



European
University
Institute

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies



European Union Democracy Observatory

Annual Report 2009

Florence, December 2009

EUDO Annual Report 2009

Content

Introduction	2
I. EUDO General	5
II.1 EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media	6
II.1.1 Activities and Research	
II.1.2 Events	
II.1.3 Outlook for 2010	
II.2 EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation	11
II.2.1 Activities and Research	
II.2.2 Events	
II.2.3 Outlook for 2010	
II.3. EUDO Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms	16
II.3.1 Activities and Research	
II.3.2 Events	
II.3.3 Miscellaneous	
II.3.4 Outlook for 2010	
II.4. EUDO Observatory on Citizenship	19
II.4.1 Activities and Research	
II.4.2 Events	
II.4.3 Miscellaneous	
II.4.4 Outlook for 2010	
III. People	23
IV. Selected Publications	27

Introduction

The **European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO)** was launched in the spring of 2006 as an independent and interdisciplinary academic organization. In 2008, EUDO became a fully-integrated part of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) and with a grant from the Research Council of the EUI, and thanks to additional funds made available by the RSCAS, EUDO was able to increase its activities and properly establish its infrastructure in 2009. Its declared goals are: to produce a permanent and periodic assessment of democratic practices within the EU; to serve as a forum to exchange ideas and good practices; and to be a resource for policy-makers, academics and EU citizens.

EUDO's motivation is based on the fact that the capacity for problem-solving within the European Union and the capacity to sustain legitimacy there, are increasingly at odds and that European and national elites have continually underestimated this problem. They have often read negative signals as proof of lack of information, poor communication or as forms of national protest only incidentally associated with the EU. However, recent difficulties in the European inte-

gration process have shown that the economic modernisation of Europe can no longer be pursued without more explicit popular support. Intellectual divisions and inter-institutional competition over different options and strategies are abundant. It is clear that Europe needs to better understand the problems and perceptions that lie behind the current challenges and the increasing calls for more democracy and legitimacy. Yet, EU institutions have neither a clear strategy for information gathering and knowledge accumulation, nor an adequate infrastructure for this task.

To fill these gaps at the European level EUDO has the following **goals**:

- 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.

The **mission of EUDO** is above all to gather documentation and data, to provide basic and applied research reports for EU institutions, and to foster dialogue between policy-makers, academics and EU citizens.



Based on a network of existing scientific research and research teams in Europe, EUDO is engaged in a systematic effort to translate, disseminate and debate these results, making them policy relevant and communicable to the general public. EUDO aims at offering expertise to those EU institutions that are deputed to collect information and conduct analysis on issues relevant to 'euro-democracy'. In its work, EUDO is not committed to any specific solution, but it is determined to make available more extensive, more reliable and, over-time, more consistent information and knowledge about the issues crucial for key decisions in these areas. EUDO benefits from being plugged into the vast interdisciplinary scientific infrastructure of the EUI/RSCAS, which enables the Observatory to bring together high-level academics and outside experts (politicians, policy-makers, civil-society leaders) in order to stimulate interdisciplinary dialogue, foster the exchange of ideas and good practices, translate scientific results into policy deliverables, disseminate these deliverables, and develop practical suggestions for improving the quality of EU democracy.

To fulfil this mission, the **EUDO platform consists of four components**: the four EUDO observatories, a yearly dissemination conference, the EUDO forum and the EUDO training platform.

The **four EUDO Observatories** form the backbone of EUDO and constitute its main organizing principle. They are responsible for data and documentation gathering and are directed by EUI internal professors in conjunction with external EUDO experts. Each Observatory coordinates specific research projects. The four Observatories are: the Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media (directed by Alexander H. Trechsel and Mark Franklin); the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (directed by Peter Mair and Luciano Bardi); the Observatory on Institutional Reform and Change (directed by Adrienne Héritier and Bruno de Witte); and the Observatory on Citizenship (directed by Rainer Bauböck and Jo Shaw).

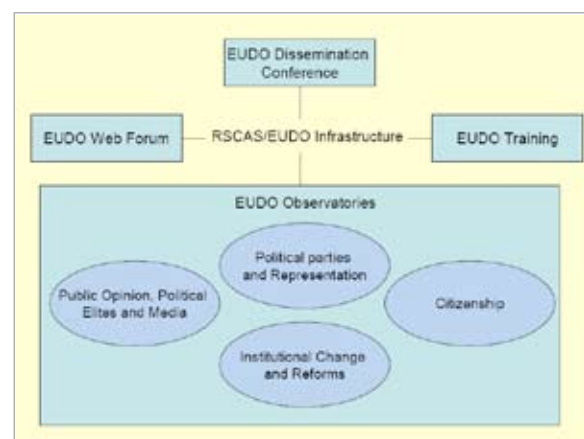
The **EUDO dissemination conference** takes place on a yearly basis in order to disseminate research results and policy expertise in the field of EU democracy. It brings together representatives of each of the EUDO

Observatories as well as other experts, policy-makers, civil-society representatives and media exponents. In 2009, the dissemination conference doubled as the EUDO Launch Conference and will take place in Florence on 3 and 4 December.

The **EUDO web forum**, which will be initiated in the aftermath of the 2009 Launch Conference, constitutes a major communication platform of EUDO in its interaction with the wider community. It will adopt a 'proactive' approach to the dissemination of findings with the intention of stimulating interdisciplinary dialogue while reaching out to policy-makers and politicians, as well as to civil-society organizations. The web-forum will host debates among internal and external EUDO experts on selected, EU democracy-relevant topics.

The **EUDO training platform** encompasses the hosting of workshops, seminars and lectures by experts from academia and the policy-making community as well as summer schools. Furthermore, EUDO Training offers junior and senior fellows the possibility of completing their training and research skills through EUDO senior fellowships and a EUDO Post-Doctoral Fellowship on Democracy funded by the Karamanlis Foundation.

The new EUDO infrastructure.



The **EUDO management structure** consists of the two coordinating directors Stefano Bartolini and Alexander H. Trechsel, the Board of Directors (consisting of the eight directors of the Observatories) and an Advisory Board which will be set up in 2010.

The **primary focus of EUDO in 2009** was the consolidation of its structures and most importantly the establishment of the platform. These efforts entailed the setting up of the academic and administrative EUDO-team and the planning development of the EUDO-website and its interactive elements. In addition, several research projects were conducted and

various conferences, seminars and the like were organized. 2009, meanwhile, will conclude with the EUDO Launch Conference, which will be held on 3-4 December in Florence.

In this **annual report for 2009** we present the activities of EUDO during the first year of its existence. The report is structured as follows: section I presents the activities and events at EUDO level, section II contains a more detailed account of activities and work conducted in the four EUDO observatories, section III presents an overview of the people involved in EUDO, section IV lists selected publications in 2009.



I. EUDO General

Before highlighting the work of the four EUDO observatories, we will briefly focus on EUDO more generally. The main activities in 2009 comprised the launching and setting up of the EUDO platform and its new structure. This included developing the individual observatories, refining the aims and rationale of EUDO, planning and coordinating research activities and projects, and allocating academic positions (advisory board, external experts and partner institutions) as well as hiring research and administrative staff.

