

# From the coordinator

RECON is an integrated project based on an overall theoretical framework, to which all research conducted in the various thematic fields relate, although in different ways. This indeed represents challenges, not least due to the multidisciplinary character of the project and the many researchers involved. At a recent project workshop in Oslo, most partners and all work packages were represented at a full-day session, which dealt with the application of the RECON models. This event helped to familiarise participants with the project's approach and intellectual tools, permit space for an ongoing critical engagement with the overarching architectonics of the project, and take stock of and discuss the process of applying the RECON models within the different work packages.

## Activities in the first 1,5 years

Close to one and a half year into the project, we can look back at a significant level of activity. The theoretical perspective of the project has been elaborated and further developed, and common indicators and criteria of the models have been developed in cooperative settings. RECON's research has so far resulted in numerous scientific publications in the form of articles in peer-reviewed journals, book chapters, working papers and reports. RECON's *Online Working Paper Series* has proven successful for the publication of ongoing research and reaches out to a broad audience. A total of 13 workshops and one summer school have

been organised, in addition to several smaller seminars and the kick-off conference. These events not only serve to strengthen the integration of research across work packages and research teams, but also attract attention to the project's research and promote dialogue with policy makers and civil society. The close to 90 researchers involved in the project have thus had the opportunity to meet at a number of project workshops and meetings, and at other major international conferences.

## New partners

We are very pleased to announce in this Newsletter RECON's selection of two new partners: *The Institute for European Integration Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences* and the *Europe Institute at the University of Auckland*. They are both leading institutions in the field of European integration research, and we are proud to have them on board. RECON will also extend to a third, affiliated partner: *Mannheim Center for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim*, which submitted a research proposal that received excellent evaluations in our competitive call.

## This issue of RECON's Newsletter

Our new teams and their research focus are introduced in this Newsletter. The issue also presents the research by Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero in the field of gender, justice and democracy in Europe. Emphasis is on the development of gender equality indicators for a democratic audit that is to be conducted under the direction of Christopher Lord in the work package on representation and institutional make-up. Moreover, we have an essay by Meltem Müftüler-



Enlargement festivities, European Community © 2004

Baç, who discusses the role of EU conditionality in Turkish domestic political change, and a summary of the discussions at a RECON workshop on parliamentary control of European security policy.

ARENA - Centre for European Studies  
University of Oslo, RECON coordinator



Marit Eldholm, John Erik Fossum, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Helene Sjursen, Geir Kverk and Hans-Jörg Trenz

## RECON partners:

ARENA, University of Oslo  
Center for Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid  
Eötvös Loránd University Budapest  
Europe Institute, University of Auckland (from July 2008)

European University Institute, Florence  
Free University Berlin  
Institute for European Integration Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna (from July 2008)  
Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

Jagiellonian University, Krakow  
Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt  
London School of Economics and Political Science  
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt  
Queen's University Belfast  
Riga Graduate School of Law

Sabancı University, Istanbul  
Université Libre de Bruxelles  
University of Bath  
University of Bremen  
University of León  
University of Reading  
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

# New RECON partners

Following RECON's call for new partners this winter, two institutions have been selected to join the project from mid-2008. The partners are recruited for the research fields 'Representation and Institutional Make-up' (RECON work package 3) and 'The Political Economy of the EU' (RECON work package 7). The new partners were selected on the basis of research proposals evaluated by independent experts. They both presented excellent project proposals which fit very well with RECON's research agenda.

## Institute for European Integration Research Austrian Academy of Sciences

The Austrian Academy of Sciences is the leading organisation promoting non-university academic research institutions in Austria. Highly qualified researchers from Austria and abroad are included among the members of the Academy and guarantee the community's excellence in the sciences and humanities. The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) is devoted to the study of different policy fields and their multi-dimensional fragmentation within the EU system of multi-level governance. The EIF is the leading research institution on European integration in Austria.

See more on: <http://www.eif.oeaw.ac.at>

### Research tasks

The team at the Austrian Academy of Sciences will take part in RECON's WP 3 – *Representation and Institutional Make-up* and investigate the shaping of representative claims in EP elections. The results will contribute to depicting a policy-differentiated picture of representative claims and to draw conclusions about the validity of RECON's models.

*'This is a young team, well-trained and enthusiastically focussing upon something concrete and extremely relevant both from the point of view of what is wrong with the EU and how to fix it.'*

From the evaluation report

The contribution of EIF's research to RECON is twofold:

(1) Based on a critique of the latest developments in representative theory which either neglect the influence of structural and institutional frames for the formulation of representative claims or over-emphasize the role of the audience, i.e. the social group of representatives, in defining who represents or who does not, the EIF will develop a framework for the analysis of representative systems. This framework comprises selection mechanisms (e.g. election, nomination), authorisation grounds (e.g. common interests), responsiveness types (e.g. allocational) and representative styles (e.g. trustee). These elements can be combined in various ways so as to make up specific representative systems, which again can be linked to RECON's three analytical models. Each model allocates different roles to the various representatives and thus, the meaning, structure and character of EP elections differ.

*'It offers an innovative angle from which to look at and test RECON's three models of legitimacy.'*

From the evaluation report

(2) In a second, empirical part, this assumption will be tested by way of example of the EP elections 2009. Focus will be on the influence of European party federations on the election campaigns, which is a research field of particular interest in light of a recent EC regulation aiming to enhance the role of European political parties during the next European elections in 2009, and to allow the financing by

these European parties of European electoral campaigns. The main questions are: Which representative claims are formulated during EP electoral campaigns? Do we find similar/common claims in the selected countries? In how far are those claims influenced by common strategies orchestrated by European party federations? And finally, are such similar/common claims more frequent in some policy fields than in others?



**Doz. Dr. Johannes Pollak** is Senior Research Fellow at the EIF and will lead the Austrian Academy of Sciences' team in RECON. He is Lecturer at the Universities of Vienna, Salzburg and Webster (Vienna) and has been Leverhulme Fellow at the University of Reading, Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre, EUI and Senior Visiting Fellow at the LSE. His research interests include European integration and democracy, political representation and supranational legitimacy.

**Dr. Jozef Bátora** is Research Fellow at EIF. He was previously Senior Researcher at ARENA – Centre for European Studies and PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo. He has been a visiting scholar at Scancor, Stanford University. His research interests encompass change dynamics in diplomacy, processes of institutional change, organization theory and the Common Foreign and Security Policy.



**Dr. Monika Mokre** is a political scientist and Deputy Director of EIF. She is Lecturer at the Universities of Innsbruck, Salzburg and Vienna. Her research fields include European democracy and the European public sphere, gender studies, media and cultural politics.

**Dr. Peter Slominski** is Research Fellow at the EIF and Lecturer at the Institute of Government, University of Vienna. He studied political science (MA), law (MA) and sociology (Dr) at the universities of Vienna and Amsterdam, and has worked at the Vienna Law School. Slominski has participated in and coordinated a wide range of research projects, and is the author of numerous journal articles, monographs, edited volumes and book contributions.





## Europe Institute University of Auckland, New Zealand

The University of Auckland is New Zealand's premier university, sited in the heart of the country's largest city. It has a strong international reputation in research in a wide range of fields including European studies. The Europe Institute is multidisciplinary in character and aims to promote research, scholarship and teaching on contemporary Europe and EU-related issues, including social and economic relations, political processes, trade and investments, security, human rights, education, culture and collaboration on shared Europe-New Zealand concerns.

