



European Union Democracy Observatory

ANNUAL REPORT 2011



FLORENCE, NOVEMBER 2011

In Memoriam

Professor Peter Mair

In 2011 EUDO lost one of its founders, Professor Peter Mair. Professor Peter Mair passed away on 15 August 2011 while on holiday in Ireland. One of the world's leading scholars in the study of political parties, Prof. Mair was a co-founder and co-director of EUDO's Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR), and, from the first to the last, was a fundamental driving force for EUDO generally. EUDO and OPPR are still very young research structures, but Professor Mair's leadership, vision and unsurpassed scientific reputation, significantly contributed in giving them traction among academics and practitioners at the European level. At the time of his death, Prof. Mair was working with the OPPR team on the development of several research initiatives which promised to consolidate the OPPR. Prof. Mair will be sadly missed by all of the members of the EUDO team. It is EUDO's paramount task and objective to honour his memory by continuing his work, if at all possible, at his very demanding standards.



Contents

INTRODUCTION	5
I. EUDO GENERAL	7
I.1 Activities and Research.....	7
I. 2 Outlook 2012	10
II. EUDO OBSERVATORIES	13
II.1 EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media	13
II.1.1 Activities and Research	13
II.1.2 Events.....	18
II.1.3 Outlook 2012	18
II.2 EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation.....	20
II.2.1 Activities and Research	21
II.2.2 Outlook for 2012	22
II.3. EUDO Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms	25
II.3.1 Activities and Research	25
II.3.2 Events.....	26
II.3.3 Outlook for 2012	27
II.4. EUDO Observatory on Citizenship	28
II.4.1 Activities and Research	30
II.4.2 Events and Dissemination Activities	32
II.4.3 Outlook for 2012	32
III. PEOPLE	35
IV. SELECTED PUBLICATIONS	41

INTRODUCTION

The European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO) is an independent and interdisciplinary academic organization fully integrated within the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS). Its declared **goals** are:

- To translate scientific and academic research on the key issues of European democracy into policy-relevant and publicly-understandable outputs.
- To produce a permanent and periodic evaluation of democratic practices within the EU.
- To develop practical suggestions for improving democratic performance in the EU.
- To offer expertise, information, and policy reports on relevant EU institutions.
- To serve as a forum where research results, experiences, ideas, and good practices can be exchanged between scholars and policy-makers.

With a strong platform being established in 2010, the primary focus of EUDO in 2011 has been to consolidate the work of the four observatories as well as to assure continuity in the delivery of the main activities of the EUDO platform in order for EUDO to demonstrate the stability required

to establish itself as a major European research centre on democracy. In light of this, several research projects were conducted and various conferences, seminars, workshops and other events were organized. In 2011, EUDO managed to win a number of tenders and to carry out several research projects, to attract external funding and to reach out to the wider academic and policy-making community. The EUDO working paper series gained ground by publishing three important contributions which were well received by the public and the EUDO website has introduced interactive tools such as forums, blogs and social networks to provide stakeholders with virtual places to discuss ideas and exchange information.

In **2012**, EUDO will streamline its efforts to become a leading research centre for EU democracy by reinforcing its interdisciplinary approach as well as by exploring new research areas related to European Democracy.

In this **annual report** we will present the EUDO activities for the period from the end of the last Annual Report (fall 2010) to November 2011 and give an overview of the work planned for 2012. The report is structured as follows: section I will present EUDO activities from fall 2010 and the outlook for 2012 at the general EUDO level. Section II contains a more detailed account of activities and work in the four EUDO Observatories. In section III there is an overview of the people involved in EUDO, section IV, meanwhile, lists selected publications from 2010-2011.





I. EUDO GENERAL

At the end of 2010, EUDO organised its Annual Dissemination Conference, in conjunction with the PIREDEU Final Conference, in Brussels and as such demonstrated the importance of sharing academic research results with policy makers in Brussels and beyond. In 2011 EUDO has continued to build on this success and has obtained further external funding for research projects, as well as submitting a number of funding applications to continue to expand the research projects undertaken in the future. The EUDO Data Centre has been consolidated, and research data continues to be included. EUDO's communication strategy has in 2010 included the launch of a re-vamped website with interactive forums, the publication of a regular stakeholder newsletter and extensive in-house publications. In addition, EUDO continues to both organise and attend conferences and seminars throughout Europe and beyond.

I.1 Activities and Research

EUDO Dissemination Conference: “Approaching European Democracy”

EUDO Annual Conference 2010 was held on 18-19 November 2010 in Brussels with the aim of further reaching out to the European Institutions. It was held in parallel with the PIREDEU Final Conference in order to boost both events at which over 150 persons participated.

During this two days event, social scientists and practitioners were given the opportunity to meet and exchange their particular viewpoints on the EUDO Dissemination Conference. All members of the four observatories participated providing extensive information on their research progresses, since EUDO was launched in December 2009. In addition, new bridges were built towards the

general academic community as the EUDO Dissemination Conference took place in parallel to the PIREDEU Final Conference.

The President of the European University Institute (EUI) Josep Borrell, while opening the Conference, expressed strong support for the EUDO initiative, as a key project in the study of democracy in Europe. More specifically, the importance of EUDO as a common platform to investigate democracy in Europe was further stressed in the first panel, of the Observatory of Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media, a EUDO and PIREDEU joint session. All participants in this panel coincided on the necessity of bringing together data and projects on democracy in Europe in a common infrastructure. EUDO revealed to be the perfect instrument to link all these projects together, and a compromise was settled on for future collaboration.

Two more panels took place on the first day: the panel of the Political Parties and Representation Observatory and the panel on Institutional Change and Reforms. In both panels members of the European Parliament and Commission were invited and these gave an interesting contribution from a more practical point of view both on the role of the parties in the Parliament and the real application of the changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty. The first day was concluded with a dinner, where all participants in the Conference had the opportunity to informally explain their current and future projects in relation to the development of EUDO.

On November 19, the Observatory on Citizenship presented its main findings for the previous year, emphasising the necessity of defining what a European citizen is and who is entitled to what. Members of the European Commission and other European organizations commented on these results. Lastly, a roundtable was held, with mainly non-academic participants (journalists, members of the European Parliament, of the Council of Europe, etc.). The principal conclusion seemed to be clear for them: it is necessary to link academic work and political practice, and that EUDO is of great importance in creating this link.

EUDO Website Platform and Visibility

In 2011 EUDO launched a new website which is more user-friendly and more accessible to the general public (www.eudo.eu). It continues to include the latest news and events; EUDO publications as well as other relevant publications; links to the EUDO Data Centre; abstract videos, pictures and audio files of the EUDO Dissemination Conference (November 2010); and the EUDO Café which includes daily news on democracy in Europe as well as an interactive section on “Debating Democracy”. The EUDO Café has proven to be very popular as it is a place for discussing the challenges facing democracy in today’s Europe. It hosts periodical, invited posts inspired by current events in worldwide and European politics, ground-breaking EUDO research, as well as debates in the media. Posts are open for discussion to everyone: scholars, politicians, journalists and citizens. As its name suggests, the EUDO Café is supposed to be a place for free-flowing, open discussion on the general issues and challenges facing democracy in Europe. Its aim is to attract academic experts, practitioner and “regular citizens” alike. EUDO has also continued to publish on its website and to circulate among academics and practitioners worldwide its *EUDO Newsletter* presenting the main activities carried out by EUDO and its Observatories. EUDO continues to update its Facebook group and Twitter account which has now over 400 followers.

EUDO Data Centre

In the Fall of 2010 EUDO launched the EUDO Data Centre. Relying on the “Dataverse” software developed at Harvard, the centre consist of a web-based repository for the distribution and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data and research results produced or acquired by EUDO projects. The centre, organized in observatory and project-level collections, makes studies available by providing data access and downloads – complete with accurate citation information – as well as detailed information about all the institutional subjects involved in each study. Access and use of the studies is regulated, but public access

and use – upon specific and sensible terms – is possible for an important part of the collections.

As an experimental service, the Data Centre has been active and open to the public since the summer of 2010 (available online at <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDODataCentre.aspx>). Following its presentation in the 2010 EUDO Dissemination Conference, scholars interested in EUDO projects and data have been invited to use the Data Centre and to provide feedback, prior to the official launch in the Spring of 2011.

The advancement of the EUDO Data Centre will be of central importance throughout 2011 and 2012. Not only do we want to prepare and include all “our” data, but we are already preparing several cooperation agreements with other academic projects to include their data and research results as well. Also, in the summer of 2011, important steps forward were made in view of an institutionalised cooperation between the Cologne based GESIS and EUDO here.

EUDO Working Paper Series

The EUDO working paper series started in December 2009 and is a core element of EUDO’s efforts in disseminating high-quality research. The working papers cover a broad range of issues, which the four EUDO Observatories deal with. So far a total of nine EUDO working papers have been published, three of which were produced in 2011 (available at the EUDO website: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDOWorkingPaperSeries.aspx>) and others are underway or being reviewed.

EUDO Dissemination Conference 2011: “Inclusive Democracy in Europe”

The EUDO Dissemination Conference 2011 will take place 9 and 10 November 2011 at the European Parliament in Brussels. The Conference is hosted by the European Parliament’s Committees on Constitutional Affairs and Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs. The Conference will take place in Brussels in order to fully con-

nect EUDO activities to the EU institutions and the Brussels-based policy making community. This Conference will offer the results of EUDO's documentation gathering to a wider public and connect too with civil society. The Conference is expected to bring together more than 150 high-level academics and external experts: politicians, policy-makers, civil-society leaders, journalists and interested citizens.



