RECON logs into Euroscepticism

Within the framework of *WP 5 - Civil Society and the Public Sphere*, RECON will focus in the months to come on Euroscepticism as advanced in public discourse, particularly on the internet. Researchers have taken stock of the scholarly literature on Euroscepticism in a variety of member states, identifying common themes, actors and forums for Eurosceptic discursive practices, with a particular focus on the European Parliament elections campaign earlier this year. Although building on national myths and old political ideologies, Eurosceptic discourse appears systematically unaligned with traditional left-right politics.

Read more on p. 3

Spidla to open midterm conference

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 city-state and nation state based versions of democracy? These are core questions that will be discussed at RECON's midterm conference in Prague. Vladimir Spidla, EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, will open the conference. RECON has invited a range of prominent researchers to offer critical project feedback.

Read more on p. 4

'You can always say NO', anti-EU poster during the 2009 EP campaign in Hungary

New contribution to the debate on the EU's legitimacy

The book *The Unfinished Democratization of Europe* by Erik O. Eriksen appeared on Oxford University Press in September. Eriksen argues that the system of domination already in place at the European level requires and aspires to direct legitimation. Such can only be achieved by making the EU into a democratic polity, he claims.

Read more on p. 2

This issue of RECON's Newsletter

New address for the website on Europeanisation of national constitutions

The website on the Europeanisation of national constitutions has moved to http://proyectos.cchs.csic.es/europeconstitution. The website was launched by the Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies (CEPC) in 2007 as an important contribution to RECON's *WP 2 - The Constitutionalisation of the EU, the Europeanisation of National Constitutions, and Constitutionalism Compared*.

The website is set up as a source of information on the process of Europeanisation of national constitutions. It aims at providing basic documentation of national constitutional adaptations to the process of European integration, and includes information on EU member states, candidate countries and potential candidate countries. For each country, information is provided on constitutional provisions related to the EU with links to the texts of the national constitutions (in English). The website also offers information on national Parliamentary debates on the constitutional adaptation to the EU (where available), case-law and selected bibliographies.

Following the transfer of the RECON project from CEPC to the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid in 2008, the website has been moved to the new domain. The website is under development and will be updated throughout the lifetime of the project.

Towers of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg © Zinneke 2009

New RECON partner: University of Hamburg
Institute for Political Science

Following Prof. Antje Wiener's appointment as Chair in Political Science at the Institute for Political Science (IPW) and Director at the Centre for Global Governance at the University of Hamburg in April 2009, the University of Hamburg has replaced the University of Bath in the RECON consortium.

The University of Hamburg, with close to 40,000 students, is Germany's fifth largest university. It is one of the younger universities in Germany, but its roots reach back to the beginning of the 17th century. The Institute for Political Science was founded in 1977 and is part of the Faculty of Social Sciences. It comprehensively covers the subjects of political science and possesses particular expertise in the area of international relations and global governance. The IPW research is structured along five main fields: Governmental doctrine, comparative governmental doctrine, international relationships, political theory and the history of ideas, and methods of political science.

The Hamburg team contributes to *WP 6 – The Foreign and Security Dimension* by undertaking a comparative analysis of elite groups of different national background who operate in transnational and domestic settings in the sector of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

The University of Hamburg

New contribution to the debate on the EU's legitimacy

The book *The Unfinished Democratization of Europe* **by RECON's scientific coordinator Erik O. Eriksen was published on Oxford University Press in September. Eriksen here argues that the system of domination already in place at the European level requires and aspires to direct legitimation. Such can only be achieved by making the EU into a democratic polity, he claims.**
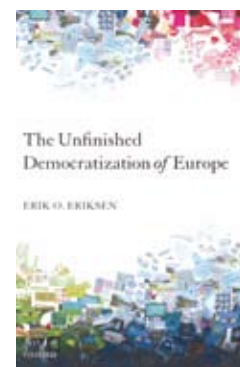
For the first time in human history, we witness the development of a political order that is not based on a culturally homogenized people, or brought about by coercion and brute force. This book deals with the fact that a new political order has arisen in Europe. The nature of the EU is a large and contentious issue, and the question of whether post-national democracy is possible has been brought to the fore. Are we now witnessing the third transformation of democracy - to a post-national form - succeeding the transformations to the city-state and to the nation state?

Eriksen argues that the resources for such a move are shallow at the European level. The EU is a polity that does not itself have direct control of a given territory; it lacks a collective identity; truly hierarchical principles of law and powerful enforcement means.

The widening and deepening of the EU have brought to the fore the question of democracy at the European level. According to Eriksen, the current system requires and aspires to direct legitimation, from the citizens themselves, and not merely indirect legitimation, derived from the member states. Such can only be achieved by making the EU into a democratic polity. Post-national democracy requires a constitution, but not necessarily a state, he claims.

The Union amounts to less than a state but more than an international organisation and a system of transnational governance. Eriksen conceives of the EU as a regional subset of an emerging cosmopolitan order based on a stateless government. Reforms to bring the EU 'closer to the citizens' are analyzed, as well as elements of democratization. However, Eriksen claims, democracy requires that the citizens can approve or reject the laws they are subjected to. Since the institutional and civic conditions under which a public justification process would be deemed legitimate are not in place, European post-national democracy remains an unaccomplished mission.

RECON logs into Euroscepticism

Within the framework of *WP 5 - Civil Society and the Public Sphere*, RECON will focus in the months to come on Euroscepticism as advanced in public discourse, particularly on the internet.

Much scientific research on Euroscepticism has either focused on positions of political parties as documented in party manifestoes, or on public opinion largely based on Eurobarometer data. Contrary to this, RECON will understand Euroscepticism as a discourse located in the public sphere, interacting with - and reacting to - the continuing constitutionalisation of the European Union and justificatory actions accompanying this process. This approach is set out in a conceptual working paper by Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde.

Eurosceptic discourse in selected member states

Building on this, WP 5 partners have taken stock of the scholarly literature on Euroscepticism in a variety of member states. Common themes, actors and forums for Eurosceptic discursive practices have been identified, with a particular focus on the campaign surrounding the European Parliament elections of June 2009. Collectively, these country reports find that Eurosceptic discourse is predominantly practiced by political parties or individual professional politicians. Exceptions to this include the tabloid press in the UK and Attac in France.

Although building on national myths and old political ideologies, Eurosceptic discourse appears systematically unaligned with traditional left-right politics. On the far right of the political spectrum, Eurosceptic discourse is intertwined with nationalism, xenophobia and populism. On the far left, it is linked to anti-capitalist discourse. A third supporting discourse is that of fundamentalist Christianity, both of a Catholic nature (as in Poland) and a Protestant nature (as in the Netherlands).

