

## New team at LSE

A new team from the European Institute at LSE takes part in RECON's work package on the political economy of the European Union. The team will analyse ongoing reforms of European welfare states that aim at increasing 'choice' for patients, clients, and beneficiaries. This choice agenda for welfare reforms provides a unique opportunity to explore which way democracy in Europe is heading.

- Does 'consumer choice' in social welfare deliver the material underpinning for a cosmopolitan identity of EU citizens, realising that Europe empowers taxpayers vis-à-vis the national welfare bureaucracies ('renationalizing strategy')?
- Or is the choice agenda part of building a European welfare state, which guarantees minimum standards of entitlement and improves the use of regional capacities through the mobility of clients ('federalizing strategy')?
- Or is consumer choice a vehicle for the separation of redistributive goals from objectives of efficiency and productivity, thus assigning redistributive functions to majoritarian bodies and allocative functions to non-majoritarian agencies of government in the Union ('cosmopolitan strategy')?

The challenge may vary between different sectors of social policy. The three areas that are chosen for study, health and long-term care, education and employment services, allow the team to explore the role of the EU, a variety of motivations for the choice agenda and typologies of choice in the delivery and financing of social policy such as opting out and contracting out.

*Read more on p. 2*

## Publications database launched

RECON's website now offers a list of publications and activities for each of the more than 100 researchers involved in the project. Moreover, a list of publications and activities is available for each work package. This allows users to access working papers and reports, workshop and conference papers, and find full references to articles in peer reviewed journals, books and other publications that emanate from or are relevant to RECON.



An open search in the project's publications database is also available.

The database currently includes more than 450 entries and is found under the 'Publications' header at the RECON website [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu). See a presentation of recent project publications and an illustration of the database on pages 10 and 11.



### This issue of RECON's Newsletter

Presentation of new LSE team .....	2
The EU's political economy: Comment and workshop report .....	3
Unity amidst variety in the new Europe? .....	4
RECON Online Working Papers .....	5
Cathrine Holst consulted as gender expert .....	5
Media in Cosmopolis: A comment .....	6
Public sphere research in RECON and beyond .....	7
RECON events .....	8
New and forthcoming RECON Reports .....	10
Publications and presentations by RECON partners .....	11
Appointments .....	12

#### RECON partners:

Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

ARENA, University of Oslo  
(coordinator)

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Center for Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid

Eötvös Loránd University Budapest

European University Institute, Florence

Free University Berlin

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Johann Wolfgang Goethe

University, Frankfurt am Main

London School of Economics and

Political Science

Mannheim Center for European

Social Research (affiliated partner)

Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

Queen's University Belfast

Riga Graduate School of Law

Sabancı University, Istanbul

Spanish National Research Council

(CSIC), Madrid

Université Libre de Bruxelles

University of Auckland

University of Bath

University of Bremen

University of León

University of Reading

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) is a world-class centre for teaching and research across the full range of the social, political and economic sciences. The European Institute was created in 1991 to be a primary focus for the inter-disciplinary study of processes of integration and fragmentation within Europe. Its disciplinary range is unrivalled. It currently has 25 academic members of staff drawn from the fields of political economy, politics, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, and international relations.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/europeanInstitute>



Aerial photograph of LSE campus and immediate area  
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### Research tasks

*Contd. from p. 1*

The pressure that the EU can bring to bear in the different sectors of social policy varies. The Single Market Programme gives it a fairly strong hand in health and employment, although health care is somewhat protected by the legal concept of services of general economic interest and the solidarity principle. Reform pressures in higher education, by contrast, depend heavily on the political will of member state governments to use peer review and deliberative fora as reform levers at home while there is next to no role of the EU in primary and secondary education. Employment services are in between with some case law forcing governments to reform their domestic arrangements. While retrenchment may be a more important motivation in health and long-term care, other drivers like legitimating the welfare state vis-à-vis heterogeneous constituencies may be more important for the relatively 'cheap' areas of education and employment services.

The LSE team's analysis has three parts: They ask, first, whether and how the EU uses the shift to the value of consumer choice in welfare state reforms for its own legitimization. For instance, is the consumer choice agenda a challenge to solidaristic welfare arrangements based on a national democratic consensus of the past? Second, they try to observe a change in the balance between public and private financing of welfare. If so, does the institutionalisation of consumer choice explain this re-weighting, are some sectors more prone to privatisation and why? Finally, they ask whether the economic promises and the political hopes are vindicated, taking the US as a comparator. Can we observe a 'Europeanisation of communities of economic risks' that would make Europe more similar to the US or, on the contrary, contributes to a more distinguishable and normatively preferable European social model?



**Dr. Waltraud Schelkle** is Senior Lecturer at the European Institute at LSE. She teaches political economy of European integration at the Master's level, as well as co-running a research workshop on theories of political economy at PhD level. She is also an Adjunct Professor of Economics at the Free University of Berlin and a Senior Fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) at Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC. Her research interests focus on economic governance of the monetary union and the emergence of Social Europe through fiscal surveillance, single market legislation and direct initiatives like the European Employment Strategy. Her wider interests cover the theory of political economy.

**Dr. Joan Costa-i-Font** is Lecturer in European Social Policy and Political Economy at LSE where he is also Senior Research Fellow. He teaches political economy of fiscal and political integration, along with social policy-related courses. He has been Senior Lecturer in Economics (on leave) at the University of Barcelona and visiting professor at the Centre for Economics Studies at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and at the Research Institute for Sustainable Development and Social Equity at Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City. His current research attempts to contribute to the political economy of welfare state regulation, the empirical analysis of social interventions and the behavioural reactions to new risk information.



**Dr. Christa van Wijnbergen** is Research Fellow at the European Institute at LSE. She previously taught at the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago and at Ohio State University and was a visiting fellow at Harvard's Center for European Studies. She received her PhD in Political Science in 2002 from Northwestern University. Current research projects include a study on the new governance structures in the European Union and the Member States, specifically the lessons learned from decentralization and coordination within the framework of the Open Method of Coordination. Her research interests focus on comparative political economy, labour and distributive politics, varieties of capitalism in continental Europe, and reform politics.

## European Conference on Politics and Gender

Belfast, 21-23 January 2009

The Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics at Queen's University Belfast will host the first European Conference on Politics and Gender.



The programme contains a keynote address by **Prof. Judith Squires** (University of Bristol) entitled 'Gender Equality: Institutional and Theoretical Challenges' and a roundtable about the EU-funded gender and politics projects, including RECON. Approximately 300 participants are expected to participate in 60 panels.

The conference is organised by ECPR Standing Group on Gender and Politics, which forms a broad-based network on issues relating to the study of gender and sexuality in politics and world politics. It is arranged around ten sections. Co-convenors of the Standing Group are Johanna Kantola (University of Helsinki, Finland) and Karen Celis (University College Ghent, Belgium). Local organiser: **Yvonne Galligan** (Queens University, Belfast).

For more information, please consult:

[www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/ECPRBelfastJan09.html](http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/ECPRBelfastJan09.html)  
or go directly to: [www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/](http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/)

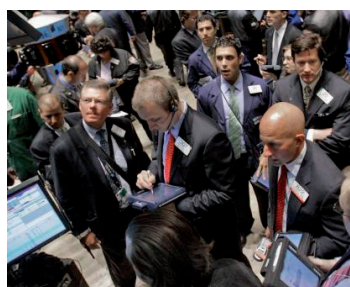


# Reconstituting capitalism versus reconstituting democracy?

A comment by Agustín José Menéndez

University of León

Even if research projects deal by definition with the long run, sometimes they become very relevant in the short run because reality ends up chasing what has been the research agenda of a project since its very beginning. Indeed, RECON's work package on the Political Economy of the European Union focuses on the ways and means of redefining the constitutional framework and substantive content of fiscal, tax and social policies of the Union so as to reconstitute European democracy; doing so necessarily implies refounding capitalism. Given that we have been playing the game for a while, what can we say about the present financial crisis?



