



Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698

**RECON**  
**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe**

Integrated Project  
Priority: 7 - Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society

**Deliverable No. 58**  
**RECON Midterm Conference**

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Lead contractors for this deliverable:

Final Version

Partner 6 ASCR

Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Partner 1 ARENA – Centre for European Studies

University of Oslo, Norway

<b>Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)</b>		
<b>Dissemination Level</b>		
<b>PU</b>	Public	X
<b>PP</b>	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
<b>RE</b>	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	X
<b>CO</b>	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

## 1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 58 – *RECON Midterm Conference* – is part of work package 1 – Theoretical Framework – and work package 10 – Dissemination. WP 1 establishes the theoretical framework underlying the whole project and ensures integration of research, and the conference will serve as means to collect and integrate the research results so far. WP 10 focuses on both internal communication and interaction as well as on reaching out to the broader academic community and beyond. In this regard, the conference was a major deliverable, as the first day of the conference was public and devoted to open plenary sessions, whereas the second day was restricted to conference participants and dedicated to parallel work package sessions. Approximately 100 RECON members from all work packages and RECON project partners participated.

## 2. Presentation of the conference

RECON Midterm Conference was held in Prague on 9-10 October 2009, and was organised by the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and RECON coordinator ARENA, University of Oslo. In addition to RECON members, the conference gathered policy makers, civil society actors, students and representatives from the general public to discuss the RECON project's focus on the future of democracy in Europe. The aim was to engage participants in a constructive discussion on the theoretical models underlying the project, as well as taking stock of RECON's research halfway through the project. Can democracy be reconstituted at the European level, and if so, in what form? Are we now witnessing the third transformation of democracy – to a post national form – thus succeeding citystate and nation state based versions of democracy? These core questions were discussed at the conference in Prague. The first day of the conference was devoted to one keynote speech on each of the three RECON models, as well as one roundtable on each model to allow for more in-depth discussions on the models and on preliminary findings from the project. The second day proceeded with parallel work package sessions and was ended by a plenary session, 'The EU with Lisbon: From a RECON Perspective'.

After an opening speech by Vladimír Špidla (EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities) and opening remarks by Zdenka Mansfeldova (Institute for Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), Angela Liberatore (European Commission, DG Research) and scientific coordinator Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA, University of Oslo), the keynote speakers addressed the fruitfulness of the models and brought further insight to whether they are productive ways of conceiving democracy.

The keynote speech on the first RECON model was entitled 'EU as a regulatory regime' and held by Giandomenico Majone (European University Institute). Majone emphasized how member states, legitimized through its component, remains the most viable option for democracy in the European Union. Despite developments since the mid 1980s beyond a strict 'regulatory regime', the EU remains at heart dependent on its member states for legitimacy for several reasons. Majone claimed that we need to understand the actual functioning of the EU in order to develop a coherent strategy for 'reconstituting' democracy in a viable way. As the EU has enlarged substantially, it has become much more heterogeneous. From the point of view of efficient governance, a more diverse EU also requires more flexible and diverse regulation. Thus, enlargement has decreased the potential for efficient positive integration. Secondly, Majone argued that we need to take into account how integration has been justified

so far. In his point of view, the solution to the EU's democratic deficit lies in a substantial reversal of EU competencies to reinforce the regulatory regime, the significant strengthening of control by national parliaments over government activity in Brussels, and a reliance on negative integration rather than positive integration for further efficiency gains in European governance.



From left: Scientific coordinator Erik O. Eriksen, EU Commissioner Vladimir Spidla and prof. Giandomenico Majone

Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (University of Hannover) held the keynote speech 'EU as a multinational federal state', on the second RECON model. Schmalz-Bruns reflected on the relationship between democracy and statehood, but his focus was not on the question whether the EU can and should become a state. Instead, he aimed at a conceptual clarification of the relationship between the concepts of democratic legitimacy and the state. He argued that asking the question 'what democracy for what EU?' already implicitly refers to the idea of a state-like political order. In this sense Schmalz-Bruns assumes that democratic legitimacy and a formal concept of statehood are internally linked – also regarding the context of a democratic multi-level polity.