On the far right of the political spectrum, Eurosceptic discourse is intertwined with nationalism, xenophobia and populism

The best illustration of the misfit between Euroscepticism and the traditional party systems of Europe is the consistent failure of mainstream parties to contribute to discourse on Europe in a coherent and consistent way. To further confuse the political landscape of Euroscepticism, 'Eurosceptic' politicians often refuse to be labeled as such.

EP election web campaigns

This served as the background for a collective empirical enterprise in September 2009, when researchers from RECON partners gathered in Oslo to engage in a comparative discourse analysis of Euroscepticism in EP election campaigns on the web. With existing scholarly attention predominantly focused on party politics and public opinion, the nature and dynamics of Euroscepticism online appear relatively unchartered. The focus in the study will be on how Eurosceptic discourse is developed and challenged in interactive internet discussions on professional journal-

Irish cartoon against the Lisbon Treaty © David McDermott

The nature and dynamics of Euroscepticism online appear relatively unchartered

ism websites and political blogs. The results will be interpreted to assess the nature of Eurosceptic discourse, compare across countries and websites, study the extent to which 'Europe' features in the election campaign, and evaluate the online European public sphere in light of existing knowledge on its 'offline' counterpart.

RECON findings

More information on RECON's studies of Euroscepticism, including the country reports, are available on the project website. Go to Research > WP 5 > Publications > 2009.

See also RECON Online Working Paper 2009/10: 'Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as reactive identity formation' by Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde.

Media coverage on the European election campaigns

Coding is teamwork. Young researchers in Bremen coding media coverage on the European elections.

For three weeks in July a committed team of young researchers met at the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies in Bremen. The task was to code print and TV media coverage on the European election campaigns in six EU member states. Kathrin Packham (University of Bremen) supervises the comparative study, which is conducted within the framework of RECON's *WP 5 - Civil Society and the Public Sphere*, and which focuses on democratic discourses in the EP campaigns. The Bremen team was supported by Olga Brzezinska (Jagiellonian University), who undertakes the study of Poland, and Tomas Lacina (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), who is responsible for the analysis of Czech debates. The team had already been working

with Aleksandra Maatsch who conducts an analysis of EU institutional reform discourses in national parliamentary debates.

In a similar study, a team at Eötvös Loránd University monitored the EP campaign in Hungary under the supervision of Mária Heller and Ágnes Rényi. In addition to print leaflets and other 'traditional' campaign material, the team focused on new technologies including YouTube and internet community pages. The analysis of the Hungarian EP campaign encompasses the different parties' campaigns, their attitude towa–rds the EU and European politics, as well as the role of the new media in the formation of a new European public sphere.

RECON Midterm Conference
Prague, 9-10 October 2009

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 city-state and nation state based versions of democracy? These are core questions that will be discussed at the midterm conference in Prague. More than 100 researchers as well as policy makers, civil society actors and representatives from the general public will gather to discuss the RECON project's focus on the future of democracy in Europe.

Vladimír Špidla, EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, will open the conference. RECON has invited a range of prominent researchers to offer critical project feedback. Prof. Giandomenico Majone, prominent expert on regulatory governance in the EU and well-known for criticisms of recent developments in the EU, starts out with his assessment of the RECON project models.

Autumn in Prague

The aim of the midterm conference is to engage participants in a constructive discussion on the theoretical models underlying the project. At the project's halfway mark, we present preliminary findings, take stock of research, and stake out the future direction.

EU Commissioner Vladimír Špidla opens RECON's midterm conference
© European Parliament, 2004

Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (University of Hannover) will give a keynote on the second model 'EU as a multinational federal state', and Hauke Brunkhorst (University of Flensburg) on the third model, 'EU as a cosmopolitan order'. The keynote speakers will address the fruitfulness of the models and bring further insight to whether they are productive ways of conceiving democracy. Aiming at critical exchanges on the relative merits of the general RECON framework, the keynote speeches will be followed by discussants Deirdre Curtin (University of Amsterdam), Ulrike Liebert (University of Bremen) and James Bohman (Saint Louis University).

The conference will proceed with roundtable debates to allow for more in-depth discussions on the models and on preliminary findings from the project. Summaries of each of the project's work packages will be discussed, which outline preliminary theoretical and empirical findings. The debates will thus focus on and scrutinise the models but also take up and discuss a set of more general issues pertaining to the different ways of discussing democracy in the European setting. In particular, the aim is to assess the models in light of what we have achieved 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?

New article on the 'Multilevel Parliamentary Field'

The European Parliament © EP, 2008

In an article appearing in the latest issue of *European Political Science Review*, Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum introduce the concept 'Multilevel Parliamentary Field' as a new analytical tool to conceive of the EU's structure of democratic representation.

According to Crum and Fossum, this concept is warranted for several reasons. First, the multilevel configuration that makes up the EU contains two channels of democratic representation: one directly through the European Parliament, the other indirectly through the national parliaments and governments. These two channels are likely to persist side by side; hence, both the European and the national parliaments can claim to represent 'the people' in EU decision-making.

Second, this structure of representation is in many respects without precedent; it does not fit established concepts of democratic representation derived from the nation state or from international relations, such as a federal two-channel system or a parliamentary network.

Third, the representative bodies in the EU are interlinked, also across levels. Until now, no proper conceptual apparatus has been devised that can capture the distinctive traits of this EU multilevel representative system, and help to assess its democratic quality. According to Crum and Fossum, the concept of the Multilevel Parliamentary Field fills both these tasks. It serves as a heuristic device to integrate the empirical analysis of the different forms of democratic representation in the EU's multilevel system, and it provides new angles for analysing the democratic challenges that this system faces.

The concept has been developed as a subproject within *WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up*. The authors wish to sketch a new field of research and invite people to conduct research along these lines, also on empirical questions.

Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum:
'The Multilevel Parliamentary Field: A framework for theorizing representative democracy in the EU', *European Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp 249-71, July 2009
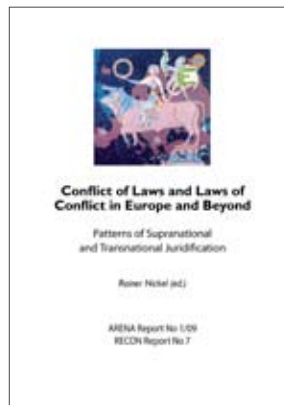
New RECON Reports

Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe and Beyond
Patterns of Supranational and Transnational Juridification
Edited by Rainer Nickel
RECON Report 7 (September 2009)

This report deals with new approaches to supra- and transnational law-generating structures. These new approaches, namely Christian Joerges' theoretical concept based upon the conflict of laws methodology, and additional ideas of constitutional pluralism and of participatory transnational governance, are discussed from private, public and international law perspectives. They strive to conceptualise, in legal categories, the efforts to re-constitute democratic governing in post-national constellations. The volume seeks to find new ways for a democratisation of European and transnational governance outside traditional models, and more convincing ways of a European and transnational 'juridification' that reconciles democracy, diversity, and social rights.
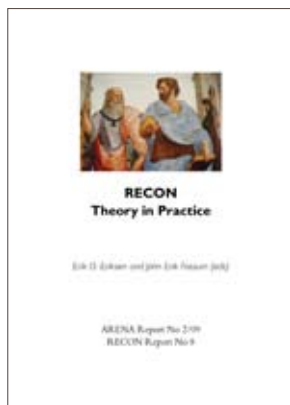
RECON – Theory in Practice
Edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
RECON Report 8 (September 2009)

RECON studies the question of democracy in the EU across a broad range of subject areas. This brings up major challenges pertaining to research approach, research design, and research coordination. How can we recognise the different models across the different institutional, constitutional and policy areas of the project? The purpose of this report is to move from theory to practice. However, the contributions are not mere instances of operationalisation of the three RECON models to all the project's relevant subfields. Instead, each contribution applies the RECON framework to its subject-area with due attention to the particular methodological issues and the main lines of debate.

The Lisbon Treaty and National Constitutions
Europeanization and Democratic Implications
Edited by Carlos Closa
RECON Report 9 (September 2009)

The European Union has affected national constitutions. To some extent, this implies a cosmopolitan turn in their content whilst, in parallel, national constitutions have been adopted to protect their core from the expansive tendency of European integration. The Europeanisation of national constitutions supplements and completes the unfinished process of constitutionalisation of the EU. The two processes can be seen as two sides of the same coin. This report explores how this has happened and to what extent the model of a constitutional EU is emerging. It does so by investigating several topics, such as the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the processes for national ratification of EU Treaties, and the constitutional discourses in the media.

The RECON Report Series is part of the ARENA Report Series. Download reports in electronic format at RECON's website: **www.reconproject.eu** or order a hard copy by e-mail to **admin@reconproject.eu**.

New project at CSIC

The Spanish Ministry for Innovation and Science has granted funding for a research project on National Institutions and European Integration: Ratifying EU Reform Treaties, CSO2009-06971 (subprograma CPOL). The project will run for 3 years starting in January 2010. The members of the team are Carlos Closa (CSIC), Natividad Fernández (Universidad de Zaragoza), Ignacio Molina (UAM) and Mario Kölling (Universidad de Zaragoza). This project develops one of the subject fields of RECON WP 2, namely, the ratification of treaties and their impact on the constitutionalisation of the EU.

RECON Events

Workshop on Euroscepticism in EU Election E-Debates
Oslo, 14-19 September 2009

ARENA, University of Oslo organised a one-week workshop as part of a sub-project of *WP 5 – Civil society and the public sphere*. Researchers from RECON partners were gathered for one week of intense training in quantitative and qualitative computer-based text analysis. The aim was to conduct a comparative discourse analysis of Euroscepticism in European Parliament election campaigns on the web. The focus was on how Eurosceptic discourse is developed and challenged in interactive internet discussions on professional journalism websites and political blogs. The results will be interpreted to assess the nature of Eurosceptic discourse, compare across countries and websites, study the extent to which 'Europe' features in the election campaign, and evaluate the online European public sphere in light of existing knowledge on its 'offline' counterpart.

Workshop on Representative Theory
Vienna, 22 May 2009

The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences hosted a one-day workshop on representative theory in Vienna on 22 May 2009 as part of RECON's *WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up*. After a first working paper delivering a critical assessment of various representative theories was developed by the EIF team (RECON Online Working Paper 2009/03), this workshop served the aim of connecting theoretical considerations with the empirical research planned within the framework of WP 3. This empirical part analyses the extent of coordination of representative claims by transnational party federations in the last elections to the European Parliament. Thus, the further refinement of the theoretical frame and the operationalization of the three RECON models were the focus of this Vienna workshop.

The workshop opened with a presentation by **James Bohman** (Saint Louis University), who argued that in 'multi-perspectival polities' constituted by multiple demoi, representation needs to function differently than standard assumptions on representation in single-perspectival polities constituting a demos would suggest. WP 3 coordinator **Christopher Lord** (ARENA, University of Oslo) then critically assessed the notion that democracy is first and foremost about efficient aggregation of the public's wants and called for a focus on democracy as a value, a right and a procedure. Such a focus, namely, will allow us to appreciate the notion that in constructing a representative system on the EU level we should not focus primarily on its ability to correlate public preferences to outcomes, but, more profoundly, on democratic deliberation on the nature of the relations between the public desires and policy outcomes. The third presentation by **Dario Castiglione** (University of Exeter) addressed some of the key reasons for renewed scholarly interest in issues of representation and the need of its 're-thinking'. While he argued for modifications

in a number of key concepts related to political representation, he also stressed the need to conceive of 'representation' as a system rather than a set of related but multiple practices and institutions. **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA, University of Oslo) as a discussant of the first panel provided a number of useful comments, not least arguing for the need to consider the notion of parliamentary field when we think of the emerging system of political representation in the EU.

The second panel was opened by a paper authored by **Jozef Bátora**, **Monika Mokre**, **Johannes Pollak**, **Emmanuel Sigalas** and **Peter Slominski** (Austrian Academy of Sciences). They presented ideas on how representative systems can be operationalized in relation to the three RECON models and elaborated upon a set of hypotheses to be tested in the 2009 EP election campaigns. In the following paper, **Ben Crum** and **Eric Miklin** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) applied the notion of the EU parliamentary field to study the case of the EU Services Directive. By doing that they sought to specify the terms of engagement between the demoi in the EU. **Sandra Kröger** (University of Bremen) finally reviewed a number of key conceptual issues related to representation of civil society actors in the multi-level system of EU governance. The discussant of the second panel, **Berthold Rittberger** (MZES, University of Mannheim) provided a number of constructive critical remarks.

The fact that most of the papers directly engaged each others' concepts as well as the small setting of the workshop provided an excellent opportunity for fruitful discussions of how the concept of political representation should be re-thought to have explanatory value in multi-level polities such as the EU.

The Austrian Academy of Sciences

RECON public lecture at ELTE Budapest, 28 April 2009

Péter Bodor held a public lecture at Eötvös Loránd University on 'Identity in discourse – and the case of ascribing "schizophrenia" to Europe and Hungary'. The lecture relied upon the results of a focus group analysis carried out in the framework of *WP 8 - Identity Formation and Enlargement*. Bodor examined how the term schizophrenia is applied in discourses of lay people, and presented an in-depth discourse analysis of the focus group conversations. The participants discussed the controversies characterizing the Hungarian society (in many respects a deeply divided society), the unbalanced relation between Hungary and Europe, and the East/West divide among EU countries. The findings contribute to the understanding of the challenges of the emerging European identity in Eastern Europe.