The Conference will be organized over two days. The first day will focus on presenting the research results of EUDO. As such, each of the four EUDO Observatories will chair a panel, which will present and discuss the activities achieved by each Observatory in 2011 in terms of data gathering and analysis. The first day of the conference will conclude with a roundtable on “Inclusive European Democracy” where high-level politicians, academics and civil society representatives will

introduce and discuss the topic of the second day of the conference. The second day of the conference will further explore the topic of “Inclusive European Democracy” and will include a keynote speech from Shirley Williams, a Baroness in the British House of Lords.

EUDO Training Workshops

On 16 June, EUDO held the first in what it hopes to be a series of Training Workshops for the Political Groups of the European Parliament and other interested actors. This first Workshop was entitled “**One year after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, what first conclusions, what perspectives?**” and included presentations from a number of EUDO Directors and collaborators on topics within their specialty. This Workshop was tailor-made for a selection of the permanent staff of the Social and Democrats group of the European Parliament and provided an ideal opportunity for the practitioners and academics to exchange information and learn from each other.

All political groups of the European Parliament have been sent official letters giving them the opportunity to have similar events organized for their political groups and hopefully 2012 will see more of such events.

Participation in EU decision-making: Portugal in a Comparative Perspective

Although all European Union member states are equal in law, they are unequal in population and resources and more than two-thirds are small countries. Since the co-decision processes of the EU usually operate by consensus, the ability of countries to make their voice heard is as important as their votes. But to influence policies, small countries need to be informed, timely and realistic in what they say.

Thanks to support from the Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, Lisbon, EUDO will systematically examine the role of representatives of small countries in the European Union policy process, with special reference to Portugal.

A series of reports will be published on size in policy making. They will cover the following topics:

1. Representing Smaller Countries by Degressive Proportionality

- Number of MEPs in relation to population
- Changing weight of Portuguese MEPs with enlargement
- Changes in Qualified Majority voting in the Council
- Comparison with federal systems
- Implications of proposals to change representation formulas

2. European Parliament

- Number of party groups to which a country's MEPs belong
- Policy preferences of parties on multiple dimensions
- Participation in 20 committees
- Party discipline or national cohesion in EP votes

3. Legislating through Vertical and Horizontal Deliberations

- Links between COREPER staff in Brussels and national ministries
- Post-Lisbon role of national Parliament in scrutinizing EU proposals
- Discussion of Commission proposals in COREPER working parties

- Deliberations within the Council
- Co-decision with the European Parliament

4. Civil Society Representation

- How members are appointed in the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) and Committee of the Regions (CoR)
- Activities of experience of Portuguese members in the EESC and CoR
- Beyond EESC and CoR: Portuguese Civil Society Representatives' activities in Brussels
- Civil Society consultation procedures: the role of Portuguese Civil Society Organisations

5. Commission personnel

- Number of Portuguese applicants for competitive posts, success rates and comparison with other small countries
- Senior posts held by Portuguese before and after 2004

6. Small Countries in a Big Europe: Portugal in Comparative Perspective

- A report drawing together themes from the discussion of the above reports plus a booklet for broader dissemination highlighting major points.

The project is being led by Professor Richard Rose and Professor Alexander Trechsel, and the dos Santos Foundation has appointed a distinguished advisory committee from the Portuguese public-policy community.

The start date of the project was 1 May 2011 and the concluding date 30 October 2013.

I. 2 Outlook 2012

In 2012, EUDO will continue to concentrate and streamline its efforts to become a leading and well-known hub in EU democracy research. EUDO is becoming one of the leading sources academics, policy-makers and ordinary citizens turn to when they look for information and research on democracy in the EU and it is our goal to make sure that this trend continues. The secretariat will, therefore, on the basis of the research outputs produced by the Observatories, continue to develop and enlarge the three main activities of EUDO, namely communication and dissemination, training and debate and publication and the Data Centre of EUDO.

The four EUDO Observatories benefit from having a common platform where inter-disciplinary cooperation between the Observatories and the wider EUI community is possible and this also allows for new synergies to develop and for common research projects to come to fruition. This common platform furthermore strengthens the value of the Observatories in obtaining external funding for research projects and helps disseminate

their research output. Many of the current projects within the Observatories go beyond the funding of the Research Council and hence will help assure the sustainability of EUDO beyond 2012.

In concrete terms, the further advancement of the EUDO Data Centre will be of central importance in 2012. Not only do we want to prepare and to include all “our” data, but we are also preparing several cooperation agreements with other academic projects to include their data and research results. 2012 will also see the enlargement of the debate section in frequency as well as topics covered and the Working Paper Series and Report Series will be expanded. Further publications are in the pipeline and EUDO will continue to make maximal use of new media and technologies. Audio files and videos as well as other technological means to present EUDO events and research will be used increasingly and EUDO intends to become a forerunner in using new technologies for academic output. In addition to this, 2012 will see the organising of another EUDO Dissemination Conference and we have the ambitious aim of initiating there the work on the first general report on the state of democracy in the EU.



II. EUDO OBSERVATORIES

the answers of almost one million users across all Europe.

II.1 EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media

PUBLIC OPINION



The Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media focuses on the analysis of the attitudes and preferences of publics, the media and the elites, and has the aim of measuring the extent to which these converge or diverge,

in which field and in which direction. It is managed by Mark Franklin (EUI) and Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI). In 2010 this Observatory dedicated a lot of work to finalizing two main research projects linked to the 2009 elections of the European Parliament, namely the PIREDEU and EU Profiler. These two projects generated possibly the largest data collection on public opinion among European voters ever gathered. In 2010, the data analysis was further refined and discussed in a continuous dialogue between academia and the policy making community and the final presentation of the EU Profiler data can be explored online with the positions of political parties in all 30 European countries and the interactive 3-D Political Landscape for each country, representing

II.1.1 Activities and Research

PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral democracy in the European Union)

The PIREDEU infrastructure design study was funded by the European Union's 7th Framework Programme from 2008 to January 2011. The design study assessed the feasibility of an upgrade to the European Election Studies that will provide an infrastructure for research into citizenship, political participation, and electoral democracy in the European Union (EU). The project was a joint effort coordinated by the European University Institute in Florence and involved 14 institutions across Europe.

For the first time, a centrally coordinated research project covering all relevant aspects of the electoral process was conducted for the 27 member-countries at the 2009 European Parliament Elections. In investigating the feasibility of an infrastructure for the study of democracy in the EU, data were gathered on:

- The attitudes and behaviour of over 27,000 citizens in 27 countries.
- Information on campaign strategies and issue agendas for 1,350 candidates from 200 political parties across 27 countries.
- The party manifestos of 200 Political Parties contesting the European Parliament Elections.
- Campaign news coverage in the three weeks



prior to the elections from 140 media outlets and almost 50,000 news stories.

- Attributes from 27 different political party, economic and media systems.



The 2009 EES brings this information together for the first time in an integrated database that is available for use by researchers, policymakers, the media, citizens and anyone interested in electoral democracy in Europe. These data would be lost if not captured at the time of an election.

The final conference of the project held in Brussels “Auditing Electoral Democracy in the European Union” (18-19 November 2010) engaged the academic and policy user community with a special focus on the 2009 European Elections. In addition to research papers on topics ranging from voting in European Elections to attitudes towards European integration, three special sessions introduced the integrated PIREDEU database (of voter, candidate, media, manifesto and context data) and provided hands-on training on how to use the database. The papers presented at the conference are available through: www.piredeu.eu/public/FConf2010.asp

Initial results based on the pilot study have already been published in a special issue of *Electoral Studies*, “Electoral Democracy in the European Union”, edited by Sara Hobolt and Mark Franklin. There is also a forthcoming electronic publication, “An Audit of Democracy in the European Union”, edited by Susan Banducci, Mark Franklin, Heiko Giebler, Sara Hobolt, Michael Marsh, Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk. A comprehensive collection of earlier and current research of the European Election Study can be found on the web at www.piredeu.eu/public/Bib_EES.asp

Looking towards the future, a final activity of the PIREDEU project has been to collaborate in founding a Consortium for Electoral Research in Europe (CERES). The ultimate goal of CERES is a permanent infrastructure for electoral research in Europe. The PIREDEU feasibility study has clearly established that an infrastructure to study electoral democracy in Europe cannot focus on European Parliament elections alone, but needs to address the electoral process in Europe at all its different levels and facets. With this in mind, CERES is being established as the way forward to ensure that high-quality data are available for the benefit of researchers and practitioners from all communities.

For more information on the project visit: www.piredeu.eu and the final results brochure at: http://www.piredeu.eu/Database/DOCS/176DP_PIREDEU-Flyer_201011.pdf

For more information on preliminary data visit: www.piredeu.eu/public/Data_Release.asp

The final release of data is available from spring 2011 through GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences.

ELECDEM

The ELECDEM is a project financed by the 7th Framework Program within the Marie Curie Initial Training Network (ITN). It brings together eleven expert teams from nine European countries to provide substantive and methodological training in elections research to a cohort of early stage

and experienced researchers. ELECDDEM takes a comprehensive approach to the study of electoral democracy using cross-nationally comparative databases, content analysis and experiments in order to examine the impact of globalization, technological developments in communication and institutional change on representation and accountability.

As partner of the ELECDDEM Project the EUI is in charge of the “Work Package 11” on *European Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*. It will use data from CSES and EES to address research questions related to the role of information and political communication on democratic representation. Its task can be summarized in five macro areas: 1. Develop literature review, research question and research design; 2. Analyse available data employing advanced quantitative techniques (e.g. multi-level modelling); 3. Issue final report; 4. Produce research paper for submission; 5. Undertake training in key methodologies and complementary skills.

Until August 2011, Danilo Di Mauro was the beneficiary of the Marie Curie Fellowship within the ELECDDEM framework. He was housed within the Public Opinion Observatory of EUDO, where he contributed to the work of the Observatory along with his own research. Further information on <http://www.elecdem.eu/>.

