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

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

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# 1. Reconstituting Democracy in Europe

RECON was an Integrated Project supported by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research. The five-year project started on 1 January 2007 and concluded on 31 December 2011.

## 1.1 Key objectives of the project

The basic questions asked by RECON were: what democracy for Europe? Can there be democracy without the state, and can there be a constitution without a people, or nation? Is there a need for a new democratic theory, or is there only need for democratic reforms in order to make the EU democratic? To that end RECON established three models of European democracy, pointing to intergovernmental, supranational and transnational governing structures. Each of the three RECON models represents a possible solution to the democratic challenges facing Europe.

- **Audit democracy:** Model 1 entails reframing the EU as a functional regulatory regime. Democracy is here directly associated with the nation state, assuming it is only at a national level that trust and solidarity can be fostered, and that the member states delegate certain tasks to the EU level. As such, the EU is accountable to the member states, which can both authorise and confine EU operations.
- **Multinational federal democracy:** Model 2 entails establishing the EU as a multinational federal state with a sense of common identity and collective values among European citizens. With democratic procedures and a common identity, decision-making and legislation would be legitimate at the federal European level.
- **Post-national democracy:** Model 3 entails developing a post-national union with an explicit cosmopolitan orientation; a European subsystem of a larger cosmopolitan order where citizen sovereignty has replaced state sovereignty. This is a model for democracy beyond the state as democratic rule is configured in a multilevel structure of government.

Taken together, the models offer a comprehensive framework for assessing Europe's democratic challenges, which formed a common ground for RECON's research. These models yield assessment standards and tools to analyse and integrate research on the developments and conditions for democracy from a range of different thematic angles.

The substantive focus of RECON was to study the processes of reconstituting democracy in a multileveled Europe. This research required theoretical knowledge of democracy combined with detailed empirical research in a range of critical policy fields and issue areas. RECON integrated institutional and constitutional research with civil-society and opinion-formation research on the one hand and policy-area studies on gender, tax, social and foreign and security policy on the other as important ingredients in the overall assessment of the quality of democracy in Europe.

## 1.2 Major scientific achievements

In what direction do developments within the multilevel EU point? The complexity of the European project gives rise to different and divergent developmental paths within the various institutional orders and policy areas.

RECON assessed which approach to democratic reconstitution is most viable, in empirical and normative terms, through analyzing the EU's constitutionalisation process; the institutional complex at the EU and member state levels; the role and status of gender within the enlarged Europe; the democratic quality and governing capacity of the Union within tax/fiscal and foreign/security policy; and the multilevel configuration of civil society/public sphere. It examined the effects of external transnationalisation on the EU and discerned democratic lessons from comparison with non-European complex multilevel entities. RECON enhanced knowledge of the enlargement process – the transition and consolidation of democracy in the new member states; and of the overall challenges posed by globalization to established democracies.

One research group established the theoretical perspective of the project and provided for integration of the research, ensuring issue-specific operationalisation, empirical testing and overall research coordination. The theoretical framework of the project was continually elaborated and integrated, particularly in two regards. First, synthesizing the findings over the five-year project period, it established a political theory of the EU. Second, based on its normative-conceptual analyses and the findings from the different empirical research fields, the three models of European democracy were finally assessed. The conceptual link between justice and democracy as well as between democracy and statehood was clarified, assuming that basic principles of justice have procedural implications on which democracy is based. Views differ, however, regarding what kind of substantive and procedural elements a just democratic order would have to entail. These differences also lead to different understandings regarding the role of the state but contributed to fleshing out elements of a theory of democracy beyond the nation state. Synthesizing the different analyses of the relationship between democracy, statehood and legitimacy, RECON managed to establish a political theory sensitive to the unprecedented nature of the European polity and history. RECON brought about *conceptual innovations* like *a state-less government*, *constitutional synthesis*, *multilevel parliamentary field* and *a layered sphere of publics*, which make up the core elements of a model of regional post-national democracy. What thus has been established at the EU level is a system of supranational government based on authorized jurisdictions. It implies that a proper evaluation of EU democracy should be based on the standards embedded in RECON's third post-national democratic polity model. It implies that a proper account of EU democracy must take heed of these innovations and the procedural and non-substantialist structure of the Euro-polity model that go with them. The EU's prospects, however, depends entirely on the member states as it possesses only weak sanctioning means, and as the crisis has made eminently clear, very limited own resources to ensure its continued existence.

Researchers working on the *constitutional dimension* focused on the nature, role, and impact of the dual processes of *EU constitutionalisation* and the *Europeanisation of national constitutions*. The particular focus was to establish what these processes say on the reconstitution of democracy in Europe. In line with the broader RECON framework the approach was to clarify 'what constitution for what Europe', and to do so through relying on the three RECON models. The challenge was three-fold: to adapt the models to the actual EU constitutional realm: to establish which RECON model the EU's constitutional construct resembles the most; and to establish the democratic merits of the emerging European constitutional order. The researchers took the Laeken constitutional experience as their point

of departure and tracked the constitutional dimension of the now-in-effect Lisbon Treaty (whose ratification contained much clearer traits of the first model than had the far more open Constitutional Treaty process). RECON found that proper adaptation of the models to the EU constitutional realm and its democratic dimension required taking a stance on the suitability of the dominant state-based constitutional vocabulary and the basic norms of (state-based) democratic constitutionalism. Main analyses from RECON in this field underlined the need to focus on national constitutional structures as key sustainers of the European construct. Exactly because it builds upon the nation-state, the EU itself cannot simply emulate nation-state-based constitutional forms. While this finding does give some credence to RECON model I, this model eventually falls short as it fails to grasp the extent to which the supranational EU layer has come to adopt a constitutional logic of its own that transcends the control of the member states. Instead, as the EU emerges as an inherently multilayered and polycentric constitutional construct, it represents an attempt to establish a distinct constitutional tradition, and as such is most suitably located under RECON model III. This research group yielded various proposals that help to capture and to specify this distinctiveness, one of which is the theory of constitutional synthesis. It must be added that most of the research effort in RECON was focused on the period prior to the crisis. A proper assessment of the present state would amplify the concerns of those that see the EU as seriously veering off the constitutional path with deeply destructive consequences for democracy.

Within the field of *representation and institutional make-up*, research focused on clarifying the nature and quality of representative arrangements in the EU, across levels. It is often argued that the European Union practises a kind of compound representation. Yet there is no guarantee that merely combining different channels of representation – the European Parliament, national parliaments, forms of interest and regional representation – will add up to good representation. RECON investigated this difficulty with the help of the models and the following studies: a Democratic Audit of the European Union, a study of how far the European and national parliaments interact in a parliamentary field, a study of unequal representation in the European Parliament, a study of the quality of deliberation in the European Parliament, a study of the role of European Union parties in the 2009 European elections, and a country case study of the adaptation of Czech representative institutions to Union membership. The Audit used the RECON models to develop a comprehensive set of indicators for evaluating how well the various elements of the EU's system of representation 'compound' to provide good representation. It confirmed the following difficulties typical of compound forms of representation: (a) problems of 'many hands', or, in other words, of apportioning responsibility and accountability between representative bodies; (b) problems of ensuring political inequality in the design of shared representative institutions; and (c) problems of joint supply. Public perception of how well representation is supplied at the European level continues to be strongly correlated with the perception of how well it is supplied in the national arena. The other studies complement these findings with some more fine-grained ones. The study of discourse quality shows that levels of justification in the EP compare well with national parliaments. The study of the parliamentary field testifies to the presence of distinctive traits of EU representation, which if considered against the RECON models approximate the third the most. This structure injects a distinct deliberative dimension but also brings up new and thorny questions of representation and accountability. This research also demonstrates the importance of informal norms and networks to possibilities for inter-parliamentary co-ordination. The study of parties shows that the representative behaviour of individual MEPs does affect their chances of re-election.

The group researching *justice, democracy and gender* examined the EU's approach to gender equality, central institutional arrangements, important policy outcomes, and member states' and EU-level democratic practices from a gender equality perspective. An original concept of 'gender democracy' was developed and utilised to describe in ideal terms what is required to effect a gender-equal, gender-sensitive democracy in which the perspectives, interests and representatives of women are fully included recognised, and accountable to one another and their publics. This conceptual innovation was the basis of a methodological framework that guided research on gender democracy in selected member states and the EU. It also contributed to the theoretical discussions on deliberative democracy, models of democracy, and democratic practices that spanned all of RECON's research groups. With the insights gleaned from this large study, the research team produced informed theoretical reflections on the RECON models of democracy. Selected findings from the study are: (a) the European Parliament is a more gender-inclusive institution than the Council; (b) gender equality arguments are often countered and overridden by those of business-oriented groups; (c) the transposition of an EU directive on gender equality often results in national politics overriding the EU dimension; (d) conformity by member states to EU law on gender equality may be superficial and can result in a diminution, instead of advance, of gender equality; (e) the EU plays a general progressive role in the field of gender equality and anti-discrimination policies; (f) when a country moves beyond the minimum gender equality threshold set by the EU, the EU effect decreases and may even turn into a negative effect; and (g) encouraging the inclusion of women's civil society voices in the decision-making process would strengthen gender democracy in the EU. The theme of WP 4, Democracy, gender and justice, also gave rise to the study of other aspects of gender equality/gender justice in democratic contexts. Thus, the WP supported important normative and empirical research on gender justice and Islamic societies, the relationship between feminism and post-communist societies, cosmopolitanism and gender justice, the normative underpinnings of the equal pay debate in Norway, and reflections from a gender justice perspective on the European Commission's gender equality index.

One research group focused on how *civil society and the public sphere* contribute to shape the EU's development and democratic character. The researchers explored the dynamics of democratisation from below by studying the scope of media communication and debates and the mobilisation of citizens' support and resistance to evolving forms of European governance, in particular in the field of EU constitutionalisation. RECON examined the extent to which public intellectuals, media and civil society contributed to contestations about European integration, EU politics and EU policy-making, and how 'Euroscepticism' is expressed in different forms across the continent. RECON studied European election campaigns and how print media cover EU treaty reforms as well as parliamentary debates on EU treaty ratification. A media survey on the EU constitutional debate indicates that the patterns of mass media debate tend to follow model 1, with its focus on national government actors and intergovernmental institutions. However, there are also traits of model 3 in terms of overlapping public discourses. The media survey finds little empirical evidence for an unfolding European public sphere that would support a democratic order along the lines of model 2, which would require that the same issues would be debated at the same time under the same criteria of relevance. Overall findings point to the still rather fragmented modes of contesting EU legitimacy within national political arenas and the relatively restricted scope of expanding transnational democratic practices across different types of public spheres. But by analysing and evaluating comparative data sets comprising representative samples from all EU member states RECON also delivered new insights into the shaping of a transnational political space, regarding popular preferences, how the public engages with the EU and the



emerging pro- and anti-European cleavage structures within and across national public spheres.