Following this, Hauke Brunkhorst (University of Flensburg) held a keynote speech entitled 'EU as a cosmopolitan order', addressing the third RECON model. Brunkhorst argued that the global order already is a cosmopolitan order, defined as an order of global public communication and legal unification – a world wide republic of 'civitas universale'. Brunkhorst argued that the idea of such an order is not something specifically European. Legal orders built on this dual structure of universal law and particular and changing commentaries are dynamically designed to transcend themselves. In this context, Brunkhorst found the Lisbon-Treaty judgment of the German 'Bundesverfassungsgericht' to be interesting only because it does not recognize the self-transcendence of democratic constitutions. He argued that it misinterprets the relation between the constitution and the state as it does not realize that state is not necessary for democracy. Second, Brunkhorst argued that the evolution of functionally differentiated legal systems in sovereign states led to the emergence of modern constitutional law. This basic legal structure was later copied by democratic states and, more recently, by the 'European law'. He finds that the current domination of the EU decision-making by the executive branches of the member states and of the Union is a serious democratic problem. Brunkhorst hence suggested that a transformation of the Union into a democratic organization will take serious public conflicts for the law and political leaders who will dare to move political decision-making from the intransparent technocratic processes into civic and public conflicts on the European level. EU leaders have

to dare to make power struggles a public affair. In that way, the EU's role in the global cosmopolitan order will be more legitimate.

Aiming at critical exchanges on the relative merits of the general RECON framework, the keynote speeches were followed by discussants Deirdre Curtin (University of Amsterdam), Ulrike Liebert (University of Bremen) and Agustín José Menéndez (University of León).



Roundtable: (from left) Jana Reschova, Yvonne Galligan, Zdzislaw Mach and Agustín José Menéndez.

After lunch, the conference proceeded with roundtable debates, introduced by John Erik Fossum (ARENA, University of Oslo). Based on short summaries of each of the project's work packages, which outlined preliminary theoretical and empirical findings, the roundtable debates opened up for more in-depth discussions on the models and on preliminary findings from the project. The debates focused on and scrutinised the models, but also discussed a set of more general issues pertaining to the different ways of discussing democracy in the European setting. In particular, the aim was to assess the models in light of the achievements so far in the project. What are the challenges for empirical research based on the theoretical models? How to meet the challenges and what are the alternatives?

The second day of the conference was devoted to parallel work package sessions for the discussion of ongoing research, status of work and plans for the remainder of the project. During the day, all the work packages had their sessions, chaired by the work package leaders.

The conference was ended by a roundtable on 'EU with Lisbon: From a RECON perspective'. This final roundtable drew attention to the Lisbon Treaty and its effects on democracy in the European Union. While introducing the Roundtable's participants, Chairman Carlos Closa (Spanish National Research Council, CSIC) argued that in order to evaluate the Lisbon Treaty, one has to look both at the end result as well as the way in which it was created. In his words: 'The democratic quality of the constitution lies partly in the process by which it is created'. Participant Christian Joerges (ZERP, University of Bremen) focused on the ruling of the German constitutional court. He said the ruling had evoked a lot of criticism, partially because the message given by the court in its ruling on integration is mixed, but claimed that is generally well constructed. It neither prescribes other Member States what to do, nor enforces a single juridical understanding of European constitutionalisation on other courts. Its main argument – that the creation of a European federation requires a referendum in Germany – is perfectly defensible from a democratic point of view.

The second contributor, Augustin Menendez (University of Leon) focused on the process by which the Lisbon Treaty has been created. He argued that it is unlikely that the Lisbon Treaty

will persuade citizens to see themselves as the authors of the European constitution, rather than just its subjects. From a democratic point of view, Menendez find it hard to understand how European leaders understood these two no-votes, and the later Irish no-vote, as a mandate to impose pretty much the same Treaty without referenda afterwards. He think what is needed is a new discussion on a small and coherent constitution – the Charter of Human Rights for example – without ‘ifs’ and ‘buts’. That would be the only democratic way to constitutionalise Europe.

The third contributor, Christopher Lord (ARENA, University of Oslo) argued that even though it seems unlikely there will be any further Treaty reforms in the near Future, there remain many possibilities to strengthen democracy in the EU without formal Treaty changes. One suggestion is a secret vote by the European Parliament on the instalment of the President of the European Commission, another to listing the European party federation candidates for European Parliament elections will join on the ballot box.