EU Profiler

The EU Profiler www.euprofiler.eu voting advice application (VAA) for the European Parliament elections of June 2009 was the first Europe-wide tool of its kind. The research project was developed under the auspices of EUDO, in a consortium with the Amsterdam-based company Kieskompas and the NCCR Democracy (University of Zurich/Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau)/Politools network. It also involved the active participation of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR – see below). More

than 120 academic collaborators contributed to the project and currently the huge amount of data that was generated by coding the parties and by users filling in the questionnaire is being analysed by the research team. During the period in which the EU Profiler tool was online (from 23 April 2009 until the elections in June) it attracted more than 2.5 million unique visitors and almost one million users who went through the entire system in order to receive voting advice. It was a huge success in terms of user numbers, press coverage and the general publicity it gained. In October 2009 the EU Profiler won the prestigious World e-Democracy Forum Award during a ceremony at the French Parliamentary Assembly.

While the EU Profiler 2009 project has now concluded, its success lives on and a number of further developments of the project are in the pipeline. With the European Parliament elections



coming up in 2014, the idea of a renewed and much more advanced version is currently under discussion.. Furthermore, new forms of cooperation could open up extensive possibilities with regard to Europe-wide public opinion research on many political and social issues and would link up with our aforementioned efforts to institute a continuous monitoring of new public opinion surveys.

Comparative Study on EU Member States Consultations with Civil Society on European Policy Matters

In December 2009 EUDO won a tender from the European Social and Economic Committee (EESC) to produce a comparative study on Member State consultations with civil society on European policy matters. The aim of the study is to map and analyse consultation with civil society at the national level, in order to offer policy advice on how to improve EESC-led consultative processes. The project is led by Dr. Didier Chabanet, who is supported by a project coordinator and a team of appointed country experts consisting of EUI researchers and external fellows trained in the field. The country experts collect and analyse information about the way in which the “voice” of civil society is represented, not only at the national level, but in particular through EESC-led consultative processes. The study, which was concluded in December 2010, contains 27 national reports and a cross-country comparison.

EUDO has published two of the four priorities identified in the study as part of the EUDO Report Series and can be viewed: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Publications.aspx#EUDOREportSeries>

Studies on Internet voting in Estonia

In October 2005 Estonia became the first country in the world to conduct nationwide legally binding Internet elections. This world premiere was successfully followed by three additional elections, one in 2007 and two in 2009, where the number of Internet voters rapidly increased to nearly 10% of the electorate in the 2009 local elections. A EUDO team of international scholars (including collaborators from Caltech, the University of Utah and the Ifo Munich) led by Alexander H. Trechsel has closely observed these events and conducted four consecutive surveys in order to explore the patterns of Internet voting and its effects on political behaviour. The project was co-financed by the Council of Europe and the Estonian Electoral Committee. Following

the 2011 national elections in Estonia, in which almost a quarter of all voters voted over the internet, a large-n survey was fielded by the Observatory, financed by the Estonian Electoral Committee. The report is currently being produced by Kristjan Vassil and Alexander H. Trechsel.

Project “Puzzled by Policy”

The project started in October 2010 within the framework of the European Commission’s “Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Programme”, ICT Policy Support Programme (Objective Theme 3: ICT for governance). It aims at informing, consulting, and empowering citizens in immigration policy-making in the EU by providing high-quality information on policy developments and by bringing together citizens and key policy actors to exchange ideas and policy proposals. The Observatory forms part of a larger consortium that is comprised of 12 partners in 9 EU member-states, including - but not limited to - academic institutions, municipalities, and private partners in software research and development.

Since the launch of “Puzzled by Policy”, EUDO has provided scientific backbone to the project. The experiences gained from the design and implementation of the EU Profiler have been key to the construction of the unique “Puzzled by Policy” Profiler and on-line platform, an EU-wide tool for engaging citizens and policy actors in immigration policy-making at the EU level and in four trial EU member-states (Spain, Italy, Greece and Hungary). Moreover, EUDO draws upon the long-standing, multi-disciplinary expertise in immigration policy issues from the RSCAS and from the EUI more generally. In particular, the “Puzzled by Policy” team at EUDO has been responsible for the conceptualization of immigration policy issues, the mapping of policy developments at the EU and national levels, the detailed documentation of policy positions and proposals of key policy stakeholders, not to mention the design of the “Puzzled by Policy” Profiler. The last includes a questionnaire on current issues that cover a whole range of immigration policy



agendas in the EU and its member-states, including the movement of highly-skilled workers and students, family reunification, immigrant integration, temporary and seasonal migration, and irregular and return migration.

EUDO has provided the consortium with three high-quality internal reports. The first two, “Immigration in the EU: policies and politics” and “Data analysis on political positions & public opinion in Europe”, were submitted in January 2011 whereas the third and most recent report on the conceptualisation of the Puzzled by Policy Profiler was completed in June 2011. EUDO was also host to the highly successful second meeting of the “Puzzled by Policy” consortium in Florence on 25-26 January 2011. In June 2011, a EUDO del-

egation represented the EUI in the third meeting of the consortium partners in Tenerife, Spain. In addition, the project was presented to the Spanish State Secretary on Immigration issues at the EUI in July 2011. On 2-3 November 2011, “Puzzled by Policy” will be presented at the International Joint Workshop on Immigrant Inclusion by e-Participation, which will take place in Helsinki.

In the coming months, EUDO will be responsible for the supply of information that will stir the debate on the “Puzzled by Policy” platform and for the collection and analysis of the Policy Profiler data. Furthermore, EUDO will continue to keep the consortium up-to-date concerning on-going changes in national immigration policies in the EU and its member-states. All this information will feed the Puzzled by Policy platform, which will be launched in January 2012. The platform will take the form of a website that will integrate the Policy Profiler and an online debate tool, provide links to relevant decision-makers and policy information at both the national and EU levels and enable citizens to evaluate policy positions.

EUDO Spotlight

Spotlight is a new form of publication within the framework of the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media. It focuses on public attitudes towards the most recent issues at stake in the European political agenda, showing how they affect European democracy. Political issues such as the economic crisis, migration, or climate change – just to quote some well-known up-to-date issues – represent new challenges for the European institutions both in terms of policy making and public opinion demands. *How are these issues perceived by European citizens? To what extent do they influence their attitudes towards the European Union, its decision-making capacity and its legitimacy?* These questions are at the core of the Spotlight publications. They target two main audiences: 1) a wide category of people interested in politics, including stakeholders, journalists, politicians, public officials, students and, in general, all citizens interested in public opinion; 2) social scientists who study public opinion

and European democracy. In order to reach the first target, Spotlight will present periodic reports on mainstream issues of public opinion debates, showing their consequences on attitudes towards Europe and the EU institutions. A synthetic (usually 4-5 pages) and clear writing style is preferred to technical language, using immediately understandable graphical tools and tables to illustrate the quantitative results. Additionally, the spotlight project will gradually develop its contribution for the scientific community by providing a software-based collection of questions from the Eurobarometer surveys – and later on including all possible related surveys – divided by issues. This should provide a comprehensive data pool, organized by topic. Using it, every researcher can analyse variables from different databases both in a diachronic and a spatial perspective.

Spotlight's first report was presented at the joint conference of the EUDO and PIREDEU project in Brussels on 18th and 19th November 2010. It focused on the effects of the economic crisis on support for European institutions. A second issue – about the Europeanization of public economical views – was produced in February 2011.

Spotlight's future outlooks will include the intensification of publication frequency as well as the creation of an editorial board. This team of researchers will coordinate with TNS Public Opinion in order to provide reports on the most up-to-date Eurobarometer survey.

II.1.2 Events

On 14 and 15 May 2011, the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media, organised the second leg of a double-conference on “**Internet, Voting and Democracy**” together with Bernie Grofman from the Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine. This two-day conference took place at Laguna Beach in California and attracted leading academics from both continents in the field of internet voting and, therefore, provided great impetus for shared experiences and discussions on the topic.

On 26-28 September 2011, Alexander Trechsel (Director of EUDO) and Kristjan Vassil (EUDO Public Opinion Researcher) attended the “**5th International Conference on Theory and Practice of Electronic Governance (ICEGOV2011)**”, which took place in Tallinn, Estonia. The conference took place in the framework of Nordic IT Week and brought together over 450 practitioners, developers and researchers from government, local municipalities, academia, industry and civil society from approximately 60 countries from all over the World. Alexander Trechsel and Kristjan Vassil were invited to give the Keynote speech for the panel on “Future Perspectives” as well as presenting the on-going research project on Estonian internet voting.

II.1.3 Outlook 2012

In 2012 the Observatory will continue to focus on the refinement and discussion of data analysis in a continuous dialogue between academia and the policy-making community. The output will mainly concern the enormous amount of data gathered by PIREDEU and EU Profiler. In

Spotlight on...

On the web: <http://eudo-publicopinion.eu.eu>



EUDO Spotlight 2010/01 - November 2010

The Economic Crisis and Public Opinion About Europe

Authors: *Marta Fraile and Danilo Di Mauro*

At the end of 2006, the “housing bubble” in the United States showed the weakness of the world financial system, bringing to the global economy what some commentators consider to be the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The IMF estimated that the main US and European banks would lose approximately \$2.8 trillion, during the period 2007 - 2010, on toxic assets and from bad loans.¹ But this is only the tip of an iceberg, since almost every sector of the global economy was affected by the crisis and governments were forced to invest billion of dollars in emergency bailouts. Very quickly, the crisis started having negative effects on households’ economic situation. In the US, many homeowners found that their houses had lost 20-30% of their value; in Europe employment contracted by 2.5% in 2009 and a further 1.5% in 2010.² The unemployment rate was forecast to increase to some 11% in the European Union (EU) by 2010, affecting millions of households and changing public attitudes toward governments’ and European institutions’ performance.