Another research group in RECON focused on *the foreign and security dimension*. While European foreign and security policy has not become supranational, it is equally problematic to claim that it remains intergovernmental. This development has created democratic dilemmas for the EU. A key challenge is to identify ‘who decides’. It is often difficult to know, or predict, where responsibility for decisions actually lies. Foreign and security policy is made through interactions and exchanges between the executive branches of the member states. This makes it difficult to disaggregate decisions and trace them back to individual ministers or governments. There are of course exceptions. In the most dramatic international events or crises, it is much easier to trace the lines of authority back to national executives. As it is difficult to find out where decisions are actually made, it is also unclear who should be held accountable, and to whom. The EP has, through active pressure, gradually extended its influence in particular in the context of the development of the European External Action Service (EEAS). However, as there is no clearly identifiable federal executive that the EP may authorise to act and hold accountable, merely strengthening the powers of the EP might not be a suitable democratic remedy. In order to reconstitute democracy, the CFSP most likely faces two options. In line with RECON Model 1, it might scale down executive integration and strengthen parliamentary co-ordination, or, in line with Models 2 or 3, it might ‘upload’ and reorganise the representative dimension, and clarify lines of authority and power between the different levels and layers of decision-making.

Research on the *political economy of the EU* focused on the asymmetric socio-economic constitution of the European Union. By means of detailed case studies on fiscal policy, social policy – in particular health policy— and the constitutional case law on the interplay between economic freedoms and state powers – especially the power to collect personal taxes — this research revealed the structural functional and normative shortcomings of the present institutional structure and decision-making of the European Union. This allowed RECON not only to devise analytical tools with which to capture the multidimensional character of the major European crisis unfolding since 2006 (which is *at the same time* economic, fiscal, financial and constitutional) but also to flesh out the democratic implications of the status quo and the actual implications of the *democratisation* of the Union in line with each of the RECON polity models. The normative analyses casts doubts on the original design of the project, especially on the lack of attention to the *un-democratising* potential of European integration, especially when endogenous and exogenous shocks combine to make the worst of the structural weakness of the *synthetic* constitutional polity that the Union is.

The research group on *identity formation and enlargement* sought to understand and explain interrelations between collective identities, European integration and democracy. Democratic legitimacy needs to be grounded in the collective will of the members of a political community. European integration has transformed the old Europe of independent nation states and the European Union has formally embraced democratic principles and procedures. However, it has not yet consolidated a democratic practice capable of bringing forth citizens’ trust and solidarity. One might say that the search for democracy in the EU is connected to the search for an expression of the shared identity of the European people. RECON investigated how collective identity was expressed and reshaped in the enlarged Europe. While the nation state has traditionally been the main frame of political reference to most Europeans, political processes are increasingly taking place within a European sphere. As a consequence, European integration influences individuals by altering their political frames of reference, and further, which political community individuals identify with. European integration thus

challenges old conceptions of collective identity, and also the kind of legitimacy on which a democratic order and political institutions can be built. Employing various methods of inquiry, RECON established that collective identity should be understood as evolving through democratic processes, not as based on historically and culturally rooted identities. Moreover, RECON researchers showed that European identification supplements and reshapes the national identification of citizens. Specifically, many young Europeans exhibit a broad and inclusive identity which goes beyond national identity, indicating a move towards a European collective identity. NGOs act as changing agents and contribute to reshaping collective identities and building a more inclusive and equal society. Finally, specific attention was put to the structural and cultural changes in Central and Eastern Europe and in Turkey which in the light of the results of our research are closely related to values identified as 'European'.

Finally, research on *global transnationalisation and democratisation* contained two sub-projects. The first research group has conducted interdisciplinary research on the tensions between market integration and social integration in the EU and trade liberalisation and transnational governance arrangements in globalising markets. These studies focused on various types of risks and on standards of social protection. European and transnational institutional developments and regulatory practices were contrasted and their outcomes evaluated in terms of effectiveness and legitimacy. These normative evaluations were accompanied by theoretical explorations which sought to conceptualise the commitment of the RECON project to democratic legitimacy beyond the nation state in legal theories and doctrines. Over the whole duration of the project RECON researchers has cooperated closely in the organisation of conferences and the publications of books and articles with the Cooperative Research Centre "Transformations of the State" at the University of Bremen. The second research group in this field undertook complementary studies to the first group in that it examined the prospects for convergence along RECON Model 3 lines. It did so by comparing cosmopolitanization in the EU with that of an existing state (in Canada). There are many versions of cosmopolitanism; cosmopolitanisation processes can unfold quite differently, depending on the version of cosmopolitanism one opts for. RECON sought to devise indicators of cosmopolitanisation that would be sensitive to state-based and non-state-based contexts alike. RECON research also underlined that cosmopolitanism is not only about moral universalism and inclusion but can also be said to come with institutional presuppositions. One way of getting at this is to underline that cosmopolitanism is based on a different configuration of exit, entry, loyalty, and voice than is the nation-state. The assessment of the EU and Canada suggested that the two appear to exhibit two different cosmopolitanisation paths with highly uncertain end-points. Important here is to discern historical conditioning factors. The question we are left with today is how much (if any at all) of the EU's cosmopolitan vocation remains in place.

### 1.3 Conclusions and recommendations

*On balance*, these assessments show that the EU is beyond intergovernmentalism in polity and constitutional terms. The Union has integrated to such an extent and across such a broad range of policy fields as to have moved beyond the first RECON model. At stake in the European integration process is supranational not audit democracy, and the integration process has deeply affected nation state democracy. The attempt to devise a distinct European democratic constitutionalism is currently facing serious challenges, but represents a fundamental and constitutionally salient case of legal Europeanisation. The upshot is that the democratic legitimacy of the EU's member states cannot be established independently of the EU, because they have become so deeply entangled that their patterns of legitimate authority have been transformed. What that also means is that the relevant standard of democracy that



is required to assess this complex multilevel configuration cannot be based on RECON model 1. The Union's democratic ambitions are greater than what this model presupposes; the Union's implications for the workings of the established member state democratic arrangements are also so profound as to render this model basically irrelevant as the appropriate standard.

The second democratic polity model that RECON devised, understood democracy in the EU to be best served through establishing the EU as a *multinational* federal state. But the EU does not qualify as a state – it lacks key state vestiges at the EU-level, it transforms the member states, and there is little to suggest that the EU is on a clear track towards statehood. But there are at least three points to show that this model still exerts a certain directional pull on the EU. The first is that the EU appeals to those very principles, the core constitutional-democratic ones that animate the modern democratic *Rechtsstaat*. They have also served as the regulatory ideal for the EU's distinct approach to constitution-making. Secondly, the EU is structured as a system of government at the supranational level. This governing arrangement comes with elements of hierarchy – that fall well short of the system of hierarchical rule we associate with the sovereign state – but that nevertheless set the EU's supranational system apart from the less hierarchical and network-based structure of transnational governance. The EU gains a significant element of *stateness* through the manner in which the member states submit to EU decisions and effectuate these. The member states have however not provided the institutions at the EU-level with the instruments of territorial control and penetration that we associate with the sovereign state – and have retained significant checks on the ability of the central EU-institutions to pursue policies independently of the member states. Thirdly, we have seen that the system at the EU-level copies and emulates institutional arrangements and policy measures from the member states. These have however not been put together in the same manner as we find in a state.

The third RECON democratic polity model was an intellectual construct – without any real-life analogy to draw on – except whatever we could model from the incomplete experience that makes up the EU. This model posited that European democracy could be reconfigured through the EU serving as a regional *post-national* Union with an explicit cosmopolitan imprint. The EU holds traits that make it useful to consider in relation to this third model. What has been established at the EU-level is a system of supranational government based on authorised jurisdictions. It implies that a proper evaluation of EU democracy should be based on the standards embedded in this democratic polity model.

RECON's research has provided the core elements of a model of regional post-national democracy. The notion of *state-less government* posits that the EU can make binding political and legal decisions, beyond the logic of 'veto-driven' international organisations and regimes. Competences have been conferred, powers shifted, and jurisprudence codified at the European level. The concept of *constitutional synthesis* takes as its point of departure that the EU represents the first instance of establishing a new constitutional order out of a set of already existing (and persisting) state-based constitutional arrangements. Further, it underlines that the EU was initially established through a distinct and historically specific constitutional authorisation in the sense that the member states' constitutions *authorised* supranational constitutional-democratic integration. The process originated with the 'synthetic constitutional moment', which brought forth the regulatory ideal of a common constitutional law and some bits and pieces of the common constitutional law (in the European case, as reflected in the Treaties). The *multilevel parliamentary field* posits that parliaments in the EU are configured in an organizational field with some element of connectedness and structural equivalence. What keeps the field together are patterns of interaction combined with a shared function and

the role perception that comes with it: that of representing people's interests in EU decision-making. The characteristic features of the EU's parliamentary field can be discerned through the character and density of inter-parliamentary interaction; the character of the field's constitutive units (parliaments); and the manner in which these two dimensions interact to give overall shape to the field. Finally, the notion of *layered public spheres* addresses the fact that a variety of publics exist in the post-national configuration. Some are not confined to national borders. In fact, there are virtual and speaking publics, and overarching publics transcending limitations of time and space made possible by new media technologies. These elements, together with the idea of a *working agreement* represent the core characteristics of a viable model 3 of the RECON project.

Taken together, the findings of the different WPs show that the EU represents an effort at establishing a distinct democratic polity model that draws on complex links with a public sphere rooted in civil society. It is one that is based on the notion of a system of government but which is not set up to possess or exercise the same degree of direct territorial control that we associate with the sovereign state. Regarding the actual sustainability of the EU as a post-national union with a cosmopolitan imprint, however, the picture remains undecided. Whereas the EU has clear features of supranational government, it comes with very weak sanctioning means, and as the crisis has made eminently clear, very limited own resources to ensure its continued existence. The EU's prospects depend entirely on the member states. With regard to the EU's democratic character and quality, the supranational government at the EU level does at present fall well short of a fully-fledged democratic system of government.

In line with the findings that the EU bears closest resemblance to RECON Model 3, but falls well short of the constitutional-democratic principles and procedures that this model is steeped in, RECON's main recommendation is for the EU to take appropriate measures to bring the EU in conformity with the main tenets of this democratic polity model. This involves constitutional clarification and amendment, with the view to make the legal-constitutional structure consistent with democratic constitutionalism. It involves substantive changes; these also have to be effected through transparent and inclusive procedures, and made subject to popular approval by EU citizens. It involves taking measures to render the EU executive subject to parliamentary control and direction, through proper parliamentarisation of executive-legislative relations. The EU must be equipped with a parliamentary government and organized with regard to party politics in the system of government and opposition in such a way that a decision on political direction taken by the European electorate can have a politically decisive effect. It involves taking stronger measures to ensure constitutional democracy in all EU member states, including rolling back those measures that are in violation of democratic constitutionalism, for instance in Hungary. It involves a coordinated system of media ownership regulations so as to prevent executives from exploiting the media for political ends as was the case with Berlusconi Italy. It also involves setting up an independent system of democratic audits to be performed annually on the EU-level and on all the member states. The audits will be performed by independent experts according to a set of audit criteria. The reports will be made available to all legislatures. The EU should commit itself to take remedial actions in response to reported democratic shortfalls.