Lessons From Europe's and Canada's Constitutional Experiences

RECON WP 2 Workshop Oslo, 21-22 March 2009

Scholars on European integration and Canadian constitutional politics gathered together in Oslo on 21 and 22 March 2009. The aim was to extract relevant lessons from their constitutional experiences. What are the conditions of success and failure of constitution-making/reform in multinational political entities? How do efforts to insert more democratically inclusive patterns of participation in constitutional change processes shape outcomes? Which RECON model(s) of democracy do these constitutional processes speak to?

The workshop 'Lessons from Europe's and Canada's Constitutional Experiences' was organised by John Erik Fossum (ARENA, University of Oslo) in cooperation with the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (NACS) and the European Network for Canadian Studies (ENCS). It was co-funded by the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT). The workshop was part of WP 2, which deals with the constitutionalisation of the EU, the Europeanisation of national constitutions, and comparisons of constitutionalism in the EU and Canada. Thus far, very little research effort has been expended on discerning lessons for the EU from the complex Canadian case. The workshop therefore necessarily had an exploratory component: to discern lessons it is important to establish the comparability of the cases.

Europe and Canada compared

The workshop opened with an introduction by co-WP coordinator **John Erik Fossum**. Presenting the background paper 'On democratizing European constitution-making', he analysed the constitutional processes in order to draw theoretical and practical lessons from the Canadian experience. The cases can be compared on certain dimensions and for certain purposes, he argued. Comparability stems from the fact that both Canada and the EU are essentially contested political entities; both are multinational and poly-ethnic; both have long existed under constitutional systems not explicitly founded on the principle of popular sovereignty; and they share a

long-drawn and deeply contested search for an institutional, constitutional framework that all relevant parties can agree to. But comparability also hinges on the perspective adopted on the EU and on Canada as political entity, as well as on the theoretical approach to the constitution and constitutionalism. Workshop participants differed on these issues and thus had different conceptions of overall comparability and lessons. A particularly interesting approach to comparison that would require more attention is to consider the theory of constitutional synthesis as espoused in **Agustín J. Menéndez'** (University of León) contribution to the workshop in relation to the Canadian experience. This will be further explored in a forthcoming RECON report from the workshop.

Canadian and European experiences

After Fossum's introduction, **Peter H. Russell** (University of Toronto) gave an overview of Canada's constitutional process of constitutional reform. He emphasized

Hans-Jörg Trenz, Jeremy Webber, Carlos Closa, Giulio Itzcovich and Marylou McPhedran

that although there are striking similarities between the two cases, important differences prevail. Russell argued that the origins of their constitutional challenges are quite different and there are different reasons for the failure in obtaining agreement between the stakeholders in Canada and in the EU. Canada and the EU are multicultural in different senses. Moreover, the concepts of 'constitution' and 'federalism' are accepted in Canada, whilst contested in the EU. Finally, Russell related the failure of the constitutional reform to the failure of the people to act as a sovereign people. To Russell the opening up of constitutional reform processes to participatory elements – including referenda – increases the likelihood of constitutional failure. In a Burkean sense, 'normal', incremental constitutional change is now taking place through elitist processes in Canada and – most likely – also in the EU.

While Russell sees the future of constitutional reform in executive-driven

The workshop venue: Holmenkollen Park Hotel Rica

incremental processes, **Gioulio Itzcovich** (Universià degli Studi di Brescia) analyzed the European constitutional process as an elitist project dominated by jurists and epistemic communities, although with increasing public participation. From a normative point, he criticized that although the project is opening up to wider publics, the quality of constitutional debates remains low, and the general public remains unaware of the constitutional reforms at stake.

In response to Russell and Itzcovich, **Hans-Jörg Trenz** (ARENA) emphasized the need to pay attention to how the people is constituted, the challenges of identifying and including the public in multi-national settings in constitutional reforms as well as the challenges of identifying the links between the different publics within a political entity. The following discussion revolved in particular around the role of the mass media in constitutional reform processes, which includes participatory elements such as referenda.

Workshop organiser John Erik Fossum discussing with Jeremy Webber

Participation and gender

The workshop was concerned with discerning lessons from democratizing constitution-making processes, and particular focus was on the gender dimension. **Yvonne Galligan** (Queen's University Belfast) discussed European constitution-making and the role

of gender as a possible source of a progressive development of rights on the European level, compared to the national level. She outlined how Art. 119 of the Treaty of Rome, which states 'equal pay for equal work', and which is meant to prevent distortion of the market, has been developed by the ECJ into a structure that allows for justiciable actions by individuals seeking redress for discriminations. At the same time, the development of adequate law and transposition of gender provisions into national law has been inadequate. However, Galligan emphasized that gender equality directives also to some extent are the product of political negotiation, illustrating this by two case studies. In her comment, **Cathrine Holst** (ARENA) noted that in addition to the success story of the EU, one should also address the setbacks and the status quo. The importance of representation was stressed by **Marylou McPhedran** (University of Winnipeg), who shared her experiences as a direct participant in the Canadian constitutional process (the Charter) and the mobilisation of the grassroots-movement, and used it to explore the input-output problem of such processes.

Democratising the processes

In the following section, **Jeremy Webber** (University of Victoria) interpreted the Canadian constitutional process as an ongoing dialogue, where the Charter was supposed to be a device for nation-building and establishing a symmetrical relationship between the people and the government, but in fact he noted that it had created an asymmetrical relationship. **Patrick Fafard** (University of Ottawa) evaluated some generally made claims about the Canadian process. These claims state that elite accommodation is no longer a viable means of pursuing constitutional change, and that there has been a democratisation of the Canadian constitutional reform process. Furthermore, according to such claims, changes to the constitution requires public involvement, which in turn makes the constitution difficult to amend, and finally, that rather than an overarching constitutional settlement, the goal should be an ongoing constitutional 'conversation'.

Ben Crum (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) suggested a new, alternative approach in order to salvage the idea of democratic constitutionalism for multi-national political communities – a two-level theory of supranational democratic constitutionalism, based on John Rawls. He argued that by applying the theoretical model to the constitutional processes, important, structural differences between the two cases can be identified. Crum also underlined the importance of continuing the focus on democratising

constitutional processes. **Christopher Lord** (ARENA) pointed out that despite significant innovation and improvement in the EU's arrangements for deciding questions of institutional design, the absence of clear, consistent, principled and defensible means of dealing with rejected treaty changes in the EU prevails. Lord's proposal to improve present arrangements would be the establishment of post-rejection conventions, with mandate to recommend a procedure for dealing with the Treaty rejection after conducting a full deliberation on the reasons for rejection and responses to them.