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First, the perhaps most acute problem is the tendency to disaggregate democratic legitimacy and efficiency. Neither the "financial" problem, nor the "social" problem are properly char-

acterised as self-standing questions, but are in reality part of the wider democratic question of European and international politics. Contrary to what some Eurosceptics often claim, the European Union is not likely to turn the new Leviathan tomorrow; on the contrary, the present European political order is plagued by pockets of un-governance and illegitimate governance. The "deregulation" (or more fairly, very poor regulation) of financial markets has contributed to the reinstatement of the divine rights of capital. The no longer hidden implication of this is the transfer of decision-making powers from collective public processes to private ones, in which a handful of actors has real power. As a consequence, the capacity to take collective decisions has been eliminated and citizens are thus condemned to suffer the consequences of uncontrollable processes of accumulated small private decisions. Thus, our present twin malaises are European un-governance and undemocratic government (to borrow the late Susan Strange's prescient categories). It is rather obvious that the "emergency" character of the rescue plans has already seriously

*'Given that we have been playing the game for a while, what can we say about the present financial crisis?'*

damaged democratic legitimacy at the national level. It is not obvious, however, why the crisis was not predicted, given the steady deterioration of financial markets for almost a year. Why not even the European Commission had concrete action plans prepared in advance is puzzling. Furthermore, most national governments have irresponsibly gambled on the fact that these operations would not cost a cent to taxpayers (the liabilities being contingent and hopefully remaining so forever). It is not impossible that the cost will be considerable, at least in the short and mid run, and still, parliaments were not expected to discuss the content of plans that would potentially cost up to 15 percent of the GDP, but only to bless them ex-post.

Second, both the "financial" and the "social" problem should be disaggregated. Instead of describing an amorphous beast of unclear contours, we should specify the concrete ele-

ments that were at the origin of both problems. In particular, in WP 7 we have already made quite some work on redefining the "social" problem of the Union as a problem stemming from the undemocratic design of its institutional and decision-making set up. Similarly, we have come some way in elucidating the actual changes in the constitutional law and political practice of the Union, which has resulted in Community law becoming a vehicle for the re-institution of the "divine rights of capital". In particular, it seems that the move from a "non-discrimination" approach of economic freedoms, a basic feature of the common market, to an "obstacles" approach of economic freedoms, sparked by the Single European Act and perhaps decisively by the 1988 Directive that redefined free movement of capital, has resulted in major democratic problems.



Joaquín Almunia, Member of the EC in charge of Economic and Monetary Affairs © European Community 2008

## RECON workshop: The Sinews of Peace Democratising the Political Economy of the European Union León, 19-20 September 2008

The first workshop of RECON's work package 7 – *The Political Economy of the European Union* aimed at discussing some of the central questions of the research agenda on the EU's political economy: Is decision-making over macro-economic policy, the design of the common market or tax policy democratic? Has the process of European integration decreased or increased the democratic

legitimacy of such decisions? Are the democratic shortcomings connected to the ways in which the financial resources are divided between the Union and its Member States?

The workshop also covered related policy areas which constrain the scope of actual political choice in fiscal and tax matters. Attention was paid to the concrete norms defining two economic freedoms – free move-

ment of persons and of capital – and to the norms governing the non-contractual liability of member states. This because the conception of the economic freedoms has consequences for the available options for the management of public finance. The papers presented at the workshop combined reconstruction of institutional structures, decision-making processes and substantive outcomes in each area with the exploration of policy options which would allow to re-democratise the management of the Union's public finances, allowing the European citizens to have a decisive influence in the shape of the socio-economic arrangements.

The first day of the workshop started with a paper by Agustín José Menéndez (University of León), who outlined a 'new research agenda for a new democratic Union'. Two papers followed: 'Can economic integration be democratic? The case of taxes' by Marco Gregg (University of Ferrara) and 'Free movement of capital: the savior or the nemesis of democracy?' by Fernando Losada (University of León). Menéndez then presented a paper on democratising corporate

income taxation and Stefan Collignon (Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies) a paper on the interaction of monetary and income policies. On the second day, Flavia Carbonell (University of León) presented her paper 'Free movement of persons: what community and what solidarity?', followed by Florian Rödl's (University of Bremen) paper on the democratic forming of labour rights in Europe and Raul Letelier's paper on democracy and non-contractual liability in the EU. The workshop closed with a round table on 'Social Justice: The European Way', which was opened by Gianluca Andresani (University of Hull).

Discussants at the workshop were John Erik Fossum (ARENA), David G. Mayes (University of Auckland), Pedro Teixeira (European Central Bank), Jeff Milley (Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies), Casiano Hacker-Cordón (Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies) and Luis Medina Alcocz (Complutense University of Madrid).

The workshop proceedings will be published as a RECON report in 2009.



Some of the participants at the León workshop



# Unity Amidst Variety in the New Europe? Reconstituting Democracy beyond the State: Conditions and Constraints

RECON/ConstEPS Conference  
Bremen, 18-20 September 2008

The conference organised by the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS) at the University of Bremen discussed theoretical and empirical contributions to the question of 'unity amidst variety in the new Europe' from three angles:

(1) How to *theoretically conceptualise* a European democratic order that accommodates the democratic principles, institutions and practices already established in the various member states?

(2) What can *empirical analyses* of the domestic linkages of EU integration – the Europeanisation of the mass media, civil society and trade unions, political parties, parliaments and courts – contribute to developing such a "grounded" theory of European democracy?

And (3) to what extent can we learn from *comparative democratisation research*, namely the transition to and consolidation of democracy at the national level, as regards the preconditions for a democratic European order beyond the state? Accordingly, the conference program had three parts.

## European 'Demoi-cracy'?

In the first part, **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (European Studies Centre, Oxford University) introduced her background paper on 'Debating European Demoi-cracy' followed by comments by **Rainer Bauböck** (European University Institute), **Carlos Closa** (Spanish National Research Council, CSIC), **Juan Diez Medrano** (University of Barcelona) and **Stephan Leibfried** (ZES, University of Bremen), with a lively plenary discussion moderated by **Beate Kohler** (MZES, University of Mannheim). Nicolaïdis developed her concept 'demoi-cracy' in way of a grounded theory within the context of the EU's constitutional debate. Conceived as a trans- rather than postnational 'third way', she presented it as a device for escaping the 'tyranny of the dichotomy' posed by the intergovernmentalists and the supranationalists. Demoi-cracy makes a link between democracy, a type of federalism without state connotations, cosmopolitan and deliberative principles, and thus has affinities with the third RECON model. Her conception rests on three pillars: a plurality of collective identities; 'mutual recogni-



Borbala Kriza, Philippe C. Schmitter, Magdalena Gora and Kathrin Packham

tion' as the glue between different democratic polities and identities, and European governance understood as a 'community of project'.

In his comments, Bauböck noted that although demoi-cracy should be conceived as a normative-prescriptive as well as a descriptive analytic term, Nicolaïdis seemed to use it primarily limited to the first sense. Second, he asked whether this concept necessarily implied a "third way" towards a transnational order, understood as an order of overlapping, entangled and interdependent, but separate demoi, or whether it might also indicate a dynamic process of coming together towards a new federal demos. As an example for the first case Bauböck quoted 'overlapping constellations' in which, due to transnational migration movements, individuals become members of several polities; as an example for the second dynamic kind of nested polity outside the EU he referred to Canada, where one demos is composed of more demoi. Third, Bauböck questioned the conception of the EU as a particular regime of mutual recognition based on transnational demoi-cracy whether it could work without a shared identity – the willingness to share, depending on alternative sources of trust and solidarity. Furthermore, he underscored that Nicolaïdis with her move towards a deterritorialised democracy did still have to clarify the links to policy prescriptions. Finally, he raised the question of how a transnational demoi-cracy's external borders compared to her internal borders. Carlos Closa agreed with Nicolaïdis in that the nation-state structures and homogenous collective identity should not be reconstructed at the EU level. However, he disagreed with her

view that the post-national theory of democracy necessarily aimed at establishing a homogenous European demos replicating nation-state structures on the EU level. Bringing in a sociological perspective, Juan Diez Medrano argued that Nicolaïdis too much overestimated the differences among national cultural identifications in the European Union. Moreover, in his view, national identifications should not be reified and used as a legitimisation basis for a demoi-cracy. According to Medrano, collective identities should not be explained by different systems of values but rather by individual characteristics, like education or profession.