EU decision-making processes are reasonably inclusive of women's claims, and this is seen at best in two aspects: one, the consultation processes engaged in at an early stage of a decision cycle when collaborative discussions between EU officials from various institutions, MEPs and civil society has the potential to inform a gender-sensitive framing of a policy issue; two the EP and committee discussions that can contribute to a gender-sensitive appreciation of the

policy being legislated for. However, EU policy-making remains dominated by economic interests of one kind or another, and these interests find acceptance of their positions at all stages of policymaking, outweighing claims for gender equity and justice. In particular, the negotiations at Council, even with co-decision, can militate against the promotion of equal opportunities between women and men. Nonetheless, even with these caveats, the quality of democratic decision-making at EU level – from a gender democracy perspective – is often superior to that demonstrated in Member States where path-dependent policy practices and institutional arrangements impede inclusion, accountability, and recognition of claims to gender justice. Therefore, EU institutions should become more mindful of the gendered aspect of the decision-making process, ensuring the inclusion of women and women's representatives from civil society and the political sphere, addressing issues of accountability to women along with transparency in decision-making processes, and treating women's claims as worthy of the same standard of legitimacy as the claims of economic groups. This means that the Commission must take more heed of EP views, and the Council must also give effect to the democratic values of gender equity and equal opportunities. In addition, stronger monitoring of Member State transposition and implementation of gender equality directives would go some way towards redressing the gender democracy deficits in Member States.

RECON's findings indicate that online media do not provide ready-made solutions for overcoming the EU communication deficit with the citizens. Also in the digital era, EU decision-makers are well advised to make use of the mediating infrastructure of quality journalism to reach out to the general audience. EU institutions and governments should not only rely on the new forms of horizontal communication through social media or blogs but also need to adapt to the new hierarchies of the online public sphere, where user participation and commenting is still mainly filtered through selected powerful media conglomerates.

#### **1.4 Dissemination of findings**

RECON's research has brought forth knowledge of great relevance for the ongoing process of reforming European and national institutions. RECON disseminated its research-based knowledge through a wide range of means, some of which might have direct impact on policy development and much of which might have a more indirect but nevertheless potentially important effect through the way in which it helps frame the public debate and the very manner in which problems and solutions are understood, publicly talked about, and eventually handled in policy-making and implementing agencies. RECON's combined theoretical and empirical analysis is useful to citizens as well as to policy makers and analysts. It allows spelling out the alternatives; systematize the options available; aid in the prioritization of choice opportunities; and helps to clarify the normative quality of policy choices.

RECON contributed to enhancing the state-of-the-art of research within fields of great importance to the European Community, and the project was dedicated to the idea of transforming research findings and scientific knowledge into policy advice. RECON's dissemination strategy recognized that dissemination must extend well beyond the academic community and must be based on more than scientific publications. Studying the EU's democratic challenges attracts interest from informed citizens, interest groups and policy makers throughout Europe. RECON disseminated project-generated knowledge to the community of users and stakeholders, such as policy makers at national and European levels, civil society actors, non-RECON academics, as well as the wider public. Research findings and scientific knowledge were spread through a wide range of dissemination mechanisms.

First and foremost, the research resulted in numerous scientific publications in the form of books and book chapters, articles in peer-reviewed journals, reports and working papers. The two publication series of RECON proved to be successful channels for the publication of ongoing research within the project. The *RECON Online Working Papers* were pre-print manuscripts on democracy and the democratisation of the political order in Europe. A total of 125 papers were published in the series during the five years of RECON. The series reaches out to a broad research community by its inclusion in several online archives (ERPA, EBSCO and REPEC), and was perceived as an attractive publication channel also by non-members. The papers were widely circulated to a project mailing list with more than 1,850 recipients. The series is available at: <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html>. The most popular paper in 2011 was downloaded more than 800 times, pointing to the relevance of and topical interest in the project's research and findings.

A total of 19 reports were published in the *RECON Report Series*, most of which were a collection of papers from a previous RECON workshop but also other volumes presenting project findings. The reports hold a high academic and editorial standard, and some were elaborated and submitted as anthologies with academic publishing houses. The reports can be downloaded at: <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONReports.html>, and are also available in print upon demand, free of charge. The report series is a subseries of the established ARENA Report Series, and is distributed to public and academic libraries across Europe. The most popular publication, RECON Report 9 *The Lisbon Treaty and national constitutions: Europeanisation and democratic implications* (September 2009) was downloaded more than 1,250 times, whereas RECON Report 2 *The interpretative moment of European journalism: the impact of media voice in the ratification process* (April 2007) was downloaded 925 times, again testifying to the topicality of RECON's research.

The primary tool for information on the research conducted in the project is the RECON website: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu), which reaches out to a broad audience. There were more than 60,000 visitors in 2011 and over 250,000 visitors over the five-year project period. There has been a steady increase in the number of individuals visiting the project website, from a monthly average of close to 3,000 visitors in 2007 to more than 5,000 each month in the fifth year. The website offers a comprehensive overview of research activities, publications and findings, events and news, as well as RECON's searchable database with more than 1,600 items. This includes working papers and reports, journal articles, books and other publications, as well as workshop and conference papers by the affiliated researchers. The database is a key element to ensure a broadest possible dissemination of project results as well as access to and overview of the activities, input and findings of all partners.

Eleven issues of the [RECON Newsletter](#) were published during the course of the project, and a final issue will be published after the end of the project. The newsletters contain information on research findings and new publications, comprehensive reports from conferences and other events, as well as other news from the project. Policy memos and commentaries relating ongoing research to current societal and political developments are also included. The [RECON leaflet](#), which contains basic information on the project and presents its main research questions in a comprehensible manner, was distributed widely by each partner institution. In the final year, RECON prepared the pamphlet [Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Snapshots of findings](#). As RECON addresses questions of fundamental concern, which will remain relevant also beyond the project's lifetime, and as all work packages have produced research results with policy implications, the pamphlet was developed to provide such research-based policy recommendations. The pamphlet presents snapshots of selected



findings that should be of interest to a non-academic readership: practitioners and policy makers, NGOs and interest groups, media and the informed reader, and others who work within or take an interest in some of the fields under study.

In the final year, RECON staged two successful dissemination events with the main purpose of presenting the project's results to a wider community of stakeholders and a mainly non-academic audience. The first event in Brussels on 19 May 2011 was successful in attracting 129 registered participants from the European Parliament, the European Commission (several DGs as well as the Secretariat), the Cabinet of the President of the European Council, the Committee of the Regions, as well as local, regional and national authorities, think tanks and universities, NGOs, media and the private sector. The second event was held on 24 November 2011, prior to the two-day academic concluding conference in Oslo. Among the 222 registered participants were representatives from Norwegian ministries, the Parliament and political parties, various embassies, local and regional authorities, trade unions and employer's organisations, NGOs and media, as well as students and researchers. Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jonas Gahr Støre held a keynote on Europe's democratic challenges. A radio interview with Støre in the national morning news before the conference served to raise awareness of the project and its findings, and the conference received quite some attention among stakeholders and in the media. Both outreach conferences were also used as opportunities to disseminate publications and RECON materials, with well-visited book and report stands at the venues. Moreover, by including a link to the RECON pamphlet in the 5,000 invitations sent out to targeted stakeholders, in addition to RECON's mailing list consisting of more than 1,850 individuals, a wide distribution of the pamphlet was ensured.

A total of 55 consortium workshops were organised by RECON in the years 2007-2011. Some of these attracted targeted and/or general attention to the project, contributing to increased cooperation between RECON and the wider research community. Some workshops were organized jointly with other projects or networks, such as ConstEPS, the CONNEX Network of Excellence, the European Network for Canadian Studies, the Research Programme on Democracy in Oslo, the Collaborative Research Centre 'Transformations of the State' in Bremen, and the Cluster of Excellence 'The Formation of Normative Orders' in Frankfurt. RECON's research on gender was presented and discussed at the 1<sup>st</sup> European Politics and Gender Conference, the 7<sup>th</sup> European Feminist Research Conference, and at the 2008 Women's Worlds Congress. These conferences brought together other FP6 projects EUROSHERE, FEMCIT, QUING and ATHENA. Research findings and project-generated knowledge were presented and disseminated at more than 300 conferences, workshops, seminars and lectures, including important international academic conferences such as those organised by the American Political Science Association (APSA), the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the European Sociological Association (ESA), the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the International Studies Association (ISA), the Political Studies Association (PSA), and the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). RECON researchers also organised and chaired joint panels at a number of international academic conferences organised by the above associations, including a RECON section at the 6<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference in August 2011 consisting of eight panels devoted to RECON's research questions. Policy makers and the wider community were addressed at a number of other events, a small sample of which were conferences or seminars organised by the Spinelli Group in the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the WEU, the World Trade Institute, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence, the Committee of the Regions, the Delegation of the EU to Norway, the European Humanist Federation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Centre for Equal Treatment in Luxembourg. Finally,

teaching and training activities at partner institutions and beyond ensured dissemination of RECON's research to students and academics across Europe.