Another important focus in 2009 was (and still is) the development of the EUDO website, which will be a core element of EUDO and its platform. When finalised, it will disseminate research results and offer databases, diverse interactive elements, a forum as well as a series of glossaries and links. The initial EUDO external website established in 2006 has been abandoned and replaced with an EUI-RSCAS internal website. The EUDO-internal website of the Citizenship Observatory has made a big leap forward and now contains several databases and interactive elements such as the EUDO citizenship forum. Such a web forum, which is one of the four main EUDO components, is currently also being set up at the general EUDO level. The EUDO forum, which will initiate its activities following the EUDO Launch Conference in December 2009, serves as a place to exchange research results, experiences, ideas, opinions and practices between scholars, policy makers and the general public. In doing so, the web forum has a crucial role to play in achieving EUDO goals. The forum will contribute to fostering dialogue between policy makers, academics and citizens throughout Europe. Based on the EUDO network of experts and research teams, the forum is part of EUDO's systematic efforts to translate, disseminate and debate these results, making them policy relevant and intelligible to a broader public.

In addition to the development of the basic foundations of the EUDO platform and its website, some

general EUDO events took place (see the sections of the respective observatories for more events that took place in 2009). The conference “Bringing Civil Society In: The European Union and the Rise of Representative Democracy” was held at the EUI on 13 and 14 March. The conference, which was organized by Didier Chabanet, in collaboration with Stefano Bartolini, Renaud Dehousse and Alexander H. Trechsel, brought together over 50 academics and practitioners from all over Europe.

The Conference “Are European Elections Useful?” was held at Sciences Po, Paris on 17 April. The Conference focused on the effect and practices of the European elections, was co-financed by EUDO and organised by Bruno Cautrès, Renaud Dehousse, Sylvie Strudel and Alexander H. Trechsel.

On December 3 and 4 2009 the EUDO Launch Conference will take place in Florence. Experts from academia and the policy-making community will gather and exchange their views on the most pressing issues regarding EU democracy while formally launching the EUDO platform.

In 2010, EUDO will consolidate its structures and activities at all levels. In particular, various research results and publications are coming up and a EUDO data centre is currently being created, which will offer research results and generated data in an innovative and easily accessible way. Furthermore, conferences, seminars and summer schools will be organised and the EUDO website will be further improved. Throughout 2010, further links with other institutions will be fostered and the yearly dissemination conference will take place. Already in 2009, EUDO attracted external funding for research projects which will be carried on in 2010 and further external funding applications have been submitted or are in the pipeline.



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 elites, and has the aim of measuring the extent to which all these converge or diverge, in which field

and in which direction. It is managed by Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI) and Mark Franklin (EUI). In the EP election year 2009, this Observatory dedicated its work almost exclusively to these elections. In particular, two major research projects, PIREDEU and the EU Profiler, generated, in a combined effort, possibly the largest data collection on public opinion among European voters ever gathered (see below).

As to the rationale of the Observatory, it goes without saying that public opinion on European integration, and the emerging European polity is a matter of vital importance. Since voters in Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Ireland questioned the elite consensus on future European integration efforts in landmark referendums, efforts to understand public opin-

ion vis-à-vis Europe have intensified. Recent studies have mapped out the attitudes of European citizens towards the Union by considering their support for membership, for specific EU institutions, and for specific policy areas. There is also growing interest in the relationship between ideational visions, political organizations, and citizens' attitudes to EU policies and politics. However, there is as yet no agreement about the extent to which the individual bases of support and opposition to European integration are 'structured' or remain 'indistinct'. This is, in part, due to the fact that positive attitudes towards the EU are often associated with political values that are less nationalistic and more committed to individual liberty and equality. Moreover, as several studies have suggested, voters' attitudes generally reflect their evaluation of domestic rather than European issues. Public opinion and the EU, then, is a topic rich in potentialities that need to be better explored.

First, we need to know more about civic competence, political interest, moods and emotions among the citizenry. Politics is about delivering goods and satisfying needs, and these elements become crucial for its understanding.

Second, we need to document the extent to which national and European partisan elites, members of national parliaments and of the European Parliament and workers in the media match the public's view of the EU. Opinion gaps between partisan elites, the media and the public need to be identified precisely and early on.

Third, we need to investigate the extent to which attitudes towards EU policies and institutions are compatible with the predominant national left-right spec-



trum; or whether they reflect a left-right combination with a second independence/integration crosscutting dimension; or even if they point to a more complex dimensionality, including, for instance, the perception of new opportunities and options versus the perception of their costs and challenges.

Fourth, we need to know more about the salience of European issues in various sectors of European public opinion. Positive or negative attitudes may be identified and measured, but issue salience is arguably the key to understanding under which circumstances attitudes have an incidence on political behaviour.

Finally we need to understand how these four aspects of public opinion evolve over time. To take one example, we often look at a series of opinion polls regarding European institutions and think of a dip in support for, say, the European Parliament as being meaningful in terms of support for a European institution. But support for the European Parliament, to follow this example through, is part of an ensemble of support for government institutions in general. Factors that cause a dip in support for a country's national political institutions will often be reflected in support or a lack of support for European institutions in that country. Similar complexities make it hard to understand and interpret opinion trends on many matters related to Europe.

The Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media aims at addressing these problems in a systematic fashion. In 2009, the Observatory has concretely designed large-scale public opinion, elite and media surveys on Europe, unique in their scope. These data collections are currently being organised and put at the disposal of the interested public. The generated measures of public, elite and media opinion aim at taking into account complexities like those mentioned above in regard to support for European institutions.

Measures are being created for:

- Support for European Institutions (Parliament, Commission, etc.)
- Support for the further evolution of European institutions (constitution, etc.)
- Support for the enlargement of the EU through the accession of specific countries (Turkey, Switzerland, Norway, etc.)
- Support for current and proposed policies in spe-

cific policy areas (environment, social policy, foreign policy etc.)

- Assessment of the success of existing policies in specific areas (environment, social policy, foreign policy etc.)
- Electoral campaign dynamics
- Contextual data to be analytically combined with individual level data

The Observatory also consults EU officials and other interested parties regarding other data that might be created and validated. The aim is to generate an 'EUI seal of approval' for measures of these kinds that carefully take into account all known contaminants of public opinion and which would continuously monitor these series for the appearance of new contaminating factors. Furthermore, and more generally, the Observatory is engaged in the monitoring and analysing of elections to the European Parliament, and referendums regarding Europe held in member states.



II.1.1 Activities and Research

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

PIREDEU is co-ordinated by the RSCAS and has its origins in the European Election Studies (EES). The project involves more than 20 participating researchers from some 14 institutions in Western and Eastern Europe and a large community of affiliated experts from all EU member states. The pan-European project is funded by the European Union under the Seventh Framework Programme from 2008 up to 2011. It assesses 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).

