

Unity amidst variety in the enlarged Europe?

Reconstituting democracy beyond the state, conditions and constraints

Einheit in der Vielfalt des erweiterten Europa? Demokratie jenseits vom Staat, Bedingungen und Grenzen

- With the support of the VolkswagenFoundation -

ConstEPS¹ & RECON² Conference

Host: Jean Monnet Centre, University of Bremen

Venue: *Bremische Bürgerschaft, City State of Bremen*

September 18-20, 2008

Three questions are at the core of this conference: How to reconcile unity with diversity in post-enlargement Europe in modes that take into account the mixture of both longstanding and newly established democratic institutions in the various member states? More particularly: What can we learn from the failure to ratify the Constitutional Treaty that can be used for the reconstitution of democracy in Europe? And specifically: What are the conditions required for and the constraints restricting citizens' involvement in the reconstruction of democracy across national borders? The aim of this conference is to present and discuss empirical findings from the ConstEPS research project on the different "partial regimes" that connect EU citizens to the "would-be-democratic" EU polity, and to assess competing ideas about how to reconstitute democracy in Europe in the context of the post-Laeken process.

As regards the intellectual foundations and requirements for effective and democratically legitimate governance in Europe, three normative approaches have been distinguished (cf. RECON): Market Europe, where democratic institutions are limited to the national realm; the supranational federal model of democracy, and the deliberative model of transnational European democracy with a cosmopolitan imprint.³ The socially contentious and politically contested post-Laeken process of Constitutional Treaty reform is a particularly relevant case in point for testing these models. Asking what lessons can be drawn from the failure of Constitutional Treaty ratification for the reconstruction of democracy in Europe, ConstEPS places the citizen centre stage: What are the forms, presuppositions and requirements for bringing citizens into the reconstitution of democracy in Europe, be it at national, supranational or transnational levels?

The disconnect between citizens and the ever more powerful Union of states and governments is a commonplace. We posit and then test against empirical evidence the thesis that the presuppositions and requirements for overcoming this gap (in other words, the EU's

¹ "Citizenship and Constitutionalisation: Transforming the Public Sphere in East- and West-European Integration" (ConstEPS), was funded during 5/2005 – 9/2008 by VolkswagenFoundation, in the program "Unity amidst Variety? Intellectual Foundations and Requirements for an Enlarged Europe" (<http://www.volkswagenstiftung.de/foerderung/auslandsorientiert/erweitertes-europa.html?L=1>), directed by Ulrike Liebert and located at the Jean Monnet Centre, University of Bremen, with a research group composed of Tatjana Evas, Dr. Alexander Gattig, Kathrin Packham, Ewelina Pawlak, Petra Rakusanova, Joanna Serdynska, Aleksandra Wyrozumska. See: <http://www.monnet-centre.uni-bremen.de/projects/consteps/index.html>.

² "Reconstituting Democracy in Europe" (RECON), integrated research project funded by the EU 6th FP (2007–2011), directed by Erik O. Eriksen, John E. Fossum, ARENA, University of Oslo (<http://www.reconproject.eu/>).

³ Eriksen, Erik O. and Fossum, John Erik: Reconstituting European Democracy, ARENA Working Paper 01/2008 (http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers2008/papers/wp08_01.xml).

legitimacy deficit) are to be found at transnational level. These conditions are part and parcel of the construction of democratic processes across national borders. In the words of Kalypso Nicolaidis, the constitution of such a “European demoi-cracy” should be based on liberal principles such as the mutual recognition of different, but interlocking “demoi”⁴. In James Bohman’s terms, the institutionalisation of a “democracy across borders” and, in particular, a “European democracy of demoi,” requires the transnational involvement of deliberative democratic publics.⁵

ConstEPS explores the foundations, presuppositions and limitations of transnational vs. intergovernmental or supranational modes of European democratic citizenship, conceived as mechanisms for integrating citizens into the would-be democratic European polity. In concrete terms, empirical findings and analyses focus on five “partial regimes” and the mechanisms by which democratic citizenship arguably operates objectively and subjectively across national borders: (1) citizenship rights and entitlements, conceived as identity building mechanisms; (2) political parties, or representation mechanisms; (3) civil society, or socialisation mechanisms; (4) mass media communication, or justification mechanisms; (5) referendum and protest movements, or political participation mechanisms.