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## RECON partner institutions

	<b>University of Oslo (coordinator)</b> ARENA – Centre for European Studies	ARENA
	<b>Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna</b> Institute for European Integration Research (EIF)	OEAW
	<b>Center of Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid</b> (until August 2008)	CEPC
	<b>Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest</b> Institute of Sociology	ELTE
	<b>European University Institute</b> Department of Law	EUI
	<b>Freie Universität Berlin</b> Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science	FUB
	<b>Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic</b> Institute of Sociology	ASCR
	<b>Jagiellonian University, Krakow</b> Centre for European Studies	JUK
	<b>Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt</b> Institute of Political Science	JWGU
	<b>London School of Economics and Political Science</b> Department of International Relations	LSE
	<b>Queen's University Belfast</b> Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics (CAWP)	QUB
	<b>Riga Graduate School of Law</b> (until December 2009)	RGSL
	<b>Sabanci University, Istanbul</b> Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences	SABU
	<b>Spanish National Research Council, Madrid</b> Institute of Public Goods and Policies (IPP)	CSIC
	<b>Université Libre de Bruxelles</b> Institute for European Studies	ULB
	<b>University of Auckland</b> Europe Institute	UOA
	<b>University of Bremen</b> Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS) Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP)	UniHB
	<b>University of León</b>	ULEON
	<b>University of Mannheim (affiliated partner)</b> Mannheim Center for European Social Research	MZES
	<b>University of Reading</b> School of Sociology, Politics and International Relations	UoR
	<b>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam</b> Department of Political Science	VUA
	<b>Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</b>	PRIF
	<b>University of Bath</b> Department of European Studies and Modern Languages (until March 2009)	BATH
	<b>University of Hamburg</b> Institute for Political Science	UHAM

## **2. Final plan for using and disseminating the knowledge**

### **RECON website**

The RECON website: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu) was successfully launched on 5 January 2007 and is mastered by ARENA. The website offers a comprehensive overview of research activities, publications and findings, events and news, including 60 conferences staged by the project, a searchable database with 1,600 publications and presentations by all affiliated researchers, and RECON's Press Room with snapshots of findings, policy memos and commentaries, brochures, leaflets and newsletters, as well as a collection of press clippings and media coverage. It is the main source for information and dissemination of the project's activities. RECON's publication database includes a total of 1,600 working papers and reports, journal articles, books and other publications, as well as workshop and conference papers by the affiliated researchers. A search engine allows visitors to browse publications and activities for each work package, to follow the activities of each individual researcher, as well as search for specific items by using the open search. The website reaches out to a broad audience with more than 60,000 visitors in 2011, and over 250,000 visitors over the five year project period. There has been a steady increase in the number of individuals visiting the project website, from a monthly average of close to 3,000 visitors in 2007 to more than 5,000 each month in the fifth year. In particular the RECON publications (reports and online working papers), pamphlet, newsletters and workshop information have been frequently downloaded.

### **RECON Online Working Paper Series**

The RECON Online Working Paper Series is an important channel of communication of research from the project. It publishes pre-print manuscripts on democracy and the democratisation of the political order in Europe, most of which are later published in peer-reviewed academic journals or as book chapters. The series' focus is on the study of democracy within the multilevel configuration that makes up the European Union, and the topics correspond to the research focus of RECON's work packages. The series is interdisciplinary in character, but is especially aimed at political science, political theory, sociology, and law. It publishes work of theoretical, conceptual as well as of empirical character, and it also encourages submissions of policy-relevant analyses, including specific policy recommendations. The series publishes work from all the researchers involved in the RECON project, but is also open to submissions from other researchers working within the fields covered by RECON. The series' editorial board consists of the RECON work package leaders, who ensure compliance with proper academic standards. A total of 125 papers were published during the lifetime of the project. The papers are available in electronic format and were widely circulated, and can be downloaded from the RECON website: <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html>. The series joined the European Research Papers Archive (ERPA) on 16 November 2007, which is a database for online working papers in the field of European integration research, and is also included in several other online archives. In October 2010 it was included in the EBSCO database, which provides access to its databases in more than 70 countries and offers nearly 300 databases covering a wide range of research disciplines.

### **RECON Report Series**

19 reports were published in the *RECON Report Series*, most of which were a collection of papers from a previous RECON workshop but also volumes presenting project findings. The reports hold a high academic and editorial standard, and some have been or will be elaborated and submitted as anthologies with academic publishing houses. Examples are a revised

version of RECON Report No. 7 *Conflict of laws and laws of conflict in Europe and beyond*, which was published on Intersentia (2010), the volume *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, published in the Routledge Series on Democratising Europe (2012), which is a revised version of RECON Report No. 8, and RECON Report No. 12, which was reedited and enriched with some additional contributions to appear as *Collective identity and democracy in the enlarging Europe* on Peter Lang (2012). The reports can be downloaded at RECON's website (<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONReports.html>), and are also available in print format upon demand, free of charge. The report series is a subseries of the established ARENA Report Series, and is distributed to public and academic libraries across Europe.

### **Website on the Europeanisation of national constitutions**

A website on the Europeanisation of national constitutions was launched in October 2007. It is mastered by the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid at <http://proyectos.cchs.csic.es/europeconstitution/>. This website offers a comprehensive overview of how national constitutions are adapting to the process of European integration. Information is provided on all member states, candidate countries and potential candidate countries, with extensive information on the constitution of each country. The website lists constitutional provisions concerning the EU, international treaties, constitutional reforms and referendums. It includes a total of 150 parliamentary debates, reports from constitutional committees and speeches from the ratification period of each EU Treaty. Moreover, documentation on national judicial decisions on EU treaties and EU legislation is provided. The website also contains a comprehensive selected bibliography. The website is a useful tool for practitioners, policy makers, political actors, interest groups, informed readers, journalists and students interested in EU constitutionalism.

### **European Union Democratic Audit website**

A framework for evaluating the democratic qualities of EU institutions through a democratic audit has been developed within RECON. Christopher Lord's EU Democratic Audit is based on a set of ten indicators for measuring democracy. The European Union Democratic Audit website was launched in October 2011 and sets out these indicators, as well as proposing data sources that are helpful to measures these. The website has been developed by Lord and is mastered by ARENA – Centre for European Studies at the University of Oslo (RECON coordinator) at: <http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/people/aca/chrilor/democratic-audit/index.html>. The website is to include a function allowing for feedback from users and it will build over time in response to feedback.

### **RECON Newsletter**

Eleven issues of the electronic RECON Newsletter were published during the course of the project (January, June and December 2007, May and November 2008, April and September 2009, February, June and December 2010, and November 2011). A twelfth and final issue will be published after the end of the project, in March 2012. The newsletter contains information on research findings and new publications, comprehensive reports from conferences and other events, as well as other news from the project. Policy memos and commentaries relating ongoing research to current societal and political developments are also included. The newsletters are available at RECON's website (<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/Newsletters.html>), and were distributed electronically to a mailing list including more than 1,850 addresses in 2011. This number has increased steadily with more and more individuals signing up to receive project news in the course of the project. The newsletters are also printed and distributed to stakeholders

throughout Europe, to a targeted address list compiled at ARENA as well as via all partner institutions and can be ordered at [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu).

### **RECON leaflet**

A one-page leaflet on the RECON project was prepared and distributed in May 2007. A total of 8,000 printed copies were made, and all partner institutions received copies for distribution at their home institutions, contacts, and at conferences and other events. The leaflet is also available in electronic version in the Press Room at RECON's website (<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/Press%20Room.html>). It contains basic information including a list of partners and contact details, and presents the main research questions of the project in a comprehensible manner.

### **Pamphlet with snapshots of findings**

In the final year, RECON prepared the project pamphlet 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Snapshots of findings'. As RECON addresses questions of fundamental concern, which will remain relevant also beyond the project's lifetime, and as all work packages have produced research results with policy implications, the pamphlet was developed to provide such research-based policy recommendations. The pamphlet does not present the overall academic achievements of RECON, but presents snapshots of selected findings that should be of interest to a non-academic readership: practitioners and policy makers, NGOs and interest groups, media and the informed reader, and others who work within or take an interest in some of the fields under study. A first version of this brochure was prepared in May, and it was further revised and expanded to appear in its final version in November 2011. The pamphlet is included in full on the following pages.

### **Complete list of RECON's dissemination activities**

RECON's research is published in a large number of books, special issues of academic journals, book chapters and journal articles, in addition to the project's own publication series. A complete list of these publications, as well as newsletters, websites, events, paper presentations, lectures, speeches and press coverage is given on the pages following the RECON pamphlet with findings.



## Reconstituting democracy in Europe

### Snapshots of findings



### How democratic is the European Union?

### How democratic can it be?

### How democratic should it be?

Through a series of studies of a number of policy fields and institutional mechanisms, the RECON project has analysed the conditions for democracy in the EU. The aim has been to identify strategies through which democracy can be strengthened.

In this pamphlet, snapshots of selected findings are presented, which should be of interest to practitioners and policy makers, media and informed readers, civil society actors and interest groups, as well as other 'stakeholders'.

[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)



RECON (2007-2011) is an Integrated Project supported by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research.

See a list of RECON's 21 partner institutions at the end of this pamphlet.



# Reconstituting Democracy in Europe

Since 2007, a large group of scholars from across Europe and beyond; ranging from political scientists, sociologists, economists, legal scholars, philosophers, to social anthropologists, have critically examined the important question of how to reconstitute democracy in Europe.

The RECON project was fashioned in the wake of the Laeken (2001-5) Constitutional Treaty process and the ensuing debates on the EU's legitimacy, which became all the more important after the "No" referendums in France and the Netherlands.

The basic questions RECON asked were: what democracy for Europe? Can there be democracy without the state, and can there be a constitution without a people, or nation? Is there a need for a new democratic theory, or is there only need for democratic reforms in order to make the EU democratic?

To that end RECON established three models of European democracy, pointing to intergovernmental, supranational and transnational governing structures. In what direction do developments within the multilevel EU point?

The complexity of the European project gives rise to different and divergent developmental paths within the various institutional orders and policy areas. What do developments within the EU's institutional and constitutional realms tell us about the prospects for democracy; what form of civil society is emerging and how does it contribute to a common identity and a European public sphere; what do developments within areas such as foreign and security policy and gender policy tell us about the nature of the EU; and how does the EU compare with other cosmopolitan developments?

Through a five-year period, more than 120 participating researchers across Europe and beyond have conducted independent and basic research on these questions. By doing so, RECON has contributed to shedding light on topical issues directly affecting all Europeans in their everyday lives. Snapshots of selected research findings are presented in this pamphlet.



**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe (RECON) runs from 2007 to 2011 and focuses on the conditions for democracy in the multilevel constellation that makes up the EU.**



RECON is an Integrated Project supported by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research



RECON is coordinated by ARENA - Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo



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# Where is European democracy heading?

**Democracy has historically developed at a national level, but with increasing internationalisation of politics, does the concept need reworking?**

Having established three ideal type models of European democracy, RECON evaluates their viability as possible options for the EU – with the aim of identifying strategies to strengthen democracy and rectify deficits. This is undertaken by considering how the models would establish democracy institutionally as well as through detailed analysis of a range of important EU policy areas.

## Constitutional issues

The EU has a material constitution, meaning that in social practice it works as a constitution. RECON research highlights the political contestation over the many efforts to make this material constitution democratic. The Lisbon Treaty ratification process contained clearer traits of the first model than had the far more open Constitutional Treaty process. But in substantive terms, the Lisbon Treaty promises to move the EU closer to the third model. This means that, despite Lisbon, the EU continues to confront the intellectual and political challenge of devising a democratic constitution for a non-state entity.

## Representation

EU citizens have two channels of democratic representation: through national parliaments, and more directly, through MEPs in the European Parliament. The European Parliament is most at home in RECON model 3. This also applies to the overall structure of representation in the EU. National parliaments are linked in with the European Parliament and are increasingly involved in EU decision-making. This structure injects a distinct deliberative dimension but also brings up new and thorny questions of accountability.