## ConstEPS findings

In the second part, drawing on empirical findings from the ConstEPS research project\*, **Ulrike Liebert** (CEuS), in her paper 'The fate of democracy in the new Europe: stumbling blocks on the paths towards a democratic European order', proposed distinguishing four alternative outcomes of the EU's protracted process of constitutionalisation: post-democratic technocracy; confederation of national democracies; supranational democracy; and transnational demoi-cracy. Assessing these scenarios in the light of actual constitutional ratification practices, Liebert argued that national media systems in their EU coverage promoted national and governmental rather than transnational and pluralistic views. At the same time, national civic organisations articulated transnational democratic expectations towards the EU in surprisingly explicit extent, although they proved to be frustrated regarding current practices of EU constitutional politics. Interestingly, normative transnational democratic preferences among the 150 civic organisations varied independent of their origin in the six old compared to the new member states.

The second day of the conference proceeded with presentations by individual ConstEPS team members, and commented upon by RECON participants. The first presentation was also a public PhD defence. **Aleksandra Maatsch** (CEuS) was awarded a magna cum laude for her dissertation 'National citizenship legislation in the European kin-states: Germany, Hungary and Poland', which was supervised by Prof. Liebert and Prof. Bauböck. The public nature of the defence and the wide discussion it stimulated among the conference participants, proved a viable institutional innovation and alternative to



Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Beate Kohler and Rainer Bauböck



traditionally more exclusive practices. Further ConstEPS project presentations included papers by **Alexander Gattig** and **Steffen Blings** (both CEuS) on 'Unity in diversity? Reexamining citizens' votes in EU treaty reform referendums', commented upon by **Zdenka Mansfeldova** (Czech Academy of Sciences) and Juan Diez Medrano; **Tatjana Evas** (CEuS) on 'Central and Eastern European courts in European constitutionalisation: comparing Estonia, Latvia and Poland', with comments offered by **Jane Smith** (Riga Graduate School of Law) and **Norbert Re-**

**ich** (University of Tartu/University of Bremen); **Kathrin Packham** (CEuS) on 'No clue? Political parties and the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe', with **Philippe C. Schmitter** (European University Institute) and **Borbala Kriza** (Eötvös Loránd University) acting as discussants; and **Petra Guasti** (Rakusanova) (CEuS) on 'Civil society and the legitimacy of the EU polity', discussed by Philippe Schmitter, Beate Kohler-Koch and **Heiko Pleines** (Osteuropa-Institut, University of Bremen).

## Keynote by Prof. Schmitter

In the third part of the conference, the comparative and empirical explorations into the preconditions for democracy in Europe were expanded by **Philippe C. Schmitter** in a thought-provoking keynote: 'Transitions to and consolidations of democracy beyond the nation state'. Schmitter argued that the assumptions and concepts of 'transitology' and 'consolidology' are potentially useful devices for understanding European integration and democratisation in particular, provided that we make five initial presumptions in order to establish a viable analogy between national democratisation and regional integration. His talk reviewed a number of concepts that Schmitter and his colleagues had introduced and used for the analysis of successful and unsuccessful efforts to 'transit' from autocracy to democracy and that he applied and discussed for the EU as an international 'arrangement' that has been in protracted transition, literally from its foundation with the Treaty of Rome. Most of the national experiences since 1974 have managed to overcome the transition phase and are now consolidated democracies (to the surprise of many transitologists); the EU has yet to do so.

\* ConstEPS is an international research project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (2005-2008).



Audience at the plenary lecture of Prof. Philippe C. Schmitter

## Cathrine Holst consulted as gender expert

Cathrine Holst, senior researcher at ARENA, was consulted as a gender expert by the European Commission in its work to develop a gender equality index. The index will serve as a measure of EU member states' performance in this field. The work is led by Adviser **Agnès Hubert** at the European Commission's Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA).

Cathrine Holst has a broad research experience in the field of feminist and political theory, philosophy of science and gender sociology. In addition to being a key partner in RECON's work packages on *Justice, Democracy and Gender* and *Theoretical Framework*, Cathrine Holst is Postdoctoral Fellow at the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo with a project on 'Gender, Politics and Social Inequality', and contributes to a research project providing a critical perspective on Norwegian welfare research at the University of Oslo. She was part of the gender project within the Norwegian Study of Power and Democracy, studying in particular the problems of fairness and justice in gender equality policy, and has been affiliated to the Centre for Women and Gender Research at the University of Bergen.

For more information, please see: **RECON Online Working Paper 2008/18** (see list to the right).

## 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:

**2008/18**  
*Cathrine Holst*  
**Gender Justice in the European Union: The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices**

**2008/17**  
*Yaprak Gürsoy and Meltem Müftüler-Baç*  
**The European Union's Enlargement Process and the Collective Identity Formation in Turkey: The Interplay of Multiple Identities**

**2008/16**  
*Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero*  
**Assessing Gender Democracy in the European Union: A Methodological Framework**

**2008/15**  
*Agustín José Menéndez*  
**Reconstituting Democratic Taxation in Europe: The Conceptual Framework**

**2008/14**  
*Zdzisław Mach and Grzegorz Pożarlik*  
**Collective Identity Formation in the Process of EU Enlargement: Defeating the Inclusive Paradigm of a European Democracy?**

**2008/13**  
*Pieter de Wilde*  
**Media Coverage and National Parliaments in EU Policy-Formulation: Debates on the EU Budget in the Netherlands 1992-2005**

**2008/12**  
*Daniel Gaus*  
**Legitimate Political Rule Without a State? An Analysis of Joseph H. H. Weiler's Justification of the Legitimacy of the European Union Quasi-Non-Statehood**

**2008/11**  
*Christopher Lord*  
**Some Indicators of the Democratic Performance of the European Union and How They Might Relate to the RECON Models**

**2008/10**  
*Nicole Deitelhoff*  
**Deliberating CFSP: European Foreign Policy and the International Criminal Court**

**2008/09**  
*Marianne Riddervold*  
**Interests or Principles? EU Foreign Policy in the ILO**

**2008/08**  
*Ben Crum*  
**The EU Constitutional Process: A Failure of Political Representation?**

The papers are available in electronic format only, and can be downloaded from RECON's website: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

# Media in Cosmopolis

A comment by Hans-Jörg Trenz  
and Erik O. Eriksen

ARENA, University of Oslo

The information age has introduced a new era of global communication. Media are becoming increasingly borderless and turn the world into one single place. The Internet provides instant access to global information and enables everybody to publish to the world. Virtual communication anywhere is communication everywhere. Traditional audiovisual media too become increasingly embedded in global communication networks. Through worldwide news broadcasting, political events are re-contextualised within an emerging global space of meaning.

The global newsroom shapes public opinion and attitudes, and contributes to shared concerns and problem perceptions. For the first time in history, global citizenship and a global identity becomes thinkable. The cosmopolitan idea – that individuals, not states or nations, form the basis of political power – fits with the journalistic ethos of seeking truth and justice through universal communication.

With this enthusiasm in the new possibilities of the media to open boundless spaces, we forget about the high costs and side effects of media globalisation, which is first and foremost different from media cosmopolitanisation. The cosmopolitan society represents a vague promise, while the effects of economic globalisation are forthright. What is at stake here is the integrity of the national public sphere as a bounded space of collective opinion and will formation. This is where the promise of a media speaking to the whole of the nation once was to be fulfilled. Free and unbiased news reporting was to be guaranteed by a public sphere where the same issues were discussed at the same time and under the same criteria of relevance.

A closer look at the processes of political news production is discomforting when confronted with this ideal description of the national public sphere. Long term trends point to a deep crisis of quality journalism in contemporary Europe. One main reason can be found in the falling quota of quality news products. Quality news is expensive news and the complexity of the world requires informed, well paid journalists. In all Western countries, quality newspapers have experienced a dramatic decrease in readership. The battle for the attention of the audience has notably also led to a change of news formats. Media advertisement and images replace rational debates and discourse. Infotainment may reach a broader audience, but changes politics from substance to spectacle. It also contributes to the increasing personalisation of politics and to the rise of new populist leaders who excel in simplifying political messages to their audiences.