PROGRAM (PRELIMINARY)

Thursday 18.9. (13h – 17h, EuropaPunktBremen, Bremer Bürgerschaft)

Welcome:

- NN (Hansestadt Bremen/Bremische Bürgerschaft)
- Prof. Steffen Mau (Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen)
- Prof. Ulrike Liebert (Jean Monnet Centre, University of Bremen)

I. Unity amidst Variety? Debating “European demoi-cracy”: Potential and prospects for democratic legitimacy in EU governance

Chair: Prof. Beate Kohler-Koch (Mannheim/BiGSSS, Bremen, *confirmed*)

Prof. Kalypso Nicolaidis (Director of the European Studies Centre, Oxford University): *“Towards a European demoi-cracy: foundations, potentials and prospects for a legitimate and viable European democratic order” (confirmed)*

- Commentaries:
 - Prof. Rainer Bauböck (EUI, Florence, *confirmed*): *Reconfiguring citizenship for European demoi-cracy?*
 - Prof. Juan Diez Medrano (Universidad Central, Barcelona, *confirmed*): *Rethinking the basis of a common identity for the European demoi.*
 - Prof. Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA, Oslo): *Reviewing the deliberative presuppositions for a European demoi-cracy?*
- Discussion

- COFFEE BREAK -

⁴ Kalypso Nicolaidis: The new constitution as a european ‘demoi-cracy’? *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 2004; id.: Trusting the Poles? Constructing Europe through mutual recognition, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2007.

⁵ James Bohman: Democracy across Borders. From Demos to Demoi. MIT Press 2007.

II. Missing links? Bringing citizens into the “would-be” democratic European polity

Prof. Ulrike Liebert (CEuS, UniHB):

The fate of democracy in the new Europe: Stumbling blocks on the paths towards a legitimate European democratic order (ConstEPS project)

- Comment: Prof. Francois Foret (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
- Discussion

- 20h DINNER at historic Bremen restaurant -

Friday 19.9. (9h – 17h)

III. Democratic cross border regimes, preconditions and constraints: Citizenship, civil society, political parties, the mass media and national courts in the enlarged Europe (ConstEPS project)

- Aleksandra Maatsch (JM-Centre, UniHB): *National Citizenship Law in the European Kin-States: Germany, Hungary and Poland (1985-2007)*
 - o Comments: Prof. Rainer Bauböck (EUI/Florence); Prof. Ulrike Liebert (UniHB/Bremen)
- Petra Rakusanova (JM-Centre, UniHB): *Civil Society and the Legitimacy of the EU Polity*
 - o Comments: PD Dr. Heiko Pleines (Osteuropa-Institut, UniHB); Dr. Zdenka Mansfeldova (Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)

- LUNCH -

- Kathrin Packham (JM-Centre, UniHB): *No Clue? Political Parties and the Ratification of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe*
 - o Comment: Prof. Philippe Schmitter (EUI/Florence, Italy)
- Kasia Gajewska (GSSS, UniHB): *Europeanizing Workers' Solidarity. Mechanisms of commitment to cooperation within the European trade union movement.*
 - o Comment: PD Dr. Heiko Pleines
- Tatjana Evas (UniHB): *Making EU citizenship rights accessible to the people: The role of national courts in the new member states, the case of Estonia*
 - o Comments: Prof. Jane Smith (Riga Graduate School of Law, Latvia); Prof. Norbert Reich (University of Tartu, UniHB)
- Dr. Alexander Gattig/Steffen Blings (JM-Centre, UniHB): *Unity in Diversity? Reexamining citizens' votes in EU treaty reform referendums*

IV. Key note:

Prof. Philippe C. Schmitter (EUI/Florence, confirmed)

***"Transitions to and Consolidations of Democracy
Beyond the Nation State"?***

18-19h Haus der Wissenschaft (historic city centre)

- 20h DINNER, Schnoor restaurant -

Saturday 20.9. (9h – 18h)

V. Civil Society and the public sphere in the reconstitution of democracy in Europe: Euro scepticism in the Lisbon treaty ratification process and EP electoral campaigns

- Prof. Hans-Jörg Trenz, Prof. Ulrike Liebert (RECON WP5 coordinators):
 - o RECON WP5 research planning, 3rd term (months 25-42)
- Participants:
 - o WP5:
 - Prof. Francois Foiret (Univ Libre, Bruxelles)
 - Prof. Zdenka Mansfeldova (Prague)
 - Prof. Maria Heller (Budapest)
 - Dr. Petra Rakusanova (Bremen/Prague)
 - Aleksandra Maatsch (Bremen)
 - Kathrin Packham (Bremen)
 - Dr. Alexander Gattig (Bremen)
 - o WP8:
 - Prof. Zdzislaw Mach (Krakow)
 - o Other WP's:

Excursion to Worpswede,

- *Visit to Artist Colony and DINNER at historic restaurant –
Departure: Sunday*