Obviously the co-decision procedure (where both the EP and the Council decide on legislation) is more inclusive than consultation (where the Council only consults the Parliament on legislation), and it also provides more space for consultation with stakeholders. Involvement of civil society representatives in the early stages



of legislation ensures greater inclusion of those concerned and assists political equality.

## Democracy from below

Civil society and a public sphere is an inherent part of any democratic order. RECON has conducted, among other empirical studies in this field, research on the role of the mass media – an important while far from unique actor in the ‘public sphere’. A media survey on the EU constitutional debate indicates that the patterns of mass media debate tend to follow model 1, with its focus on national government actors and intergovernmental institutions. However, there are also traits of model 3 in terms of overlapping public discourses. The media survey finds little empirical evidence for an unfolding European public sphere that would support a democratic order along the lines of model 2, which would

### Read more

*Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Erik O. Eriksen/John Erik Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

*The unfinished democratization of Europe*, Erik O. Eriksen, Oxford University Press, 2009

*Political legitimacy and democracy in transnational Perspective*, Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds), RECON Report 13, 2011

‘Bringing European democracy back in - or how to read the German Constitutional Court’s Lisbon Treaty ruling’, Erik O. Eriksen/John Erik Fossum, *European Law Journal*, 2011

require that the same issues would be debated at the same time under the same criteria of relevance.

## Beyond a regulatory regime

RECON finds that the institutional, as well as the civic conditions, for a legitimate public justification process in the EU are not fully compatible with any single model. But the EU

has been moving beyond model 1, and towards model 3 in some important areas. The EU is clearly more than a regulatory regime but less than a federation. European democracy remains an unrealised promise. The system of representation is incomplete, although it also contains novel democratic possibilities, and the requirement of a European public sphere has not been met.

## Three models of European democracy

Each of the three RECON models represents a possible solution to the democratic challenges facing Europe.

### Audit democracy

Model 1 entails reframing the EU as a functional regulatory regime. Democracy is here directly associated with the nation state, assuming it is only at a national level that trust and solidarity can be fostered, and that the member states delegate certain tasks to the EU level. As such, the EU is accountable to the member states, which can both authorise and confine EU operations.

### Multinational federal democracy

Model 2 entails establishing the EU as a multinational federal state with a sense of common identity and collective values among European citizens. With democratic procedures and a common identity, decision making and legislation would be legitimate at the federal European level.

### Post-national democracy

Model 3 entails developing a post-national union with an explicit cosmopolitan orientation; a European subsystem of a larger cosmopolitan order where citizen sovereignty has replaced state sovereignty. This is a model for democracy beyond the state as democratic rule is configured in a multilevel structure of government.

Taken together, the models offer a comprehensive framework for assessing Europe's democratic challenges, which has formed a common ground for RECON's research. These models yield assessment standards and tools to analyse and integrate research on the developments and conditions for democracy from a range of different thematic angles.



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WP 1 leads the work on concretising the three models, establishing indicators and linking them to the particular research challenges raised in the policy fields and issue areas addressed. Overall coherence and integration of the project is ensured and an overarching theoretical approach to the study of European democracy is developed.

More details from the research field 'Theoretical Framework' are available at: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

# What constitutional future for Europe?

It has long been held that only states can have democratic constitutions. What then about the European Union? Many strongly deny that the EU has a constitution. But if the Union does not have a constitution, it becomes very difficult to explain how the Union was established, and how it has become such an important player in Europe, and indeed in the world. How could such an organisation that has such a direct impact on the member states' constitutional arrangements endure without a constitution to operate through? And yet, it is obvious that there is no text or set of norms that is widely and uncontroversially referred to as the European Constitution.

In the EU we see efforts to develop a democratic constitution as well as a process whereby national constitutions are becoming Europeanised. One of the questions asked by RECON is if these processes are likely to foster democracy at the European level, and if so, how? Can the EU develop a democratic constitution? If not, can the EU become a viable democracy without a democratic constitution? Equally important, will the EU undermine or consolidate national democracy?

Addressing these questions, RECON researchers have investigated the history of European constitutional law and politics and have developed a theory of 'constitutional synthesis', which captures the distinctive traits of EU constitutionalism. Moreover, RECON has examined national constitutional adaptations to European integration. The Constitutional Treaty and process and the Lisbon Treaty and process have been evaluated and compared, including party-political behaviour in EU treaty referendums in 2005.

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**University of León** Flavia Carbonell, Fernando Losada Fraga, Agustín José Menéndez

**Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam** Eric Miklin



## Selected findings

- **The Lisbon Treaty did not clarify the EU's constitutional character, but has rather caused more uncertainty and ambiguity**
- **Further rounds of reforms and EU citizens' explicit consent are needed for the EU constitution to be legitimate and sustainable over time**
- **European integration has made national constitutions more transnational**
- **The ratification procedures used for EU constitution-making remain determined at the national level**
- **The EU's constitutional processes – as is also the case in Canada – have been closed and executive-driven: in both cases the problem is the lack of openness and democratically accountable processes**
- **The ability of governing parties to secure the support of their own constituencies remains crucial in winning national referendums on EU Treaties**



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**Read more on the findings in the following pages**

More details and publications from the research field 'The Constitutionalisation of the EU, the Europeanisation of National Constitutions, and Constitutionalism Compared', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:

[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

## A new theory of EU constitutionalism

Although the Lisbon Treaty was framed by the European Council as not being a constitution, RECON finds that the EU has a *material constitution*. This means that in social practice it works as a constitution, but it does not qualify as a democratic constitution.

Democratic constitution-making is at stake after the Lisbon process, which reverted back to diplomatic procedures. A distinguishing feature of the EU's material constitution is that it is conditioned on compliance with the common constitutional traditions of the member states and their democratic norms. Whereas the Lisbon Treaty contains democratic reforms, it has increased uncertainty about the status of this constitutional-democratic license from the member states by explicitly stating that Lisbon is a *treaty* and not a *constitution*.

RECON researchers have analysed the EU's constitutional developments and developed a theory of 'constitutional synthesis'. This is set out in a book which explains why and how the European Communities were established as the first constitutional union of constitutional states wherein integration would be steered by constitutional law, not power politics or imperialism. It explains why the process of forging the Lisbon Treaty should be seen as a new beginning of the EU's constitutional season, not its end, as well as the constitutional problems the EU is currently facing.

### Read more

*The Constitution's Gift*, John Erik Fossum/Agustín José Menéndez, Rowman and Littlefield, 2011

## The Lisbon Treaty – at the cost of democracy?

**Evaluating the Treaty of Lisbon in comparison with the original Constitutional Treaty, and analysing the importance of the people's consent, it is fair to ask if saving the treaty came at the cost of democracy.**

The negative results of referendums on the EU Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands, and subsequent low-key adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon raise complex questions about the possible democratisation of the EU. Drawing on the Convention on the Future of Europe, which drafted the Constitutional Treaty, and the referendum in the Netherlands, an original political theory of democratic constitutionalisation beyond the nation state has been outlined within RECON. Providing a full analysis of the EU

Constitutional Treaty process, it is argued that international organisations can be put on democratic foundations, but only by properly engaging national political structures.

### Read more

*Learning from the EU Constitutional Treaty*, Ben Crum, Routledge, 2012



## Party-political behaviour in Treaty ratification

**How was the party-political behaviour around the referendums on the EU Constitutional Treaty?**

In the four countries which held a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 (France, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and Spain), the electorates turned out to be considerably more sceptical about the Constitutional Treaty than their parliamentary representatives were. RECON has studied the domestic government-opposition dynamics in these countries, as well as in six member states where a referendum was anticipated in 2005. With the exception of some

### Read more

'Party stances in the referendums on the EU Constitution', Ben Crum, *European Union Politics*, 2007



right-conservative parties, all mainstream political parties endorsed the Constitutional Treaty. However, opposition party supporters were bound to be divided on the issue. This study demonstrates that the ability of government parties to secure the support of their own constituencies was crucial in securing a majority in favour of EU Treaty ratification.

## Still national over transnational democracy?

**National constitutions have not merely responded to European integration in a defensive way; to some extent they have also been transformed to become more transnational in their content.**

The Europeanisation of national constitutions supplements and completes the unfinished process of constitutionalisation of the EU. But the ratification procedures in EU constitution-making conform more to a view of democracy as associated with the national level. Legitimacy derives from national processes of will formation, and states, not citizens, are part of a contractual order. Thus, ratification procedures are determined domestically and their democratic quality is assessed at the national level. Despite the involvement of citizens through referendums on the EU constitution, there is little evidence of more structured patterns of transnational discourse and deliberation.

### Read more

*The Lisbon Treaty and national constitutions*, Carlos Closa (ed.), RECON Report 9, 2009

RECON has set up a **Website on the Europeanisation of National Constitutions**, which offers a comprehensive overview of how national constitutions are adapting to the process of European integration (*see more on p. 39*).

## Lessons from other constitutional processes

**RECON has found interesting parallels between the EU and Canada, where the province of Quebec has refused to sign the Constitution Act 1982.**



Currently the important difference is that in Canada there is disagreement over *what kind* of constitution; whereas in the EU there is disagreement over whether the EU *should or could* develop a democratic constitution. Nevertheless, the EU and Canada followed the same pattern. First, a closed executive-led process failed to find agreement. Then there was an opening up to a broader and more democratic process, but also this failed. Finally, the process was again closed, but the outcome was either rejected or significantly downscaled in constitutional symbolic terms. The efforts to open the process took place within a framework of executive-led constitution making. These were complex and set up to harmonise the

needs and requirements of multiple constitutional *demoi*, or peoples.

These processes show that the EU and Canada, both of which have highly complex systems of rule can hardly rely on a stable agreed-upon constitutional framework. Instead, their viability depends on a set of procedures that ensure ongoing accommodation of difference and diversity in a manner consistent with democratic norms.

In the case of the EU constitution, there are weighty normative and empirical reasons for doubting that it will be sustainable, rather than defaulting to a traditional form of international cooperation, without securing the explicit consent of its citizens. In contrast, the Canadian polity has the democratic institutions to sustain a constitutional structure.

### Read more

'Constitutional patriotism', John Erik Fossum, in *Constituting communities*, Mouritsen/Jørgensen (eds), Palgrave Macmillan, 2007

'On democratizing European constitution-making', John Erik Fossum, *Supreme Court Law Review*, 2007

# A European representative democracy?

How novel, how stable, how coherent and how democratic are the European Union's representative institutions?

The EU is based on a compound form of representation. As the Lisbon Treaty puts it, 'citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament' whilst 'Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government and in the Council by their Governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments or their citizens'. On top of that, the Treaty also emphasises the role of political parties at the European level and of dialogue with representative associations and civil society.