See more on: <http://www.europe.auckland.ac.nz/uo/about/research/centresinstitutes/europe-institute/>

### Research tasks

The team at the University of Auckland will take part in RECON's WP 7 – *Political Economy of the European Union*. The team will focus on welfare policy and explore how the different systems of social insurance and the levels at which they are administered contribute to the three models of democratic government that form the heart

*'The group is a well-assorted group of researchers, with an excellent institutional basis and good opportunities to work in other first-rate institutional settings in Europe. They have very good research track-record on European matters, and the fact that their institutional basis is in New Zealand offers an interesting comparative perspective.'*

From the evaluation report

of the RECON project. Building on earlier work developed in the context of social exclusion it will explore the socio-economic constitutions of the member states in the context of the four welfare regimes or 'social models' that have been identified in the EU, that is: 'Anglo-Saxon', 'corporatist', 'social-democratic' and 'southern'. The overriding aim is to put together a picture of the way in which the social welfare system that is developing in Europe interacts with the process of democratic government.

The team's multidisciplinary work programme is embedded in social policy, economics and political science, and consists of seven interrelated modules that between them explore the relationship between the range of social welfare regimes in the EU and democratic government. It seeks first to establish how the welfare regimes can be categorised, their commonalities, how they are changing and how the open method is contributing to the development of a European social model in the face of enlargement. It investigates



Clock tower at the University of Auckland



**Prof. David Mayes** is Adjunct Professor at the Europe Institute and will lead the University of Auckland's research team in RECON. He has a long career of research in European integration, including the running of an extensive network on social protection and exclusion (EXSPRO). Mayes has a broad career from academic institutions and the public sector, primarily in the UK, Finland and New Zealand, and he has also been a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels.

**Dr. Christine Cheyne** is Senior Lecturer at Massey University. She has a substantial track record in social policy research, teaching and practice in New Zealand, including engaging in high-level policy advice on social policy and sustainable development as an Advisor in the Office of the Prime Minister. Her particular expertise is in relation to employment-based social policy, welfare reform, and poverty measurement.



**Dr. Anna Michalski** is Senior Research Fellow at the Europe Institute and Senior Researcher at the Swedish Institute for European Policy Research (SIEPS). Michalski has worked in the Forward Studies Unit of the European Commission, with responsibilities for enlargement to the candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe and for the development of European integration with emphasis on social trends and attitudes. Michalski has been Senior Research Fellow at the Clingendael Institute, The Hague, where she published work on Governance and Governing Europe, the European Convention and constitutional reform and on the Lisbon Strategy.

**Prof. Crispin Shore** is Professor of Anthropology and Co-Director of the Europe Institute. He focuses mainly on social anthropology in Europe, and has worked on multi-level governance, sovereignty, public policy and accountability, which will be of fundamental value in addressing the interaction of welfare provision and democracy in the EU. Shore is also an acknowledged authority in the anthropology of public policy.



the nature of social insurance, going beyond the formally designated programmes to look at all the means used. To explore the extent of social heterogeneity and the distributive dimension it looks in particular at how inequality affects both social provision and democratic polarisation.

*'As to the study of different models of socio-economic insurance, this project is excellent.'*

From the evaluation report

Developing this it explores how democratic choice and private and voluntary social provision are related. To explore how effective social cohesion is being developed in the EU in a pluralistic environment it goes beyond the issues of monetary compensation and considers the role of active approaches to social welfare and the creation of capabilities for social inclusion. This leads to an investigation of the independent agencies involved in this provision that are not directly democratically accountable and how this relates to the democratic deficit. The analysis is completed by a case study of the approach of EU social welfare systems to the bearing and raising of children to provide an insight into the role of gender and the extent of equal treatment.



# New affiliated partner

As a result of the strong competition in RECON's call for new partners, the project will include a third new partner institution as an *affiliated partner*. The research proposal of the Mannheim Center for European Social Research received excellent evaluations and includes a strong group of researchers located in one of the best institutes of Europe.

## Mannheim Center for European Social Research, University of Mannheim

MZES is one of the leading social science research institutions in Europe. Research at the Center displays particular strengths in empirical-analytical approaches to European integration and EU multi-level governance as well as in the application of a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods. The MZES is involved in several international research networks and currently hosts the Network of Excellence CONNEX (*Connecting Excellence on European Governance*).

See more on: <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/>

*'This is an excellent project at the very frontier of current EU research. The proposal to study the relative independence of specialized and regulatory agencies in the EU and their non-majoritarian character is both sophisticatedly presented and worthwhile.'*

From the evaluation report

### Research tasks

The team at MZES will be included in RECON's WP 3 – *Representation and Institutional Make-up*. The research draws on previous work that attempts to theorise agency governance and analyze its implications for democratic and legitimate governance in Europe. It offers a conceptually and methodologically innovative and integrated perspective on 'agency governance' and its

implications for the EU system of representation. First, the question of agency independence is addressed by exploring the institutional make-up and overall embeddedness of EU agencies in the EU's political system. This allows for an assessment of agencies' formal institutional independence and lends itself to a first review of the normative and positive claims made by scholars on agency independence. Second, a web-based survey to empirically investigate the attitudes of agency personnel and members of their governing bodies will be carried out in order to obtain information on their attitudes towards EU govern-

ance in general and representation in particular. Information will also be obtained about the channels and modes of consultation and thus the deliberative quality of agency decision-making in order to probe claims from deliberative democratic theory. The research will permit robust conclusions with a view to establishing the direction of change of the EU's democratic order.



**Prof. Berthold Rittberger** is Chair of Political Science and Contemporary History at the University of Mannheim. He has written broadly on EU integration and constitutionalisation, new institutional theory and the democratic quality of the EU. In his prize-winning book *Building Europe's Parliament: Democratic Representation Beyond the Nation-State*, he has explored the empowerment of the European Parliament since the early days of European integration.

**Dr. Arndt Wonka** is Postdoctoral Research Fellow at MZES. He completed his doctoral research at the University of Mannheim in May 2007. In his dissertation he analyzed the tension between non-majoritarian and political dispositions within the European Commission as well as the Commission's role in EU legislative politics. His main research interests are institutions and legislative politics in the EU and political interest intermediation by political parties and other societal actors both in the EU as well as comparatively.



## RECON Online Working Papers

The RECON Online Working Paper Series publishes pre-print manuscripts on democracy and the democratisation of the political order in Europe. The topics of the series correspond to the research focus of RECON's work packages.

Recent publications in the series:

2008/07

*Hans-Jörg Trezz*

**In Search of the European Public Sphere: Between Normative Overstretch and Empirical Disenchantment**

2008/06

*Christian Joerges/Florian Rödl*

**On the "Social Deficit" of the European Integration Project and its Perpetuation Through the ECJ Judgements in Viking and Laval**

2008/05

*Yvonne Galligan/Sara Clavero*

**Researching Gender Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Prospects**

2008/04

*Thomas Risse/Jana Katharina Grabowsky*

**European Identity Formation in the Public Sphere and in Foreign Policy**

2008/03

*Jens Steffek*

**Public Accountability and the Public Sphere of International Governance**

2008/02

*Christoph Haug*

**Public Spheres within Movements: Linking Transnational Social Movements Research and the (Re)search for a European Public Sphere**

2008/01

*James Caporaso/Sidney Tarrow*

**Polanyi in Brussels: European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society**

The papers are available in electronic format only, and can be downloaded from RECON's website:

[www.reconproject.eu/project-web/portalproject/RECON-WorkingPapers.html](http://www.reconproject.eu/project-web/portalproject/RECON-WorkingPapers.html)

The series is part of the European Research Papers Archive (ERPA):

<http://eiop.or.at/erpa>

online RE/CON working paper series





# Turkey and the European Union's Political Conditionality

Meltem Müftüler-Baç

Professor of International Relations and Jean Monnet Professor at Sabanci University

When Turkey began its accession negotiations with the European Union in October 2005, this created a renewed interest in understanding Turkey's politics. A question looming in many minds in assessing Turkey's fit as an EU member was whether Turkey conforms to the basic principles of European democracy. This concern is highly salient in spite of the European Commission's assessment in its 2004 Progress Report that 'Turkey sufficiently fulfills the political aspects of the Copenhagen criteria', based upon which Turkey's accession negotiations were opened. Though Turkey was deemed to meet the political criteria, there was still doubt in the minds of European officials, as underscored by the stipulation in the 2005 Negotiating Framework for that 'In the case of a serious and persistent breach in Turkey on the principles of democracy [...] the Commission will, on its own initiative or on the request of one third of the Member States, recommend the suspension of negotiations'.<sup>1</sup> This essay rests on the proposition that Turkey's accession to the EU ultimately depends on the consolidation of democracy in Turkey and addresses the adaptation process in Turkey to European political norms.