Under such conditions, it should come as no surprise that many traditional news media surrender when faced with the complexity of the world. The dumbing down of news quality is a major constraint to the cosmopolitanisation of the media. Media's inherent nationalism is made responsible for the re-interpretation of issues of global or transnational concern within contextualised systems

of meaning. Through the effects of mediatization, world discourse is re-fragmented into national discourse. Political journalism develops within a contextualised political culture and reproduces its dominant values and interpretations. This nationalistic and ethnocentric bias comes to bear above all in foreign news coverage, where journalists tend to defend national interests over normative ideals of a just world order. In a number of countries, the share of foreign news in traditional media formats has recently even been shrinking. The average reader does not know more, but less, about the world today than before.

All this implies that the traditional symbiosis between the media and democracy is turned into an increasingly ambivalent relationship. Media call for democracy and democratisation but media also increasingly restrain democratic procedures and practice. There is a concern with the colonisation of politics through the media, which at the same time is a concern with the colonisation of democracy through the media: a transformation of parliamentary-representative democracy into media democracy. In its extreme version, power is exclusively tied to the media competence and performance of political actors.

What kind of remedy can be offered to the expanding media malaise? The protection of the national public sphere against the world disorder and complexity is definitely not the solution.

The national public sphere is already internally corroding; not because it has failed to sufficiently protect its borders, but because it still operates through mainstream media nationalism, which restricts public views and visions and, by implication, democracy.

The media's provincialism will no longer avail in a world with interdependent national and global arenas. When a caricature in a Danish newspaper begets global repercussions, democracy – understood as the self-rule of a sovereign people – becomes problematic. The notion of national sovereignty safeguarding constitutional rule and thus making democracy possible and legitimate, and in turn protecting the rights and interests of the citizens, does not suffice. In this traditional model, communication stops at the national borders. We therefore need to think simultaneously about ways of reconstituting democracy within, as well as beyond the nation state. The national and the international levels are mutually dependent, and both depend on the media. There will be no national democracy that is not at the same time open to the world; and there will be no cosmopolitan democracy that does not at the same time respect difference.

Our proposal is that serious efforts should be done to turn media globalisation into a cosmopolitan media democracy. This is a task that is built on common standards of the quality and impartiality of news but also requires some degree of legal guarantees and protection through international law and organisations. The protection of the freedom of expression and the independence of the media are also acute concerns, making the EU a natural addressee for such measures. Today, it is not first and foremost the threat of state intervention that

must be averted, but rather the threat posed by the market logic. In a globalised media market, one can no longer rely on the self-regulating dynamics of an autonomous public sphere to ensure quality and sustain the informational value of political news. In Scandinavia, government subsidies have indeed been important in ensuring the supply of information.



Newspapers © Institute for Social Marketing 2005

It is therefore important to recognise that global communication is different from cosmopolitan communication. The former creates visions of threats, heterogeneous values and antagonistic national interests. Cosmopolitan communication, on the other hand, establishes notions of shared responsibility and common problems that call for collective action. Here we are talking about the construction of a cosmopolis, that is, an order of democratic self-rule beyond the nation state. Such an order requires responsibility – that political actors can be held to account, and that we can identify our fellow citizens.

In order to hold the providers of information accountable, a concerted effort by journalists with a cosmopolitan inclination and their co-players is needed. The cosmopolitan community of journalists can rely on a plethora of sources and exchange of information across national borders. Such a network of global exchange can no longer be easily manipulated by single governments. Emerging monopolies within one country could be broken up from the outside, if audiences can opt for exit from their media system and for consumption of alternative news. Then, the mediated communication is no longer a hindrance, but rather an opportunity for creating solidarity and building communities across borders.

Last but not least, the cosmopolitan media democracy is relying on a new 'ethos of responsibility'

of the journalists to speak to the citizen of the world and to appeal for solidarity with strangers. As the carrier of the cosmopolitan impulse, journalists should be interested in individuals, not only in states.

They should identify new audiences in terms of concerns that can be linked again to people and to particular groups within society. All too often this is accompanied by the discovery that the groups of addressees are no longer confined to particular spaces and are no longer identical to the traditional patterns of media consumption. Virtual communication is then no longer an obstacle but a chance for the formation of solidarity and the building of community and allegiance across borders.



## New Book: ¿Y por fin somos europeos?

Hans-Jörg Trenz, Agustín José Menéndez and Fernando Losada (eds)  
Dykinson, 2008 (in Spanish)



This volume presents the first comparative study on the political communication related to the EU's constitutional treaty. The authors unravel the democratic deficit that disconnects European citizens from the political

elites by way of conducting an empirical study of the news coverage of the constitutional debates in major newspapers. On this basis, the book demonstrates how the democratization of the European Union depends on the transformation of the structure and function of the European public sphere(s).

The book is edited by RECON researchers Hans-Jörg Trenz, Agustín José Menéndez and Fernando Losada and is the result of a joint research project between the Universities of León, Leeds, Oslo and Humboldt University Berlin: 'Building the European Union's social constituency: exploring the dynamics of public claims-making and collective representation in Europe', funded by the European Science Foundation (ESF) (2005-2008). Beside the editors the contributors to the book are: Miguel Azpitarte, Adrián Crespo, Ben Crum, Julie Firmstone, John Erik Fossum, Erik Jentges, Francesc Morata, Cesáreo Rodríguez-Aguilera, José Luis Rodríguez, Paul Statham and Regina Vettors.

## New Book: Légitimer l'Europe

François Foret  
Presses de Sciences Po, 2008 (in French)



This book examines the question of legitimacy after the failure of the European constitutional project. François Foret investigates the character of political legitimacy in Europe and its compatibility with the current institutional complex, the

reality of the European cultural identity and the possible forms of public authority and social unity. By looking at the process of European integration over time rather than the current stakes, the author suggests that the scale, but not necessarily the character of politics has changed. The structure of public authority and social unity pose new questions, which cannot be solved by rationalization and domination. The manner in which Europe is shaped, objectivised, ritualized and expressed, redefines our identities. We witness a profound and multidimensional transformation, however, nations, cultures and emotions resist.

## When the citizens say 'no'

On 17 September 2008, the University of León hosted an outreach seminar related to RECON's work packages on civil society and the public sphere and on the political economy of the EU. The event was structured around a presentation of the results of the research project 'Building the European Union's social constituency', in which RECON researchers played a central role, as well as the impact these findings have on ongoing RECON research. The event was attended by a select number of key Spanish journalists and opinion makers, including Miguel Ángel Aguilar and Lourdes Pérez.

Irish voters rejected the Lisbon Treaty in a referendum in June. This has generated serious doubts as to the legitimacy of the procedure of treaty reform as well as of the substance of the changes proposed by the Heads of State and Government. To the extent that the so-called 'mini Treaty' rescues the main components of the Constitutional Treaty, the Irish result further strengthens the negative answer by the French and Dutch citizens in spring 2005.

This emphasizes a notable change in European public opinion. Until the 1990s, citizens supported decisions presented as necessary in order to strengthen the integration process, whereas their answer today tends to be negative by default. It may be common to explain the negative results with idiosyncratic reasons and national politics; however, empirical research on European political communication contradicts such a simple hypothesis. In particular, the increasingly controversial character of European integration derives as much from the inadequate structure of European political communication, and in particular from the contradictory efforts made by national governments, as from the actual content of European politics.

In order to discuss these questions, the University of León organised a seminar with academics studying the democratic dimension of European integration and journalists specialised in European affairs. The aim was to analyse the links between the Union's policies, the deficiencies in



European political communication and citizens' disappointment with the integration project.