In 2009, preparations have been made to link the data from PIREDEU with data collected by this Observatory's other major data collection enterprise – the EU Profiler (see below). The EUDO Observatory has contributed to the success of the PIREDEU project by funding the linking of the PIREDEU voters study with the EU Profiler and, in the process, helping to fund the pre-linking of the PIREDEU components. A number of coordinated research activities are currently undertaken as data from both projects become available. Most importantly, the linking of the PIREDEU voters study with data collected by the EU Profiler enables us to evaluate the EU Profiler data in terms of how well it provides coverage of the electorates of the countries where it was deployed. At the same time, this evaluation makes available to the EU Profiler a set of electorate weights for each country that will enable that study to be employed as though it had derived from a random sample. At the same time, the linking of the two studies permits the PIREDEU voters study to import from the EU Profiler, data on voter preferences regarding issues about which PIREDEU was unable to ask questions for lack of questionnaire space. The EU Profiler's large battery of issue questions hugely increases the value of the data collected by PIREDEU and enables more elaborate analyses to be conducted in partnership between these two projects, studying the impact of issues on party preferences in the European Parliament elections of 2009.

EU Profiler voting advice application

The EU Profiler 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 being analysed by the research team. When the EU Profiler tool was online from 23 April until the elections it attracted more than 2.5 million users. 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 in the French Parliamentary Assembly.

The EU Profiler and its follow-up work have two aims. First of all, during the election campaign and before the elections took place, it was a means for voters to obtain an unobstructed view of the European political landscape and their place within it. Voters, who wanted to gain an overview on the parties' positions on a number of salient political issues, could inform themselves by positioning themselves with 30 statements in a simple questionnaire. This allowed them to compare their stances to those of the parties and to grasp not only what national but also what European parties had on offer. With easy to understand analyses and visualisations, the user got the opportunity to gain

knowledge about what was at stake in the elections and which parties were closest to his or her preferences.

As well as offering a tool that allows voters to inform themselves on the elections and the European political landscape, the EU Profiler team had a strong academic interest in generating research data related to the European elections. First of all, with the coding



of almost 300 European parties, the team obtained an immense database on the positions of European parties on current political issues. Furthermore, the opinions of users complemented a dataset, the like of which has never been seen. Overall, the EU Profiler provided academics with a huge amount of innovative data to conduct research on the European electorate and the European political landscape. At the moment, various research projects are being carried out on the basis of this data.

The tool is accessible at www.euprofiler.eu and more information can be found on the EUDO-website.

EU Profiler e-book

Based on the EU Profiler, the majority of the researchers involved contributed to an e-book on the European Parliamentary elections. The “2009 Elections to the European Parliament – Country Reports”, edited by Wojciech Gagatek, is perhaps the first publication of this kind to date. It contains 4 introductory chapters, investigating various aspects of these elections comparatively, as well as 24 country reports, offering reliable analyses written by country experts. The originality of this publication is twofold. First, given that a huge part of the citizenry expects comparative, reli-

able information on this election, and given that other groups in society, including politicians and journalists may also like to have clear, succinct, and understandable analyses which they can use in their own work, the authors of this volume particularly wanted to avoid using overly academic vocabulary or sophisticated statistical analyses so that these chapters are as easily understandable as possible. Each chapter is therefore relatively short (6-7 pages), and follows the same structure, being composed of four clearly-defined sections: Background, Issues, Campaign and Results. Second, what is particularly worth-mentioning is that this publication will be available on-line for free. This way, the range of potential readers is likely to be very large, and will also reach ordinary citizens.

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 premier was successfully followed by additional three elections in 2007 and 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 is co-financed by the Council of Europe, the Estonian Electoral Committee and EUDO.

II.1.2 Events

RSCAS Seminar: “The 2009 EP Elections: A Preliminary Assessment”

Only three days after the June 2009 elections, this seminar shed some first light on the outcomes of the elections to the European Parliament from various perspectives and ongoing research. Contributions were offered by Alexander H. Trechsel, Mark Franklin, Wojtek Gagatek, Gabor Toka and Stefano Bartolini.

EU Profiler events

The EU Profiler project was accompanied by various events. In April 2009, a launch press conference in Brussels brought together representatives of the

consortium (Profs. Alexander H. Trechsel and Peter Mair as well as Dr. Fabian Breuer from the EUI, Prof. Andreas Ladner from the NNCR Zurich, Prof. André Krouwel from Kieskompas) and more than 30 journalists from the European print and audio-visual media. In May 2009, EU Profiler project manager Fabian Breuer presented the EU Profiler project at an expert meeting on public opinion of DG Communication of the European Commission in Brussels.

At the World e-Democracy Forum in Paris in October 2009, the EU Profiler was awarded with the World e-Democracy Forum Award and the tool was presented at the e-Democracy Awards workshop.

In addition to this, the tool and the research project linked to it were presented at various academic conferences and workshops in Florence, Budapest, Barcelona, Toronto, Potsdam, Berne, Berlin and Paris.

II.1.3 Outlook for 2010

In 2010 the Observatory will 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. Various research activities have been undertaken and several projects are underway in order to 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. It is envisaged that the Observatory will provide users of the EUDO platform with easily accessible data for the EP elections 2009 in various forms and formats (among other things via the EUDO data centre that is currently under development). Furthermore, consultations and cooperation projects with official EU bodies focusing on public opinion are underway.

Apart from this focus on data analysis, the publication of various working papers and articles using this data are also planned. In addition, the organisation of a number of seminars, workshops and conferences are planned. For example, the final PIREDEU conference is scheduled for 18-19 November 2010 in Brussels, in which the added value of the PIREDEU pilot study for the European social science community and other stakeholders will be evaluated. Conference papers will be solicited from our user community that employ the

data collected in the pilot studies for scholarly research relating to the quality of electoral democracy in Europe. This will constitute the basis for a report 'auditing' European electoral democracy. The conference will be organised within the general EUDO framework. It will also be another opportunity to present the EU Profiler project and its findings.



II.2 EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation

PARTIES & REPRESENTATION



The Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (hereafter the “Observatory” or “OPPR”) is devoted to the study of European parties, 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 Observatory is co-directed by Luciano Bardi (Professor of Political Science at the University of Pisa and Visiting Fellow at the RSCAS-EUI) and Peter Mair (Professor of Comparative Politics and Head of the Political and Social Sciences Department at the EUI), and its activities are organised by Alex Wilson (EUDO Research Assistant).

The development of Europarties alongside a genuine EU party system has long been considered a neces-

sary step in the creation of a fully democratic European Union with full popular legitimacy. This would require the organisational strengthening and the effective integration of three distinct Europarty components: national parties, party groups in the European Parliament, and Europarty federations. Only if these conditions are attained can Europarties provide an effective link between EU civil society and supranational institutions, and thus become effective channels of representation for European citizens’ preferences. The statute for European political parties, approved in November 2003, represents an acknowledgement of this state of affairs, and defines the role of European political parties as well as the requirements needed for 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 growing voting cohesiveness and increasing inclusiveness. Most 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. 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 role accorded to 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 (i.e. the European Parliament) and its inter-governmental institutions.