Turkey is an interesting case study to assess the degree of the European Union's political conditionality and its ability to induce political change through the carrot of membership. This is partly because of Turkey's incorporation into the European order since 1945 and its extensive ties to the EU. Turkey became a member of the Council of Europe in 1948, OECC in 1949 and NATO in 1952. Its relationship with the EU dates back to 1963 when it became an associate member of the EC with an eye towards full membership. Turkey applied for full membership in 1987, realized a Customs Union with the EU on industrial products in 1996, and became a candidate country for EU membership in 1999.

Even though Turkey was an integral part of the European order since 1945, its democracy did not meet West European standards as of the 1990s. The Turkish political system suffered from restrictions on individual rights and freedoms, as well as an institutionalized role of the military in civilian politics. A significant wave of political reforms began in Turkey by the end of 1990s and gained significant momentum in 2002. The EU provided a major motive for these reforms as the 1993 Copenhagen criteria tied Turkey's candidacy and opening of accession negotiations ultimately to its democratic credentials. As a result, Turkey adopted a substantive Constitutional Amendment package in 1995 in order to fulfil its political obligations under the 1995 Customs Union agreement. Similarly, Turkey underwent significant political reforms in 1998-1999 to qualify for candidacy, and then greatly accelerated reforms in the period 2002-2005 to qualify for accession negotiations. Since the opening of accession negotiations, the pace of political reform is still on track, despite the backlash against it that I discuss below. Turkey's leaders know full well that final accession

to the EU will be determined by its democratic credentials in addition to its ability to adopt the EU *acquis communautaire*.

The major political changes in Turkey since 1995 range from legal to institutional restructuring. At the same time, one could argue that there is an increased assimilation of rules and norms of liberal democracy in Turkey since 1999. It is clear that these political reforms and the subsequent norm diffusion partly resulted from the EU's political conditionality.<sup>2</sup> For example, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that 'the reforms would continue at a rapid pace and Turkey's EU bid is a reconstruction process that is raising Turkey's political, economic and social standards'.<sup>3</sup> One should note that the adaptation to EU rules is a costly process, as is almost any process of significant political reform.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the reception of European norms by various segments in the Turkish society during the negotiations process is particularly problematic. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the Turkish political adaptation process to the European Union's political criteria created a backlash that is mainly nationalist in character.

## The Turkish political system and costs of change

Various Turkish governments since 1999 have engaged in political reforms. Of these reforms, the most notable changes are the new Civic Code adopted in 2001, abolition of the death penalty in August 2002, and the new Penal Code adopted in 2005. The changes in the civil-military relationship were underway since 1999 when the military's ties to the civilian institutions were gradually removed. A major constitutional package was adopted in May 2007, which allowed for the election of the Turkish President by popular vote. In addition, a series of political reforms strengthened the cornerstones of democracy such as freedom of speech, association, and religion. Since 2002, the Turkish government adopted at least 12 different Constitutional packages and around 400 different laws to adjust to the EU's political criteria. These political changes aimed at effectively transforming the Turkish political system into a liberal democratic order.

This transformation is not fully complete, however. The three main current political issues in Turkey show that the process of Europeanization has become the major fault line in domestic politics: the process of democratization, most notably freedom of speech and civil-military relations, gender equality, and the Kurdish issue. The history of Turkish modernization since the early 19th century is one of a fierce struggle between the proponents of Europe and opposers to Europe. Deniz Baykal, the opposition leader from the Republican People's Party, is unambiguous: 'We approach the Turkish EU membership with scepticism'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the Turkish accession to the EU should be analyzed and read through this cleavage, and the EU acts as a force on its own right to deepen and highlight this division

in Turkish politics. Even though negotiations between Turkey and the EU evolve around the Turkish adoption of the EU *acquis* and laws in 35 different chapters, there is an equally important negotiations process going on within the Turkish society itself, between the reformists and those who would like to keep the status quo intact.

One needs to note that even when Turkey adopts the changes in legislation in order to harmonize its laws to the EU standards, the society's reception of these laws and norms might remain problematic. In other words, political change has two important aspects: the adoption of legal political reforms and the society's internalization of these changes. It seems that the second aspect is a gradual process of change, much harder to accomplish than legal harmonization.

An important revelation with respect to the Turkish case is that it demonstrates that the EU becomes a credible influence only when it signals its intent and political resolve. This is also similar to the EU's impact on democratization in Central and Eastern Europe. The 1999 Helsinki decision and the opening of accession negotiations in 2005 were all the right steps in that regard. However, when the internal disputes and debates within the EU over enlargement and Turkey's accession are reflected onto Turkey, or when such leaders as Nicholas Sarkozy or Angela Merkel talk about 'privileged partnership' rather than membership for Turkey, that rhetoric decreases the EU's credibility in the Turkish eyes, thereby reducing its effectiveness as an anchor for political reforms. Were the EU to present a clearer commitment, this would effectively strengthen the hands of the political reformers. Their position is challenged by the conservative forces at home, which claim that Turkey is adopting political reforms in an attempt to adjust to the EU norms and fulfill the political aspects of the accession criteria but the EU is not going to accept Turkey as a full member in any case. In this fashion, the EU becomes an additional player in Turkish politics.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Negotiations Framework, Principles Governing Negotiations, the European Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Meltem Müftüler-Baç, 'The Impact of the European Union on Turkish Politics', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 2, June 2000, pp. 159-79; Meltem Müftüler-Baç, 'The New Face of Turkey: Its Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 4, January 2004, pp. 421-38; Meltem Müftüler-Baç, 'Turkey's Political Reforms: The Impact of the European Union', *Southeast European Politics and Societies*, vol. 10, no. 1, April 2005, pp. 16-30.

<sup>3</sup> 'Turkish PM pledges more democracy, EU reforms', *EU Business*, 31 August 2007, available at: <<http://www.eubusiness.com/Turkey/1188572521.27/>>.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Schimmelfennig, Stefan Engert, Heiko Knobel, 'Costs, Commitment, Compliance: Latvia, Slovakia and Turkey', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, June 2003, pp. 495-519.

<sup>5</sup> Onder Yilmaz, 'Almayacaksanız Acıkca soyleyin - If you are not going to accept, tell it openly', *Milliyet*, 16 February 2007.

## ECPR Joint Sessions

### Workshop 15: Contested Constitutionalisation: Towards a Theory of Democratic Constitutionalism

Rennes, 11-16 April 2008

**Antje Wiener** (University of Bath) and **Rainer Schmalz-Bruns** (University of Hannover) convened a workshop at the European Consortium for Political Research 36<sup>th</sup> Joint Sessions of Workshops in Rennes in April.

