. Although not opposing delegation altogether, the European Parliament systematically restricts its scope in environmental policy.



Catherine Moury and Christine Reh

Prof. Hérítier finally signaled that continuous institutional change, as a phenomenon, is by no means restricted to institutional rules governing decision-making in the European Union. Since institutional rules almost always constitute incomplete contracts with unclear terms and with the need for adjustment to new external conditions, continuous institutional change is a wide-spread phenomenon. Yet, in a context of rapidly increasing membership and a relatively short history as a polity it offers particularly favorable conditions for continuous institutional change.

After recalling the steps towards the Lisbon treaty, namely, the IGC of Nice, the Laeken Declaration and the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty, Mr. Martin Westlake observed that this long institutional paralysis has had an effect on European institutions, as some were forced to anticipate the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty and this, in turn, affected the way those institutions work now. To illustrate his point, Mr. Westlake summoned up the two main challenges at the heart of the Laeken Declaration: impending enlargement and the gap between the European integration process and the European citizen.

In order to face enlargement, the Council used its rules of procedure to anticipate some of the constitutional provisions and then, when



Martin Westlake



enlargement happened, had to deal with that in a pragmatic way. Quoting Settembri and Best, in their study edited by EIPA, Mr. Westlake underscored that the institutions responded to enlargement in at least three similar and connected ways: 1) they extended their existing mechanisms mathematically to include members from the new states. 2) because of that, they tended to become more presidential in the way they functioned, and 3) they enacted informal decision-making mechanisms that anticipated the decision.

Mr. Westlake recalled the second challenge identified by Laeken, namely the gap between European integration and the citizen, noting that, as detected by the Eurobarometer published in August, the gap is increasing. The Lisbon Treaty provided a response, with a “compound democracy,” an idea that emerged via the Convention and was based in part on the Commission’s White Paper on the Governance of the European Union. According to Mr. Westlake, the “compound democracy” designed by the Treaty, combines first, and foremost, representative democracy through the EP, national parliaments and, indirectly, the European Council; direct democracy with the European citizens’ initiative; and, in between, another form of democracy, that can be called “participatory democracy.” Although the latter is more difficult to define, nevertheless, Article 11 of the EU Treaty provides a basis by stating that the “Institutions should maintain an open, transparent, and regular dialogue with representatives, associations and civil society”. Mr. Westlake recognized that there is a danger that the provisions of Article 11 on participatory democracy will come to be regarded as hot air and quietly put back in the drawer. Nevertheless, Mr. Westlake concluded that, if there is a real will to flesh out the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty on participatory democracy, then all the institutions should be involved, including the consultative bodies, as some of the players, like Mr. Herman van Rompuy, have understood.



Cécile Barbier

The presentation of Ms. Barbier focused on European social policies and the changes that occurred in this area after the Lisbon Treaty and the Lisbon Strategy.

Ms. Barbier pointed out that since the Treaty of Rome there has been tension between economic integration (supranational level) and social policies (national level). The primacy of the economy over social policies has characterized the entire European integration process. Ms. Barbier illustrated the main changes following on from the launch of the Lisbon Strategy and the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. On the basis of this analysis she concluded that a revision of the European social model is currently underway. In many European countries courageous measures (like the lowering of the wages of public servants, and later retirement ages) have been implemented because of market pressure. Possible remedies might include the use of Article 153 of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union, the social clause and stronger cooperation in the fiscal area.



Observatory on Citizenship

During the 2010 Dissemination Conference, the Observatory on Citizenship organised a panel in which academics, policy-makers and NGO representatives addressed the main questions related to citizenship in the EU both in theoretical and empirical terms. The overall objective of the panel was to disseminate the latest comparative research results about the legal regulations of citizenship amongst all relevant stakeholders.

The members of the panel were Prof. Rainer Bauböck (Professor at the EUI), co-director of EUDO Citizenship, who spoke about *Naturalisation and Birthright Citizenship in Europe*; Mr. Rainer Münz (Erste Group Bank), who discussed *Citizenship in a European Context*; Mr. Aurel Ciobanu-Dordea (European Commission), who talked of *Taking EU Citizenship Rights Seriously. A Comprehensive Approach Based on the Effective Enjoyment of Rights*; and Mr. Tony Venables (European Citizens' Action Service), who presented *Cinderella Citizenship*.