Over the last 50 years, numerous empirical studies have been conducted of Europarties and political groups in the European Parliament. Although concentrated in the field of political science, this subject has also been of great interest for legal scholars and historians. Individual academics have uncovered a wealth of empirical data, yet their documentation remains largely dispersed and difficult to access for the purposes of comparative research. There is no single repository for researchers to obtain continuous data and analyses concerning the organisational evolution of Europar-



ties; the changing behaviour and perceptions of MEPs; the behaviour of political groups in the European Parliament; and the relationship between Europarties and national parties. One of the core objectives of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation is therefore to collect these data and make them available to a wider audience of international academics and European policy-makers. Most of the data would become available directly through the EUDO website, thus greatly facilitating comparative research. Since the study of Europarties is linked to broader changes in the organisation of European political parties, the Observatory will also collect key data from compara-

II.2.1 Activities and Research

The Observatory has been engaged in a range of activities that are establishing it as a key forum for comparative research on Europarties and political groups in the European Parliament (EP).

The Observatory has been actively developing a data base of research and documentation on Europarties and political groups in the EP, which will become publicly accessible. Data of particular interest to the Observatory include EP electoral law(s), party manifestos and electoral programmes; Europarty statutes; the evolution and internal functioning of EP party groups;



tive studies of European party politics, and make these directly available through the website. The Observatory will also host and promote new research projects on the evolution of Europarty organisations and the development of a transnational party system, as well as changes to modern party organisations in Europe. These changes include the growing power of national leaders and the development of 'personalised' politics; 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.

the evolution and party composition of EP Committees; MEP voting behaviour in plenary sessions; and systematic surveys of MEPs and Europarty elites. In collaboration with the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, OPPER is also collecting data on EP electoral results and turnout; the monitoring of press time and content devoted to EU party politics and the EP; and relevant mass surveys of European voters. This will make EUDO the authoritative repository for data on party politics and elections at European level. In 2009 the key data sources were largely located, and in 2010 the Observatory will begin negotiations with various research institutes and individual academics to obtain, manage, and store this data. The objective is to make these data publicly available, either directly through the EUDO website, or through links and contacts listed on the EUDO website. Many of these activities are at the basis of an ongoing project on Europarty system

development conducted by Luciano Bardi. Within this framework, in 2009 Luciano Bardi and the Observatory have contributed the part on EP party groups in the volume “Building Parliament: 50 years of European Parliament History 1958-2008” edited by Yves Mény (2009) and published by the European Parliament.

The Observatory also collaborated with the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion to develop the innovative EU Profiler (see above, www.euprofiler.eu). This initiative represents a very new and different approach to the positioning of parties in policy space, and has generated data for close to 300 parties in 30 European countries along 30 different issue dimensions. These data have been fully documented by means of the citation of texts from party programmes, party leaders’ speeches, and authoritative statements of party policy, with each of these supportive documents being made available online. This is also the first cross-national project that, in attempting to establish party positions, asked the parties themselves about where they stand. It then asked the parties check and discuss the placing which experts had allocated to them. Many parties were able to position themselves and provided the documentary evidence to testify to their stances.

The Observatory has applied for a tender to produce a report on the “Development of Transnational Party System in Europe”. This would involve significant new research and full use of the exceptional and unique data sets obtained by the EU Profiler and PIREDU projects, both linked to EUDO and hosted at the Robert Schuman Centre. The uniquely international character of faculty, researchers, and alumni at the EUI makes the Observatory ideally placed for funding applications that address complex and challenging questions for research on party politics. To answer such questions, researchers need to transcend the national level in order to discern common European trends, but without neglecting the distinctive and defining features of party politics in the various EU member states. This initiative would also be synergic with the “Europarty system development project” directed by Luciano Bardi which has been monitoring EP party system institutionalisation indicators since direct elections.

The Observatory intends to host a series of innovative research projects on European political parties, which

adopt either a trans-national or cross-national perspective. The final selection of international projects to be hosted by the Observatory will be determined after the first meeting of the Advisory Committee, to be scheduled around the EUDO Launch Conference, 3-4 December 2009. The members of the Advisory Committee are all international experts on European party politics: David Farrell (University College Dublin), Simon Hix (London School of Economics), Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex), Ingrid van Biezen (Leiden University), Thomas Poguntke (Bochum University), Tapio Raunio (Tampere University), and Laura Morales (University of Manchester). The Observatory also intends to develop a network of partner institutions at the forefront of research in European party politics, and any decisions on partner institutions will also be taken after the Advisory Committee meeting.

Finally, and in collaboration with colleagues at the University of Leiden, research projects on party membership and party patronage are currently being completed. The party membership project has gathered data on current levels of membership in 27 European democracies, and these data will soon be published on the Observatory website. The party patronage volume has gathered data on political control of public appointments in 14 European democracies, and a final volume reporting and analysing these results will be submitted for publication in 2010. In this case also, the data, based on some 700 expert interviews across ten policy sectors, will eventually be published on the Observatory website.

II.2.2 Events

In late 2008 and 2009, the Observatory began a series of workshops and lectures for academics and practitioners with a common interest in the development of political parties at EU level.

Workshop on “Europarties as campaign organisations”

In December 2008, the Observatory organised this workshop with the participation of international experts in the field of party politics. In collaboration with the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, this workshop will lead to the forthcoming publication of

an e-book that analyses the 2009 EP elections in all 27 member states (see above).

ECPR Summer School on Political Parties

In September 2009, the Observatory sponsored and hosted the annual ECPR Summer School on Political Parties, held at the EUI. This summer school brings together leading academic experts and promising doctoral researchers in the field of party politics. All participants present advanced research papers, with a view to gaining critical feedback and exchanging ideas on content and methodology. Over time, the ECPR Summer School on Political Parties has produced an

Lecture “The European Parliament after the Lisbon Treaty”

In October 2009, the Observatory organised the first of a series of Guest Lectures by practitioners in party politics at European level. This first lecture “The European Parliament after the Lisbon Treaty” was delivered by Christian Kremer, Deputy Secretary-General of the European People’s Party. Mr Kremer discussed the prospects for the European Parliament after ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, and the potential for developing a genuine transnational party system. The lecture was followed by a lively discussion with the participation of faculty and researchers at the EUI.



array of networks for trans-national collaboration between senior and junior scholars, who often work on common themes but in different countries or even continents.

Round table on the European Parliament and institutional reform in the EU

In September 2009, at the ECPR General Conference in Potsdam, the Observatory organized this round table on the European Parliament. The round table was chaired by Luciano Bardi, and included a guest presentation by Andrew Duff, MEP. Other participants included Peter Mair and Amie Kreppel, of the University of Florida, who will be a guest of OPFR when she takes up a Fernand Braudel Fellowship in the EUI Department of Political and Social Sciences in 2011.

II.2.3 Outlook for 2010

The Observatory will begin negotiations with research institutes and individual academics in order to obtain, manage, and store their data on party politics at European level. This process will continue throughout 2010, with a view to making the data publicly available via the EUDO website in late 2010 or early 2011.