In the first part of the seminar, Agustín José Menéndez (University of León) and Hans-Jörg Trenz (ARENA, University of Oslo) presented the results of the first systematic empirical study of the main European dailies (conducted in the period of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty, 2004-2005), which was carried out within the project 'Building the European Union's social constituency'. The results of this study were recently published on Dykinson (see box to the left), and reveal the numerous faults in the communication strategy of national governments, as well as the tendency of citizens to consider European affairs as an integral part of the political discussion. In the second part of the seminar, John Erik Fossum (ARENA, University of Oslo) presented the main lines of research of the RECON project, whereas Menéndez presented RECON research related to the EU's political economy and Trenz related to the political communication in Europe. The topics were discussed in a round table with Miguel Angel Aguilar (El País/Cadena SER, President of the Association of European Journalists), Carlos Maria Bru (President of the European Movement in Spain, former Member of the European Parliament), Andrea Greppi (Professor in Philosophy of Law at the University Carlos III, Madrid) and Lourdes Pérez Rebollar (opinion director for the regional press of Grupo Vocento, the leading multimedia communications group in the press market in Spain).

## Media and the Public Sphere in Europe The annual ARENA conference

Oslo, 1 December 2008

The political choices made by the European Union affect us profoundly. So why do we not hear more about European decision-making in the mass media?

After the experience of the referenda in France, the Netherlands and Ireland, the problem of how to democratise the EU needs to be addressed with new urgency. If we are to develop an understanding of the effects of a supranational democracy in Europe, the media will have to play an important role. This year's ARENA conference will focus on the relationship between the mass media and the future of democracy in Europe. It will bring together media experts, journalists and political theorists to discuss whether democracy in Europe is limited by the negative effects of a commercially controlled and fragmented 'media system'. Programme and registration at: [www.arena.uio.no](http://www.arena.uio.no)





## Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective Frankfurt/Main, 24-25 October 2008

The workshop was part of WP 1 – *Theoretical Framework* and was organised by the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University 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? And how is political legitimacy effected if this relationship breaks up in a transnational context? The workshop attempted to illuminate the consequences for political legitimacy resulting from a transnational context and the role statehood plays with regard to the democratic legitimacy of a European political order.

The first section was devoted to discussing the concept of legitimacy, with emphasis on three aspects: procedural, epistemic and substantive legitimacy. **Erik O. Eriksen** (ARENA, University of Oslo) started with presenting a paper on democratic legitimacy beyond borders and the possibility of government without a state. **Glyn Morgan** (Harvard University) proposed a substantive legitimacy argument for the EU pointing out its transformative impact on prospective member states. Similarly, **Jürgen Neyer** (European University Viadrina Frankfurt) argued that the debate about the EU's legitimacy should focus on its ability to foster justice instead of democracy. **Stefan Kadelbach** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University) reflected on the relationship between democratic legitimacy, supranationalism and international organisations from a juridical point of view.



Campus Westend, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University

The papers in the second section dealt with the relationship between democracy and statehood and the prospects for democracy in a transnational context. **Volker Röben** (Swansea University) started this section with reflections on democracy in and beyond the state from a juridical perspective. **Christopher Lord** (ARENA, University of Oslo) turned against the widespread view of EU's indirect democratic legitimacy by criticising some of its (unspoken) public-choice assumptions. **Bill Scheuerman** (Indiana University) raised objections against the idea of postnational democracy without assuming some form of postnational statehood. Finally, **Frank Nullmeier** and **Tanja Pritzlaff** (University of Bremen) presented normative reflections on the conditions of legitimacy in a transnational context, concluding from empirical analysis of decision-making processes in political committees.



Audience at the inaugural ceremony at the Jagiellonian University

## Lecture and RECON Seminar Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 30 September-1 October 2008

The Centre for European Studies (CES) at the Jagiellonian University traditionally organises an inauguration ceremony for its new Polish and international students. This year adhered to this tradition with words of welcome from the Director of the Centre **Prof. Zdzisław Mach** as well as Vice-Dean **Andrzej Dudek**. This year's ceremony also provided an opportunity to strengthen RECON bonds, featuring an inaugural lecture from work package 4 participant **Sara Clavero** from Queen's University Belfast. The lecture, entitled 'The Europeanisation of gender equality norms: lessons from four waves of enlargement', gave students an insight into a very interesting aspect of European policy.

Staff, students and other interested parties also had the chance to discuss the issues the next day at a seminar on the topic of Gender and Democracy. Dr Clavero presented her latest research to the participants, who then discussed the proposed methodology. A particularly interesting suggestion was the possibility of linking the various levels of research on deliberative democracy, from the supranational and national levels to the local level. This seminar marked the beginning of the *Centre for European Studies' Open Seminar series*, to which the CES hopes to invite further guests from RECON partners over the coming months.

## Identities in Conflict in the Enlarged Europe Budapest, 26-27 September 2008

The workshop was part of WP 8 – *Identity Formation and Enlargement* and was organised in Budapest by Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE). The main theme of the event was conflicts of identity, which is a crucial problem in the new member states of the EU, but also increasingly emerging in the old member states due to economic, social and political problems.

The workshop examined the interrelationship between different models of democracy and European integration and forms of identity among various groups of citizens. Contributions to the workshop focused on conflicting identity discourses, as further EU enlargement may increase the necessity of negotiations on identity and will emphasize the importance of research on identity formation, analyses of identity discourse and definitions. While analyzing identity conflicts, special attention was paid on European identity as an emerging new form of identification.

The different sessions treated the most important problems of identity conflicts

– national minorities, such as pendulum migrants, ethnic minorities, such as Jews and the Romani people, and gender identities – as they emerge in EU member states at present. Questions concerning the process of identity formation were also tackled, in particular concerning gender and youth groups (feeble gender identities in the new member states, political socialization of youth groups, education in democracy). Some contributions dealt with media and symbolic communication as means of

identity formation and representation. Theoretical problems of various identity forms were examined (ethnic and civic forms of identity) and identity policies were examined in various European institutions (Roma organizations, foreign and security policy, human rights policies, etc.). Finally, identity's social psychological underpinnings were presented both on theoretical and empirical level.

The participants were welcomed by **Maria Heller**, Director of the Institute of Sociology at ELTE, while the workshop was opened by **Prof. Zdzisław Mach** (Jagiellonian University), leader of WP 8. Three internationally recognized Hungarian scholars were invited as keynote speakers, **Prof. Paszkál Kiss** (ELTE), **Ferenc Erős** and **János László** (both Institute for Psychology, University of Pécs). The workshop saw a total of 28 presentations both by RECON and non-RECON participants, followed by discussions. A total of 50 participants attended the event.

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

The workshop was part of WP 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere* and was organised by the Institute for European Studies at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. It brought together 17 participants from 13 research institutions and universities across Europe. The audience of around 45 persons was constituted by academics, representatives of the European civil society, the European Commission, journalists and students.

The aims and forms of theoretical debates on the legitimacy of the EU differ greatly from one country to another since they reflect core values embedded in a wider national political culture. People approach the topic of European integration with a cultural repertoire that tends to vary along social, political and national lines. The workshop aimed to investigate how thinking about Europe is expressed within distinct epistemological contexts and how different ideological configurations are shaped across time and space. This theme was articulated around the question: How have intellectuals reacted to the European integration process and how have they



Participants at the Budapest workshop



conceived their country's national identity and its position inside (or outside) the European Union?

The workshop was organised in three sessions in addition to a final roundtable discussion. Day one began with an introductory presentation by **Justine Lacroix** (ULB) and **Kalypso Nicolaidis** (Oxford University). Both pointed out that as of yet no comparative study has been made with regard to the way European integration has been dealt with by intellectuals in distinct national contexts. The rest of the day was devoted to the presentation and the discussion of the selected national cases: Romania, the Czech Republic, Italy, Turkey, Great Britain, Spain, Germany and France. The final roundtable took place on the second day. The discussion was launched by **Ulrike Liebert** (University of Bremen), **Richard Bellamy** (University College of London) and **Francis Cheneval** (University of Zürich). A number of important issues were raised in the discussion, such as: the cross influences between the national debates; the opposition between immediate and long-term influence in shaping the intellectual debates on Europe; the utility of using the notion of national narrative from a methodological point of view and the existence of dominant trans-national cleavages beyond the national specificities.