Prof. Bauböck announced that in future the Observatory will enlarge its scope geographically and thematically, covering electoral rights exercised by EU citizens in other Member States or third countries as well as local, regional or national voting rights granted to third country nationals in several EU states. He then presented the comprehensive and systematic data collected by EUDO citizenship that compares acquisition and loss of citizenship status in EU Member States and neighbouring countries, based on 42 country reports published to date by national experts. With the aim of assessing whether there is a convergence in the access to citizenship among the Member States, Prof. Bauböck discussed the main modes of citizenship acquisition – birthright and naturalisation – in all 27 MS plus 6 accession candidates and EEA countries. Birthright is the principal way in which citizenship is acquired and is based on two main principles: *ius sanguinis*

– present in all 33 states – and *ius soli* – present in 19 states. A great variety of provisions both for birthright and naturalisation citizenship exists among European states and considerable change has occurred since the 1980s, displaying limited convergence between European states. Birthright citizenship is less politically controversial than naturalisation, which requires an application and a decision by national authorities.

After describing the main modes of citizenship acquisition, Prof. Bauböck addressed what he defined as the EU citizenship dilemma. He used the image of the EU as an Expo park that has 27 pavilions, where each pavilion sells tickets and there is no central ticket office. Each pavilion association determines the rules by which tickets are sold – varying from free admission to hefty ticket price, from short queues to drawing numbers for admission next month, from preferential admission of relatives to testing visitors on what they know about the exhibits. Yet tickets give access to all pavilions in the park.



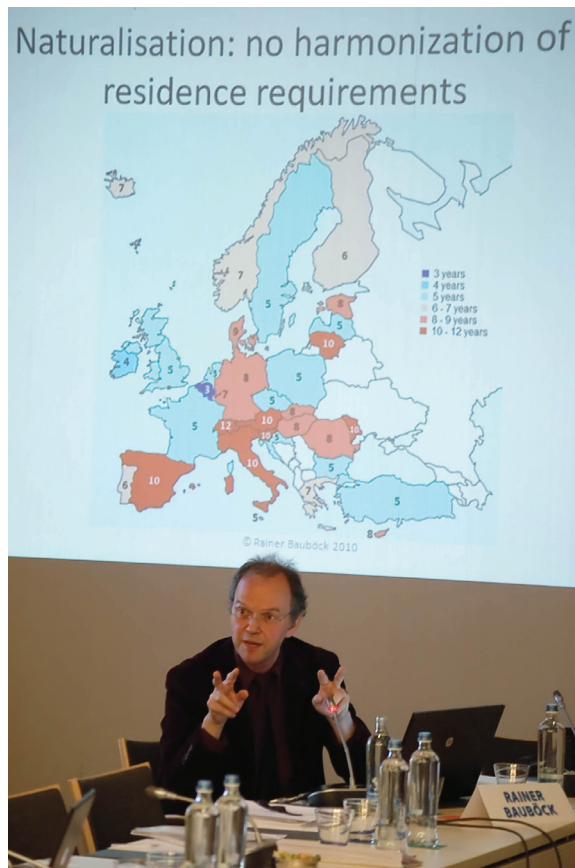
Rainer Bauböck



Overall, Prof. Bauböck underscored two main problems: over-inclusion, in terms of easy access to EU citizenship for external populations, often considered co-ethnic even though without genuine links, who gain free movement rights to the all EU territory; and exclusion, in the sense of blocked political integration of long-term resident third country nationals. Prof. Bauböck discussed three theoretical solutions: 1) deriving MS nationality from EU citizenship, in which model EU citizenship is acquired through birth or naturalisation and MS nationality changes automatically with residence; 2) separating EU citizenship from MS nationality, so that EU citizenship is acquired automatically through residence and independently of MS nationality, which is acquired through birth or naturalisation; and 3) harmonizing conditions for citizenship acquisition in MS either through a new EU competence for regulating nationality laws or

through promoting horizontal coordination. He advocated the last solution and suggested that it could be promoted by appealing to MS interests and democratic norms.

Prof. Bauböck's final policy recommendations for birthright citizenship were: *ius sanguinis* should be applied on gender equal basis and its extension abroad should be limited if this does not lead to statelessness; *ius soli* should promote the integration of immigrants living permanently on a state's territory or at least that of an immigrant child resident for some years before they come of age; a systematic acceptance of multiple citizenship not only for *ius sanguinis* (accepted by all states) but also for *ius soli* (accepted only in 14 states); conditions of naturalisation should not be too onerous or subject to extensive administrative discretion; wider adoption of *ius soli* provisions would strengthen the shared space of free movement on the basis of birth in the territory of the European Union.