Based on the discussion, **Ian Cooper** (ARENA) drew some preliminary lessons from the workshop. First of all, 'accommodationism' has relatively clear standards of procedural legitimacy, although beyond pure proceduralism they may still be ambiguous. Furthermore, new-style constitutional change does not yet have clear standards of legitimacy. Although the movement towards democratisation takes many forms, the democratic legitimacy of the process will be subject to challenge by groups that feel excluded. Another lesson to be learned is that there is a tension between accomodationist and

Peter Russell, Ben Crum, Ian Cooper, Giulio Itzcovich and Hans-Jörg Trenz

democratised constitutional processes, and it seems to be difficult for a process to achieve both. In addition, neither styles of constitutional change can guarantee success, based on the historical examples. It also seems difficult to predict whether a constitutional document will have an integrative effect, and the nation-building effect of a constitutional document does not necessarily depend on it being a product of a fully democratised process. An important question is whether it is possible to go back from a democratised process to a purely accommodationist one. The general perception in Canada seems to be that it is not, although in Europe the perfect example of such a retreat is the Treaty of Lisbon.

The workshop contributions will be published in the RECON Report Series.

All photos © Marit Eldholm

European stories: How national intellectuals debate Europe

RECON WP 5 Workshop
Oxford, 30 April-1 May 2009

The workshop 'European Stories: How National Intellectuals Debate Europe' was organized by the European Studies Centre, Oxford University, and the Centre de théorie politique and the Institute for European Studies at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, as part of *WP 5 - Civil Society and the Public Sphere*. It was a follow-up of a first conference which took place in Brussels in May 2008 and was organized within the framework of a broader comparative study on how public intellectuals have reacted to European integration and how their vision of their country's national identity has affected their view of the EU, and vice versa. While the definition of intellectuals and their place in society vary across the European countries, national debates among these intellectuals shape and reflect the dominant opinions of the citizens. They also influence the way in which their country is perceived by other Europeans and therefore the evolving relationship between European peoples. The workshop aimed at deepening such a study on different 'European stories' appearing in national debates. Discussants were **Timothy Garton Ash**, **Michaël Freeden** and **Jan Zielonka** (all Oxford University), **Ivan Krastev** (Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia) and **Jean Leca** (University of Birmingham).

Oxford city centre

Justine Lacroix (Université Libre de Bruxelles) and **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (Oxford University) started out by giving an account of the questions under scrutiny. How is the EU framed in distinct intellectual debates? How is the evolving European polity conceived? What do these differences in turn tell us about the EU? Are the concerns raised and the assumptions made in these various historically-bounded settings part and parcel of a shared *problématique*? To what extent can we observe a cross-fertilizing between these national debates? **Francis Cheneval** (Oxford University) and **Ulrike Liebert** (University of Bremen) then presented some analytical building blocks related to the overall research project.

Magdalena Góra and **Zdzislaw Mach** (Jagiellonian University) investigated Poles' self-perception as Europeans, emphasizing Poland's location 'east of the West and west of the East'. **Muriel Blaive** (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute) and **Nicolas Maslowski** (Charles University) explained how the Czech heritage has been mobilized in two opposite camps: in an ethnic and isolationist, nationalist direction rejecting Europe as a danger (Vaclav Klaus) and in a humanist direction emphasizing individual responsibility and the heritage of the European civilisation (Vaclav Havel). **Daniel Barbu** (University of Bucharest) focused on the transformations of language and the political and intellectual consent given to the process of European integration by academia and public intellectuals in Romania. **Jan-Werner Müller** (Princeton University) discussed the peculiarities of the German EU debate and how most politicians and intellectuals in West Germany have long been favourably disposed towards the idea of European unification. **Laurent Scheeck** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) argued that, despite their differences, Belgium and Luxembourg have gone through a similar evolution with regard to narratives on Europe; from international strongholds for debates about the idea and the construction of European Union to fragmented political spaces of internal debates on Europe. **Georgios Varouxakis** (University of London) offered a critical account of debates on the question of Europe in British intellectual life since the issue of membership first arose in 1961. **Katy Hayward** (Queen's University Belfast) argued that the problem in Ireland is not so much that of growing Euroscepticism, but an absence of public reflection on the purpose and path of further European integration. There is a need for a fresh vision of Ireland's place in the future EU, she claimed, which can only be realised by a new wave of intellectual engagement in the national debate.

Ahmet O. Evin (Sabanci University) discussed how current Turkish debates on the EU reflect the same paradoxes and dualisms that characterized the perceptions of Europe among the late nineteenth-century Ottoman intelligentsia. **Cathrine Holst** (ARENA, University of Oslo) presented her and **John Erik Fossum**'s investigation of the manner in which Norwegian public intellectuals approach the relationship between thinking 'Europe' and the 'national'. The great majority of Norwegian public intellectuals insist that the EU is a democratic curse, which Norway should stay away from.

Justine Lacroix argued that the French debate has revolved around the connection between rights and boundaries and the appropriate locus for democracy. Almost all French intellectuals writing on Europe insist on the nation being the main locus for

Workshop participants outside the European Studies Centre, Oxford

political socialiation. **Mario Telò** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) addressed the role of intellectuals in Italy in explaining the continuities and discontinuities found in ideas about Europe between the First and the Second Republic (1992-2008). **Carlos Closa** (Spanish National Research Council) argued that the Spanish intellectuals' views on Europe can be characterised by three main features: consensus, benign neglect and specialised knowledge. Finally, **Xenophon Yataganas** (University of Athens) analyzed the oscillation of Greek intellectuals and the entire Greek society between West and East, which has produced an ambiguous position towards European integration.

In conclusion, two contrasting views on the lessons taught by the various 'European stories' were given. **Juan Diez Medrano** (Universidad de Barcelona) argued that the analyses show a clear agreement on a common vision of the EU, namely 'a market founded on democratic values'. He defended the thesis that there are not many but rather one relevant story to be told about the EU. Conversely, **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** and **Janie Pélabay** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) argued that it is neither desirable nor possible to promote a unique, homogenised and official vision of what it means to be European. In their view, the presentations indicated that the EU polity is significantly marked, supported and/or challenged by a great variety of diverging and competing, though reasonable, stories about the EU and Europe.

This research will lead to a volume edited by Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis.