The Observatory will try to situate itself at the centre of the network of international research projects on European party politics that adopt a trans-national or cross-national perspective. The Observatory also intends to work with a series of partner institutions that are at the forefront of research on European party politics. Precise plans in this regard will be developed after the first meeting of the Advisory Committee, to

be scheduled around the EUDO Launch Conference, 3-4 December 2009.

The Observatory will continue its series of guest lectures by European policy-makers in 2010, and will host further workshops on European political parties. The Observatory awaits the outcome of the funding application to produce a report on the Development of a transnational party system (see above). In any event, the monitoring of Europarty system institutionalisation will continue. The Observatory intends to exploit its unique capabilities to make further funding applications, in full collaboration with EUDO and the Robert Schuman Centre. The Observatory 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 on-

going work of the Historical Archives of the EU, also situated in the EUI.

Based on the Summer School papers, the Observatory is also trying to develop a new research project on political parties and linkage in the EU. The intention is to investigate all relevant linkages in multi-level party politics in Europe, and examine how parties coordinate the political process within the major EU-level institutions. Contributors to this project, which is directed by Peter Mair and Thomas Poguntke, will be asked to address a common set of questions relevant for an analysis of the scope, the potential and the inherent limitations of party democracy in Europe, from the perspective of the coordination and linkage provided by political parties in multi-level EU politics. In other words, they will be asked to explore the added value of party in the current EU polity.



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 these institutional 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 (EUI) and Bruno de Witte (EUI) and its activities are organised by Chiara Steindler (EUDO Research Assistant).

It is our objective 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. There is a plethora of such reforms which touch upon important aspects of institutional democratic decision-making processes in Europe. To give just two examples: (i) the revised second comitology decision (2006) gave the European Parliament more competences in the comitology procedure by introducing a regulatory procedure under scrutiny; (ii) the increasing use of trialogues and early agreements (i.e. the adoption of legislation during a first reading) under the co-decision procedure offers the possibility of fast-track legislation.

The Observatory also intends to describe reform and change of the institutional procedural rules of the Council, the European Parliament, the Commission and national Parliaments with respect to European legislation.

In order to ensure that our picture of on-going institutional reforms and changes is as complete as possible we intend to trace these changes from the perspective of central functions as well:

- Legislation (including consultation and transparency)
- Implementing powers of the Commission under comitology
- Budget process and auditing
- Administration (the Commission's autonomous executive role, the Agencies, the Ombudsman)

Moreover, we 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

The Observatory has taken part in a number of research projects:

Interstitial Institutional Change. Contested Competencies in the European Union

This project investigates institutional change in the European Union which takes place between the highly salient formal treaty revisions. The aim of the project is to scrutinize under which conditions such change occurs in areas of codecision, comitology, right of initiative and other areas and analyze the underlying causal processes. The project is funded and coordinated by SIEPS – the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies and coordinated at the RSCAS by Adrienne Héritier.

Seclusion and Inclusion in the European Polity: Institutional Change and Democratic Practices (SIEPOL)

This research project is intended to analyze the causes, processes and impact of political seclusion and inclusion at the European level and at the national level of the old member states, as well as the inter-relationship between these levels.

We focus primarily on the role of institutions in the process of seclusion, and on their relation to the democratic functioning of the European Union and its member states. By seclusion and inclusion we refer to the following: at both the European and national levels, we appear to be witnessing two contrasting developments.

On the one hand, political decision-makers appear increasingly “sealed off” or “secluded” from the wider constituency, and, indeed from the rank-and-file of elected politicians, such as in the case of early agreements in the European legislative process under codecision; on the other hand, there are multiple and diffuse attempts at a radical opening-up of democratic decision-making that invoke direct-democratic procedures, the opening-up of political decision-making through transparency, and access to information which can include greater parts of the citizenry and can also enhance contact with civil society.

SIEPOL is intended to investigate the factors that drive these developments at the European and national levels, to assess the extent to which the two processes are

related, and to analyse the links, if any, between what occurs at the national level and what occurs at the European level.

We finally discuss the normative implications that our findings have for democratic legitimation in Europe. SIEPOL is financed by the Research Council of the EUI for the period 2008 – 2010 and is co-funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council.

The directors of the project are Adrienne Héritier (EUI) and Peter Mair (EUI).

II.3.2 Events

Workshop “The Legislators of Europe”

This workshop took place in Florence, on 6-8 April 2009, it focused on the procedural rules and organization of the European Parliament; the working process in the Council of Ministers, and COREPER; the interaction between the Council of Ministers and European Parliament under the co-decision procedure. It was jointly organised by Adrienne Héritier, Peter Mair and Alexander H. Trechsel. The Observatory financially and organisationally contributed to the workshop on decision-making rules in the European Parliament, the Council and the codecision procedure.



Workshop “The European Court of Justice and the Autonomy of the Member States”

This workshop took place in Florence, in April 2009 and was co-organized by Bruno De Witte and Hans Micklitz. The workshop focused on the balance between EU competences and Member States’ autonomy in fields such as citizenship and migration, fundamental rights and the internal market.

II.3.3 Miscellaneous

Bruno de Witte taught the General Course at the Academy of European Law summer programme (EUI, July 2009) on the subject of “Legal Change in the European Union”.

II.3.4 Outlook for 2010

In 2010 the Observatory will keep participating in the research projects mentioned above. Based on the results of our research projects, the publication of various working papers and articles is also planned. In addition, the organisation of a number of seminars, workshops and conferences that will bring together academics and policy makers is underway. For example:

Practitioners’ workshop on codecision, early agreements and comitology, Florence, February 2010

Practitioners and academics will discuss the most recent institutional changes in the application of codecision, early agreements and the procedural guidelines of the Parliament, the Council and the Commission as well as the inter-institutional agreements dealing with the internal shift of power caused by the application of early agreements. A section of the workshop will examine the experience in the application of the regulatory procedure with scrutiny under the revised comitology procedure and its implications for the role of the Parliament

Workshop on the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, Florence, February 2010

This workshop, co-organised with Paolo Ponzano (EUI) and Miguel Maduro (EUI), will examine the seven key areas in which the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty will have rapid institutional consequences, namely: the functioning of new ‘personal triangle’, the new organisation of external relations, the new role of national parliaments, the mechanism for the citizens’ initiative, the reform of comitology, the gradual reform of the ‘third pillar’, and the institutional challenges of fundamental rights protection. A practitioner who is directly involved in preparing the reform and an academic expert will discuss each subject.



II.4. EUDO Observatory on Citizenship

CITIZENSHIP



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

ship 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 by 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 Analyses 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 (available from 2010);

A section on comparative analysis, which will gather a series of comparative reports commissioned by EUDO CITIZENSHIP (available from 2010);

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 or findings as well as proposals for policy reform.

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 or international court decisions concerning matters of citizenship and can be searched by country, year, institution or keyword (available from 2010);

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 (available from December 2009);

Citizenship statistics allow researchers to create customised statistical tables by country, year, or specific mode of acquisition (available from December 2009);

Citizenship links is a database of websites of national, European and international organisations (both governmental and non-governmental);

The Citizenship bibliography provides a searchable bibliography of more than 4000 titles on matters of citizenship and nationality laws.