This report explores how the economic crisis affected public attitudes toward Europe. It shows how opinions about the economic situation changed along with support for the European Union and, particularly, how these changes are related.

According to WorldPublicOpinion.org,³ a majority of the polled public faults their governments for not doing enough to remedy the economic crisis, particularly in European countries. 70% of respondents in France and Germany (60% in UK) agree with the creation of a global financial overseer, while a large majority of people blame the bankers for the crisis.⁴

Additionally, the Eurobarometer series from May 2007 to July 2009 shows a general trend towards pessimism regarding the state of the economy. Both negative perceptions about the current economic situation and pessimistic economic expectations for the near future have greatly increased during the 2007 to 2009 period. Moreover, the percentage of people predicting a worse situation for their national economy in the next twelve months rose from 30% in 2007 to 60% at the beginning of 2009 (Table 1). An impressive percentage of respondents perceive the present as a bad moment for both their national economies and also for the European economy. In 2007 national and European economies were seen as being



Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies



European University Institute



PUBLIC OPINION



EUDO

The Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media focuses on the analysis of the attitudes and preferences of electorates, the media and elites.

The Observatory is part of the European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO), which is an independent and interdisciplinary academic organization fully-integrated within the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS).

EUDO Public Opinion
<http://eudo-publicopinion.eu.eu>
 Via delle Fontanelle 19
 50014 Fiesole - Italy
 Contacts:
 EUDOsecr@eu.eu

addition to ongoing activities, several additional research activities will be undertaken in order to further analyse the obtained data in concrete terms, to compare it to other existing data sets and to work together with similar projects focusing on European public opinion. Here, the EUDO Data Centre will play a crucial role and will offer academics and citizens alike access and the possibility of using data in an innovative way. Besides, the above-mentioned consultations and cooperation projects with official EU bodies focusing on public opinion will be taken further in 2012.

The Observatory will also deepen its expertise in Internet voting and hopes to conduct an in-depth analysis of the 2011 national elections in Estonia. To this end we are already in contact with the Estonian National Election Committee. Producing another study on e-voting in Estonia (a EUDO team of international scholars led by Alexander H. Trechsel has already conducted four consecutive surveys in order to explore the patterns of Internet voting and its effects on political behaviour in Estonia) would complete our efforts in this regard and would allow us to produce a unique and in-depth analysis of this voting channel and linked behavioural developments in Estonia, in terms of party and electorate, and to draw more general conclusions for other countries and modern democratic means in general.

In addition, we plan the publication of various working papers, articles and books and the organisation of several seminars, workshops and conferences.

Finally, PIREDEU and the financial support from the EU's 7th Framework Programme will terminate in early 2011. As a result, EUDO and the European Election Studies (EES/PIREDEU) will have to invest resources so as to sustain the network and the European Election Study in 2014. Initial steps will be taken for the preparation of a new project application. At the same time, efforts are made to establish a Consortium for European Research on Elections (CERES) which should include the EES and national election studies in Europe. This consortium, formally brought to life at the 2011 ECPR General Conference in Reykja-

vik in August 2011, is intended, amongst other things, as a springboard from which to apply for EU infrastructure funding. It might also provide a clearing house for ideas and an inventory of "best practices". It would offer help and expertise to those who do not yet have functional national election studies. And, finally, it is possible that such a consortium might serve as a venue for discussing strategies for investigating the quality of democracy in Europe, and for providing the means to implement these.

Also, in 2012 EUDO will be playing a coordinating role and will serve as the major platform for the European Social Survey Module on attitudes towards democracy. The new module of the European Social Survey aims at collecting data on Europeans' understandings and evaluations of democracy, a field which has until now been understudied in the European context. The project has been developed in collaboration with scholars from eight different universities. Currently the new module is being piloted, and members of the team will release the data by the end of 2012. EUDO will convene a meeting in 2012 to coordinate the analysis and to publish the data.

II.2 EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation

PARTIES & REPRESENTATION



Following the tragic and untimely death of Professor Peter Mair (Professor of Comparative Politics and former Head of the Department of Political and Social Sciences) the other co-founder of the observatory, prof. Luciano Bardi (Professor of Political Science at the University of Pisa and Part-time

Professor at the RSCAS-EUI), is currently the only director of the Observatory.

The aim of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR) is to study to European parties in all their dimensions, analysing their evolving organisation and pattern of competition at EU level, as well as their changing role and representative capacity at national and sub-national levels.

The creation of Europarties, and the development of a full-blown EU party system, has been widely regarded as a necessary step toward the creation of a fully democratic and accountable EU political system.

The achievement of this objective would require some profound changes in the organisation of European parties, with a shift from the current condition of independent national parties organised on different levels (national parties, party groups in the European Parliament, and transnational federations) to a system where nearly-homogenous supranational organisations start to compete at the supranational level for control of the EU political offices and agenda.

Europarties could provide a much stronger link between European civil society and the EU supranational institutions, allowing a more effective transfer of preferences and policy priorities from the citizens to the EU legislative system.

The importance of European parties has been sanctioned by the Statute for Political Parties at

the European Level (approved by the European Parliament in November 2003), a document that defines their role as well as the requirements needed for their EU financing.

The creation of effective mechanisms for multi-level coordination between national parties and their Europarty counterparts is all the more important in view of the great potential of party groups in the European Parliament, as demonstrated by their growing voting cohesiveness and increasing inclusiveness.

As several empirical analyses have shown, plenary votes in the European Parliament occur along party lines on a left-right axis, while national party delegations have aggregated into fewer and progressively larger groups, significantly reducing parliamentary fragmentation. In addition, the new powers attributed to the European Parliament with the Lisbon Treaty should further increase the incentives for national parties to develop even greater voting cohesion and stronger organisational structures at European level. For the first time, the informal role played by Europarties in the appointment of the President of the European Council and of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy has the potential to establish a strong partisan link between the EU's supranational legislature and its intergovernmental institutions.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines (political science, law and history) have produced a large amount of research and empirical data on political parties and representation in Europe, both at the national and at the supra-national level. Thanks to a number of insightful works in this area, and to the wealth of empirical evidence they have produced, we now have a substantive understanding of the internal organization of European political parties, of their patterns of interaction at the national and EU level, and of their changing representative capacity in contemporary democracies.

All of these research efforts, however, have been largely uncoordinated, resulting in a dispersal of datasets and electronic repositories across a number of different research institutions, which are

sometimes difficult to access (e.g. non-digitalized data, or data whose access is restricted due to copyright issues or to specific access policies of the hosting institution). This has made the work of comparative researchers difficult to say the least.

Apart from the production and dissemination of data on European parties, the Observatory promotes the development of research projects in new and emerging dimensions of political representation in Europe, such as the Europeanisation of party organisations and the challenge of multi-level politics, the use of new media in electoral campaigns and the declining importance of party membership; the legalisation and constitutionalisation of political parties in European democracies, the weakening ties between parties and civil society, and the status and standing of party government, including the importance of party patronage and public appointments.

OPPR activities coordinated by a research assistant (Enrico Calossi) and several academic collaborators have been involved in the research activities of the OPPR, both internal and external to the EUI, and other scholars work together with the observatory. In 2011 Wojciech Gagattek (University of Warsaw) and Eugenio Pizzimenti (University of Pisa) have been involved in such activities.

The Observatory aims to become the principal online repository for key datasets and primary sources on the development of Europarties and party groups in the European Parliament, as well as large cross-national research projects on party politics. To achieve this goal, the website needs to improve itself still more. OPPR will also continue its regular engagement with EU policy-makers, through a series of Guest Lectures by practitioners at the EUI, as well as the organisation of a conference with the representatives of the Euro Foundations.

II.2.1 Activities and Research

This year has been mainly devoted to the dissemination of results through participation in and the organisation of seminars and conferences and



through the publication of several articles and books.

OPPR, thanks to the collaboration of the EUI researchers David Willumsen and Jorge Fernandes, sponsored and co-organised the Workshop on “The Politics of Representation “ held in Florence on 24-25 May 2011 at the European University Institute. On 9 June within the Max Weber June Conference at the EUI and under the organization of Galina Zapryanova and Kyriaki Nanou, OPPR co-sponsored with EUDO the workshop on “European Integration, Political Parties, and Public Opinion”. On 8-10 September the Panel “Representation and Political Parties in the European Union”, organized by OPPR and chaired by Luciano Bardi and Enrico Calossi, was hosted by the Annual Conference of the Italian Political Science Association in Palermo (Italy).

Moreover OPPR members participated in the following other conferences: Peter Mair gave a lecture on “Political Parties and Government “ at the annual doctoral conference of the Central European University in Budapest on 29 April. Wojciech Gagattek participated in the “EU Integration Forum “, organised in Essen (Germany) by the Robert Bosch Stiftung on 19- 20 September. Wojciech Gagattek also gave a speech at the Conference “Dimension Seminar on the Role of Political Parties in the Political Process” organised by the 2011 Lithuanian Chairmanship of the

OSCE and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw on 18 and 20 of May.

Publications have been another way to disseminate the results of the observatory. Amongst the main ones we want to mention the articles: **"Old Ghosts in New Sheets: European Populist Parties and Foreign Policy"** in the *Centre for European Studies* by Angelos Chrysosgelos; **"Going, going,...gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe"** in the *European Journal of Political Research* by Peter Mair (with Ingrid Van Biezen and Thomas Poguntke); **"Recent advances towards veritable European political parties"** in the EUI Working Papers series by Wilhelm Lehmann; **"Finanziamento pubblico e mutamenti organizzativi nei partiti italiani"** [Party Financing and Party Organisational Change: the Case of Italy] in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* by Eugenio Pizzimenti (with Piero Ignazi); **"Bini Smaghi vs. the Parties: Representative Government and Institutional Constraints"** by Peter Mair in the EUI Working Papers series.