With or without Lisbon: Continuous institutional change in the EU

On 15 and 16 May 2009, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam hosted a two-day workshop in the context of RECON WP 2 on the constitutional politics of the EU. With the Lisbon Treaty's ratification still uncertain and the prospects for formal successful EU reform via Treaty revision looking rather gloomy in general, the workshop addressed two sets of questions. First, it asked for 'informal' institutional changes that might happen despite the lack of official treaty revision. The focus here was on three sets of institutions: the European Parliament, national parliaments and national courts. Secondly, the workshop discussed whether there is still a chance for formal EU constitution-making and which procedural changes would be needed to make future reform-attempts more successful.

European parliaments

The first day was devoted to parliaments in Europe. After a welcome note of workshop organiser **Ben Crum** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and a brief introduction of the RECON project to the large number of external participants by **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA, University of Oslo), two papers on the European Parliament were discussed. **Berthold Rittberger** (MZES, University of Mannheim) probed the reasons why member states have supported Treaty reforms that empower the EP, arguing that there is evidence that they do so both for strategic and normative reasons. **Sarah Hagemann** (European Policy Centre Brussels) then presented an empirical overview of the impact recent EU enlargement rounds have had on the functioning of the European Parliament. **Gary Marks** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/UNC Chapel Hill) provided some piercing comments on both papers, after which a lively discussion followed.

Session II was chaired by **Liesbet Hooghe** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/UNC Chapel Hill) and discussed the (changing) functions national parliaments fulfil in the EU's institutional setting today. **Tapio Raunio** (University of Tampere) argued that national parliaments currently focus almost exclusively on 'government related' functions such as scrutinising their government, while their 'citizens related' (e.g. communicative) functions are still hardly developed. Analysing the EU-related activities of the Austrian parliament, **Johannes Pollak** (Austrian Academy of Science) then pointed to a discrepancy between an increase of the formal rights for national parliaments in EU policy-making and the extent to which these rights are actually used. Taking up on Raunio and Pollak, **Eric Miklin** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) discussed how a politicisation of EU decision-making within the European institutions might positively impact on the way parliaments fulfil both their government- and their citizens-related functions in EU decision-making. **Petra Guasti** (Academy of Science of the Czech Republic) finally linked the debate back to the Lisbon Treaty and presented a case study of the debates in the Czech parliament during the ratification procedure. The papers were responded to by **Jan-Jakob van Dijk**, member of the Dutch parliament and chair of its subsidiarity committee, who, drawing on his own experience, endorsed many of the findings but also raised some interesting questions.

Informal institutional change

The second day started with a keynote speech by **Adrienne Héritier** (European University Institute), in which she outlined the evolution of the research programme on informal institutional change in the EU and presented some of her latest findings on the steady development of early agreements in the EU legislative process.

European Courts

Session III moved the focus to the courts in the EU system and the way they contribute to the evolution of EU law. First, **Carlos Closa** (Spanish National Research Council) argued that, contrary to superficial impressions, national courts generally play a very constructive role when assessing the reconcilability of EU Treaty changes with national constitutions. **Julio Baquero Cruz** (European Commission) then discussed the effects the formal adoption of a supremacy clause (as initially foreseen in the Constitutional Treaty but abandoned in the Lisbon Treaty) might have had, arguing that while its effects might have been negligible in strictly legal terms, its political and symbolic implications might have been considerable. **Deirdre Curtin** (University of

Keynote speaker Adrienne Héritier with workshop organiser Ben Crum

Amsterdam) reflected upon the implications of recent developments in the case-law of the European Court of Justice for the character of the living, 'sedimentary' constitution of the EU, highlighting in particular the importance of the principle of 'legal unity' as recently developed by the Court. Discussant **Michael Dougan** (University of Liverpool) nicely linked the specific legal issues to wider political implications for European integration.

The future of reform attempts

The final session addressed the question why recent attempts to EU constitution-making have failed and what could be changed to make future attempts more successful. **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) and **Agustín J. Menéndez** (University of León) introduced their 'theory of constitutional synthesis', and argued that what the EU currently needs is a process of 'constitutional self-clarification'. **Liesbet Hooghe** and **Gary Marks** presented their 'post-functionalist theory of European integration', stressing the importance of identity in understanding the EU's (future) institutional development. Arguing in favour of a process of formal constitution-making, **Ben Crum** suggested a 'two-level theory of supranational democratic constitutionalisation' as an analytical tool to learn from the failure of the Constitutional Treaty process. Again discussing possibilities to reform the reform process, **Renaud Dehousse** (Science Po, Paris) finally raised doubts about the feasibility of any substantive treaty reforms in the future without reviewing the unanimity requirement in the ratification procedure. On this session, **Thomas Christiansen** (EiPA/University of Maastricht) acted as a discussant.

From the wide range of topics covered in the workshop it clearly emerged that the EU's institutional structure continues to evolve even if formal Treaty revisions have been stalled. And while many of these changes may be incremental and go almost unnoticed, eventually they raise fundamental questions about the nature of the EU polity and its legitimacy – questions that are at the heart of the RECON project.

Berthold Rittberger, Ben Crum, Sarah Hagemann and Gary Marks

Helene Sjursen awarded JEPP prize

Helene Sjursen was guest editor of the *Journal of European Public Policy* special issue 'What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective' (Vol. 13, No. 2, 2006), which has received the prize as the **most downloaded special issue** in the period 2007-2008.

The issue examines the question of the EU as a so-called normative or civilising power in the international system. It does so by addressing the questions: What would be the criteria for identifying a 'normative/civilian/civilising' power? How can we theoretically account for the putative existence of the EU as such a power? Does the argument that the EU is a 'normative/civilian/civilising' power hold up to systematic empirical investigation?

The various contributions differ in their assessment of the 'normative power argument', both with regard to its empirical relevance and its theoretical foundations. The aim has not been to impose a coherent theoretical framework on the contributors, nor to encourage them to reach agreement on how best to conceptualize the EU's international role, but to clear the ground for further discussion.

Read more at the website of the conclued CIDEL project:
www.arena.uio.no/cidel/JEPP_SI_132.htm

The preface to the prize-winning Special Issue is freely available online until the end of 2009: www.informaworld.com/jepp

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 include:

2009/10
Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde
Denouncing European Integration: Euroscepticism as Reactive Identity Formation

2009/09
Pieter de Wilde
Designing Politicization: How Control Mechanisms in National Parliaments Affect Parliamentary Debates in EU Policy-Formulation

2009/08
Erik Oddvar Eriksen
Explicating Social

Action: Arguing or Bargaining?

2009/07
Hans-Jörg Trenz, Nadine Bernhard and Erik Jentges
Civil Society and EU Constitution-Making: Towards a European Social Constituency?