Many arguments can be made for desiring a compound form of representation at the Union level, such as the sheer social complexity of the Union, the pluralism of political values affected by its decisions, and the importance of avoiding excessive concentrations of power in single institutions. Yet, *desirable* does not mean *possible*. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that combining different modes of representation will automatically add up to good representation. To the contrary, the lumping together of different approaches to representation may amount to little more than a fallacy of composition. The components of any one 'system of representation' may be individually desirable. Yet they may combine in unsatisfactory ways.

RECON has made several contributions to the investigation of compound forms of representation in the European arena. Through a *Democratic Audit of the EU* and the introduction of the concept of *multilevel parliamentary field*, RECON has also contributed to the development of new conceptual tools for analysis of this field.

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Tatjana Evas

## Selected findings

- The quality of the debates in the European Parliament compare favourably with those in national parliaments
- Informal party networks are important for interactions between parliaments at the European and national levels
- The behaviour of Members of the European Parliament affect their chances of re-election
- The diffusion of specialised European Union agencies testifies to changes in the Union's executive order and its relationship to political representation
- The representation of individuals and of whole democratic *peoples* (member states) in the European Parliament are best reconciled by decision rules that require double majorities



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Read more on the findings in the following pages

More details and publications from the research field 'Representation and Institutional Make-up', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:  
[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

## Measuring democratic qualities

**RECON has developed a framework for evaluating the democratic qualities of EU institutions, through a so-called *Democratic Audit of the European Union*.**

RECON has used democratic auditing – first developed by David Beetham and Stuart Weir – to develop a framework for evaluating how the elements of the Union’s compound form of representation interact to produce good representation. The EU Democratic Audit develops criteria for the assessment of the Union’s democratic performance by deriving generic tests from democratic theory and then operationalising these using the RECON models. The overall result is a series of tests that allows the Union’s democratic performance to be evaluated against three different models of how representative democracy should work beyond the state.

A **Democratic Audit Website** has been set up with the aim to provoke discussion about indicators and data sources which might be used to assess how democratic the EU is (*see more on p. 39*).

### Read more

‘A democratic audit framework’, Christopher Lord, in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), 2011

‘Some indicators of the democratic performance of the European Union and how they might relate to the RECON models’, Christopher Lord, *RECON Online Working Paper 2008/11*

## A redistribution of seats?

**RECON has participated in a study of the political equality of the apportionment of seats in the European Parliament (EP).**

The study examines the tension between the equal representation of each individual in the Union institutions and the equal representation of each member state, or democratic people. The conclusion is that the claims of both kinds of equality may be best reconciled by decision rules that require double majorities. The study also suggests a limited reapportionment of seats, which would offer an improved trade-off of the two principles.



### Read more

‘Unequal representation in the European Parliament’, Christopher Lord/Johannes Pollak, in *Strengthening democracy in the European Union*, Evas/Liebert/Lord (eds), Nomos, 2012



## Deliberations in the European Parliament

**The ‘quality’ of the European Parliament as a deliberative organ is good.**

The Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) deliberate in a supranational and multilingual setting. In spite of this challenge, findings from a study which applies the ‘discourse quality index’ to the EP suggest that the quality of the parliamentary debates compares well with that in national parliaments. Another study on the behaviour of MEPs finds that the level of activity in the EP affects their chances of re-election.

### Read more

‘The politics of justification?’, Christopher Lord/Dionysia Tamvaki, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011/03*

‘When quantity matters: Activity levels and re-election prospects of members of the EP’, Emmanuel Sigalas, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011/17*



## The interplay of two levels

**RECON has investigated how far the European Parliament and national parliaments have cooperated and adapted their practices and norms to one another. Informal party networks turn out to be important in this regard.**

European citizens are represented in their national parliaments, in so far as the latter control the decisions their governments take on EU issues in the Council. They are also represented directly in the EP, which increasingly serves as a co-legislator on a par with the Council. This challenges the traditional assumption that any given polity is to be represented by a single institution. Instead, democratic representation in the EU should be conceived as the result of the *interplay* of two representation channels: the national and the European.

RECON's research has expanded knowledge of informal contacts between parliaments at the two levels, and demonstrated the importance of informal party networks. Decision making in this EU 'multilevel parliamentary field' is of a highly consensus-oriented and inclusive character. The EP can play a leading role as a political clearinghouse. Differences in voting weights and formal institutions are of limited effect in the playing out of political relations. The ability of national parliaments to control the positions of their government representatives in the Council varies depending on the formal provisions in place and the public attention EU legislative proposals receive.

### Read more

'The multilevel parliamentary field', Ben Crum/John Erik Fossum, *European Political Science Review*, 2009

'Inter-parliamentary contacts of Members of the European Parliament', Eric Miklin/Ben Crum, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011/08*

### Read more

'The EU's many representative modes: Colliding? Cohering?', Christopher Lord/Johannes Pollak, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2010

'On political representation: myths and challenges', Johannes Pollak/Jozef Bátora/Monika Mokre/Emmanuel Sigalas/Peter Slominski, *RECON Online Working Paper 2009/03*

'Reconstituting political representation in the EU', Emmanuel Sigalas/Monika Mokre/Johannes Pollak/Jozef Bátora/Peter Slominski, *RECON Online Working Paper 2009/16*

## Complex representation

**The multiplication of structures and opportunities for representation in the EU results in dazzling complexity, which blurs accountability structures.**

The EU's compound form of representation allows a wide-ranging spectrum of actors to claim to be representative, resulting in a striking complexity. RECON has demonstrated that existing theories of political representation no longer provide an adequate framework in the modern political context. The emergence of new and powerful actors and fora, the increasing trend towards informalisation of decision making and the rising importance of expert committees significantly shape the hitherto nation-based systems of representation.

## Agency governance

**The delegation of policy-making tasks to EU agencies and their remarkable growth in number over the past 15 years mark a striking new development in the EU's institutional make-up.**

RECON researchers have collected a comprehensive dataset covering all currently operating EU-level agencies, providing information on their respective levels of formal institutional independence. Findings suggest that regulatory content and level of political uncertainty can to a certain extent explain agencies' relative independence. Research also reveals how the EP has responded to the rise of agencies by innovating new procedures of scrutiny and control.

### Read more

'Credibility, complexity and uncertainty', Arndt Wonka/Berthold Rittberger, *West European Politics*, 2010

'Agency governance in the European Union', Arndt Wonka/Berthold Rittberger (eds), *Journal of European Public Policy*, special issue, 2011

# Gender democracy

## Dream or reality for Europe?

Gender equality is an essential component of a just and democratic society. RECON therefore asks how Europe's democracy fares when it is put under the gender spotlight. By directing the research on gender politics in the EU to the critical area of democracy, RECON has explored an understudied field.

What is the status of gender equality and gender democracy within the enlarged European Union? Are there significant differences in the various regions of Europe? What level(s) of governance is (are) the most relevant for the rectification of injustice and elimination of gender inequality? What kind of policies should the EU pursue in order to sustain gender democracy at all levels?

RECON has examined the EU's approach to gender equality, central institutional arrangements, important policy outcomes, and member states' and EU-level democratic practices from a gender equality perspective. An original concept of gender democracy has been developed and utilised to describe in ideal terms what is required to effect a gender-equal, gender-sensitive democracy in which the perspectives, interests and representatives of women are fully included and recognised.

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## Selected findings

- **The European Parliament is a more gender-inclusive institution than the Council**
- **Gender equality arguments are often countered and overridden by those of business-oriented groups**
- **The transposition of an EU directive on gender equality often results in national politics overriding the EU dimension**
- **Conformity by member states to EU law on gender equality may be superficial**
- **The EU plays a general progressive role in the field of gender equality and anti-discrimination policies**
- **When a country moves beyond the minimum gender equality threshold set by the EU, the EU effect decreases and may even turn into a negative effect**
- **Encouraging the inclusion of women's civil society voices in the decision-making process would strengthen gender democracy in the EU**



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**Read more on the findings in the following pages**

More details and publications from the research field 'Gender, Justice and Democracy', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:  
[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

## The quality of democracy

**RECON has tested the state of EU democracy through a 'gender audit' of decision-making processes at both EU and member state levels.**

The democratic quality of EU decision-making processes on gender equality has been assessed from the development of a proposal for a directive in the European Commission to its implementation at the national level. This research interrogates a democratic decision-making process along three dimensions:

*Representation*: The issue in question is critically examined by qualified and affected members of the community; *Accountability*: The process takes place in a public site, typically a parliament; and *Responsiveness*: Appreciation for, and understanding of, the positions of the other participants are expressed by all.



### Read more

'Gender, justice and democracy in the European Union', Yvonne Galligan, in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

'Gender equality in the European Union', Sara Clavero/ Yvonne Galligan, *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/23*

'Assessing gender democracy in the EU', Yvonne Galligan/ Sara Clavero, *RECON Online Working Paper 2008/16*

In general, RECON finds that the representation of arguments for gender equality risks being excluded and/or marginalised when economic, labour and business interests take part in the debate. The accountability of participants for their positions was often weaker than expected both in terms of reason-giving to other participants and in terms of explanation of positions to supporters, members or constituents. Because of inadequacies in representation and accountability, in part shaped by political and institutional practices, responsiveness to gender injustice is patchy. A committed central authority (government, the Commission) can facilitate responsiveness, but only up to a point.

The process highlights both the potential and limits to gender democracy in practice. Importantly, though, it identifies areas that can be strengthened, in particular the inclusion of women's civil society voices in the democratic process.

## Improving EU decision-making

**Negotiation between the European Parliament and the Council can result in policy gains for gender democracy.**

RECON has compared the EU decision-making processes leading to two gender directives, the *Goods and Services Directive* and the *Recast Equality Directive*. Findings suggest that the European Parliament is a more gender-inclusive institution than the Council. From a gender point of view, the democratic quality of the EU's decision making is improved under the co-decision procedure, in which the directly elected European Parliament has to approve EU legislation together with the Council. But the impact of gender equality claims are often countered and overridden by the claims of business-oriented groups.

## Superficial conformity to EU law

**Democratic processes at national level are not found to serve female citizens and their claims well. Studies of national transpositions of the *Goods and Services Directive* show that the European agenda is often overridden by domestic national politics, and that there is a deep and systematic exclusion of women and women's interests from decision-making processes that directly affect them.**

In *Hungary* and *Poland*, decision making was marked by institutional buck-passing. Gender equality was of marginal interest to successive governments, yet the insurance industry's claims were taken seriously. This led to only a limited, legalistic transposition in line with the provisions.

*Austria's* corporatist political arrangements framed the issue in labour market terms, thus restricting its scope. A culture strongly dominated by male interests among corporatist partners resulted in little meaningful inclusion of women's groups and perspectives. The transposition was used as a means of introducing wide-ranging policy changes, which shifted the law in a conservative direction.