The workshop set out to develop further insights into the contested nature of the foundations of processes of constitutionalisation beyond the nation state and to pin down the implications this may have for adequate conceptualisations of constitutionalism. By linking theoretical and empirical perspectives the aim was to improve our understanding of the effects of ethical pluralism and contested normative meanings in political, legal and societal settings beyond the state. In these contexts practices of contestation is a central issue for research, especially with regard to problems of political representation and constitutional arrangements. The main conceptual claim, structuring the contributions to the workshop and the subsequent discussions, was that studying the processes of constitutionalisation while focusing on 'diversity' and 'contestation' as its key norms, will reveal a need to move beyond the traditional notion of 'constitutional democracy' towards a notion of 'democratic constitutionalism' that accepts the equiprimordiality of democracy and constitutionalism. The presumption was therefore that the traditional view of constitutionalism that viewed the system of politics as itself both constitutive and constitutional needed revision.

Against this background, two main questions were raised: (1) What is constitutionalisation beyond the state and what shape does it have to take? (2) What are the conceptual prerequisites and the favourable empirical conditions for rendering institution-building beyond the state democratic and how can these be analytically captured and empirically observed?

The workshop was organised in six panels which thematically varied the level (national, regional, transnational), the context (social, cultural, institutional) and the actors (internal or external powers) of processes of constitutionalisation and asked for the role of weak publics in these processes or whether (and if, to which degree) they may be informed and (partially) structured by a universal code of the rule of law. Whilst the thrust of normative research in constitutionalisation has always stressed the structuring quality of norms, as a general result of the discussions it turned out that the additional dimensions of context and time cast light on a more complex approach that appreciates the dual quality of norms, both as structuring and constructed through social interaction and practice.

The outlook which emerged for future research in this field was the suggestion that we should expect an increasing diversity in the interpretation of normative meanings so that constitutionalisation cannot rely on but must be premised to settle processes of the contestation and politicisation of the normative foundations of



constitutional normative orders. It follows that we can also safely expect that, even if the formal validity of constitutional texts is accepted and a social environment, such as state structures or an international organisation exist to provide reference frames for interpretation, cultural validation is likely to generate divergence. Subsequently, expectations of the role of any particular norm are likely to differ as long as transnationalisation remains exclusive and partial.

#### List of participants:

Agné, Hans (University of Stockholm)  
De Burca, Aoibhin (University College Dublin)  
Federico, Veronica (University of Florence)  
Fossum, John Erik (ARENA)  
Isiksel, Türküler (Yale University)  
Koch, Cordelia (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)  
Kutter, Amelie (Free University of Berlin)  
Liebert, Ulrike (University of Bremen)  
May, Christopher (Lancaster University)  
Olsen, Tore Vincent (Copenhagen Business School)  
Puntscher-Riekmann, Sonja (Univ. of Salzburg)  
Rajkovic, Nikolas (EU)  
Ruacan, Ipek (University of Birmingham)  
Schmalz-Bruns, Rainer (University of Hannover)  
Trenz, Hans-Jörg (ARENA)  
Turkka, Tapani (University of Jyväskylä)  
Wiener, Antje (University of Bath)

## New Book:

### Gender Politics and Democracy in Post-socialist Europe

**Yvonne Galligan, Sara Clavero and Marina Calloni**

Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2008



Utilising the concept of political representation, the book scrutinises women's legislative presence and highlights the opportunities and obstacles to parity democracy in this region of Europe.

The book examines the link between women's membership of national parliaments and the substantive representation of gender interests. It investigates the role of civil society, the state and the European Union in representing women's interests and in promoting gender politics. In revisiting Hanna Pitkin's account of political representation, the book provides an important and timely contribution to the classical political questions of who represents, what is represented, and how representation takes place. In adopting an integrated approach to political representation, the book extends current understanding of this fundamental concept. Using new research, it provides the first comprehensive comparative analysis of the interplay between emerging democracies and gender politics in post-communist Europe.

## Joint panel at International Studies Association (ISA) Conference

### European Foreign Policy in Perspective

49th Annual ISA Convention, San Francisco, CA: "Bridging Multiple Divides"

Participants of RECON's WP 6 - *The Foreign and Security Dimension* organized a joint panel at the ISA Convention on 25-29 March 2008, chaired by Meltem Müftüler-Baç (Sabanci University).

The Panel aimed at examining the developments in the EU's Foreign and Security Policy, based on the assumption that the development of a common European foreign and security policy is an experimentarium that forces us to rethink deep-seated understandings of what foreign and security policy 'actually' is. Participants from three RECON partners were present; **Antje Wiener** (University of Bath), **Cathleen Kantner** (Free University of Berlin), and **Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gursoy** (Sabanci University). Co-leader of the work package, **Helene Sjørnsen** (ARENA), also submitted a paper for the panel. **Jennifer Mitzen** from Ohio State University acted as discussant.



#### Papers discussed:

*'Doing Good' in the World? Conceptualising the Putative Normative Basis of the EU's Foreign and Security Policy*, Helene Sjørnsen

*Accommodating Normative Divergence in European Foreign Policy Coordination: The Example of the Iraq Crisis*, Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener  
*Public Debates on Humanitarian and Military Interventions in the European Union and the U.S. (1990-2006)*, Cathleen Kantner, Swantje Renfordt and Amelie Kutter

*Turkey and the EU's CFSP: The Turkish Perceptions*, Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gursoy



# A gender democracy audit of the European Union

## How well does democracy in Europe recognise women's concerns, interests and perspectives?

In order to explore this question, RECON researchers Yvonne Galligan, leader of WP 4 - Justice, Democracy and Gender, and Sara Clavero at the Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics, Queen's University Belfast, have developed a total of 21 indicators of gender democracy, which will be used in an extensive assessment of the quality of gender democracy in the European Union.

This gender democratic audit represents the first of its kind. While the most often used measure of gender democracy in traditional democratic performance assessments is the proportion of women in legislatures and in public office, this audit incorporates a wide range of measures of inclusion, political equality, publicity and reasonableness. Another innovative feature of this audit is that it takes into account the growing interdependence between the different layers of governance in the EU multi-level system. For this reason, the indicators of gender democracy have been designed to allow for horizontal (cross-national) as well as vertical comparisons (supranational, national and regional). In addition, the indicators of gender democracy developed in

this study take into consideration both institutional rules and practices. One of its central components is an evaluation of the quality of democratic deliberation from a gender perspective. For these purposes, the analysis will focus on three issue areas in relation to gender equality, namely: the gender pay gap, women's under-representation in politics, and gender-based violence.



Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero

Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero will present a version of their study at the 10th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, Women's Worlds 2008, Madrid 3-9 July (see box to the right).

**For more information, please see:**  
**'Researching Gender Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Prospects'**  
**Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero**  
**RECON Online Working Paper 2008/05**

## Publications by RECON partners

**Eriksen, Erik Oddvar and John Erik Fossum:** 'Reconstituting European Democracy', ARENA Working Paper 01/2008.

**Holst, Cathrine:** *Feminism, Epistemology and Morality*, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008.

**Holst, Cathrine:** 'Martha Nussbaums liste: Noen kritiske ansatser', in H. Skjeie, I. Skjelsbæk and T. L. Tryggestad (eds) *Kjønn, krig, konflikt*, Pax, 2008.

**Liebert, Ulrike:** 'The European Citizenship Paradox: Renegotiating Equality and Diversity in the New Europe', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Special Issue, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 417-41, 2007. Reprinted in B. Siim and J. Squires (eds) *Contesting Citizenship*, Routledge, 2008.