*The papers from the workshop will be published as a report restricted to the RECON consortium, but the event will also lead to an edited volume in 2010.*

**Le Monde** An article on the workshop entitled 'Intellectuals in search of a European narrative' by columnist Thomas Ferenczi was published in *Le Monde* on 5 June 2008 (in French). This is available in RECON's Press Room at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu).

## Upcoming events

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

Within *WP 6 – The Foreign and Security Dimension*, Sabanci University will host a workshop in Istanbul in cooperation with ARENA. The long-term question for WP 6 is that of assessing which of the RECON models of European democracy would be required if a – putative – move beyond intergovernmentalism should be democratic. In order to answer this question, it is necessary first to establish if the argument that the EU has moved 'beyond intergovernmentalism' holds 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? The two latter questions will constitute the core focus of the workshop.

For more information, please contact Meltem Müftüler-Baç; [muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu) or Helene Sjursen; [helene.sjursen@arena.uio.no](mailto:helene.sjursen@arena.uio.no)

### RECON Baltic Expert Workshop European Integration: Challenges and Visions from the Baltic Perspective Riga, 20-21 November 2008

The Riga Graduate School of Law will organize a Baltic Expert Workshop within the framework of *WP 2 – Constitutional Politics*. The workshop will bring together leading scholars from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania exploring the EU's constitutional future and prospects for supranational democracy in the EU from multidisciplinary perspectives. The

main goal of the workshop is to map priorities, visions and discourses of various actors from three post-Soviet member states of the EU on the constitutionalization and the directions of the development of the supranational democracy in the context of the enlarged Union.

For more information, please contact Helena Stare: [recon@rgsl.edu.lv](mailto:recon@rgsl.edu.lv)

### Empirical and Conceptual Challenges to the Theory of Deliberative Democracy Oslo, 4 December 2008

ARENA, University of Oslo will organize an open workshop on the theory of deliberative democracy within the framework of *WP 1 – Theoretical Framework*. The event will see contributions by Thomas Saretzki, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Anne Elizabeth Stie and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns.

For more information, please contact Daniel Gaus: [daniel.gaus@arena.uio.no](mailto:daniel.gaus@arena.uio.no)

### Joint RECON/CRC Workshop The Social Embeddedness of Transnational Markets Bremen, 6-7 February 2009

The University of Bremen will organise a joint workshop of *WP 9 – Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared* and the CRC 597. 'Transnational governance' is the term most widely used in the current debates on the institutional frameworks of globalising markets. The reference to the Polanyian notion of 'social embeddedness' indicates the wish to understand the tensions generated by the efforts to promote free international trade on the one hand and the countermoves striving for social responsibility on the other. The workshop will aim to, firstly, discuss these tensions in pertinent contributions from IR theory, political, sociological economic and social theory, secondly, present and evaluate case studies from CRC 597 and other pertinent research projects, and finally, deal with the potential of law to further such objectives and ensure their legitimacy. All of the approaches to be presented and discussed will reflect the functions of law in the light of theoretical debates and empirical findings.

For more information, please contact Christian Joerges: [cjoerges@zerp.uni-bremen.de](mailto:cjoerges@zerp.uni-bremen.de) or Poul F. Kjaer: [poul.kjaer@eui.eu](mailto:poul.kjaer@eui.eu)

### Workshop: Lessons from Europe's and Canada's constitutional experiences Oslo, 20-21 March 2009

This workshop will be organised within *WP 2 – Constitutional Politics*. The purpose of this event is to compare the EU with Canada (a multinational and multicultural state), in an area that is of particular relevance to democracy and also to the present European situation: the representative and participatory character of constitution-making and their link to constitutional failure. The dynamics of Canada's approach to constitution-



Riga Graduate School of Law

making has important parallels with that of the EU. The workshop will take up and discuss three sets of aspects of the Canadian case, with direct bearing on the EU: constitutional refashioning of community as a gender empowering device; the effects of democratically inclusive participation in constitutional change processes on outcomes; and what constitutes constitutional failure? The purpose of the workshop is, firstly, to scrutinize these for possible lessons and, secondly, reflect on the lessons for democracy and democratic theory.

For more information, please contact John Erik Fossum: [j.e.fossum@arena.uio.no](mailto:j.e.fossum@arena.uio.no)

### Workshop on the RECON models applied Oslo, 27-28 March 2009

This workshop will be a joint event of *WP 1 – Theoretical Framework* and *WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up*. It will serve as an arena for the discussion of indicators related to the RECON models and EU democratic audit indicators in comparative perspective.

For more information, please contact Geir Kvaerk: [g.o.kvark@arena.uio.no](mailto:g.o.kvark@arena.uio.no)

### Workshop on Representative Theory Vienna, 17 April 2009

The Institute for European Integration at the Austrian Academy of Sciences will host a workshop on representative theory as part of *WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up*. The aim is to critically discuss new theoretical developments in representative theory, explore the relations between deliberative and representative democracy approaches, and discuss the representative features of the three RECON models.

For more information, please contact Johannes Pollak: [johannes.pollak@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:johannes.pollak@oeaw.ac.at)

### With or Without Lisbon Continuous Institutional Change in the EU Amsterdam, 15-16 May 2009

This workshop will take place in the framework of *WP 2 – Constitutional Politics* and will be organized by Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. After the demise of the Constitutional Treaty and the rejection of the Lisbon Reform Treaty in the Irish referendum, the prospects for formal EU reform by Treaty revision look rather gloomy. Even if the Lisbon Treaty will eventually be passed, new Treaty negotiations are unlikely to be anticipated for the first time in 25 years. This workshop is to reflect upon the potential of institutional change that has emerged in the shadow of the attempts to move to a new Treaty. It does so by focussing on three sets of institutions: the European Parliament, the role of national parliaments in the EU architecture, and the European and national courts. The focus on these three institutions is motivated by a particular interest in the role that normative ideas may play in driving and justifying informal institutional change.

For more information, please contact Ben Crum: [BJJ.Crum@fsw.vu.nl](mailto:BJJ.Crum@fsw.vu.nl)

**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.**

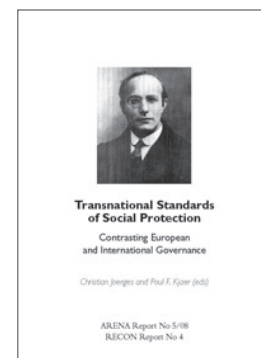
# Report on transnational standards of social protection

## RECON Report 4

### *Transnational Standards of Social Protection: Contrasting European and International Governance*

Edited by Christian Joerges and Poul F. Kjaer

This report presents the proceedings of an inter-disciplinary workshop jointly organised by RECON and the Collaborative Research Centre 597 on 'Transformations of the State' at the University of Bremen. The report illuminates the intertwinements of European regulatory policies and global governance arrangements. By pinning down the exact nature of the interaction between these two levels, the EU's dilemma becomes obvious: On the one hand, stronger global governance can be a chance, through which the EU can clarify its own *raison d'être* of increased integration to the wider world. On the other hand, the design of the European project is being challenged by more assertive global structures. This is especially the case in relation to the WTO regime, which is constraining the decisional autonomy of the EU, regarding the appropriateness of its content and its external effects. Thus, the regulation of services in the EU and the WTO are discussed in the first section of this report. Section two focuses on labour standards, which are analysed from different angles in order to clarify the functions of the WTO and the ILO, multinational companies as well as other private actors within this specific field. The final section deals with the legitimacy problematic of transnational governance.



The RECON Report Series is part of the established ARENA Report Series. Download reports in electronic format at RECON's website: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu), or order a paper copy by e-mail to [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu).

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## Forthcoming RECON reports

### *Reconstituting Democracy from Below: New Approaches to Civil Society in the New Europe*

Edited by Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz

RECON Report 5 (forthcoming December 2008)

This report brings together several contributions aimed at mapping as well as further developing the current state of the art in civil society research in theoretical, interdisciplinary and empirical terms. It reflects an interdisciplinary effort to develop a framework that brings together normative theory, legal analysis and empirical social scientific comparison. This framework allows for further inquiry into the viability of alternative models of democracy in Europe from the perspective of the practices of contentious European civil society. The report includes contributions by Maria Heller, Akos Huszar, Borbala Kriza, Ulrike Liebert, Petra Rakusanova, Agnes Renyi, Joanna Serdynska and Hans-Jörg Trenz.