In *Spain*, the government also used the implementation of this Directive as a vehicle for other issues. A wide-ranging gender equality law was introduced addressing other issues, such as gender quotas for political representation. Although the outcome could be described as advancing gender equality, the process itself fell short in aspects of gender democracy since women's civil society spokespersons were only to some extent engaged in shaping the law.

The pattern of slow transposition of EU directives in *Greece* continued in this case. Institutional inertia led to a rushed process during which the government's gender equality office and others sought to extend the directive to cover the media and education. Women's civil society groups had little say in the formulation of the Act, which was pushed through to avoid proceedings in the European Court of Justice.

In *Lithuania* the transposition process was generally framed as a technocratic matter. Women's civil society groups were largely absent from relevant forums, which is probably an ongoing effect of at least three factors: a focus by women's groups on localised actions rather than on national lobbying; competition for project-led funds, from which gender equality issues were excluded; and limited awareness of the relevance of gender mainstreaming by relevant officials.

These studies show that national transposition of a European law is shaped by the cultural disposition towards gender equity issues and claims. Hence, conformity to EU law in this instance is largely superficial.



#### Read more

*Deliberative processes and gender democracy: Case studies from Europe*, Yvonne Galligan (ed.), RECON Report 16, 2011

## The EU's gender equality effect

**The EU plays a general progressive role in the field of gender equality and anti-discrimination policies. However, when a country moves beyond the minimum threshold, the EU effect decreases and may even turn into a negative effect.**

The country studies emphasise the EU's significance for the introduction of equality legislation and a state feminist apparatus in member states as a result of the principle of direct effect – EU directives and court decisions must be transposed into member state law – and other relevant mechanisms, from 'shaming and blaming' to deliberation and learning.

However, by leaving real equal opportunities legislation and policies to member states, the EU has only a *limited positive effect* on the level of radical reforms. The EU effect decreases by setting only a minimum equal treatment standard, as in the case of Spain. When a country moves beyond the minimum threshold, the EU effect may even turn into a negative one, as the cases of Greece and Hungary testify to. Spain and the EU-level perform better than the other cases studied. There are two main reasons for that: institutionalised access points where women's equality claims can be expressed alongside those of other interests, and a commitment to gender equality, and gender justice, as a norm among central political actors.

#### Additional research

'Gender justice in the EU', Cathrine Holst, *RECON Online Working Paper 2008/18*

'Gender identity in a democratic Europe', Nora Schleicher, *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/06*

'Equal pay and dilemmas of justice', Cathrine Holst, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011*

# Democratising the EU from below?

As a public sphere rooted in civil society is essential to democracy, it is important to investigate what kind of civil society and public sphere is emerging in Europe and how this contributes to the EU's democratic character and legitimacy. To shed light on this, RECON has asked the following questions: How is European democracy practiced? Why is it contested? To what extent is there communication across different types of public spheres?

In addition to the enlargement in 2004, adding ten countries mainly from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU, the union also experienced a deepening through treaty reforms in the following years. This offered new opportunities for studying the democratisation of the EU 'from below' and for taking a closer look on how the public engages with the EU. RECON has studied European election campaigns and how print media cover EU treaty reforms as well as parliamentary debates on EU treaty ratification. RECON has also examined the extent to which media debates contribute to increasing the contestation about European integration, EU politics and EU policy-making throughout Europe, and how 'Euroscepticism' is expressed in different forms across the continent.

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## Selected findings

- **Euroscepticism is forcefully amplified through media debates**
- **Citizens' disconnect from the EU is strengthened by EP election campaigns, which are dominated by *national* politics and interests**
- **Mass media not only inform readers about EU issues but also enable readers to evaluate the EU in democratic terms**
- **Civil society actors increasingly identify themselves as representatives of a 'European civil society', questioning decisions made at the European level**
- **Mainstream political parties do not oppose the European integration process itself, as radical parties do, but rather discuss how to mend the EU's democratic deficit**
- **Intellectuals tell very different stories about what defines Europe and what it means to be European**



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**Read more on the findings in the following pages**

More details and publications from the research field 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:  
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## Euroscepticism – a dominant voice in online media debates

**Citizens overwhelmingly oppose the current functioning of the EU and justify this criticism with concerns for democracy. Yet, it remains unclear how citizens' discontent could be alleviated.**

RECON has analysed Euroscepticism as an umbrella term that includes varieties of contestations of the EU as a political system or of the process of European integration. The contestation over the EU's legitimacy has been examined as this unfolded on popular mainstream news media websites, and independent political blogs in 12 member states and transnational websites during the European Parliament elections in 2009.

Findings show that EU elections were presented largely as a matter of *national* politics and interests. The national framing of EU issues reinforce the citizens' disconnect from the EU. At



### Read more

'Contesting EU legitimacy', Pieter de Wilde/Asimina Michailidou/Hans-Jörg Trenz, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2010/22

*Online Euroscepticism*, Pieter de Wilde/Asimina Michailidou/Hans-Jörg Trenz (eds), ECPR Press, 2012

the same time, online mass media facilitates public debate on the EU's legitimacy. Whereas most of the contributors to online debates agree that EU member states need to cooperate to solve common policy problems, the institutional design of the EU is heavily criticised. Some argue in favour of more integration to solve the current problems, whereas others see less integration as a solution. Moreover, RECON finds that citizens play a major role in debates on EU legitimacy, besides actors such as government officials, civil society and political parties. Citizens overwhelmingly oppose the current functioning of the EU and justify this criticism with concerns for democracy.

## Key actors strengthening democracy in the EU

**The increased politicisation of the EU - meaning that politics, policy making and the EU polity itself have become issues of public contention - has proved to be not the main cause, but rather part of the cure for the EU's ills.**

RECON researchers find that European and national parliaments, courts and public spheres are pivotal keys for the democratisation of European governance. National parliaments represent the national people, and they hold national governments to account for their EU policies, and link these to domestic will formation and legislation. National parliamentary debates also enhance the transparency of EU politics and policies, inform citizens about EU issues and help to form public opinion. Yet, further keys are required to strengthen EU democracy: The European Parliament, the European Court of Justice and transnational civil society expose and represent European public interests in decision making that otherwise remain behind closed doors.

Further studies show that the EU's democratic legitimacy is contested among political parties. Mainstream parties tend to contest the institutional set-up of the EU or its democratic deficit, whereas radical left- or right-wing parties are opposed to the European integration process itself.

### Read more

*Strengthening representative democracy in the European political union: Parliaments, courts and the public sphere*, Tatjana Evas, Ulrike Liebert, Christopher Lord (eds), Nomos, 2012.

'Between an intergovernmental and a polycentric European Union', Aleksandra Maatsch, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2010/18

'Civil society, public sphere and democracy in the EU', Ulrike Liebert in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

## Media contribute to EU democratisation

**RECON findings suggest that media have become a driving force of the democratisation of the EU by increasingly framing EU issues in democratic terms.**

Mass media give EU issues a prominent place on national public agendas and also promote communication across national borders. The media not only inform readers about EU issues, but crucially also provide the necessary interpretations that enable readers to evaluate issues, such as EU treaty reforms or elections, by established democratic practices or normative ideals. There is, however, considerable variation in the quantity and quality of news media coverage of EU issues across member states. This is due to the diverse national media structures and how these are connected to the national political systems and cultures.

### Read more

'Mass media and contested meanings', Ulrike Liebert/Hans-Jörg Trenz, *RSCAS Working Papers 2008/28*  
'Civil society, public sphere and democracy in the EU', Ulrike Liebert in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011



## A European civil society

**Social actors such as civic associations, NGOs, trade unions and stakeholders, increasingly identify themselves as representatives of a 'European civil society'.**

Findings suggest that these actors question EU decisions that do not comply with the universal criteria of justice, democracy and the rule of law, and that they favour a form of democracy that reaches beyond the nation state and encompasses global concerns. They support the European Commission and the allocation of decision-making power at the supranational level in areas such as social policy, anti-discrimination and environment.

### Read more

*The new politics of European civil society*, Ulrike Liebert/Hans-Jörg Trenz (eds), Routledge, 2010

## Intellectual ideas and European stories

**Public intellectuals tell very different stories about what defines Europe and what it means to be European.**

A comparative study focuses on the visions and interpretations of European integration proposed since the early 1990s by so-called public intellectuals; political philosophers, scholars, editors or writers, whose opinions continue to frame public attitudes. Four groups of countries were analysed: founders (Germany, France, Italy), joiners (Ireland, UK, Greece, Spain), returners (Poland, Romania, Czech Republic) and outliers (Norway, Turkey). Although the European stories are very different across these countries, common traits are visible when it comes to ideas of democracy, and they cluster around three visions of a democratic EU.

The first view criticises the EU by insisting that the nation state is the cradle of the modern democracy and welfare state, and that this cannot be reproduced at the EU level. Many prominent thinkers from Norway, the UK, France and the Czech Republic offer variants of this vision. The second 'supranational school', equates more Europe with progress and sees the building of a European federal state as the only way to rescue the achievements of the national welfare state. Among the many intellectuals who advocate such a view is Jürgen Habermas. The third 'transnational school' considers Europe as a laboratory of some kind of cosmopolitanism. According to this view, the EU is understood as some form of voluntary legal integration of free states based on regular and organised deliberation. The European polity should give birth to a confederation of states and peoples.

### Read more

*European stories: Intellectual debates on Europe in national contexts*, Justine Lacroix/Kalypso Nicolaïdis (eds), Oxford University Press, 2010

# Security beyond democracy?

What is the state of democracy within foreign and security policy? The EU's foreign and security policy is formally conducted through intergovernmental agreements. But are national governments really free to decide on all matters pertaining to foreign, security and defence policy?

Foreign and security policy is in many ways at the water's edge of democratic governance. It is within this issue area that executive dominance is the most pronounced, at both the EU and the national level. Foreign and security policy is the hard case for those expecting that the EU has moved beyond intergovernmental cooperation. The very nature of foreign and security policy is considered alien to supranationalism. Consequently, should the EU develop a robust foreign and security policy, this would be an important indicator of the EU developing into a polity in its own right.

But this does not resolve the democratic issue. It is difficult to find any principled arguments as to why this policy field should be exempt from democratic control. Although there may be good reasons in some cases to allow for secrecy, the definition of the kind of issues or situations this should apply to should be agreed upon through democratic procedures.

In order to answer these questions, RECON has analysed the institutions, policies and decision-making procedures within the field of foreign and security policy. Findings suggest that something that is beyond intergovernmentalism has developed at the EU level and requires legitimation. This cannot be ensured only through national procedures for accountability and authorisation.