In the final contribution to the roundtable, Stefan Collignon (Sant’Anna School of Advanced Studies) drew on his experience as a former member of the Amato group to evaluate democratic practice in European constitution-making in practice. He argued that leaders of Member State governments are often aware of the disadvantages of having the European Union rely on intergovernmental decision-making. They clearly agree that the optimal solution would be to empower the European Commission to initiate Treaty revisions. To avoid the under supply of European public goods, we need a genuine European government, although this does not necessarily imply the need for a European state. Thus, some rules need to be made at European level, but enforcement of those rules can be left to the member states. The roundtable debate was followed by an open discussion.



Plenary session: (from left) Carlos Closa, Agustín José Menéndez, Christopher Lord, Stefan Collignon and Christian Joerges

### **3. Participants**

See attachment.

### **4. Programme**

See attachment.



## RECON Midterm Conference

Prague, 9-10 October 2009

### List of participants

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|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Appeltová, Michaela       | Forum 50%   |
| 2. Auer, Stefan              | La Trobe University                                 |
| 3. Batura, Olga              | ZERP, University of Bremen                          |
| 4. Bátora, Jozef             | Comenius University                                 |
| 5. Bicchi, Federica          | London School of Economics and Political<br>Science |
| 6. Blichner, Lars            | University of Bergen                                |
| 7. Bodor, Péter              | Eötvös Loránd University                            |
| 8. Bouda, Pavel              | European Commission                                 |
| 9. Bozzini, Emanuela         | University of Trento                                |
| 10. Brunkhorst, Hauke        | University of Flensburg                             |
| 11. Brzezinska, Olga         | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 12. Carta, Caterina          | London School of Economics and Political<br>Science |
| 13. Clavero, Sara            | Queen's University Belfast                          |
| 14. Closa Montero, Carlos    | Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)            |
| 15. Collignon, Stefan        | Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies                |
| 16. Curtin, Deirdre          | University of Amsterdam                             |
| 17. de Wilde, Pieter         | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 18. Dvořáková, Vladimíra     | University of Economics Prague                      |
| 19. Eder, Klaus              | Humboldt University                                 |
| 20. Eriksen, Erik Oddvar     | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 21. Everson, Michelle        | Birkbeck, University of London                      |
| 22. Fisher Onar, Nora        | Bahcesehir University                               |
| 23. Foret, Francois          | Université Libre de Bruxelles                       |
| 24. Forst, Rainer            | Johann Wolfgang Goethe University                   |
| 25. Fossum, John Erik        | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 26. Galella, Patricio        | Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)            |
| 27. Galent, Marcin           | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 28. Galligan, Yvonne         | Queen's University Belfast                          |
| 29. Gaus, Daniel             | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 30. Góra, Magdalena          | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 31. Guasti, Petra            | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic           |
| 32. Gursoy, Yaprak           | Sabancı University                                  |
| 33. Hansen-Magnusson, Hannes | University of Hamburg                               |
| 34. Hašková, Hana            | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic           |
| 35. Holst, Cathrine          | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 36. Illés, Anikó             | Eötvös Loránd University                            |
| 37. Joerges, Christian       | ZERP, University of Bremen                          |
| 38. Kantner, Cathleen        | Freie Universität Berlin                            |
| 39. Kjaer, Poul F.           | Johann Wolfgang Goethe University                   |
| 40. Kohler-Koch, Beate       | University of Mannheim                              |