Moreover, Enrico Calossi, published his book **"Organizzazione e funzioni degli Europartiti. Il Caso di Sinistra Europea"** [Organization and Functions of Europarties. The Case of European Left], PLUS, Pisa.

II.2.2 Outlook for 2012

In 2011, OPPr has begun negotiations with research institutes and individual academics to obtain, manage, and store their data on party politics at the European level, with a view to making these data publicly available via the EUDO website. The inclusion of primary documents and large datasets will require a substantial redevelopment of our website, to be carried out primarily by the EUDO Research Assistant. The aim is to develop a website that is easily accessible, highly visible, and fully personalised to OPPr objectives.

The Observatory will continue its series of guest lectures by European policy-makers in 2012, inviting leading representatives from Europarties and political groups in the European Parliament.

The Observatory intends to exploit its unique capabilities to make further funding applications, in full collaboration with its fellow EUDO Observatories and the Robert Schuman Centre.

OPPr is actively seeking ways to make the archives of Europarties and their parliamentary groups more easily accessible to the academic and policy community, and is contacting European policy-makers to envisage ways in which this goal could be realised and connected to the ongoing work of the Historical Archives of the EU, also situated in the EUI.

The Observatory will continue its efforts to negotiate with the European Political Parties about the possibility of transferring (or even copying) their archives to the EUI.

For early 2012 a Conference will be held in the EUI hosting the representatives of all the Foundations at the European Level. The title and argument of such a Conference will be "The role played by EU Party Foundations in helping the structuring of a EU transnational party system".

In 2011-2012 some research projects have already been or will be submitted to certain institutions and research centres. In particular:

1. **"Parties as multi-level campaign organizations"**. This can be considered as the infrastructural project of the OPPr. For many years European Elections have been considered in the literature as second order elections but this hypothesis has never been tested. The project promises to generate the data for such a test.

This project aims to build an infrastructure for the continuous monitoring of the degree of Europeanisation of the elections to the European Parliament and national parliaments across a complete five-year cycle. Through a set of specific indicators, this study will explore the dynamics of political campaigning at both national and European levels in order to better understand the degree to which distinctly European themes are advanced by political parties as they enter the two sets (European and national) of electoral contests. As the first step, the OPPr will prepare a detailed report on electoral campaigns at EU level. This will form

the background for the work of an international research team, comprising national experts in the field, who will then observe and report on the parties' campaigns in elections across a five year period (2012-2016). We think the best way to achieve our research interests would be to cover all the 27 EU member states and the current applicants, but concentrating only on some two-thirds of the EU member states could be also profitable

Specifically this research will seek to answer several questions: i) What are the themes developed by the parties in national and European campaigns, and to what extent are these Europeanised? ii) Do parties develop different styles of campaign in European and national elections, and, if so, what is the impact of these differences? iii) How do parties organize the different campaigns? What kind of means and techniques do they employ in national contests and in European contests, and how does this impact on the status of the European elections in particular? iv) How are the candidates selected in both contests? v) Who and what is being targeted by the different campaigns? vi) What is the role of European political parties in the elections to the EP, and what, if any, role is given to European party affiliations in elections to the national parliaments?

2. ***“Trans-nationalisation of EU politics”***. This research project will be launched with the aim of receiving some preliminary feedback during the EU Foundations conference. In particular this project will be divided into two parts. The first one will be devoted to the plausibility of Duff's draft on the possible standardization of the national electoral systems for the European elections. This can be considered as a first step towards the concrete trans-nationalization of EU politics. The second part of the project will be devoted to identifying the current relevant social and political cleavages for each member state. The rationale for this is that only common and shared cleavages can make trans-nationalisation really possible.

3. ***“Relations between Political Parties at the European Level and National Parties of Associate Countries”***. Associate countries have always received particular attention from European



national governments and also from non-governmental organizations. In particular, as happened in the past, European national parties have helped, with resources and legitimization, sister parties in neighboring countries. Nowadays, taking into consideration the increasing institutionalization and resources of PELs, such a role is also played by Europarties. This project targets the exploration of the current relations between PELs and sister parties in the associate countries.

4. ***“Relations between Political Parties at the European Level and Turkish Parties”***. This can be considered as an extension of the previous project. We have already established links with the Ege University (Turkey), with the aim of preparing a joint project for submission to the Turkish Education Minister.

5. ***“Party leadership selection in national parties”***. In our 2010 report “How to Create a Transnational Party System” we devoted an entire chapter to European elections candidate selection procedures. We discovered huge variations amongst national parties even of the same spiritual and political family. We assume that for the party leadership selection procedures it will be possible to find the same differences and similarities.

II.3. EUDO Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms



The Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms is devoted to the analysis of institutional reforms and adaptations in the current institutional design of the EU and aims at assessing whether and to what extent these institu-

tional reforms and adaptations are likely to foster the prospects for an increased popular acceptance and legitimacy of the Union. The Observatory is co-directed by Adrienne Héritier (Joint Chair of Comparative and European Public Policy at the EUI/RSCAS) and Bruno de Witte (Professor of European Law at Maastricht University) and its activities were organised by Chiara Steindler (EUDO Research Assistant) until August 2011.

It is the objective of this Observatory to systematically describe institutional democratic reforms below the Treaty level, as with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, there will be no Treaty amendments for the foreseeable future. It is, therefore, all the more important to observe the reforms and changes in decision-making rules that have, in part, been designed at the sub-treaty level. But it is also important to track changes in institutional democratic rules that have emerged in the course of the application of existing treaty rules and that constitute a change in institutional democratic rules.

The Observatory intends to describe such changes between and among the European Parliament, the national Parliaments, the Commission and the Council of Ministers. The Observatory also intends to describe reform and changes in the institutional procedural rules of the above mentioned European Institutions and national Parliaments with respect to European legislation.

Moreover, this Observatory will assess changes in democratic decision-making procedures from individual policy areas in order to discover whether changes occur and whether they are of importance for other policy areas.

The Observatory aims at systematically documenting and describing such changes in order to get a complete picture of on-going reforms and changes in democratic decision-making rules at the sub-treaty level. The documentation will then be made available on the website.

II.3.1 Activities and Research

In February 2011 the Observatory published a Report entitled: “**EUDO Report on the institutional changes in the Lisbon Treaty relevant to democratic legitimization**” by Juan Mayoral. The report describes the institutional changes of the Lisbon Treaty designed to improve the democratic government of the EU. The study analyzes, on the one hand, how these changes affect the role of institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council of the European Union and the National Parliaments and, on the other, if and how they are likely to increase the participation of the European civil society, in order to improve the democratic legitimacy of the EU. Furthermore, Adrienne Héritier and her





co-authors', Catherine Moury, Carina Bischoff and Carl-Fredrik Bergstrom, book on *Contested Competences in the European Union – The Parliament in Comitology* was accepted for publication by Oxford University Press (forthcoming 2012); and an article co-authored with Christine Reh, Edoardo Bressanelli and Christel Koop on the transformation of codecision through early agreements was accepted for publication by *Comparative Political Studies* (forthcoming 2013). European institutions of decision-making once established have been subject to a process of continuous change often implying a redistribution of power between the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament and the Commission. The Parliament especially has gained power in legislation, but also in controlling the Commission's implementing powers (comitology). These changes have occurred in the context of formal Treaty changes, but also subsequently in the course of the application of Treaty rules. Why and how does this happen and what are its impacts? The above mentioned article and book by Adrienne Héritier explain how institutional rules change *after* they have been established in two important areas of European decision-making, codecision and comitology. They show how legislation under codecision was transformed into fast-track-legislation and why the Parliament gradually – between treaty reforms – gained more institutional power in comitology. The rational choice institutionalist explanation focuses on the efficiency increasing/transaction cost saving aspects of interstitial institutional change, but also on the question of who

gains and who loses in power under specific rules and how power may subsequently be shifted. The hypotheses derived from the theoretical considerations are subject to empirical (dis)confirmation on the basis of quantitative and qualitative empirical data collected on codecision and delegation over time.

The Observatory also **published on its website two sets of data**: The first, titled "Data on Delegation" aims at offering information on the transformation of delegation in the European Union, focusing on a specific aspect: that of the Council of Ministers assigning decision-making powers to the Commission when implementing Community legislation in comitology and the role of the European Parliament (EP) in comitology under the codecision procedure. The second is a collection of documents on codecision that offer information on the transformation of the codecision procedure in the European Union during the last decade.

II.3.2 Events

Joint workshop: 'Treaty Reform Beyond Lisbon'

The aim of this workshop, convened by Bruno De Witte and Giuseppe Martinico, was to explore the likelihood that the Lisbon Treaty will be followed by further treaty revisions, either of a mega-constitutional nature, or of a more limited piecemeal nature. The workshop also discussed

the ongoing institutional changes which currently take place, now that the reforms contained in the Lisbon Treaty enter into full operation. The workshop, which took place on 18 March 2011, was organized jointly by the Observatory, the Center for Studies on Federalism of Turin, STALS (Sant'Anna Legal Studies) of Pisa, and the Max Weber Programme (EUI). It was funded entirely from outside sources.

Judicial activism at the Court of Justice, Causes, Responses and Solutions

On 10-11 October 2011, Bruno De Witte together with M. Dawson and E. Muir organised a conference at the faculty of Law in Maastricht with the support of the Ius Commune Research School, the European Union Democracy Observatory at the European University Institute and the Universiteitsfonds Limburg.

The immediate context for the conference was the rise, in the last years (see e.g. Gerken & Herzog 2008), of concerns among national authorities and judiciaries, and within European civil society, about the judicial activism of the European Court of Justice. While an intense debate has raged within EU legal academia about the validity of this claim, this conference aimed to address its causes, and any responses or solutions. What legal and political factors feed the accusation of judicial activism, how do political and civil society actors respond to it, and what solutions are there to perceived problems of judicial activism?