### *Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy*

Edited by Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Nicole Deitelhoff

RECON Report 6 (forthcoming December 2008)

This report focuses on the question of how parliaments on all levels can contribute to the democratic control of European security policy. The contributors discuss why parliaments should have a role in European security policy at all and examine how different parliaments are actually involved in this area: the EP, transnational parliamentary assemblies and national parliaments. The editors draw together the results and employs the concept of the parliamentary field to discuss the findings against the backdrop of RECON's theoretical base. The report includes contributions by Suzana Anghel, Esther Barbé, Hans Born, Nicole Deitelhoff, Alex Dowling, Teodora Fuior, Michael Hilger, Christopher Lord, Stefan Marschall, Dirk Peters, Anna Herranz Surrallés and Wolfgang Wagner.

### *Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe and Beyond*

Edited by Rainer Nickel

RECON Report 7 (forthcoming December 2008)

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 ideas of constitutional pluralism, and of participatory transnational governance, are discussed from private, public and international law perspectives. They strive for a conceptualisation in legal categories of the efforts to re-constitute democratic governance in post-national constellations. The volume seeks to find new ways for a democratisation of European and transnational governance outside traditional models, and for more convincing ways of a European and transnational 'juridification' that reconciles democracy, diversity, and social rights. The report includes contributions by Nina Boeger, Joseph Corkin, Michelle Everson, John Erik Fossum, Christian Joerges, Poul Kjaer, Karl-Heinz Ladeur, Miguel P. Maduro, John McCormick, Jürgen Neyer, Rainer Nickel, Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, Alicia Cebada Romero, Wolf Sauter, Günther Teubner, Ellen Vos, Neil Walker, and others.

## RECON publication database

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democratic legitimacy

1 - 10 of 78

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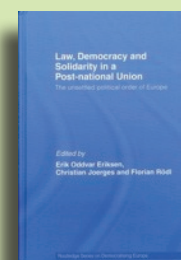
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## New book:

### *Law, Democracy and Solidarity in a Post-national Union*

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Christian Joerges and Florian Rödl (eds)

Routledge, 2008



This volume is based on the proceedings of the concluding conference of the EU-funded CIDE project: *Citizenship and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union*. The book deals with the main sources of the EU's 'constitutional

crisis' and the terms on which to establish a post-national political order, questions that also go to the core of the RECON project. It investigates four themes which constitute the unfinished agenda of the European integration process: the problem of the rule of law in a context of governance beyond the nation state; the problem of the social deficit of the Union; the problem of identity and collective memories; the problem of institutionalizing post-national democracy.

Beside the editors the contributors to the book are: Poul F. Kjaer, Rainer Nickel, Michelle Everson, Julia Eisner, Christoph U. Schmid, Waltraud Schelkle, Alexander Graser, Jan-Werner Müller, Hauke Brunkhorst, and John Erik Fossum.



# Publications by RECON partners

**Bátora, Jozef:** *Foreign Ministries and the information revolution: going virtual?*, Brill/Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, July 2008.

**Closa, Carlos:** 'España y el futuro constitucional de la UE', OPEX working paper 25/2008.

**Foret, François:** 'L'Europe entre banalisation et réinstitutionnalisation', in P. Magnette and A. Weyembergh (eds) *L'Union européenne: la fin d'une crise?*, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2008.

**Foret, François** (with Xabier Itçaina) (eds): 'Dieu loin de Bruxelles: L'europeanisation informelle du religieux', *Politique Européenne*, no. 24.

**Galligan, Yvonne and Sara Clavero:** 'Prospects for women's legislative representation in postsocialist Europe: the views of female politicians', *Gender & Society*, vol. 22, no. 2, 149-171, 2008.

**Heller, Maria:** 'Global and European information society: convergence, divergence and fragmentation', in P. Ludes (ed.) *Convergence and fragmentation*, Intellect, 2008.

**Hetényi, Zsuzsa:** 'From guest-motif to lost homeland and re-found exile: the development of a paradigmatic motif in the assimilatory process in Russian-Jewish literature', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 143-58, 2008.

**Lacroix, Justine:** *La pensée française à l'épreuve de l'Europe*, Editions Grasset, 2008.

**Lacroix, Justine:** 'L'Europe borderline', in P. Magnette and A. Weyembergh (eds) *L'Union européenne: la fin d'une crise?*, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2008.

**Lacroix, Justine:** 'Du suffrage universel à la participation universelle: pour une obligation libérale de se rendre aux urnes', *Raison publique*, no. 8, pp. 95-111, 2008.

**Lacroix, Justine:** 'Europe des valeurs ou Europe des droits?', in F. Cheneval, N. Levrat and S. Besson (eds) *Des valeurs pour l'Europe?*, Academia-Bruylant, 2008.

**Lacroix, Justine:** 'La critique communautarienne du soi libéral', in D. Müller, M. Sherwin, N. Maillard and C. S. Titus (eds) *Sujet moral et communauté*, Academic Press Fribourg, 2008.

**Liebert, Ulrike and Hans-Jörg Trenz:** 'Mass media and contested meanings: EU constitutional politics after popular rejection', EUI Working Papers RSCAS 2008/28.

**Michalski, Anna and Christine M. Cheyne:** 'European Union and New Zealand: converging approaches to the knowledge economy?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 15, no. 7, pp. 1087-1106, 2008.

**O'Brien, Claire:** 'Reframing deliberative cosmopolitanism: perspectives on transnationalisation and post-national

Democracy from Labor Law', *German Law Journal*, vol. 9, no. 8, pp. 1007-41, 2008.

**Schleicher, Nóra:** 'Borrowing and swearing: indirect construction of gender at a Hungarian workplace', in J. Santaemilia and P. Bou (eds) *Gender and Sexual Identities in Transition*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'Methodologischer Nationalismus oder Mediennationalismus: über die begrenzte Notwendigkeit einer Neuorientierung der Medien- und Öffentlichkeitsforschung in Europa', *Medien & Zeit*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 4-17, 2008.

**Wiener, Antje:** 'European responses to international terrorism: diversity awareness as a new capability?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 195-218, 2008.

## Conference presentations

**Bodor, Péter:** 'Approaching identity talk and the case of ascribing schizophrenia to Europe and Hungary', 39th Poznan Linguistic Meeting, 11-14 Sep 2008.

**Crum, Ben:** 'Accountability and personalisation of the European Council presidency', Colloquium 'Les présidences de l'Union européenne en redéfinition: Quelle légitimité? Quelle efficacité?', ULB, 29 Apr 2008 and Annual Meeting of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists, Nijmegen, 29-30 May 2008.

**Eriksen, Erik Oddvar:** 'European democracy: mission unaccomplished', ECPR Conference, Riga, 25 Sep 2008.

**Galligan, Yvonne and Sara Clavero:** 'Engendering democracy in the European Union: three scenarios and their implications', 38th UACES Annual Conference, Edinburgh, 1-3 Sep 2008.

**Galligan, Yvonne and Sara Clavero:** 'Gender and political representation in the EU: new perspectives, future challenges', workshop 'European Integration and the Contemporary European State', University of Swansea, May 2008.

**Gaus, Daniel:** 'Non-domination, recognition, dialogue: a new paradigm for the democratic organisation of modern societies?', conference 'Democracy and Difference', CULCOM, University of Oslo, 26 Aug 2008.

**Gaus, Daniel:** 'The myth of an output-legitimacy for the European Union: a critique of a popular conceptual misunderstanding', ECPR Conference, Riga, 26 Sep 2008.

**Gaus, Daniel:** 'Normative utopia or empirical analysis? Reflections on the claim of Habermas' theory of constitutional, democracy', Vitenskapsteoretisk Forum, NTNU, Trondheim, 7 Oct 2008.

**Kriza, Borbála:** '"We did not know that it would end that way": Bystanders of the Holocaust in the Hungarian town of Kőszeg', conference 'Holocaust as Local History Past and Present of a Complex Relation', University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 6 Jun 2008.