**Liebert, Ulrike** (with Helle R. Brosig): *Zu einem Europa*

*der Bürger. Hans Koschnicks politische Reden 1964 - 2004*, Edition Temmen, 2007.

**Risse, Thomas** (with Marianne van de Steeg): 'The Emergence of a European Community of Communication: Insights from Empirical Research on the Europeanization of Public Spheres', 2007, available at: [http://www.atasp.de/downloads/eps\\_vandesteeg\\_risse\\_070513.pdf](http://www.atasp.de/downloads/eps_vandesteeg_risse_070513.pdf).

**Risse, Thomas** (with Jeffrey Anderson and G. John Ikenberry) (eds): *The End of the West? - Crises and Change in the Atlantic Order*, Cornell University Press, 2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'Understanding Media Impact on European Integration: Enhancing or Restricting the Scope of Legitimacy of the EU', *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 291-309, 2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'Elements of a sociology of European integration', ARENA Working Paper 11/2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'A Transnational Space of Contention? Patterns of Europeanisation of Civil Society in Germany', in V. della Sala and C. Ruzza (eds) *Governance and Civil Society in the European Union: Normative Perspectives*, Manchester University Press, 2007.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg** (with Regina Vettors and Erik Jentges): 'Von der politischen zur sozialen Konstitutionalisierung Europas. Verfassungsgebung als Katalysator europäischer Vergesellschaftung?', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 705-29, 2007.

**Muftuler-Bac, Meltem:** 'The European Union's Accession Negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign Policy

## Women's Worlds Congress

Leader of RECON's WP 4 - Justice, Democracy and Gender, Yvonne Galligan, will organise and chair a panel for the Women's Worlds Congress in Madrid (3-9 July 2008). This panel brings together four FP6 EU projects working on gender issues: RECON, FEMCIT, QUING and EUROSHERE. Entitled 'New Research Agendas on Gender Politics and Policy in the European Union', the main objective of this panel is to initiate a debate about key theoretical and methodological challenges facing researchers on gender politics and policy in the complex EU polity and the main strategies that are being developed in response to those challenges. Speakers and paper titles include the following:

Chair: Yvonne Galligan (RECON project)  
**Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero**, Queen's University Belfast (RECON project): *Researching gender democracy in the European Union: Challenges and prospects*

**Beatrice Halsaa and Solveig Bergman**, University of Oslo (FEMCIT project): *Women's movements and citizenship in multicultural Europe*

**Lise Rolandsen Agustín**, University of Aalborg (EUROSHERE project): *Gendering the public spaces: Equality and diversity in the study of European public spheres*

**Malin Ronnblom**, Umeå University (QUING project): *Critical frame analysis in the Quing project: Challenges and pitfalls in comparative studies of gender equality policies*

Visit the Women's Worlds 08 website for more information: [www.mmww08.org](http://www.mmww08.org)

## European Conference on Politics and Gender

The Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics, QUB, will host the first European Conference on Politics and Gender, organised by ECPR Gender and Politics Standing Group, on 21-23 January 2009. The deadline for call for papers is 1 June 2008.

For more information, please consult: [http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standing-groups/ecpg\\_home.aspx](http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standing-groups/ecpg_home.aspx)

**Muftuler-Bac, Meltem:** 'Turkey's Accession to the European Union: The EU's Internal Dynamics', *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 208-26, 2008.

Perspective', *Journal of European Integration*, Special Issue on the European Union's Foreign Policy, vol. 30, no.1, pp. 63-78, 2008.

# Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy: Why, Who and How?

Guri Rosén

PhD candidate, ARENA, University of Oslo

As a consequence of the EU's increased attention to external issues in general and the development of the European Defence and Security Policy in particular, a debate has also risen about parliamentary control over security policy. In early December 2007, RECON's work package on the EU's Foreign and Security Dimension organized a workshop that aimed to take stock of the current status of parliamentary control. To what extent is the current European security policy subjected to parliamentary control? What parliamentary actors exercise control over European security policy and how is the control process carried out?

What makes parliamentary control over security policy a crucial issue? After all, conducting foreign and security policy has traditionally been regarded as an executive prerogative, which automatically excludes parliamentary involvement. The customary claim is that these policy fields have a distinct character that requires a greater leverage on the part of the executive allowing for efficient, flexible, and not to mention secret decision-making. Furthermore, at the level of the EU, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is claimed to follow intergovernmental principles, hence parliamentary control is assumed to take place at the national level, which should, some would claim, provide a sufficient democratic safeguard. The reality of these assertions can, however, be called into question, and indeed was during the workshop. Although Qualified Majority Voting does not apply to the ESDP, the integration of forces, role specialization, and coordination of arms procurement at the European level has created new challenges for parliamentary control of security policy.



Christopher Lord, Christopher Bickerton and Nicole Deitelhoff

## Why parliamentary control?

In attempting an answer to why it is important to raise the issue of parliamentary control over security policy, Christopher Lord (University of Reading), suggested five reasons. First of all, security policy entails legal obligations that have direct effects on people's lives. Secondly, effects are not only material. In choosing to pursue a certain policy, governments also choose to defend certain values. Thirdly, security policies also entail decisions on what should be regarded as an acceptable risk. Fourthly, Lord argued that promoting democratic peace externally

requires an adherence to democratic standards internally as well. Finally, coordinating security policy at the European level necessarily entails a range of path-dependencies that restrict available exit options.

Against this backdrop, Lord advocated that exerting democratic control has to be a task for parliaments because parliaments offer a procedure for ensuring political equality and allow issues to be assessed in context, resulting in a more holistic approach both with regard to value choices and functional problems. Lord's paper demonstrated how the development of a security policy in the EU adds a new level to the problem of parliamentary control. Thus, the natural follow-up question was: What do we know about parliamentary control of European security policy? How successful is it, and at what parliamentary level is, and should, control take place?

## Parliamentary control at the national level

Several of the contributions to the workshop demonstrated that there is a large variety of controlling practices taking place in EU's national parliaments. Some parliaments are closely involved in the decision-making process while others are hardly informed about their governments' activities at the European level, much less have a say on it. These differences are in turn correlated with the type of policy pursued by governments, as shown by Hartwig Hummel (University of Düsseldorf). The bottom line is that the range of different practices does not represent a consistent approach to the challenges of public control posed by the development of European security policy. Herein lays a democratic challenge.

Furthermore, a cross-country study presented by Teodora Fuior (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces) revealed that national parliamentary committees responsible for foreign and security matters report of little involvement, have little knowledge about ESDP operations and display a widespread lack of interest. This is an interesting finding considering the claim that the intergovernmental nature of the ESDP subjects it to national parliamentary control, and that this relieves the democratic deficit. In addition, access to information is a general problem to national parliaments. As a consequence, keeping track of what a particular government says or does becomes problematic and makes it hard to hold them effectively accountable.

Wolfgang Wagner, Nicole Deitelhoff and Dirk



PRIF executive director Harald Müller, leaders of WP 6 Helene Sjørusen and Wolfgang Wagner, and Dirk Peters, workshop co-organiser

Peters (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) also claimed that it can be costly for national parliaments to restrict the executives' activities at the international level, especially within the security area due to the degree of integration and role specialization in the European defence cooperation. In sum, even if the ESDP does not imply delegation or reduced decision-making power on the part of the member states, the Europeanisation of foreign and security policies still implies a displacement of the decision-making locus. But without a similar change in focus of parliamentary awareness or a strengthening of the ability to control Europeanised processes, additional mechanisms of parliamentary control may be needed. Given the difficulties of controlling security policy that have followed from European integration, the next question that was raised was to what extent the European Parliament has been able to compensate for these deficiencies of parliamentary control?