II.3.3 Outlook for 2012

In 2012, Bruno De Witte intends to conduct further research activities on the legal dimension of the institutional evolution of the EU, in particular: the institutional role of the Court of Justice of the EU, the constitutional questions raised by the economic governance reforms of the EU, and the division of competences between the EU and its member states.

Adrienne Héritier is planning to investigate the role of inter-institutional agreements in the specification of formal changes of decision-making rules in the European Union.

Inter-institutional agreements reflect the way that the Commission, Council and Parliament plan to interact in areas of joint decision-making in all areas. They are important indicators of how the Treaty rules are substantiated and implemented. Based on the results of the research project, the publication of various working papers and articles is planned. In addition, the organisation of a number of seminars and workshops is underway.

II.4. EUDO Observatory on Citizenship



The EUDO Observatory on Citizenship provides the most comprehensive source of information on the acquisition and loss of citizenship in Europe for policy makers, NGOs and academic researchers. It identifies major trends and

problems in citizenship policies as a basis for informed policies and community action. Its website hosts a number of databases on domestic and international legal norms, naturalisation statistics, a comprehensive bibliography, a forum with scholarly debates on current citizenship trends, media news on matters of citizenship policy and various other resources for research and policy-making.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP is built on a network of experts for each of the countries covered, and co-directed by Rainer Bauböck (EUI, Department of Political and Social Sciences) and Jo Shaw (University of Edinburgh Law School). The consortium in charge of coordinating the Observatory development involves five partner institutions: the Central European University (Budapest, Hungary), the European University Institute (Florence, Italy), University College Dublin (Ireland), the University of Edinburgh (Scotland) and Maastricht University (Netherlands).

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP mission is to contribute to the understanding of current trends in citizenship policies in the European Union and neighbouring countries. Although the Observatory does not promote specific policy reforms, it intends to stimulate debates about shared principles and minimum standards among countries whose citizenship laws and policies are linked to each other through the common citizenship of the European Union or through migration flows. EUDO CITIZENSHIP aims to collect documentation and data, to provide basic and applied research reports for EU institutions, and to foster

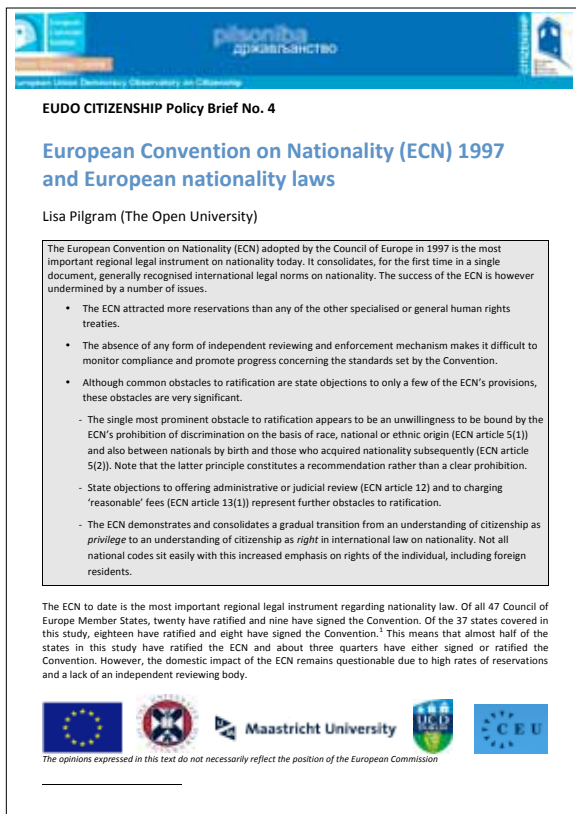
dialogue between policy-makers, academics, NGOs and citizens.

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory consists of two main components: Citizenship Analysis and Citizenship Data.

The Citizenship Analysis section includes:

- The country profiles database, which collects expert reports on the history and current citizenship legislation in each country;
- A section on European Union citizenship providing information on legal norms, court decisions and policy documents concerning EU citizenship;
- A section on comparative analyses, which gathers a series of comparative reports commissioned by EUDO CITIZENSHIP;
- A news section, which offers a selection of media reports and news summaries on significant legislative changes, courts decisions and policy developments concerning citizenship in Europe and beyond;
- The citizenship forum, an online platform where users can submit written comments. It aims at fostering controversies about research hypotheses, findings and proposals for reform
- The video comments section with commentaries by experts and video documentation of EUDO CITIZENSHIP conferences and workshops.
- The working papers series with previously unpublished original manuscripts on topics of citizenship laws and policies, and collections of edited contributions to forum debates;
- The policy briefs section, which gathers the policy briefs produced with EUDO CITIZENSHIP data.

The Citizenship Data section provides data on citizenship loss and acquisition, and includes the following research tools:



- The national citizenship laws database collects current and past nationality laws and other relevant texts such as constitutional provisions;
- The international legal norms database provides access to international legal documents, and information on which countries adhere to which international legal norms;
- The citizenship case law database provides English summaries and full original language texts of important national and international court decisions concerning matters of citizenship and can be searched by country, year, institution or keyword;
- The databases on modes of acquisition and modes of loss of citizenship allow scholars to create customised comparative overviews for specific ways of acquiring and losing citizenship;
- Citizenship statistics allow researchers to create customised statistical tables by country, year, or specific mode of acquisition;

- Citizenship links is a database of websites of national, European and international organisations working on citizenship issues;
- The citizenship bibliography provides a searchable bibliography of more than 4,500 titles on matters of citizenship and nationality laws.
- The citizenship glossary provides definitions and explanations of frequently used concepts and technical terms in our web-based observatory.

Until June 2010 core financing for EUDO CITIZENSHIP was provided by the European Commission's European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals through the Access to Citizenship in Europe (EUCITAC) project. EUCITAC funding covered comprehensive analyses of citizenship in 33 countries. These are the 27 member states of the EU and 6 accession states or EEA countries (Croatia, Turkey, Moldova, Switzerland, Norway and Iceland). Apart from co-financing by the EUI Research Council's funding for the larger EUDO project, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has also mobilized various other sources of funding that have been used for a gradual geographic expansion of the observatory to cover other countries in the EU neighbourhood. These funds come from the British Academy project CITMODES (Citizenship in modern European states), which is co-directed by Jo Shaw and Rainer Bauböck, the CITSEE project on the Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia, funded by an Advanced Researchers Grant of the European Research Council for Jo Shaw, and the 2006 Latsis Prize of the European Science Foundation awarded to Rainer Bauböck.

The Observatory has also been supported by the IMISCOE network of excellence on International Migration, Integration and Cohesion in Europe, and has been involved in several meetings of the network.



II.4.1 Activities and Research

EUDO CITIZENSHIP incorporates and updates the analyses of earlier comparative projects on citizenship in the 15 pre-2004 EU member states (the NATAC project) and in 12 new and accession countries (the CPNEU project), both coordinated by Rainer Bauböck, the results of which were published with Amsterdam University Press ('The Acquisition and Loss of Nationality in 15 European States', published in 2 volumes in 2006, and 'Citizenship Policies in the New Europe', published in a second enlarged edition in 2009).

EUDO CITIZENSHIP aims at stimulating new independent research projects on citizenship. A call for papers was launched in June 2009 and four papers were selected for presentation at the second plenary network conference in January 2010. New PhD projects were started based on the data that EUDO CITIZENSHIP made available. EUDO CITIZENSHIP and its precursor projects have also provided essential input and advice for efforts to construct indices that measure the accessibility of citizenship in Europe and trends of liberalisation and convergence in various aspects of citizenship laws. The monograph by Marc Morjé Howard ('The Politics of Citizenship in Europe', Cambridge University Press, 2009), and the MIPEX platform (index on Migrant Integration Policy in Europe), coordinated by the Migration Policy Group, make extensive use of data and other inputs from our research.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP also commissioned specific comparative research carried out by experts within the network and published on the Observatory's website. The projects currently published on the website address the following topics: the comparative analysis of citizenship loss, the theory and politics of *ius soli*, practices and patterns of naturalisation in Europe, and reports on citizenship policy-making in Portugal, Italy, Spain and Greece, which constitute the backbone for a forthcoming comparative report on the Mediterranean region. Published reports include the politics of external kin-state citizenship in East Central Europe, trends and regulations in Europe on birthright citizenship, and the impact



of EU citizenship and international law on member state citizenship laws.

Thematic Comparative Reports have also been condensed into EUDO CITIZENSHIP policy briefs that address a non-academic audience and present our findings in an easily digestible and visually attractive format and contain policy recommendations. Alongside a general summary of our research in the EUDO CITIZENSHIP brochure, policy briefs on *ius soli*, loss of citizenship, naturalisation and the European Convention on Nationality have been published.

Apart from the comparative reports, there are two other main research outputs of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory: Country Reports and Working Papers. EUDO CITIZENSHIP Country Reports are published in the Robert Schuman Centre/EUDO Citizenship Observatory Working Papers Series, both in printed and electronic form. At the time of printing this brochure, 43 country profiles are available on the website. Most country reports published in 2009 were revised and updated in spring 2010.

In 2010-2011 the geographic scope of the observatory was enlarged to include full country profiles for Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Switzerland and Ukraine. New country profiles for Azerbaijan, Georgia, Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Russia are currently being completed.