Core financing for EUDO CITIZENSHIP is provided by the European Commission's European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals through the

Access to Citizenship in Europe (EUCITAC) project, which offers 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). EUDO CITIZENSHIP will gradually expand to include countries in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean European neighbourhoods. Additional financing for this project comes from the British Academy project CITMODES (Citizenship in modern European states). The CITSEE project on the Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia is funded by an advanced researchers grant of the European Research Council for Jo Shaw and will provide data and analyses for the Western Balkan countries.



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 will stimulate new independent research projects on citizenship. A call for papers was launched in June 2009 and four papers have been se-

lected for presentation at the second plenary network conference in January 2010. We expect, moreover, that a significant number of new PhD projects will be based on the data that we will make 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 recently published monograph by Marc Morjé Howard (*The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2009), and the MIPEX index on Migrant Integration Policy in Europe, published by the Migration Policy Group, make extensive use of data and other inputs from our research.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP also commissions specific comparative research carried out by experts within the network and published on the Observatory's website. The projects currently commissioned address the following topics: the impact of EU citizenship and international law on member state citizenship laws, the evolution of birthright-based citizenship, trends in naturalisation policies and statistics, the comparative analysis of citizenship loss, the theory and politics of external citizenship and regional comparative analyses of citizenship policy-making in Central Eastern and Southern Europe.

There are two main research outputs of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP: the Country Reports and the Working Papers. EUDO CITIZENSHIP Country Reports are published in the Robert Schuman Centre/EUDO Citi-

zenship Observatory Working Papers Series, both in printed and electronic form. At times of printing this brochure, the following country profiles are available on the website: Austria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, and Sweden. More are in the pipeline.

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Working Papers series is generally open for unsolicited submissions. We plan, however, also to publish a collection of contributions to the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Forum, which is dedicated to debating controversial issues. The Forum collects invited contributions on specific topics. The first Forum debate featured a discussion on "Is there (still) an East-West divide in the conception of citizenship?" Four leading academics in the field have contributed so far: two more have been commissioned. We plan to publish the debate as working paper 1 in December.

II.4.2 Events

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP launch conference

The EUCITAC project was launched at the European University Institute in Florence on 29-30 January 2009. Over 60 people, including consortium partners, country experts and the Advisory Board, came together to exchange ideas, suggestions and practical information. Day 1, open to the public, was devoted to discussing legal and political norms for citizenship, and the chal-



lenge and relevance of comparing citizenship policies in “new and old Europe”. Day 2 featured a closed session for project partners and experts, where guidelines and methodological issues were discussed. Conference material, including slides, videos and audio files, are available for download from the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website.

The second EUDO CITIZENSHIP plenary conference

The second plenary conference will take place in Edinburgh on 21-22 January 2010. It will discuss draft versions of comparative analyses based on the data collected in the first stage of the project. Experts from outside the network have been invited to comment on the work of the Observatory, and new research papers based on EUDO CITIZENSHIP data, which have been selected from a call for papers, will be presented.

II.4.3 Miscellaneous

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory has been presented at several international expert meetings and conferences, including the Council of Europe expert meeting on citizenship in Vienna in September 2009 and the European Migration Network meeting in Brussels in October 2009. The Observatory has also been supported by the IMISCOE network of excellence on International Migration, Integration and Cohesion in Europe, and was extensively presented and discussed at two annual conferences and several workshops of this network.

II.4.4 Outlook for 2010

In 2010, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will consolidate its web infrastructure and complete the development of its databases. In particular, the comparative aspect will be strengthened, as the sections on comparative analysis and citizenship case law are expected to be completed during the first half of the coming year. The section on EU citizenship will also go online in the course of 2010.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP aims to gradually expand its geographic scope. Reports on Lebanon, Egypt and Armenia will be commissioned in 2009. The next priority will then be to cover Ukraine and other post-Soviet

European states and the Maghreb countries.

As the website and the databases become fully functional, more research will be produced using EUDO CITIZENSHIP data. Researchers are invited to share their work through the website and the network. For example, a section on ‘recent publications’ advertises the most recent books and journal issues on matters of citizenship, including works published by researchers and NGOs outside the network. Users are encouraged to interact in the forum, and to provide their citizenship news in a variety of languages.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP dissemination activities will be a major task for 2010. In particular, a presentation in Brussels is being planned for spring in cooperation with the European Parliament and the European Commission. Furthermore, there are plans for a book publication with an academic publisher of comparative reports commissioned by the Observatory.

The most important source of funding for EUDO CITIZENSHIP is the EUCITAC project, which will end in June 2010. In order to keep the Observatory up-to-date and to further expand its geographic and thematic coverage, new sources of long-term funding will have to be found.



III. People

EUDO directors

ALEXANDER H. TRECHSEL
European University Institute
Alexander.Trechsel@eui.eu



STEFANO BARTOLINI
Robert Schuman Centre for
Advanced Studies
Stefano.Bartolini@eui.eu



Observatory directors

ADRIENNE HÉRITIER
EUDO Observatory on
Institutional Change and Reforms
European University Institute
Adrienne.Heritier@eui.eu



ALEXANDER H. TRECHSEL
EUDO Observatory on Public
Opinion, Political Elites and the
Media
European University Institute
Alexander.Trechsel@eui.eu

BRUNO DE WITTE
EUDO Observatory on
Institutional Change and Reforms
European University Institute
Bruno.DeWitte@eui.eu



JO SHAW
EUDO Observatory on
Citizenship / University of
Edinburgh Law School
Jo.Shaw@ed.ac.uk



LUCIANO BARDI
EUDO Observatory on Political
Parties and Representation
University of Pisa / European
University Institute
Luciano.Bardi@iol.it



MARK FRANKLIN
EUDO Observatory on Public
Opinion, Political Elites and the
Media
European University Institute
Mark.Franklin@eui.eu



PETER MAIR
EUDO Observatory on Political
Parties and Representation
European University Institute
Peter.Mair@eui.eu



RAINER BAUBÖCK
EUDO Observatory on
Citizenship
European University Institute
Rainer.Baubock@eui.eu



Staff and collaborators

ALEX WILSON

Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation
European University Institute
Alex.Wilson@eui.eu



CONSTANTIN IORDACHI

Observatory on Citizenship /
Central European University
Iordachinc@ceu.hu



DIDIER CHABANET

EUDO general
Fernand Braudel EUI (2007) /
Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lettres
et Sciences Humaines, Lyon
Didierchabanet@hotmail.com



BENOÎT CHALLAND

Observatory on Citizenship
European University Institute
Benoit.Challand@eui.eu



COSTANZA HERMANIN

Observatory on Citizenship
European University Institute
Costanza.Hermanin@eui.eu



FABIAN BREUER

EUDO general and EU Profiler
European University Institute
Fabian.Breuer@eui.eu



CHIARA STEINDLER

Observatory on Institutional
Change and Reforms
European University Institute
Chiara.Steindler@eui.eu