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| 41. Kolodziej, Jacek          | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 42. Kriza, Borbala            | Eötvös Loránd University                            |
| 43. Kröger, Sandra            | CEuS, University of Bremen                          |
| 44. Křížková, Alena           | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic           |
| 45. Kubicki, Pawel            | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 46. Kurucz, Erika             | Eötvös Loránd University                            |
| 47. Kutter, Amelie            | Freie Universität Berlin                            |
| 48. Kvaerk, Geir Ove          | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 49. Lacroix, Justine          | Université Libre de Bruxelles                       |
| 50. Letelier Wartenberg, Raul | University of León                                  |
| 51. Liberatore, Angela        | European Commission                                 |
| 52. Liebert, Ulrike           | CEuS, University of Bremen                          |
| 53. List, Heike               | Johann Wolfgang Goethe University                   |
| 54. Lord, Christopher         | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 55. Mach, Zdzislaw            | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 56. Majone, Giandomenico      | European University Institute                       |
| 57. Mansfeldová, Zdenka       | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic           |
| 58. Maříková, Hana            | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic           |
| 59. Mayes, David              | University of Auckland                              |
| 60. Menéndez, Agustín José    | University of León                                  |
| 61. Miklin, Eric              | Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam                        |
| 62. Möller, Kolja             | ZERP, University of Bremen                          |
| 63. Müftüler-Bac, Meltem      | Sabancı University                                  |
| 64. Neyer, Jürgen             | European University Viadrina                        |
| 65. Nickel, Rainer            | University of Frankfurt                             |
| 66. O'Brien, Claire           | EUI/Danish Institute for Human Rights               |
| 67. Olsen, Espen              | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 68. Packham, Katrin           | CEuS, University of Bremen                          |
| 69. Pawlak, Ewelina           | CEuS, University of Bremen                          |
| 70. Pollak, Johannes          | OEAW/Webster University                             |
| 71. Pozarlik, Grzegorz        | Jagiellonian University                             |
| 72. Puetter, Uwe              | Central European University                         |
| 73. Reisig, Tamara            | Friedrich Ebert Stiftung                            |
| 74. Rényi, Ágnes              | Eötvös Loránd University                            |
| 75. Reschová, Jana            | Charles University                                  |
| 76. Riddervold, Marianne      | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 77. Rittberger, Berthold      | MZES, University of Mannheim                        |
| 78. Rovná, Lenka              | Charles University                                  |
| 79. Rovný, Jan                | University of North Carolina                        |
| 80. Sackmann, Rosemarie       | CEuS, University of Bremen                          |
| 81. Schelkle, Waltraud        | London School of Economics and Political<br>Science |
| 82. Schmalz-Bruns, Rainer     | University of Hannover                              |
| 83. Schmidt, Vivien Ann       | Boston University                                   |
| 84. Schmitter, Philippe C.    | European University Institute                       |
| 85. Schulz-Forberg, Hagen     | University of Aarhus                                |
| 86. Sigalas, Emmanuel         | Austrian Academy of Sciences (OEAW)                 |
| 87. Sjursen, Helene           | ARENA, University of Oslo                           |
| 88. Špidla, Vladimír          | European Commission                                 |
| 89. Šeráková, Nad'a           | Forum 50%   |
| 90. Tamvaki, Dionysia         | University of Reading                               |
| 91. Taskin, Evrim             | Sabancı University                                  |

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| 92. Trezz, Hans-Jörg                   | ARENA, University of Oslo                     |
| 93. Türkes, Selin                      | Sabancı University                            |
| 94. Uhde, Zuzana                       | Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic     |
| 95. Vajda, Roza                        | Eötvös Loránd University                      |
| 96. van Wijnbergen, Christa<br>Science | London School of Economics and Political      |
| 97. Vestlund, Nina Merethe             | ARENA, University of Oslo                     |
| 98. Voráček, Emil                      | Charles University/Historical Institute AS CR |
| 99. Wagner, Wolfgang                   | PRIF/Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam             |
| 100. Weimer de Matta, Maria            | European University Institute                 |
| 101. Wiener, Antje                     | University of Hamburg                         |
| 102. Zielinska, Katarzyna              | Jagiellonian University                       |
| 103. Znoj, Milan                       | Charles University                            |



## RECON midterm conference

Prague, 9-10 October 2009

### Programme

Friday, 9 October 2009

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- 08:30 *Registration and coffee*
- 09:00 **Opening speech**  
**Vladimír Špidla**  
*EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities*
- 09:30 **Welcoming remarks**  
**Zdenka Mansfeldova**  
*Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*
- Angela Liberatore**  
*European Commission, DG Research*
- 09:45 **RECON half way**  
**Erik O. Eriksen**  
*RECON scientific coordinator, ARENA, University of Oslo*
- 10:00 **Keynote speech: EU as a regulatory regime (RECON model 1)**  
**Giandomenico Majone**  
*Emeritus Professor, European University Institute*
- Discussant: Deirdre Curtin**, *University of Amsterdam*
- 10:45 *Coffee*
- 11:00 **Keynote speech: EU as a multinational federal state (RECON model 2)**  
**Rainer Schmalz-Bruns**, *University of Hannover*
- Discussant: Ulrike Liebert**, *University of Bremen*
- 11:45 **Keynote speech: EU as a cosmopolitan order (RECON model 3)**  
**Hauke Brunkhorst**, *University of Flensburg*
- Discussant: Agustín José Menéndez**, *University of León*
- 12:30 *Lunch*