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Working Papers series is generally open for unsolicited submissions. However, we also publish the edited collections of contributions to the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Forum, which is dedicated to debating controversial issues in the field of citizenship policy. Since May 2010, EUDO CITIZENSHIP published 13 Working Papers in a special series of the EUI Robert Schuman Centre. Four Working Papers document EUDO CITIZENSHIP Forum debates: *Which indicators are most useful for comparing citizenship policies?*, edited by Rainer Bauböck and Marc Helbling; *How liberal are citizenship tests?*, edited by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke; *Dual citizenship for transborder minorities? How to respond to the Hungarian-Slovak tit-for-tat*, edited by Rainer Bauböck; and *Is there (still) an East-West divide in the conception of citizenship in Europe?*, edited by André Liebich and Rainer Bauböck. Other titles include: *Do legal regulations hinder naturalisation? Citizenship policies and naturalisation rates in Europe* by David Reichel; *Immigration and Citizenship Law in the Maghreb: Turning Aliens into Citizens* by Delphin Perrin; *Pre-Accession Changes to Residence-based Naturalisation Requirements in Ten New EU Member States* by Katja Swider; *Mevrouw de Jong Gaat Eten: EU Citizenship and the Culture of Prejudice* by Dmitry Kochenov.

II.4.2 Events and Dissemination Activities

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory has been presented at several international expert meetings and conferences through plenary lectures, papers or special panels, including the conferences “Questioning Citizenship: Political Discourse, Norms and History in Comparative Perspectives” (Athens, 15-16 October 2010), The 2010 annual conference of the Swiss Federal Commission on Migration Issues (4 November 2010), the Fourth Conference on Nationality of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg 17 December 2010), the Council for European Studies Conference in Barcelona (20-22 June 2011), the ECPR general conference in Reykjavik (25-27 August 2011), the ESA conference in Geneva (7-10 September 2011); the Migration, Citizenship and Political Participation (MIGCITPOL) workshop (9 September 2011) and several other academic conferences and meetings.

II.4.3 Outlook for 2012

From October 2011 EUDO CITIZENSHIP will start to expand its thematic scope by developing a series of citizenship indicators, by building a special database on legal provisions concerning statelessness and by complementing its existing databases on access to citizenship status with new ones on access to electoral rights.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been funded by the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals – DG Home Affairs to implement its new research project *Access to citizenship and its impact on immigrant integration* (ACIT). The five consortium partners – the European University Institute, the Migration Policy Group (Brussels), University College Dublin, University of Edinburgh, and Maastricht University - will explore the links between acquisition of nationality and the integration processes to encourage effective measures for facilitating immigrants’ access to citizenship in the EU.

In its 18-month programme, ACIT will develop four sets of citizenship indicators on citizenship laws, implementation, acquisition rates, and their impact on integration in all 27 EU Member States and accession candidate and EEA countries (Croatia, Iceland, FYROM Macedonia, Norway, Switzerland, and Turkey). 10 EU Member States (Austria, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom) will be taken as case studies, leading to national stakeholder handbooks. Deliberative national stakeholder dialogues will be organised by sub-contracted NGO/think-tank partners in these 10 countries (in Vienna, Tallinn, Paris, Berlin, Budapest, Dublin, Rome, Lisbon, Barcelona and London), which include those with the largest immigrant and foreign populations, diverse citizenship laws, high and low acquisition rates.

ACIT will collect and compare available national and international evidence on how acquiring citizenship enhances immigrants’ participation in society and the democratic process. It will analyse indicators to reveal the hidden links between citizenship and integration policies within EU competence, including anti-discrimination, family reunion and long-term residence. ACIT will also highlight changes in citizenship laws and implementation that have improved integration in practice and it will provide policy recommendations to reinforce EU indicators on active citizenship and to develop an EU module on “Citizenship and Integration”.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP, represented by Maastricht University, will take part in a joint initiative with UNHCR to establish a global analytical nationality law database. The establishment of the European component of the database will be the initial project, and will be developed in such a way as to allow for geographical expansion in the future. The initial focus of the project will be on assessing the compliance of these laws with ten relevant international legal standards relating to statelessness using pre-determined assessment criteria. The project will lead to a comparative report on provisions in nationality legislation in Europe for the prevention and reduction of statelessness.

In 2012, EUDO CITIZENSHIP aims at further expanding the thematic scope of the observatory to external electoral rights for non-resident citizens (in the EU and in third countries), internal electoral rights for non-citizen residents and the question of how electoral rights influence the evolution and perception of EU citizenship. There are three reasons for addressing this additional topic: first, the conceptual core of citizenship is generally understood to cover both the legal status of nationality and political participation rights; second, analysing access to nationality as well as to electoral rights with the same methodology and in integrated databases will enable richer comparative analyses of trends and of correlations between both dimensions of citizenship; third, documenting electoral rights in the EU will create stronger synergies with the other three EUDO Observatories that cover electoral participation, electoral competition and the institutional design of representative institutions in the EU. A paper outlining the purpose and structure of an electoral rights database has been elaborated by Derek Hutcheson (UCD Dublin).

EUDO CITIZENSHIP dissemination activities will be a major task for 2012. There are plans for a book publication with an academic publisher of comparative reports commissioned by the Observatory as well as a special journal issue on citizenship indicators. ACIT Research results will be disseminated in 10 national handbooks, 4 comparative reports based on the indicators and a final European-level report.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP will continue to update its databases and country reports, as well as the statistic sections. It will continue to regularly publish news and working papers. In addition, the comparative aspect will be strengthened, as more comparative analyses will be published.



III. PEOPLE

EUDO directors

STEFANO BARTOLINI

*Robert Schuman Centre for
Advanced Studies & EUDO | EUI*
Stefano.Bartolini@eui.eu



ALEXANDER H. TRECHSEL

*EUDO & the Observatory on
Public Opinion, Political Elites
and the Media | EUI*
Alexander.Trechsel@eui.eu



Observatory directors

LUCIANO BARDI

*Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation*
EUI / University of Pisa
Luciano.Bardi@sp.unipi.it



RAINER BAUBÖCK

Observatory on Citizenship | EUI
Rainer.Baubock@eui.eu



BRUNO DE WITTE

*Observatory on Institutional
Change and Reforms*
EUI / Maastricht University
Bruno.DeWitte@eui.eu



MARK FRANKLIN

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media | EUI*
Mark.Franklin@eui.eu



ADRIENNE HÉRITIER

*Observatory on Institutional
Change and Reforms | EUI*
Adrienne.Heritier@eui.eu



PETER MAIR †

*Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation | EUI*
Peter.Mair@eui.eu



JO SHAW

Observatory on Citizenship
University of Edinburgh Law School
Jo.Shaw@ed.ac.uk



EUDO Staff & Collaborators

PIA ALESSI

EUDO general | EUI
Pia.Alessi@eui.eu



VALENTINA BETTIN

EUDO general | EUI
Valentina.Bettin@eui.eu



GABRIELA BORZ

EUDO general
University of Aberdeen
g.borz@abdn.ac.uk



EDOARDO BRESSANELLI

Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation | EUI
Edoardo.Bressanelli@eui.eu



ORIANE CALLIGARO

Observatory on Citizenship | EUI
Oriane.Calligaro@eui.eu



ENRICO CALOSSÌ

Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation | EUI
Enrico.Calossi@eui.eu



DIDIER CHABANET

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media | EUI*
Didier.Chabanet@eui.eu



GERARD-RÉNE DE GROOT

*Observatory on Citizenship
Maastricht University*
R.Degroot@maastrichtuniversity.nl



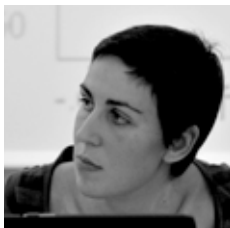
JORGE FERNANDES

EUDO general | EUI
Jorge.Fernandes@eui.eu



MONICA FERRIN

EUDO general | EUI
Monica.Ferrin@eui.eu



WOJCIECH GAGATEK

*Observatory on Political Parties &
Representation University of Warsaw*
Wojciech.Gagatek@eui.eu



SARA GOODMAN WALLACE

*Observatory on Citizenship
University of California-Irvine*
S.Goodman@uci.edu



ISEULT HONAHAN

*Observatory on Citizenship
University College Dublin*
Iseult.Honohan@ucd.ie



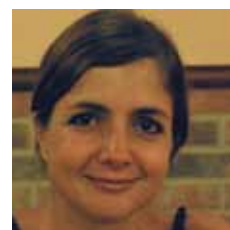
DEREK HUTCHESON

*Observatory on Citizenship
University College Dublin*
derek.hutcheson@ucd.ie



TAMARA JONJIĆ

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media | EUI*
Tamara.Jonjic@eui.eu



MÁRIA M. KOVÁCS

Observatory on Citizenship
Central European University
Kovacsma@ceu.hu



ANJA LANSBERGEN

Observatory on Citizenship
University of Edinburgh Law School
a.lansbergen@sms.ed.ac.uk



INGO LINSENMANN

EUDO general | EUI
Ingo.Linsenmann@eui.eu



GEORGIA MAVRODI

EUDO Observatory on Public
Opinion, Political Elites and the
Media | EUI
Georgia.Mavrodi@eui.eu



VALERIO PAPPALARDO

EUDO webmaster | EUI
Valerio.Pappalardo@eui.eu



SZABOLCS POGONYI

Observatory on Citizenship
Central European University
Pogonyi@ceu.hu



TIJANA PROKIĆ

Observatory on Citizenship
Maastricht University
Tijana.Prokic@eui.eu



FILIPA RAIMUNDO

EUDO general | EUI
Filipa.Raimundo@eui.eu



JOSÉ SANTANA

EUDO general | EUI
Jose.Santana@eui.eu



ANDREI STAVILA

Observatory on Citizenship | EUI
Andrei.Stavila@eui.eu



CHIARA STEINDLER

*Observatory on Institutional
Change and Reforms | EUI*
Chiara.Steindler@eui.eu



GUIDO TINTORI

Observatory on Citizenship | EUI
Guido.Tintori@eui.eu



KRISTJAN VASSIL

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media | EUI*
Kristjan.Vassil@eui.eu



MAARTEN P. VINK

*Observatory on Citizenship
University of Maastricht*
M.Vink@maastrichtuniversity.nl



OLIVIER VONK

*Observatory on Citizenship
University of Maastricht*
Olivier.Vonk@maastrichtuniversity.nl



CLAUDIUS WAGEMANN

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media | EUI*
Claudius.Wagemann@eui.eu



EUDO Fellows and Part-time Professors

LORENZO DE SIO

*EUDO Karamanlis Foundation
Fellow | EUI*

Lorenzo.DeSio@eui.eu



DANILO DI MAURO

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media*

Marie-Curie Fellow | EUI
Danilo.Dimauro@eui.eu



MARTA FRAILE

*Observatory on Public Opinion,
Political Elites and the Media*

Jean-Monnet Fellow | EUI
Marta.Fraile@eui.eu



EUGENIO PIZZIMENTI

*Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation | RSCAS/SPS*
Visiting Fellow / University of Pisa

Eugenio.Pizzimenti@eui.eu



RICHARD ROSE

EUDO Part-time Professor
EUI / University of Aberdeen

Richard.Rose@eui.eu



IV. SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Bardi L., Mair P., Os parametros dos sistemas partidarios [Paramethers of Party Systems], *Revista Brasileira De Estudos Politicos*, 2010.