## The supranational level

The European Parliament has the right to be consulted and informed on foreign and security policy, and it can use its budgetary powers to influence outcomes. It also has the advantage of being close to the decision-making arena, as well as having more specialised knowledge about the processes and the institutional structure of the ESDP. As a consequence, its access to information could present less of a problem. Esther Barbé and Anna Herranz Surrallés (Autonomous University of Barcelona) showed how, in the case of ESDP operations, the EP has managed to increase the flow of information by participating in camera meetings and by sending ad hoc delegations to accompany EU-missions, but also that gaining access to information has proven to be a constant struggle and that the right to be consulted under pillar two amounts to a lot less than the consultation procedure under pillar one.

With regard to budgetary powers, whenever operations are funded out of the Community budget, the EP has the opportunity to influence the amount spent on the CFSP. However, in the case of ESDP and military operations, the EP has been less successful in extending its powers,



mainly because military operations are funded directly by the member states. Barbé and Heranz' conclusion is that EP's influence in the area of security policy is more a result of its attitude and ability to exploit informal channels of influence, rather than formal authority. Nevertheless, it is clear that the European Parliament also faces great challenges in controlling the European security policy. Thus, the final parliamentary level that was considered at the workshop was the transnational one.

### The transnational level

Wagner, Deitelhoff and Peters pointed out that the main advantage of transnational assemblies, such as the Western European Union (WEU), is that they link the international and national levels of parliamentary control. At the same time, national parliamentarians acquire new resources to control their governments at the national level. **Stephan Marschall** (University of Düsseldorf) also argued that because of the geographical proximity between transnational assemblies and the organisations to which they are affiliated, the assemblies can provide access to information not only to their members but also to the media and the national opposition.

However, these points are also illustrative of the lack of power of the WEU Assembly because although the Assembly is incorporated into the institutional structure of the WEU, it has no

power to veto the decisions of the Council. Therefore, **Michael Hilger**, a representative from the WEU Assembly, emphasised the potential of the Assembly, and particularly its potential role in the ESDP. He argued that the ESDP does not suffer from a democratic deficit so much as a democratic paradox because MEPs are informed but have no power to make decisions while national parliamentarians can make decisions but are not informed. As a consequence, since the European Parliament so far has not found a way to include national parliaments in their procedures, the task of organising and inspiring interparliamentary organisation could be filled by the WEU Assembly, within the EU framework.

To sum up, there were three general tendencies in all the contributions to the workshop. First, they all concluded that parliamentary control has suffered as a consequence of European integration of security policy. Secondly, there was a consensus that control of the European security



Marianne Riddervold, Anne Elizabeth Stie, Wolfgang Wagner and Michael Hilger

is flawed at all levels. Thus, the main inference was that control at only one level is insufficient. Thirdly, all contributions repeated the message that the activity at different parliamentary levels has to be combined and coordinated to become more efficient, and that the next step would be to assess the significance of the findings presented at the workshop.

A longer and more elaborate version of this report was published in *Fornet's CFSP Forum*, vol. 6, no. 2, March 2008.

The workshop contributions will be edited and published as a RECON Report in 2008.

For the workshop programme and list of participants, please visit: <http://www.reconproject.eu/project-web/portalproject/FrankfurtDec07.html>

## The empirical challenge lies ahead

**Pieter de Wilde**

PhD candidate, ARENA, University of Oslo

On 25 April 2008, representatives of the different RECON work packages gathered in Oslo to discuss the operationalisation of the RECON models. First experiences of using the models in empirical research and plans for the near future were exchanged. It was clear that many had come a long way towards making the models ready for testing and investigation, such as the indicators developed by Christopher Lord to conduct a democratic audit of the

European Union. Another helpful tool is the concept of a 'multi-parliamentary field' introduced by Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum, to deal with the EU's complicated channels of representation. Evaluating the meeting, Erik Oddvar Eriksen said: 'It is clear we speak the same language'.

There remains work to be done, however. Some aspects of the models require significant translation to be effectively used. For instance,



Ben Crum, John Erik Fossum and Erik O. Eriksen

Magdalena Gora illustrated that the term 'cosmopolitanism' has a very different ring to it in Central and Eastern Europe than it does in the old Member States. Whereas in the west, it is often associated with multilateralism, human rights and liberalism, it is associated with anti-semitism in Poland and Slovakia. Another challenge concerns the kind of tools the models provide us with. As Hans-Jörg Trenz argued, they can be used for testing, understanding or assessment. Each use would require a different operationalisation and a different approach to reality. Also, Christian Joerges warned that not all empirics

may fit one of the three models. This is because the models provide different perceptions of a legitimate European Union. But what to do with illegitimate tendencies? For instance, the threat of delegatisation through European integration is hard to place in any of the models. Reports from several work packages indicate that especially the third model remains difficult to grasp in empirical terms.

Although challenges still lie ahead, the workshop demonstrated there had been clear progress towards giving the models flesh and bones across the different work packages. Many of the participants expressed satisfaction with the work so far, the coherence of the project and the quality of the papers presented.



Helene Sjursen, Pieter de Wilde, Christian Joerges, Erik O. Eriksen, Johannes Pollak, Chris Lord, Caterina Carta, Ben Crum, Anna Michalski, Magdalena Gora and Tatjana Evas



## RECON Events

### Workshop: Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared Florence, 16-17 May 2008

The workshop was part of WP 9 – *Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared*. It was organised by John Erik Fossum (ARENA) and Christian Joerges (EUI/ZERP) and hosted by the European University Institute. The workshop was a joint co-operation among RECON, CONNEX and the European Network for Canadian Studies (with financial support from CONNEX and Canada's Foreign Affairs Ministry).

This was a joint workshop of the two subprojects of WP 9 and was structured accordingly. **Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann** (EUI) opened the event and commented favourably on the innovative character of the workshop thematic. The first session of the workshop started from that most explicitly global conception of democracy, namely cosmopolitan democracy. The debate was framed with a view to conceptualizing and assessing RECON's model III (regional-cosmopolitan democracy). **Hauke Brunkhorst** (University of Flensburg, RECON Reflection Group) provided an overview of the historical roots and contemporary salience of cosmopolitanism. **John Erik Fossum** spoke directly to RECON's conception of cosmopolitan democracy and in the extension of this provided a set of criteria for assessing state-based cosmopolitanisation, with empirical reference to Canada.

The second section was on transnational governance, deliberative supranationalism and constitutionalism, with emphasis on democracy and accountability. **Jens Steffek** (University of Bremen) dealt explicitly with the question of accountability, and **Alexia Herwig** (also at Bremen) discussed the WTO, notably with regard to how democratically intrusive it can be deemed to be. **Christian Joerges**, spoke to the European situation, from the standpoint of a careful reconstruction of Habermas' position. **Thorsten Hüller** (University of Bremen) offered a comparison of Joerges' and Habermas' positions. **Jürgen Neyer** (Europa-Universität Viadrina) dealt with the issue of justice and its relation to democracy within the European context. The section also focused on Canada and the external legal-cum-constitutional constraints effected through NAFTA and WTO. This section contained papers by **Stephen Clarkson** (University of Toronto) and **Robert Wai** (Osgoode Hall, York University).

The final workshop section dealt with democratisation and cosmopolitanisation compared, with sub-sessions on the EU and Canada. **Chris Rumford** (University of London) assessed the cosmopolitan thesis with direct reference to the EU, and **Ulrike Liebert** (University of Bremen) provided a

written commentary on this. **Errol Mendes** (University of Ottawa) similarly assessed the cosmopolitan thesis for Canada, and **Nikolas Rajkovic** (EUI) provided a written commentary on this.



Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains

### Training session on comparable focus-group methodology Zakopane, 11-12 April 2008

The training session was part of WP 8 – *Identity Formation and Enlargement* and was organised by the Jagiellonian University Krakow. The workshop gathered participants from Krakow and the Eötvös Loránd University Budapest who are conducting field research, including focus group interviews. It served as an arena for the discussion of methodological questions and possible research strategies to make the results comparable.

The workshop started with a welcoming address by **Zdzisław Mach** (Jagiellonian University). The first part was devoted to theoretical issues of research on identity in Europe, based on a paper by **Magdalena Gora** (JU) on the status of collective identities in a theory of 'democratic deliberative supranationalism' with comments by **Grzegorz Pożarlik** (JU). The participants moreover presented their planned research and discussed its fit with the scope of the RECON project. The second part was devoted to a discussion on the narrative life story interviews as a tool for studying identity, and was moderated by **Maria Heller** (Eötvös Loránd University). The third and fourth parts were devoted to the focus-group methodology, and in particular the suitability of focus group analysis for research on collective identity and Europeanisation. The participants discussed experiences from the first phase of research with the aim to improve the methodology, with emphasis on how to evaluate and compare the data. The workshop concluded with a presentation of computer programmes for data analysis by **Krzysztof Tomanek** (JU).

### The Reform Treaty and National Constitutions: Towards Further Europeanisation? What are the Democratic Implications?

Madrid, 25-26 January 2008

RECON's WP 2 focuses on the constitutional dimension of the EU. At the workshop in Madrid, researchers discussed several topics related to the democratic implications of European constitutionalisation.

The EU has recently embarked on a new round of constitution-making after the referenda rejections of the Laeken Constitutional Treaty. This was the background for undertaking a more comprehensive assessment of European constitution-making and its imprint on – and interweaving with – national constitutions. The workshop offered a preliminary assessment of the substantive and procedural aspects of the Reform Treaty, in the context of the broader framework of EU constitutionalisation.

The workshop gathered experts on European constitutionalism, political theory and the European Union from both RECON partners and other academic institutions, in addition to **Miguel Maduro** from the European Court of Justice.

The workshop organiser, **Carlos Closa** (CEPC), opened the event while **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) followed up with a contribution focused on



Plaza Cibeles, Madrid

the relation between the EU constitutionalisation process and the three RECON models. This contribution also served to launch the discussions about the Reform Treaty, which included presentations from **Bruno de Witte** (EUI), and **Julio Baquero** (CEPC). Topics included a broad evaluation of the Lisbon Treaty and a reflection on the current and future status of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. The subsequent session was devoted to discussing Europe's constitutional prospects from both European and national perspectives. **Hauke Brunkhorst** (University of Flensburg, RECON Reflection Group) rounded up the session with a presentation on the future of the European Constitution.

The workshop organisers also demonstrated the website *The Europeanisation of National Constitutions*, which was launched by CEPC late 2007 at [www.europeconstitution.eu](http://www.europeconstitution.eu).



Panorama of Florence  
Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore





Université Libre de Bruxelles

## Upcoming events

For more information and full programme of the various workshops, see the 'Events' section on the project website. Participation is restricted at most events, but please consult the organisers or the website for further information.

### Workshop: European Stories: The Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts Brussels, 29-30 May 2008

Within RECON's WP 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere*, the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) will organise a workshop on intellectual debates on Europe. The workshop will investigate how European integration is addressed by political thinkers in distinct national environments, and how they conceive of their country's national identity and its position inside (or outside) the European Union. The programme and papers are available at RECON's website.

For more information, please contact  
Justine Lacroix: [jlacroix@ulb.ac.be](mailto:jlacroix@ulb.ac.be)

### Workshop: Qualitative Comparative Analysis Bremen, 30 June 2008

Prof. Ulrike Liebert and the Jean Monnet Centrum for the European Studies at the University of Bremen will organise a workshop with Prof. Dr. Carsten Schneider, Central European University, Budapest. The Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) methodology will be applied to the forthcoming WP 5 research activities.

For more information, please contact  
Ulrike Liebert: [liebert@uni-bremen.de](mailto:liebert@uni-bremen.de)

### Joint ConstEPS and RECON conference: Contesting Democracy in Europe: Denationalisation, EU-ropeanisation, or Renationalisation? Bremen, 18-20 September 2008

The aim of this conference is, first, to present and discuss ConstEPS and RECON WP 5 research findings, assessing the domestic preconditions and prospects for democracy in Europe from within the member states in a comparative perspective, with a focus on the de-/re-nationalisation of citizenship, courts, political parties, civil society and the public sphere. Second, RECON partners will further develop and implement the research program for the second and third year of the project.

For more information, please contact  
Aleksandra Wyrozumska: [wyal@uni-bremen.de](mailto:wyal@uni-bremen.de)

### Workshop: Politicizing the Economy, Democratizing the Union León, 19-20 September 2008

The University of León will organise a workshop as part of WP 7 - *The Political Economy of the European Union*, whose key research objectives are to describe the present socio-economic constitution of the multilevel political system of the EU, to reconstruct the evolution of this over time and to establish the impact it has on the prospects for democratic decision-making at the European, national and regional levels. The workshop will deal with analyses of the 'European Social Model' and case studies on the Europeanisation of personal taxes,

the management of macro-economic policy, and the design of European labour law standards. It will also present research that explores the relationship between the range of social welfare regimes in the EU and democratic government, and look at welfare sub-systems such as health and longterm care, education and employment services.

For more information, please contact  
Agustín J. Menéndez: [menendez@unileon.es](mailto:menendez@unileon.es)

### Workshop: Identities in Conflict in the Enlarged Europe Budapest, 2008 (date to be announced)

This workshop is part of RECON's WP 8 - *Identity Formation and Enlargement*, which investigates how much trust and commonality is needed to establish democracy as well as the formation of collective identities with regard to enlargement processes of the EU. The workshop is organised by Eötvös Loránd University and will focus on four main themes: (1) theories of identity and identity formation; (2) national identity and European identity; (3) particular challenges related to minority identities; and (4) empirical research of processes of identity formation.

For more information, please contact  
Borbala Kriza: [krizab@freemail.hu](mailto:krizab@freemail.hu)

### Workshop: The Institutional Formation of Normative Order Frankfurt/Main, 23-24 October 2008

The Johann Wolfgang Goethe University will organise a workshop on the topic of transnational deliberative democracy in October 2008. The event is part of RECON's WP 1 - *Theoretical Framework* and will be staged in Frankfurt am Main.

In the course of Western modern history, democracy and the constitutional state have developed in a symbiotic relationship. But what exactly is the nature of this relationship? The workshop deals with the topic of the institutional formation of normative orders. It seeks to illuminate the role statehood plays with regard to the democratic legitimacy of a European political order and analyses the conceptual relationship between statehood and democracy.

For more information, please contact Rainer Forst:  
[forst@em.uni-frankfurt.de](mailto:forst@em.uni-frankfurt.de) or Rainer Schmalz-Bruns: [r.schmalz-bruns@ipw.uni-hannover.de](mailto:r.schmalz-bruns@ipw.uni-hannover.de)

### Workshop: Beyond Intergovernmentalism and the Quest for Unity: Democracy or Efficiency? Istanbul, 13-14 November 2008

Sabancı University, in cooperation with ARENA, will organise a workshop within WP 6 on the foreign and security dimension in Istanbul in November 2008. The workshop will deal with central questions addressed in the work package. Does the argument that the EU has moved 'beyond intergovernmentalism' hold up to systematic empirical investigation? If such a move has taken place, what kind of competences and powers have been uploaded to the EU level? If a – putative – move beyond intergovernmentalism should be democratic – which of the RECON models of European democracy would be required?