Friday, 9 October 2009

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13:30 **Introduction**

**John Erik Fossum**

*ARENA, University of Oslo*

13:45 **The problem of delegation / Democracy and accountability**

*Roundtable on RECON model 1*

**Chair:** **Christopher Lord** *ARENA, University of Oslo*

**Participants:** **Christian Joerges** *ZERP, University of Bremen*  
**Berthold Rittberger** *MZES, University of Mannheim*  
**Vivien Schmidt** *Boston University*  
**Wolfgang Wagner** *VU University Amsterdam/  
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*

15:00 **Identity, community and justice**

*Roundtable on RECON model 2*

**Chair:** **Hans-Jörg Trenez** *ARENA, University of Oslo*

**Participants:** **Yvonne Galligan** *Queen's University Belfast*  
**Zdzislaw Mach** *Jagiellonian University*  
**Agustín J. Menéndez** *University of León*  
**Jana Reschova** *Charles University/University of  
Economics, Prague*

16:15 *Coffee*

16:45 **The state/non-state dimension**

*Roundtable on RECON model 3*

**Chair:** **John Erik Fossum** *ARENA, University of Oslo*

**Participants:** **Rainer Forst** *Johann Wolfgang Goethe University*  
**Beate Kohler-Koch** *University of Mannheim*  
**Claire O'Brien** *Danish Institute for Human Rights*  
**Philippe C. Schmitter** *European University Institute*

18:00 *Coffee*

19:30 *Common departure for dinner (hotel reception)*

20:00 *Dinner: Letenský zámek (Chateau Letna)*

## Saturday, 10 October 2009

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	<b>Parallel work package sessions</b>		
<i>Room</i>	<i>Vienna</i>	<i>Prague D</i>	<i>Prague C</i>
09:00	<b>WP 2</b> <b>Constitutional politics</b>  <i>Chair: John Erik Fossum</i>	<b>WP 6</b> <b>The Foreign and Security Dimension</b>  <i>Chairs: Helene Sjursen, Wolfgang Wagner</i>	<b>WP 4</b> <b>Gender, Democracy and Justice</b>  <i>Chair: Yvonne Galligan</i>
10:30	<i>Coffee break</i>		
11:00	<b>WP 9</b> <b>Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared</b>  <i>Chairs: Christian Joerges, John Erik Fossum</i>	<b>WP 3</b> <b>Representation and Institutional Make-up</b>  <i>Chair: Christopher Lord</i>	<b>WP 8</b> <b>Identity Formation and Enlargement</b>  <i>Chair: Zdzislaw Mach</i>
12:30	<i>Lunch</i>		
13:30	<b>WP 1</b> <b>Theoretical Framework</b>  <i>Chairs: Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum</i>	<b>WP 7</b> <b>The Political Economy of the EU</b>  <i>Chairs: Agustín José Menéndez, Raul Letelier</i>	<b>WP 5</b> <b>Civil Society and the Public Sphere</b>  <i>Chairs: Ulrike Liebert, Hans-Jörg Trenz</i>
15:00	<i>Coffee break</i>		
15:30	<b>Plenary session</b> <b>Roundtable on 'EU with Lisbon: From a RECON perspective'</b> <i>Open discussion</i>		
17:00	<i>End of conference</i>		
17:15	<b>Scientific Advisory Committee meeting</b> <i>RECON work package leaders</i>		<i>Vienna</i>
	<b>Gender Assessment Panel meeting</b> <i>One representative from each work package</i>		<i>Prague D</i>
19:30	<i>Common departure for dinner (hotel reception)</i>		
20:00	<i>Dinner: <b>Plzeňská Restaurace</b> (Pilsner Restaurant, Municipal House)</i>		

## Sunday, 11 October 2009

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08:45	<b>Meeting point in the hotel reception for optional activities</b> <i>For registered participants</i>  <b>A) Guided walking tour of Prague (09:00-12:00)</b>  <b>B) Half-day trip to Karlovy Vary/Carlsbad (09:00-15:30, ca. 6-7 hours)</b>
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