2009/06
Kjartan Koch Mikalsen
Regional Federalisation with a Cosmopolitan Intent

2009/05
Agustín José Menéndez
European Citizenship after Martínez Sala and Bambaust: Has European Law Become More Human but Less Social?

2009/04
Giandomenico Majone
The 'Referendum Threat', the Rationally Ignorant Voter, and the Political Culture of the EU

2009/03
Johannes Pollak, Jozef Bátora, Monika Mokre, Emmanuel Sigalas and Peter Slominski
On Political Representation: Myths and Challenges

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

online working paper series
RE/CON

A number of RECON researchers met in Santiago, Chile in July at the 21st IPSA World Congress 'Global Discontent? Dilemmas of Change'. A total of four joint panels were organised on topics related to RECON and chaired by project participants.

A first panel on 'The Politics of Ratification of the EU Treaties' was chaired by Carlos Closa (CSIC) and expanded on the scope of research of WP 2 on constitutional politics. This panel included a paper by Closa on courts as unaccounted players in treaty ratification. Yvonne Galligan (Queen's University Belfast), Ulrike Liebert (University of Bremen), Hans-Jörg Trenz (ARENA, University of Oslo) and Antje Wiener (University of Hamburg) acted as discussants.

The panel 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Reconstitution of Democracy in Europe' was chaired by Hans-Jörg Trenz. Ulrike Liebert' presented a paper dealing with citizen politics in the reconstitution of the Euro polity. Petra Guasti (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) asked how Central European organized civil society contributes to European civil society. Amandine Crespy (Université Libre de Bruxelles) discussed the rise of a critical civil society in Europe by investigating the case of the EU Services Directive. Finally, Hans-Jörg Trenz' contribution investigated the media as the 'unknown player' of European integration. This panel also saw a paper by Paul Statham (University of Bristol) on party contestation over Europe in national public discourses.

In a third panel 'The Unfinished Democratisation of the EU', four papers by RECON researchers were presented. Raul Letelier (University of León) presented the paper 'A cosmopolitan view of the ECJ: public liability and judicial review as case studies'. Flavia Carbonell Bellolio (University of León) discussed the democratic implications of consequentialist reasoning in the ECJ's case law. Yvonne Galligan's contribution dealt with gender democracy and the EU, and Antje Wiener presented the *Kadi* Case as another case of integration through law.

Finally, a panel on 'Globalisation, Migration and Changes of Citizenship in Different Regional Contexts' was organized under the main theme session, with Ulrike Liebert as chair and Philippe C. Schmitter (European University Institute) and Carlos Closa as discussants. This panel included papers on European, Chinese and Indian citizenship, and Tatjana Evas (RGSL/University of Bremen) and Ulrike Liebert discussed the EU's immigration and citizenship regime, providing an operationalization and application of the RECON models to the concept of European Citizenship as developed through ECJ jurisprudence.

The discourse-theoretical argument on democracy is often criticised for being utopian, in that it provides a blueprint for a just political order and misses institutional reality in actual democracies. Daniel Gaus argues that this criticism is based on a misreading of Habermas' theory.

Gaus argues that, contrary to some interpretations, discourse theory on democracy and law does not aim to normatively justify a certain model of a democratic society. Instead, it seeks to describe and explain real-world political practice in modern democracies with a focus on a specific object of analysis: collective belief systems regarding the legitimacy of political rule. The main hypothesis of discourse theory is that during a socio-historical learning process, the concept of the democratic constitutional state has evolved into the normative ideal of political order. Or, in other words, within the collective consciousness of modern societies, the concepts of democracy, statehood and law together cover the necessary conditions for legitimate political rule

Seen as a contribution to a reconstructive sociology of democracy, Habermas' discourse theory needs further elaboration to substantiate its central hypotheses. Gaus claims that European integration could be seen as a test case in this regard. However, the question, then, would not be whether or how the EU could or should become a constitutional state. Instead, empirical analysis of justificatory practices of political rule would be necessary to answer the question, whether the ideal of the democratic constitutional state actually orients legitimacy judgments – in the political practice of the nation-states as well as in the political practice of the European Union.

Publications by RECON partners

Crum, Ben: 'Een Herwaardering van het Nationale Belang in de Europese Context', in A. Sabahoğlu (ed.) *Ons Belang in Europa*, Utrecht: Wetenschappelijk Bureau GroenLinks, 2009.

Crum, Ben (with Stijn van Kessel): 'The European Parliament elections in The Netherlands, 4 June 2009', European Parliament Election (EPERN) Briefing no 28, 2009.

Fossum, John Erik and Holst, Cathrine: 'Norske intellektuelles syn på EU', *Internasjonal Politikk*, Vol. 67, No.3, pp. 441-52, 2009.

Galent, Marcin and Niedźwiedzki, Dariusz (with Idesbald Goddeeris): *Migration and Europeanisation: Changing identities and values among Polish pendulum migrants and their employers*, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2009.

Gaus, Daniel: 'Legitime politische Ordnung jenseits des demokratischen Rechtsstaats? Ein Versuch der Explikation des Staatsverständnisses von Jürgen Habermas im Lichte des Geltungsanspruchs der Diskurstheorie des demokratischen Rechtsstaats', in G. S. Schaal (ed.) *Das Staatsverständnis von Jürgen Habermas*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009.

Kjaer, Poul F.: 'Embeddedness through networks – a critical appraisal of the Network Concept in the Oeuvre of Karl-Heinz Ladeur', *German Law Journal*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 483-500.

Kjaer, Poul F.: 'The under-complexity of democracy', in G.-P. Calliess, A. Fischer-Lescano, D. Wielsch and P. Zumbansen (eds) *Soziologische Jurisprudenz. Festschrift für Gunther Teubner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin: Gruyter-Verlag, 2009.

Lacroix, Justine and Magnette, Paul: 'French republicanism and European law', in S. Besson and J. Marti (eds) *Legal republicanism: National and international*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Puetter, Uwe and Wiener, Antje (eds): 'Contested norms in international law and international relations', *Journal of International Law and International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 1, Special Issue, 2009.

Walker, Neil: 'Europe at 50: A midlife crisis? Democratic deficit and sovereignty surplus', *Irish Journal of European Law*, vol. 15, no. 1 and 2, pp. 23-34.

Walker, Neil: 'The variety of sovereignty', in R. Adler-Nissen and T. Gammeltoft-Hansen (eds) *Sovereignty games: instrumentalizing state sovereignty in Europe and beyond*, Palgrave: New York, 2009.