**Lord, Christopher:** 'Polecats, foxes and lions', ECPR Conference, Riga, 25 Sep 2008.

**Mansfeldova, Zdenka:** 'Elections and post-communist party systems in Central Europe', 4th Congress of the

Belgian Political Science Association, Louvain-la-Neuve, 24-25 Apr 2008.

**Miklin, Eric:** 'National interests or individual ideological preferences? The Services Directive inside the EU's Council of Ministers', Annual Convention of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists, Nijmegen, 29-30 May 2008 and ECPR Conference, Riga, 27 Sep 2008.

**Neyer, Jürgen:** 'Justice, not democracy: beyond the debate on the democratic deficit of international institutions', ECPR Conference, Riga, 25 Sep 2008.

**Peters, Dirk, Wolfgang Wagner and Nicole Deitelhoff:** 'Parliaments and European security policy: mapping the parliamentary field', 38th UACES Annual Conference, Edinburgh, 1-3 Sep 2008.

**Rakušanová, Petra:** 'European civil society: reality or wishful thinking?', NEWGOV workshop 'Civil Society, New Modes of Governance and Enlargement', Free University Berlin, 8-10 May 2008.

**Renfordt, Swantje:** 'International law in media discourse: investigating the 'social validity' of rules on the use of force in western mass communica-



Sara Clavero's speech at Jagiellonian University

tion (1990-2006)', German Political Science Association Junior Conference, Arnoldshain, 25-27 Apr 2008.

**Riddervold, Marianne:** 'Interests or principles? EU foreign policy in the ILO', ECPR Conference, Riga, 26 Sep 2008.

**Stie, Anne Elizabeth:** 'Evaluating the democratic legitimacy of institutionalised decision-making procedures: a deliberative perspective', ECPR Conference, Riga, 26 Sep 2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'Schaffung einer Europäischen Öffentlichkeit', Dreiländertagung, 'The European Union and Democracy', Luzern, 17 Oct 2008.

**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'Digital media and the return of the representative public sphere', DIGICULT General Conference, Paris, 21-24 Oct 2008.

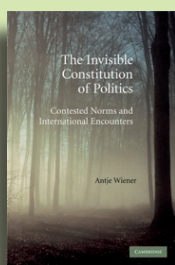
**Trenz, Hans-Jörg:** 'The constitutional debate revisited: public debates in France and Germany', conference 'The European Public Sphere and the EU's 'democratic deficit': Where are we now?', Bristol, 3-4 Nov 2008.

**Wagner, Wolfgang** (with Anna Geis): 'How far is it from Königsberg to Kandahar? Democratic peace and democratic violence in International Relations', Millennium Annual Conference 2008, 'Interrogating Democracy in International Relations', LSE, 25-26 Oct 2008.

## New Book: The Invisible Constitution of Politics

Antje Wiener

Cambridge University Press, 2008



As social practices now frequently extend beyond national boundaries, experiences and expectations about fair and legitimate politics have become increasingly fragmented. Our ability to understand

and interpret others and to tolerate difference, rather than overcome diversity, is therefore at risk. This book focuses on the contested meanings of norms in a world of increasing international encounters. Antje Wiener argues that cultural practices are less visible than organisational practices, but are constitutive for politics and need to be understood and empirically 'accounted' for. Comparing four elite groups in Europe, she shows how this invisible constitution of politics matters. By comparing individual interpretations of norms such as democracy and human rights, it is shown how they can mean different things, even to frequently travelling elite groups.

## New research group at Freie Universität Berlin

On 6 October 2008 the Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe (KFG) 'The Transformative Power of Europe' directed by Prof. Dr. Tanja A. Börzel and Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse held its official opening meeting in Berlin. This new form of Research College is part of a larger research and training environment in the social sciences at the Freie Universität Berlin and beyond.

The KFG examines the role of the EU as promoter and recipient of ideas, analyzing the mechanisms and effects of internal and external diffusion processes in three research areas: Identity and the Public Sphere; Compliance, Conditionality, and Beyond; and Comparative Regionalism and Europe's External Relations.

A centrepiece of the KFG is the invitation of national and international guest scholars working on the diffusion of ideas as well as the promotion of junior researchers through (post) doc fellowships.

Further information is available on the website: [www.transformeurope.eu](http://www.transformeurope.eu)

## Appointments



**Carlos Closa Montero** took up a position as Senior Researcher at the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC) (Spanish National Research Council) in Madrid on 10 June 2008. Prof. Closa resigned from the Center for Political and Constitutional Studies (CEPC), where he was Deputy Director for Research, to work at the Institute for Public Goods and Policies at the Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences at CSIC. From the start of RECON, Prof. Closa has led a team who have made important contributions to WP 2 on Constitutional Politics. The project will be transferred from CEPC to CSIC, where Prof. Closa will establish a new research team to continue this work.



**Poul F. Kjaer** was recruited as Research Fellow at the Cluster of Excellence 'The Formation of Normative Orders' (subproject Transnational Law) at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, from 1 September 2008. Kjaer recently finished his PhD in Law at the European University Institute, Florence. He has been involved in RECON's WP 9 on Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared at the EUI and will continue this involvement from Frankfurt.



**Heike List** was appointed researcher at the Institute of Political Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main in July 2008. Her PhD project aims at analysing the tense and ambivalent nexus of nationalism and democracy in Europe with regard to minority issues. List has studied political science, philosophy and contemporary economic and social history at the University of Mannheim. Her main research interests lie in political theories of democracy, legitimacy and the nation-state as well as in peace and conflict studies, and she will contribute to RECON's WP 1 on the Theoretical Framework.



**Christopher Lord** is professor at ARENA from 1 October 2008. He is ad personam Jean Monnet Chair of European integration studies and was Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of Reading from 2004 to 2008. Prof. Lord's main research interests focus on questions legitimacy and democracy, political representation and parliamentarism at the European level. He is particularly interested in approaches to evaluating the democratic performance of EU institutions. As professor at ARENA he will continue as leader of RECON's WP 3 on Representation and Institutional Make-up and continue to lead a research team at the University of Reading.



**Janie Pélabay** was appointed postdoctoral researcher at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) in July 2008. She was previously Deakin Visiting Fellow at the European Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, and conducted research as a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow at the Centre of Political Theory at ULB. Pélabay holds a PhD in political philosophy from the University of Paris-Sorbonne. Her main research interests include multiculturalism and the politics of recognition, the liberal/communitarian debate, civic education, and the legitimacy issues raised by EU political integration. She will be involved in RECON's WP 5 on Civil Society and the Public Sphere.



**Kolja Raube** was appointed senior researcher at ARENA on 16 August 2008. He has a PhD from the University of Hamburg with a doctoral thesis on the constitutional foreign policy of the European Union. He has studied political science and public law, including European and international law, at the Philipps-University Marburg, the University of Saskatchewan and University of Hamburg. Raube's main fields of interests are the Common Foreign and Security Policy, including its European Security and Defence Policy, and the EU's constitutional politics. He will contribute to RECON's WP 6 on the EU's Foreign and Security Dimension.



**Yvonne Galligan**, founding director of the Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics, was recently appointed Director of Research of the European Governance and Gender group at the School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy at Queen's University Belfast. She is leader of RECON's WP 4 on Justice, Democracy and Gender.



**Justine Lacroix**, Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and member of RECON's WP 5 on Civil Society and the Public Sphere, spends the academic year 2008-2009 at Oxford University, where she is Deakin Visiting Fellow at the European Studies Centre, St Antony's College.



**Antonio Barroso Villasecusa** has left the Center for Constitutional and Political Studies to pursue postgraduate studies at Columbia University, New York. Barroso is PhD student at UNED, Spain and has been granted a scholarship at Columbia University from August 2008. Before leaving RECON, the major effort of Barroso has been related to the establishment of a website on the Europeanisation of national constitutions within the framework of WP 2 on Constitutional Politics: [www.europeconstitution.eu](http://www.europeconstitution.eu).

Subscribe to the newsletter at [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu)



RECON is an Integrated Project supported by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research, Priority 7: Citizens and governance in a knowledge-based society.

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