Mr. Münz tackled the topic of interaction between mobility and citizenship in the European context starting with the consideration that historically the *ius sanguinis* principle was the revolutionary approach to citizenship opposed to the feudal *ius soli* and that European citizenship laws have not evolved in a context of immigration but rather in the context of emigration. Shifting then to Europe's political and migratory space today, Mr. Münz addressed the question of whether citizenship has a European dimension or not. He presented an extensive data set about net migration in Europe and its foreign born and foreign resident population: 48 million migrants live in all the 27 MS. 16 million come from another MS and 32 million from third countries. Mr. Münz described how this mobility affects the labour market and private law, with the creation of a growing number of binational families. In conclusion, Mr. Münz too focussed on one of the main problems emphasised by Prof. Bauböck, namely the increasing extension of facilitated access to national citizenship by MS to old diasporas and co-ethnic neighbours, with the crucial question



Rainer Münz

of whether diasporas and co-ethnics will then stay in their countries or move to EU territory, once they have obtained a MS citizenship. In this respect, Mr. Münz suggests that a higher degree of harmonisation among citizenship regimes in Europe is the key.

Mr. Ciobanu-Dordea presented the main contents of the Commission's *EU Citizenship Report 2010. Dismantling the Obstacles to EU Citizens' Rights*, as the first report ever looking at all practical aspects of EU citizenship. Mr. Ciobanu-Dordea explained how the Commission targeted the obstacles faced by European citizens in translating their EU rights into their daily lives across national borders. He outlined the actions envisaged for allowing easy, direct access to information and assistance on EU rights for European citizens and also for eliminating fragmentation in the EC measures in support of EU citizenship rights. The *Citizenship Report* is meant in the EC's view to launch a debate with other European institutions, national parliaments and all relevant stakeholders to promote the active involvement of citizens and to put in motion a bottom-up approach whereby citizens can take an active part in shaping European policies. Mr. Ciobanu-Dordea announced that in 2013, which might soon be

designated the European year of citizens, the EC will present a comprehensive action plan aimed at completing the removal of obstacles standing in the way of citizens' enjoyment of their rights.

Mr. Venables explained the civil society's point of view on how European citizenship is in a "Cinderella state", with its enormous potential, but still enslaved to her ugly older sisters. Yet Mr. Venables argued that the European Commission has taken an important step forward by creating an institutional basis for European citizenship to evolve with the establishment of a Commissioner responsible for Citizenship, Justice and Fundamental Rights. In Mr. Venables' view, this reform should reduce the institutional fragmentation of citizenship issues. Mr. Venables welcomed and praised the recent package of actions promoted by the EC, starting with the *EU Citizenship Report 2010* and its 25 measures, to reduce obstacles to the full enjoyment of European citizens' right.



Tony Venables



Roundtable on European Democracy in Times of Crisis



Nick Thorpe

The joint EUDO and PIREDEU roundtable session was chaired by Mr. Nick Thorpe from the BBC who started by

introducing the distinguished panel. Mr. Thorpe then went on to introduce the topic of the round table by suggesting that the stage on which European Democracy is run is getting rather overcrowded and hence difficult for European citizens to feel part of.

Dr. Fleur de Beaufort from the European Liberal Forum asbl, started off by noting that she has recently co-authored a book entitled *Democracy in Europe* which, in many ways, addresses today's topic. Dr. de Beaufort highlighted how few people in Europe associate the European Union with democratic principles. The European Union had been shaped from the top down and democratization has, therefore, not developed to date as it has in most member states. Outward legitimacy has since its inception ranked much higher than inward legitimacy and hence the people of Europe do not feel part of the European decision-making process, something which Dr. de Beaufort thinks is important for institutions to address in the coming years.



Fleur de Beaufort

Prof. Renaud Dehousse from Sciences Po, started off by pointing out that he believes that the economic crisis is making the issue of democracy more acute. The European institutions were established by and for the member states but now the European Parliament has been granted increasing powers which allows citizens to take an active role in EU policy making, something that has for many years been the prerogative of the member state. It is important, therefore, noted Prof. Dehousse, not only to focus on election times but also to make sure to involve the people during the periods between elections.