COSTICA DUMBRAVA

Observatory on Citizenship
European University Institute
Costica.Dumbrava@eui.eu



FERNANDO CASAL-BÉRTOA

Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation
European University Institute
Fernando.Casal@eui.eu



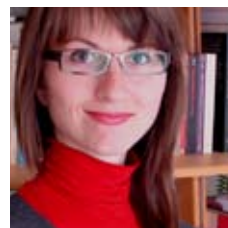
GABRIELLA UNGER
Secretarial Support
European University Institute
Gabriella.Unger@eui.eu



INGO LINSENMANN
EUDO general
European University Institute
Ingo.Linsenmann@eui.eu



LISA PILGRAM
Observatory on Citizenship /
University of Edinburgh Law
School
Lisa.Pilgram@ed.ac.uk



GERARD-RENÉ DE GROOT
Observatory on Citizenship /
Maastricht University
R.Degroot@maastrichtuniversity.nl



ISEULT HONAHAN
Observatory on Citizenship /
University College Dublin
Iseult.Honohan@ucd.ie



LEHTE ROOTS
Observatory on Citizenship
European University Institute
Lehte.Roots@eui.eu



HANS MICKLITZ
Observatory on Institutional
Change and Reforms
European University Institute
Hans.Micklitz@eui.eu



KRISTJAN VASSIL
EUDO general
European University Institute
Kristjan.Vassil@eui.eu



MAARTEN P. VINK
Observatory on Citizenship /
University of Maastricht
M.Vink@maastrichtuniversity.nl



EUDO Fellows

MÁRIA M. KOVÁCS

Observatory on Citizenship /
Central European University
Kovacsma@ceu.hu



VALENTINA BETTIN

EUDO general
European University Institute
Valentina.Bettin@eui.eu



GABOR TOKA

Karamanlis Foundation Fellow
European University Institute /
Central European University
Tokag@ceu.hu



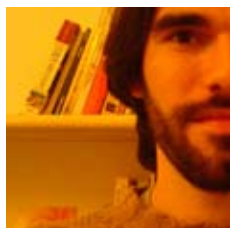
SARA GOODMAN WALLACE

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



VALERIO PAPPALARDO

EUDO webmaster
European University Institute
Valerio.Pappalardo@eui.eu



LORENZO DE SIO

Karamanlis Foundation Fellow
European University Institute /
University of Florence
Lorenzo.DeSio@eui.eu



STEFANIA MILAN

Observatory on Citizenship
European University Institute
EUCITAC_Assistant@eui.eu



WOJCIECH GAGATEK

Observatory on Political Parties
and Representation
European University Institute /
University of Warsaw
Wojciech.Gagatek@eui.eu



IV. Selected Publications

- Alvarez, R. M., Hall, T. and Trechsel, A. H., Internet Voting in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Estonia, *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42(3), 2009: 497-505.
- Bardi, L., Il nuovo Parlamento europeo, *Il Mulino*, 4, 2009: 610-618.
- Bardi, L., "Direct Elections and Legitimacy of the European Parliament", in Mény, Y. (ed.), *Building Parliament: 50 years of European Parliament History 1958-2008*. Brussels: European Parliament Publications, 2009: 38-44.
- Bardi, L., "Composition of Groups within the European Parliament", in Mény, Y. (ed.), *Building Parliament: 50 years of European Parliament History 1958-2008*. Brussels: European Parliament Publications, 2009: 45-60.
- Bardi, L. and Calossi, E., "Models of Party Organization and Europarties", in DeBardeleben, J. and Pammett, J. (eds.), *Activating the Citizen*. Houndmills Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009: 151-171.
- Bardi, L., Ignazi, P. and Massari, O., The Organization of Italian Political Parties since 1990, *Modern Italy*, forthcoming 2009.
- Bardi, L., *Party Membership Trends in Italy*. Paper presented to the conference Party membership in Europe, Düsseldorf, October 2009.
- Bartolini, S., "The Peculiar 'Constitutionalism' of the EU", in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*. Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.
- Bauböck, R., The rights and duties of external citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 475-499.
- Bauböck, R. and Guiraudon, V. (eds.), Realignments of Citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, special issue, 13(5), 2009.
- Bauböck, R. and Guiraudon, V., Introduction: realignments of citizenship, reassessing rights in the age of plural memberships and multi-level governance, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 439-450.
- Bauböck, R., Perchinig, B. and Sievers, W., *Citizenship Policies in the New Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.
- Bauböck, R., "Stakeholder Citizenship and Democratic Participation in Migration Contexts", in Fossum, J. E., Magnette, P. and Poirier, J. (eds.), *The Ties That Bind: Accommodating Diversity in Europe and in Canada / Ces liens qui unissent: accommoder la diversité en Europe et au Canada*. Brussels-Bern: Peter Lang, 2009: 105-128.
- Biezen van, I., Mair, P. and Poguntke, T., *Going, Going...Gone? Party Membership in the 21st Century*. Paper presented to the ECPR Joint Sessions, Lisbon, April 2009.
- Calossi, E. and Bardi, L., *Le elezioni europee in Italia e in Europa*. Paper presented to the conference Politica in Italia 2009, Bologna, November 2009.
- Casal Bértoa, F. and Mair, P., *Two Decades On: How Institutionalized are the Post-Communist Party Systems?* Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Lisbon, April 2009.
- Chwaszcza, C., The unity of the people, and immigration in liberal theory, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 451-473.
- de Witte, B., "The Rules of Change in the European Union – The Lost Balance between Rigidity and Flexibility", in Moury, C. and De Sousa, L. (eds.), *Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe – Governing Change*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009: 33-42.
- de Witte, B., "Executive Accountability under the European Constitution and the Lisbon Treaty: Nihil Novi sub Sole?", in Verhey, L., Kiiver, P. and Loeffen, S. (eds.), *Political Accountability and European Integration*. Groningen: Europa Law Publishing, 2009: 137-151.
- de Witte, B., "The Question of the Treaty Architecture: 1957-2007", in Ott, A. and Vos, E. (eds.), *Fifty Years of*

European Integration – Foundations and Perspectives. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2009: 9-20.

de Witte, B., “The Lisbon Treaty and National Constitutions. More or Less Europeanisation?”, in Closa, C. (ed.), *The Lisbon Treaty and National Constitutions. Europeanisation and Democratic Implications.* Oslo: ARENA Report No 3/2009: 25-48.

de Witte, B., The crumbling public/private divide: horizontality in European anti-discrimination law, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 515-525.

de Witte, B., “The Question of the Treaty Architecture: From the Spinelli Draft to the Lisbon Treaty”, in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Fabbrini, S., “The Constitutionalization of a Compound Polity: The European Union in American Perspective”, in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Franklin, M., and van der Eijk, C., *Elections and Voters.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Franklin, M., Mackie T. et al., *Electoral change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Nations.* Colchester: ECPR Press Classics in Political Science, 2009 (re-issue of a 1992 volume, with revisions).

Franklin, M. and Wessels, B., Turning out or turning off - do mobilization and attitudes account for turnout differences between new and established member states at the 2004 EP elections?, *Journal of European Integration*, 31(5), 2009: 609-626.