Bardi L., Calossi E., Managing Uncertainty in European Elections in Italy and Europe, *Italian Politics*, 2010: 93- 112.

Bauböck R., Citizenship in European Immigration States: Light and Twilight. Review Essay on Christian Joppke's "Citizenship and Migration", *European Political Science Review*, 9(4), 2010: 439-445.

Bauböck R., "Citizenship and Freedom of Movement" in Rogers S. (ed.) *Citizenship, Borders, and Human Needs*, Pennsylvania University Press, Philadelphia, 2011: 343-376.

Börzel, T., Héritier. A., Kranz, N., Thauer, C., "Racing to the Top? Regulatory Competition Among Firms in Areas of Limited Statehood" in Risse, T., *Governance Without A State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*, N.Y., Columbia University Press, 2011: 144-170.

Calossi E., Organizzazione e funzioni degli Euro-partiti. Il Caso di Sinistra Europea, [Organization and Functions of Europarties. The Case of European Left], PLUS, Pisa, 2011.

Casal Bértoa F., Mair P., *Two decades on how institutionalized are the post-communist party systems?*, EUI working papers. SPS ; 2010/03, <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/14594>.

Curtin D., Mair P., Papadopoulos Y.(eds), *Accountability and European governance*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2010.

De Groot G.R., Vink M., Honohan I., *Loss of Citizenship*, EUDO CITIZENSHIP Policy Brief, No. 3. EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 2010.

De Groot G.R., and Vink M., *Loss of Citizenship: Trends and Regulations in Europe*, Comparative Report, RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-Comp. 2010/4. EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 2010.

De Groot G.R., Vink M., Verlies van nationaliteit op grond van disloyaliteit, crimineel gedrag en fraude [Loss of nationality on grounds of disloyalty, criminal behaviour and fraude], *Jaarrapport Migratie 2010*, Brussel: Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding, 2011: 204-5.

De Witte B., "Direct Effect, Primacy, and the Nature of the Legal Order", in P. Craig and G. de Búrca (eds), *The Evolution of EU Law*, 2nd ed., 2011: 323-362.

De Witte B., "The EU and the International Legal Order: The Case of Human Rights", in Evans M. and Koutrakos P. (eds), *Beyond the Established Legal Orders – Policy Interconnections between the EU and the Rest of the World*, Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011: 127-147.

De Witte B., National Equality Institutions and the Domestication of EU Non-Discrimination Law, *Maastricht Journal of European and Comparative Law*, 2011: 157-178.

De Witte B., The European Treaty Amendment for the Creation of a Financial Stability Mechanism, *SIEPS European Policy Analysis*, 2011: 6.

De Witte B., Rijpma J., "Parliamentary Scrutiny of Justice and Home Affairs Agencies", annex to Wills A. and Vermeulen M., *Parliamentary Oversight of Security and Intelligence Agencies in the European Union*, Brussels/Strasbourg: European Parliament, 2011.

Franklin M., Hobolt S., Electoral Democracy in the European Union, Special Symposium in *Electoral Studies*, 2011, forthcoming.

Franklin M., Hobolt S., Introduction to Special Symposium: Electoral Democracy in the European Union, *Electoral Studies*, (30) forthcoming.

Franklin M., Hobolt S., The Legacy of Lethargy: How Elections for the European Parliament Depress Turnout, *Electoral Studies* (30) forthcoming.

Gallagher M., Laver M., Mair P., Representative government in modern Europe, New York, London, McGraw-Hill, 2011.

Héritier A., Moury C., Contested Delegation: The Impact of Co-decision on Comitology, *West European Politics*, 34(2), 2011:145-166.

Héritier, A., "Intergovernmental decisions and multi-level governance: producing patchwork policies", in Ongaro, E., Massey, A., Holzer, M., Wayenberg, E. (eds), *Governance and Intergovernmental Relations in the European Union and the United States*, Edward Elgar, 2010:186-198.

Héritier, A., Moury, C., Bischoff, C., Bergstrom, C.F., Changing Rules of Delegation: A Contest for Power in Comitology, 2012: forthcoming with Oxford University Press.

Héritier, A., Lehmkuhl D., New Modes of Governance and Democratic Accountability, *Governance and Opposition*, 46(1), 2011: 126-144.

Héritier, A., Rhodes M. (eds.), New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Héritier, A., Karagiannis Y., The New Institutions of Transatlantic Aviation, *Global Policy*2(2), 2011: 152-162.

Héritier, A., Rhodes M., "Conclusion: New Modes of Governance: Emergence, Execution, Evolution and Evaluation" in Héritier, A., Rhodes M. (eds.), *New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011: 163-171.

Héritier, A., Lehmkuhl D., "Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy: New Modes of Governance in Regulation" in Héritier, A., Rhodes M. (eds.), *New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011: 48-73.

Honohan I., Should Irish emigrants have votes? External voting in Ireland, *Irish Political Studies*, November 2011 (forthcoming - also as chapter in Chari R. (ed.), *Hard Questions for Democracy*, Routledge, 2012, forthcoming).

Honohan I., Rougier N., *Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Ireland* Working Paper EUI Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2010.

Kopecký P., Mair P., *Party patronage in contemporary Europe: principles and practices*, 2011/41, in Working Paper Series EUI RSCAS, <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Documents/2011/eudoworkingpaperkopeckymair.pdf>. Lehmann W., *Recent advances towards veritable European political parties*, in Working Paper Series EUI RSCAS, 2011/23, EUDO - European Union Democracy Observatory, 2011, <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/16816>

Mair, P., *Bini Smaghi vs. the Parties: Representative Government and Institutional Constraints*, in Working Paper Series EUI RSCAS; 2011/22; EUDO - European Union Democracy Observatory, 2011, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/16354/RSCAS_2011_22.pdf?sequence=1

Mair P., Thomassen J., Political representation and European Union governance, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis, 2010.

Pizzimenti E., Ignazi P., Finanziamento pubblico e mutamenti organizzativi nei partiti italiani [Party Financing and Party Organisational Change: the Italian Case], *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 41 (2), 2011: 199-236.

Schmeets H., Vink M., Opvattingen over dubbele nationaliteit: wie is tegen en wie niet? [Attitudes towards dual citizenship: who is against and who is not?] *Bevolkingstrends*, 3^e kwartaal 2011: 29-33

Schmeets H., Vink M., Brede steun voor beperking dubbele nationaliteit [Broad support for restriction of dual citizenship], *Webmagazine*, Den Haag/Heerlen: CBS, 2 May 2011.

Trechsel, Alexander H. & Peter Mair, When parties (also) position themselves – an introduction to the EU Profiler, *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, 8(1), 2011: 1-20.

Trechsel A.H, Glencross A, First or Second Order Referendums? Understanding the Votes on the EU Constitutional Treaty in Four EU Member States, *West European Politics*, 34(4), 2011: 121-145.

Van Biezen I., Mair P., Poguntke T., Going, going,...gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe, *European Journal of Political Research*, 2011.

Vink M., de Groot G.R., *Birthright Citizenship: Trends and Regulations in Europe*, Comparative Report, RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-Comp. 2010/8. EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 2010.

Vink M., de Groot G.R., “Citizenship Policies in the European Union: International Framework and Domestic Trends”, in Lopez M., Siegel M. (eds.) *A World in Motion: Trends in Migration and Migration Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, forthcoming.

Vink M. (ed.), *Migration and Citizenship Attribution: Politics and Policies in Western Europe*. Special

issue of *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), 2010. Also published as Vink M. (ed.), *Migration and Citizenship Attribution: Politics and Policies in Western Europe*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (Special Issues as Books series), 2011.

Vink M., “European Integration and Domestic Immigration Policies: Convergence, Causality and Counterfactuals”, in Luedtke A. (ed.), *Migrants and Minorities: the European Response*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010: 37-60.

Vink M., Bookreview of E. Guild, K. Groenendijk and S. Carrera, *Illiberal Liberal States: Immigration, Citizenship and Integration in the EU*, *Acta Politica* 45(4), 2010: 479-499.

Vink M., *Naturalisation rates and rejection rates measure different phenomena, and have different problems*, EUDO Citizenship Forum Debate, 19 October 2010.



www.eudo.eu

**Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute
Via delle Fontanelle 19
50014 San Domenico di Fiesole
Firenze, Italy
EUDOsecr@eui.eu**



Education and Culture DG
Lifelong Learning Programme

The European Commission supports the EUI through the European Union budget. This publication reflects the views only of the author(s), and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.