For more information, please contact  
Meltem Müftüler-Baç: [muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu)

### The 'Christian Heritage' in Republic and Consociation Brussels, 24 January 2008

The workshop dealt with the question of Christian heritage in Belgium and France in the aftermath of the European Constitutional debate, as part of WP 5 - *Public Sphere and Civil Society*. The workshop was staged at the Fondation Universitaire Stichting, and was organised by François Foret and the European Studies Institute and CEVIPOL from the Université Libre de Bruxelles. It brought together participants from French and Belgian research institutions and universities. The registered audience amounted to around 60 persons, including academics, civil society representatives, journalists and students.

The background for the workshop was the intense debate sparked by the discussion on Europe's 'Christian heritage' in the European Constitution, which finally did not come into play. France and Belgium clearly marked their position by a common refusal based on their historical background and on completely different models relating to state, national identity and religion. A comparative perspective on these countries, a Republic and a Consociation, allowed for a better understanding of the concepts of politics and religion and of societal changes in the context of European integration.

The workshop had three panels. The first, 'Two models in dynamic', offered an introductory presentation of the two models in comparison. It was chaired by Jean-Paul Willaime (EPHE-GSRL, Paris) and the discussion headed by François Foret (ULB). The second panel, 'Practices and communities in redefinition', dealt with the importance of practices and communities with regard to the understanding of the European, national and regional public spaces. The panel was chaired by Philippe Portier (Rennes 1) and the discussion headed by Pascal Delwit (ULB). The last panel, 'Law, culture and identity: between historical legacy and contemporary changes', was chaired by Justine Lacroix (ULB) and the discussion headed by Jean-Paul Willaime.

*The workshop contributions will be revised and published as a book by the Éditions Université de Bruxelles at the end of 2008.*

### Workshop on Euroscepticism

On 21 April 2008, the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies hosted Liesbet Hooghe, who presented the latest findings of the third Chapel Hill Expert Survey on Political Parties and European Integration. Prof. Hooghe from the University of Chapel Hill/University of Amsterdam is currently fellow at the Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg in Delmenhorst, Bremen. At the workshop, the RECON team members at the University of Bremen also presented their ongoing and planned contributions to the research in this field.

## 'Europe in Contention: Debating the Constitutional Treaty'

Special Issue of the *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*

Vol. 8, Issue 3, 2007

Edited by Ulrike Liebert, University of Bremen

Liebert, Ulrike: 'Introduction: Structuring Political Conflict about Europe: National Media in Transnational Discourse Analysis'

Maatsch, Sönke: 'The Struggle to Control Meanings: The French Debate on the European Constitution in the Mass Media'

Packham, Kathrin: 'From the Contentious Constitution to the Awkward Other ... Social Model: The Constitutional Debate in the British Print Media'

Wyrozumska, Alexandra: 'Who is Willing to Die for the Constitution? The National Debate on the Constitutional Treaty in Poland'

Rakušanová, Petra: 'The Constitutional Debate: A One Man Show? Vaclav Klaus and the Constitutional Discourse in the Czech Republic'

Evas, Tatjana: 'Elitist with a Russian Twist: Mass Media Discourses on Europe Constitutional Ratification in Estonia and Latvia'



## Nicole Deitelhoff awarded the Heinz Maier-Leibnitz Prize

Nicole Deitelhoff, research fellow at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, is one of six outstanding young researchers to receive the Heinz Maier-Leibnitz Prize 2008.



The *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) justifies the award by denoting Deitelhoff 'one of the most outstanding young political scientists in Germany, whose

works are extraordinarily innovative'. In 2007, Deitelhoff also received a junior researcher prize from the German Political Science Association (DVPW) for her dissertation on processes of persuasion analyzing the case of the establishment of the International Criminal Court (*Überzeugungen in der Politik. Grundzüge einer Diskurstheorie internationalen Regierens*).

The ceremony will take place in Berlin on 2 June 2008.

## Appointments



**Flavia Carbonell** was recruited as Research Assistant at the University of León in February 2008. She is MA in Public Law and PhD student at University Carlos III in Madrid. Carbonell obtained the

Diploma on Political and Constitutional studies at CEPC in Madrid, where she also worked on the RECON project in collaboration with Prof. Carlos Closa. She has conducted research in the fields of legal reasoning of constitutional courts and in other areas of legal theory and constitutional law, and will contribute to WPs 2 and 7.



**Caterina Carta** joined the RECON team at the London School of Economics and Political Science in February 2008. She has a PhD in Comparative and European Politics and holds a post-doctoral grant in European Foreign and Security Studies. Her research interests cover European foreign policy, European diplomacy and external relations of the EU, and she will contribute to RECON's WP 6 in cooperation with Federica Bicchi at the International Relations Department of the LSE.



**Fernando Losada Fraga** was recruited as Research Assistant at the University of León in February 2008. He is PhD student at the Instituto Ortega y Gasset in Madrid and has studied Community Law at the Universities San Pablo-CEU and Complutense in Madrid. His PhD project focuses on models of EU governance. His research interests are EU law and institutions, constitutionalisation of the EU and the creation of a European public sphere. He will contribute to WPs 2 and 7.



**Eric Miklin** was appointed post-doc researcher at the Department of Political Science at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on 1 March 2008. His PhD project was on the role of the left/right cleav-

age within the EU's Council of Ministers at the University of Vienna and his research focuses on the national position-finding processes with regard to EU policy, in particular on the role of (national) parliaments. He will participate in RECON work packages 2, 3 and 9.



**Dionysia Tamvaki** was appointed Research Assistant at the University of Reading, School of Politics and International Relations in December 2007. She is post-doc researcher and completed her

PhD at the EUI in Florence on EU enlargement and the legitimacy dilemmas it generates. Dr. Tamvaki's research interests lie mainly in the field of European integration, and she has published on the topics of legitimacy, public opinion, and enlargement politics at the European level. Tamvaki collaborates with Chris Lord on the democratic audit of the EU in WP 3.



**Janna Wolff** has taken up a position at CEuS, University of Bremen. She received her PhD in Political Science at the University of Bremen in 2007 and is pursuing her post-doc habilitation project examining the integration of non-EU member states through democracy promotion. She will contribute to WP 5 with research on the reconstitution of democracy outside the EU-27, with a focus on the role of civil society and the public sphere.



**Aleksandra Wyrozumska** took over the position as the CEuS team's RECON WP 5 coordinator at the University of Bremen from 1 May 2008. Wyrozumska is PhD researcher in the ConstEPS project. In her dissertation, she analyzes reforms of national citizenship laws in Germany, Hungary and Poland.

**Alexander Gattig** left the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS) in Bremen in April 2008. Dr. Gattig accepted a tenure position at the Department of Sociology at the University of Bremen, in the area of quantitative social science methods and will continue to work for RECON WP 5 as an unaffiliated scholar.

**Ulrike Liebert**, professor of Political Science and Director of CEuS, University of Bremen, and co-leader of WP 5 spends a sabbatical semester (March-June 2008) as a visiting fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence.

**Paul Magnette**, professor of Political Science at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, was appointed *Minister of Climate and Energy* in the permanent Belgian Leterme I government, which took office on 20 March 2008.

**Joanna Serdyńska** has left CEuS, University of Bremen, where she worked as the CEuS team's WP 5 coordinator since January 2007. From 1 May 2008 Serdyńska will work for the European Commission, in the unit dealing with social dialog and antidiscrimination.

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