Franklin, M. and Weber, T., “American electoral arrangements in comparative perspective”, in Leighley, J. E. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behaviour.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Franklin, M. and Wessels, B., “Turning out or turning

off - do mobilization and attitudes account for turnout differences between new and established member states at the 2004 EP elections?”, in Schmitt, H. (ed.), *European Union elections after Eastern enlargement.* London: Taylor and Francis, forthcoming.

Franklin, M., van der Brug, W., Toka, G. and Popescu M., “Towards a European electorate: one electorate or many?”, in Thomassen, J. (ed.), *The Legitimacy of the European Union after Eastern Enlargement.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 65-92.

Franklin, M., “Préface”, in Cautrès, B. and Muxel, A. (ed.), *Comment les électeurs font-ils leur choix ? Le Panel Electoral Français.* Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2009 :13-15.

Gagatek, W., *European Political Parties as Campaign Organizations. Toward the politicization of the European Parliamentary elections.* Brussels: Centre for European Studies, 2009.

Gagatek, W., The European People's Party and the Party of European Socialists: government and opposition?, *European View*, 9, forthcoming 2009 (already available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/gx7t4251q4q0gn14/fulltext.pdf>).

Gagatek, W. (ed.), *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament - Country Reports.* Florence: European Union Democracy Observatory, 2009.

Gagatek, W., *Party Competition in the EU: Conflict and Collusion Between Political Parties at the European Level.* Paper presented to the ECPR General Conference, Potsdam, September 2009.

Glencross, A., “Altiero Spinelli and the Idea of the US Constitution as a Model for Europe: Promises and Pitfalls of an Analogy”, in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Glencross, A. and Trechsel, A. H., First or Second Order Referendums? Understanding the Votes on the EU Constitutional Treaty in Four EU Member States, *West European Politics*, forthcoming 2010.

Guiraudon, V., Equality in the making: implementing European non-discrimination law, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 527-529.

Héritier, A. and Farrell, H., "The invisible transformation of codecision: problems of democratic legitimacy", Moury, C. and De Sousa, L. (eds.), *Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe – Governing Change*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009: 108-120.

Héritier, A., "Formal and Informal Institutions: European Legislation under Codecision", in Christianssen, T. (ed.) *Handbook on Informal Politics*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar forthcoming 2010.

Héritier, A. and Moury, C., Contested Delegation - The Impact of Codecision on Comitology, in Rasmussen, A. and Naurin, D. (eds), Inter- and Intrainstitutional Change, *West European Politics*, special issue, forthcoming 2010.

Katz, R. S. and Mair, P., The Cartel Party Thesis, *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(4), forthcoming 2009.

Keating, M., Social citizenship, solidarity and welfare in regionalized and plurinational states, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 2009: 501-513.

Mair, P., *Representative versus Responsible Government*, MPIfG Working Paper 09/8. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, 2009. Available online: <http://www.mpifg.de/pu/%20workpap/wp09-8.pdf>.

Mair, P., *Representation, Responsibility and Opposition*. Paper presented to the Conference on Opposition in Contemporary Democracies, Université Libre du Bruxelles, May 2009.

Mair, P. and Thomassen, J., Political Representation and European Governance, *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming 2010.

O'Malley, E., Quinlan, S. and Mair, P., *Party Patronage in Ireland: Limited but Controversial*. Paper presented to the Workshop on Party Patronage, Leiden, November 2009.

Palayret, J.-M., "François Mitterrand and the Spinelli Treaty of 1984: Support or Instrumentalization?", in

Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*. Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Ponzano, P., "The 1984 Spinelli Draft Treaty: The Origins of the Constitutionalization of the EU", in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*. Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Shaw, J., "Citizenship and Enlargement: the outer limits of EU political citizenship", in Barnard, C. and Odudu, O. (eds.), *The Outer Limits of EU Law*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2009: 63-88.

Shaw, J., "The constitutional development of citizenship in the EU context: with or without the Treaty of Lisbon", in Pernice, I. and Tanchev, E. (eds.), *Ceci n'est pas une Constitution – Constitutionalisation without a Constitution?* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009: 104-118.

Shaw, J., "Citizenship and Electoral Rights in the Multi-Level 'Euro-Polity': the case of the United Kingdom", in Lindahl, H. (ed.), *A Right to Inclusion and Exclusion? Normative Fault Lines of the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2009: 241-253.

Shaw, J., "Political Rights and Multilevel Citizenship in Europe", in Guild, E., Groenendijk, K. and Carrera, S. (eds.), *Illiberal Liberal States: Immigration, Citizenship and Integration in the EU*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009: 29-49.

Tóka, G., A jó kormányzat, az ismeretgazdag választóközönség, és a tömegtájékoztatási rendszer összefüggései nemzetközi összehasonlításban (Good Governance, Informed Electorate, and the System of Mass Communication in Comparative Perspective), *Politikatudományi Szemle*, 18(2), 2009: 7-24 (in Hungarian).

Tóka, G., "Expressive vs. Instrumental Motivation of Turnout, Partisanship and Political Learning", in Klingemann, H.-D. (ed.), *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 269-288.

Tóka, G. and Gosselin, T., *Persistent Political Divides, Electoral Volatility and Citizen Involvement Across EU*

Member States: Testing the Freezing Hypotheses in the 2004 European Election. Paper presented to the General Conference of the ECPR, Potsdam, September 2009.

Tóka, G. and Henjak, A., *Institutional Design and Voting Behavior in East Central Europe: A Cross-National Comparison of the Impact of Leaders, Partisanship, Performance Evaluations and Ideology on the Vote.* Paper presented to the 21st World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Santiago, July 2009.

Tóka, G. and Popescu, M., *Public Television, Private Television and Citizens' Political Knowledge.*, Paper presented at the 2009 EPCR Joint Sessions of Workshops in Lisbon, April 2009.

Tóka, G., "The Impact of Everyday Political Talk on Political Knowledge and Voting Correctly", in Ikeda, K., Morales, L. and Wolf, M. (eds), *The Role of Political Discussion in Modern Democracies in a Comparative Perspective.* London: Routledge, forthcoming 2009.

Tóka, G. and Gosselin, T., Persistent Political Divides, Electoral Volatility and Citizen Involvement Across EU Member States: Testing the Freezing Hypotheses in the 2004 European Election, *West European Politics* 33(3), forthcoming 2010.

Trechsel, A. H., Reflexive Accountability and Direct Democracy, *West European Politics*, forthcoming 2010.

Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Trechsel, A. H., "Introduction: Federalism and Constitutionalism in the EU: The Enduring Relevance of Spinelli", in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A., "Conclusion: Spinelli and the Future of the EU", in Trechsel, A. H. and Glencross, A. (eds.), *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli.* Lanham: Lexington Books, forthcoming 2010.

Trechsel, A. H. and Mair, P., *When Parties Position Themselves: an Introduction to the EU Profiler.* Paper presented to the APSA Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, September 2009, and to the ECPR General Conference, Potsdam, September 2009.



Some of the photos used in this report were taken by Niccolò Tognarini.

Notes

www.eudo.eu

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