Walker, Neil: 'Reframing European constitutionalism', in J. Dunoff and J. Trachtman (eds) *Ruling the world: Constitutionalism, international law and global governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Try an open search in RECON's publications database with more than 600 entries:
http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/PublicationsDatabase.html

---

Joint Panel: European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Conference
Los Angeles, 23-25 April 2009

Members of *WP 7 – The Political Economy of the European Union*, Waltraud Schelkle (London School of Economics and Political Science), David Mayes (University of Auckland) and Anna Michalski (Swedish Institute for European Policy Research) took part in a joint panel at the EUSA 11th Biennial International Conference. The panel was chaired by Schelkle and Deborah Mabbett (University of London), and set out to explore the concept of 'choice' in OECD welfare reforms.

Based on their study of choice and the reconstitution of communities of risk in European welfare reforms, Schelkle, Joan Costa-i-Font and Christa van Wijnbergen (LSE) argued that ongoing reforms of European welfare states that aim at increasing 'choice' for patients, clients, and beneficiaries provide a unique opportunity to explore how communities of economic risks are reconstituted, particularly where the introduction of choice is accompanied by increased private involvement in the provision and financing of welfare services. Deborah Mabbett argued that choice in service provision may be an incidental consequence of privatisation rather than a goal in itself. David Mayes presented a paper on social models in the enlarged EU, examining the social welfare regimes of the member states.

The papers were commented upon by Florence Bouvet (Sonoma State University) and were followed by a lively discussion. One feature of immediate interest to the RECON project was a comment by a former Commission official that EU-level policies are much easier to implement where they do not involve any serious expenditures. Hence the encouragement of self-insurance and other mechanisms against shocks could be something dealt with at the EU level despite all the budgetary constraints.

Further information on this panel is available on RECON's website. Go to Events > Joint Panels.

Appointments

Olga Batura joined the RECON team at the Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP) in October 2008. She is research assistant at the Collaborative Research Center 597 at the University of Bremen, for the Project A1 'Trade Liberalisation and Social Regulation in Transnational Constellations' and participates in WP 9. Batura has studied international and European law at the European Humanities University in Minsk, the University of Bremen and University of Hamburg.

Erika Kurucz was appointed researcher at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She is currently a PhD candidate at Corvinus University, Budapest. Her major research fields include equal opportunity issues, Roma integration, social changes and e-Inclusion, and she participates in a cross-national comparative joint WP 5-WP 8 subproject on European identity among university students.

Asimina Michailidou joined ARENA, University of Oslo as a post-doctoral researcher in May 2009. She holds a PhD in political communication from Loughborough University. Michailidou's main fields of academic interest are new media and their impact on politics, particularly with regard to the EU; globalisation and political activism; and theoretical considerations on the concept of the public sphere. She is currently participating in a cross-national survey on Euroscepticism within the framework of RECON's WP 5.

Kolja Möller is research assistant at the Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP) and the Collaborative Research Center 'Transformations of the State' at the University of Bremen. From 1 August 2009 he joined RECON's WP 9. Möller has an MA in political science and is currently writing a PhD thesis on global constitutionalism and transnational democracy. His current research interests are the transformation of statehood, new modes of governance (from a post-structuralist perspective), international political economy and constitutionalism beyond the state.

Espen D. H. Olsen was appointed RECON senior researcher at ARENA, University of Oslo in July 2009. He holds a PhD in political science from the European University Institute in Florence and has studied political science, sociology and intellectual history at the University of Oslo. His main research interests focus on the developments of citizenship related to European integration, with a special emphasis on its transnational, multilevel, identity-oriented, democratic and constitutional features. In

RECON he will work specifically on the feasibility of democratic polity models from the vantage point of European citizenship politics and with cross-cutting activities in WP 1.

Kathrin Packham was appointed researcher at the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies at the University of Bremen in November 2008. She recently submitted her PhD thesis, and her research interests as a comparative political scientist include European integration, media and political communication, political parties and civil society. Packham contributes to the study of Euroscepticism within WP 5, her main focus being on the preparation and implementation of a cross-national comparative study on the democratic discourses in media coverage on the European elections 2009.

Róza Vajda was appointed researcher at the Institute of Sociology at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest in April 2009. Vajda is a PhD candidate at the New School for Social Research in New York, and has been involved in numerous research projects dealing with gender equality, Roma rights and the situation of asylum seekers in Hungary. She contributes to WP 4 by applying indicators for assessing gender justice and democracy in Hungary.

Nina Merethe Vestlund took up the position as senior executive officer at ARENA, University of Oslo on 1 September 2009. She is RECON's webmaster and responsible for the Newsletter, publication series, intranet and other communication and dissemination activities within the project as the substitute for Marit Eldholm, who will be on maternity leave from 30 September. Vestlund holds an MA in political science from the University of Oslo and has previously worked as a research assistant for the RECON project at ARENA.

Jozef Bátora left the Institute for European Integration Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in June 2009. Bátora has taken up a position as associate professor at the Institute of European Studies and International Relations at Comenius University in Bratislava from August 2009. Bátora will continue as a member of WP 3 in close cooperation with the team at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Marit Eldholm, advisor at ARENA, University of Oslo and administration and communications officer on the RECON project, is on maternity leave from 30 September 2009 to 20 August 2010. Nina Merethe Vestlund acts as her substitute during her leave.

Geir Ove Kværk, RECON Project Manager, is Administrative Director of ARENA, University of Oslo from mid-September 2009. He is the substitute of Ragnar Lie, who will be on leave until February 2010. Kværk will continue his duties as project manager of RECON while taking over the tasks of administrative director.

Kolja Raube has left ARENA, University of Oslo, after completing his one-year contract as senior researcher on the RECON project. In August 2009, Raube took up a position as postdoctoral assistant at the Centre for European Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium. He will continue to be affiliated with the RECON project, contributing to WP 6.

Johannes Pollak was appointed senior research professor at Webster University Vienna, Department of International Relations on 1 September 2009. He is on leave of absence from the Institute for European Integration Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and will continue as part of the Academy's team in RECON, contributing to WP 3.
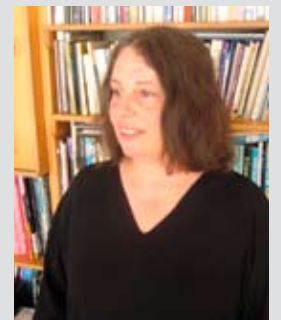
Waltraud Schelkle, senior lecturer in political economy at the European Institute at London School of Economics and Political Science, and member of WP 7, is on research leave at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg in Delmenhorst from September 2009 to June 2010.

Mária Heller's habilitation

On 5 June 2009, Mária Heller successfully passed her habilitation in Sociology with two lectures 'Development of Human Communication: The Blurring of Time and Space Constraints of the Communicative Situation' and 'The Acquisition of Social Rules through Games and Plays' at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.