Renaud Dehousse

Mr. Andrew Duff from the European Parliament, started off by confirming that the EP is enjoying enhanced powers attributed through the Lisbon Treaty, and then went on to highlight that the EP still needs to acquire popular support. Mr. Duff went on to suggest that the single-most important element in acquiring popular support would be to establish, for the next EP elections, a pan-European constituency which will elect an extra 20 MEPs from transnational institutions.



Andrew Duff

Mr. Gerald Haefner, MEP of the European Parliament, noted that the financial crisis is not only about financial and monetary issues but also a crisis of whom has the power to influence the policies that affect economic crises. The European Institutions are increasingly tackling issues that directly concern and affect the citizens of the European Union and hence citizens are getting increasingly worried over how they can be involved in this process which concerns them. Mr. Haefner then went on to state that the question to address is, therefore, how legitimacy for such decisions can be obtained and he strongly encouraged increased debate on how European citizens want their Europe to look and how democracy can be assured in such a Europe. Last, Mr. Haefner mentioned the European Citizens' Initiative as one means to democratize the union, and noted how important it is to make it a success.



Gerald Haefner

Mr. Rainer Münz, from Erste Group Bank, noted that the crisis of EU democracy has been around for much longer than the financial crisis. There is a fierce fight for resources at national and European level and the challenges ahead include the end of the longest period of growth since the war. We live in saturated markets, our population is ageing, competition from the east is growing continuously, markets are increasingly overtaking political decision of governments and we will have to adapt to these new circumstances in order to address both the financial and democratic crisis.

Mr. Michael Remmert, from the Council of Europe, started off by noting that the green paper on the future of democracy initiated the discussion on Democracy in Europe and also to some extent the establishment of EUDO. He then asked what are the expectations regarding participation in Europe and noted that recent surveys in Germany show that the population increasingly feels locked out of EU decision making. Mr. Remmert's recommendations for policy makers are, therefore, to increase consultations with the population and enhance participatory democracy mechanisms with the help of new technologies which are more cost effective. To this he added the longer-term idea of whether we should consider public participation in decision making at all levels of government as a human right and of the need to create a new balance between participatory right and right of representation.



Michael Remmert





Introducing the EUDO Data Centre - An Interactive Show Case Session

EUDO Data Centre

During the 2010 Dissemination Conference, an interactive show-case session was organized, in order to introduce the EUDO Data Centre to an audience of academics, policy-makers and NGO representatives. The goal of the presentation was to give some sense of the possibilities offered by the Data Centre, in terms of distribution and dissemination of data related to EUDO projects, in order to foster a wide diffusion of empirical data and knowledge to a large audience that goes well beyond academia.

The presentation was delivered by Dr. Lorenzo De Sio (Jean Monnet Fellow, EUI) and Dr. Holger Döring (University of Bremen), who discussed respectively the main features of the EUDO Data Centre, and a specific case study of integration and collaboration with external projects.

Dr. De Sio introduced the main features of the EUDO Data Centre. The Data Centre is a central archive for all datasets produced by the four EUDO observatories, based on the open source Dataverse platform and hosted within the EUI server infrastructure. The Data Centre is aimed at providing appropriate visibility for the diverse EUDO projects and for EUDO activities as a whole, by providing data that are presented with a meaningful conceptual organization, offering both hierarchical and non-hierarchical navigation of projects, studies and collections.

Also, the Data Centre provides access to data and metadata that is easy, consistent across different projects, and standards-based, while keeping the flexibility that is needed to address the diversity of EUDO projects and data. Users are always presented with detailed production and citation information, in order to ensure maximum recognition of research teams. Also, quantitative datasets allow more advanced online tasks, such as online descriptive and advanced statistical analysis; a full-text search on data documentation

(including variable names); case- and variable-subsetting; and on-the-fly conversion to the most common data formats.

In introducing the ParlGov project, Dr. Döring presented an example of meaningful collaboration between EUDO and an external project. The ParlGov project provides an updated database on party positions, election results and government composition. Being now distributed also through the EUDO Data Centre, ParlGov gained increased visibility and contributed to making the EUDO Data Centre an even richer source of information for both academics and policy-makers.

After the presentation, users were able to experience a hands-on, interactive navigation session on the EUDO Data Centre website, which allowed them to directly explore the features offered by the Data Centre. The lively final discussion suggested great interest in the project, and also highlighted several opportunities for networking and collaboration between the EUDO Data Centre and other institutions and data archives, by concentrating on long-term data preservation and archive interoperability, in order to enhance data availability for the largest possible audience.





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