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## Selected findings

- **Executive dominance in the EU's foreign, security and defence policy is on the rise**
- **Barriers between national and European levels of foreign policy making are eroded due to the institutionalisation of information exchange between the member states**
- **The establishment of the High Representative and the European External Action Service contributes to a fragmentation of national executive power in foreign and security policy**
- **Neither the European Parliament nor national parliaments are able to effectively control foreign, security and defence policy**
- **While public support for a common *foreign* policy is high, the desirability of a common *defence* policy is contested**
- **While a majority of Turkish elites agree on the desirability of EU membership, they do not share the same perception of the EU's global role**



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## Not so intergovernmental

**A Brussels-based machinery of foreign policy making has emerged. While representing national governments, actors and institutions such as the Political and Security Committee have considerable autonomy. This contributes to a fragmentation of national executives and makes it difficult to determine ‘who decides’.**

This creates problems for democratic control. Who should be held responsible, and to whom? Lines of authority and power may be further blurred due to the double hatting of the High Representative and the establishment of the European External Action Service.

While still formally in place, it is not uncommon to see the national veto sidestepped. Member states often opt to change their initial positions rather than become a lone obstacle to agreement on a particular issue.

EU foreign and security policy does not merely promote member states’ perspectives. It is shaped with reference to the interests and values of the Union itself. A re-constitutionalisation of foreign and security policy may be needed in order to clarify lines of authority and power.

### Read more

‘Playing into the hands of the Commission?’, Marianne Riddervold/Helene Sjursen, in *The influence of international institutions on the EU*, Costa/Jørgensen (eds), Palgrave, 2012

‘Not so intergovernmental after all?’, Helene Sjursen, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2011

‘Democratic challenges to the EU’s foreign and security policy’, Helene Sjursen, in *Re-thinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

‘A humanitarian common policy through deliberation? On the characteristics of EU foreign policy’, Marianne Riddervold, PhD thesis, ARENA Report, 2011

## Foreign policy communication

**The integration of the EU’s foreign and security policy is reinforced by the information exchange system COREU.**

The COREU network allows member states and EU institutions to exchange confidential information about foreign policy. Hence this system could be called a ‘community of practice’ which refers to a group of people who routinely get together on a common or similar enterprise with the aim of developing and sharing practical knowledge. In the EU, governments use the COREU network to find compromises and to reach common positions. Moreover and more importantly, RECON researchers have found that this network is not only used to share and exchange information, but also to make decisions. Inside this network the red lines of intergovernmentalism are crossed on a regular basis.

### Read more

‘The EU as a community of practice’, Federica Bicchì, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2011

‘The COREU/CORTESY network and the circulation of information within EU foreign policy’, Federica Bicchì/Caterina Carta, *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/01*

## Contesting a common defence

**Public opinion data show that general support for a common foreign policy is high. The desirability of a common defence policy is however much more contested.**

Member states are divided into two groups: supporters of a common defence policy (mainly the founding members, excluding Germany), and sceptics (especially Finland, Sweden, Denmark and the UK). The two groups disagree especially on whether there should be common EU decision-making in the defence realm, and whether the EU should establish common armed forces. There are however areas where a common EU security and defence policy would be acceptable even in generally sceptical countries: common EU efforts which are strictly focused on defending international law and human rights. Further, a comprehensive RECON study of media coverage of international conflict management in EU member states testifies to an increased awareness of the EU’s role in external security affairs.

### Read more

‘A divided Union?’, Dirk Peters, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011/19*

‘The perception of the EU as an emerging security actor in media debates on humanitarian and military interventions’, Cathleen Kantner/Amelie Kutter/Swantje Renfordt, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2012



## The limitations to parliamentary involvement

**RECON's research suggests that neither national parliaments nor the European Parliament alone is able to ensure effective democratic control of foreign, security and defence policies. Instead, inter-parliamentary cooperation may enhance parliamentary control.**

As the formal responsibility for security policy in the European Union has remained with the member states, national parliaments bear the main burden in ensuring parliamentary control. However, the effective exercise of this responsibility is hampered in two ways.

First, national parliaments differ considerably in their authority, ability and attitude towards scrutinising security and defence policy. Second, although national governments have retained a formal veto power, the integration of the armed forces and the Europeanisation of decision making have led to a democratic deficit in this area. This democratic deficit has not been compensated by the European Parliament, which has few formal competences, especially on military missions.

### Read more

'Parliamentary control of military missions', Dirk Peters/Wolfgang Wagner/Cosima Glahn, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2011/24

'Parliaments and European security policy', Dirk Peters/Wolfgang Wagner/Nicole Deitelhoff, *European Integration online Papers*, 14, 2010

'Decision-making void of democratic qualities?', Anne Elizabeth Stie, *European Integration online Papers*, 14, 2010

*Die demokratische Kontrolle internationalisierter Sicherheitspolitik*, Wolfgang Wagner, Nomos, 2011

'Can you keep a secret?', Guri Rosén, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2011/22



## Turkish parliamentarians' perceptions

**While a majority of Turkish elites agree on the desirability of membership in the EU, they do not share the same perception of the EU's global role.**

RECON researchers have analysed Turkish perceptions of the EU's foreign policy. An analysis of debates in the Turkish Parliament over the last decade identified four camps: the right-wing nationalists, Islamists, liberals and left-wing nationalists. The *Islamists* are mostly globalists and approach the EU and its foreign policy from a utilitarian angle. Their deliberations reflect a perception of the EU not yet acquiring a significant role in global politics because of its relative lack of power. Even though the goal of accession is there, the emphasis after 2007 is increasingly on the Turkish contribution to the EU as a global power. The *left-wing nationalists* reflect a different view of the EU as they perceive the EU as a normative power which diffuses norms and values to its periphery, and this is seen as its greatest strength in global politics. The *right-wing nationalists* see the EU and its foreign policy as a threat to Turkish interests and approach the EU with great scepticism.

However, after 2007 it is possible to perceive a greater degree of alienation from the EU in all the political camps. This is partly due to the accession negotiations losing its momentum, but also related to the ongoing crisis in the EU, which decreased the attractiveness of EU membership for the Turkish political elite as well as for the Turkish public.

### Read more

'The European Union's foreign policy: The perceptions of the Turkish parliamentarians', Meltem Müftüler-Baç/Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2011/23

# Nothing more political than economic policy

As the RECON project is coming to an end, the EU is in the middle of a severe economic crisis and the future of the Euro is uncertain. Socio-economic conditions of political communities are critical both for the national and the European levels, as we have seen unfolding in the past months. Hence understanding the nature of these conditions and what consequences the organisation of public finance has for the prospects for democracy in Europe has been a key research priority for RECON.

RECON has focused on the four economic freedoms and the fiscal and monetary constitutional principles, which underpin the *asymmetric* European monetary union. Various research topics have been analysed, but three policy areas have received special attention: tax policy, macro-economic policy and labour-law standards.

The transformation of national personal taxes as a result of European integration, and in particular economic integration, has been analysed. What are the consequences of this Europeanisation of the socio-economic system? Does the Europeanisation of markets imply the Europeanisation of communities of economic risk?

Fiscal policy is a crucial element of the stabilisation policy in a single currency area. However, in Europe most of the public spending is done by member states. Europe's high unemployment, low growth and increasing social and political tensions undermine the legitimacy of European integration. The implementation of the Cologne Process, outlining a common employment strategy, as well as the Lisbon Strategy – aiming to make Europe more dynamic and competitive – has largely been deemed a failure. By analysing this policy failure, RECON has devised strategies for improving the democratic legitimacy and efficiency of the governance of economic policies.

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## Selected findings

- Through the European Court of Justice case law, economic freedoms have been assigned primacy over socio-economic rights, reversing the post-war constitutional consensus in Europe
- Judge-led transformation of Community law has led to a Europeanisation of socio-economic policies
- The EU experiences an uneasy compromise between a formal preservation of national sovereignty in key fiscal policies and a substantive Europeanisation of national socio-economic orders
- The asymmetric coupling of a federal and depoliticised *monetary policy* with national *fiscal policies* is unsustainable over time, as the eurozone crisis testifies to
- The Europeanisation of economic and monetary policy has proceeded so far that also a Europeanisation of tax policy is necessary to sustain democracy
- There is no single European model of welfare regimes, although forces of globalisation and the process of open coordination encourage convergence across member states



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Read more on the findings in the following pages

More details and publications from the research field 'The Political Economy of the European Union', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:  
[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

## When the economy becomes political

**The European Monetary Union is asymmetric in the sense that it combines *federal and technocratic* monetary policy with formally *national and political* fiscal and wage policy. This unprecedented coupling has been matched by a series of governance arrangements which were supposed to ensure the coherence of monetary and fiscal policy.**

Current proposals for reforming the European monetary policy are based on a false diagnosis of the problem. One can argue that there is not *one* European crisis, but *five* crises (economic, financial, banking, sovereign-debt and constitutional) which overlap and reinforce each other.

Some factors have received insufficient attention when dealing with the origins of the financial crisis. The growth of fictitious capital was closely related to the long-term economic crisis of Western societies, to the falling rate of profits accelerated by the economics of turbulence unleashed by the fall of the Bretton Woods financial architecture and the reaching of the limits of the post-war model of economic growth. Similarly, the role played by both the economic and the financial crisis on the sovereign-debt crisis is not to be overlooked.



The resilience of the fiscal state of the four European PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain) was severely undermined by their embracement of growth through debt. The attempts to sort out these three crises have tested the constitutional law of both the EU and its member states, and have resulted in serious breaches both to the *rule of law* and to the commitments of the welfare state. As a consequence, the EU has entered a serious crisis. The European response to the crisis reflects the complex character of the European socio-economic structure. Within RECON four developmental paths have been discerned.

1. The non-standard open market operations of the European Central Bank (ECB) have pushed European integration in a federal direction, through an extension of the powers of a non-representative institution, and with the paradoxical result that the ECB has played the role of the interbank money market.
2. National decisions on the extension of guarantees, acquisition of assets and recapitalisation of banks point to a *renationalisation* of competences (critically corroborated by state aid conditions by the European Commission), which have been clothed in European garments.
3. The constitutional transformation regarding the institutionalisation of a European Monetary Fund and the creeping role of the ECB as an indirect lender of last resort point in a federal direction, but with highly problematic democratic implications.
4. The governance arrangements coupling fiscal and monetary policy, as well as those coupling the various national fiscal policies, are undergoing transformation. This process is underpinned by a contradictory aim of reinforcing the use of both hard law and governance mechanisms, as well as by the contradictory stance of consolidating the European Monetary Fund and increasing the sanctioning of non-compliant member states.

Fiscal policy cannot remain aloof of neither *efficiency* constraints, as this would require not following rules, nor *legitimacy* constraints, as fiscal decisions have fundamental political consequences.

### Read more

*The sinews of European peace*, Raul Letelier/Agustín J. Menéndez (eds), RECON Report 10, 2009

'The European crisis in ten points (and one mystical vision)', Agustín J. Menéndez, *RECON policy paper*, 2011

*Pour la République européenne*, Stefan Collignon (with Christian Paul), Odile Jacob, 2008



## EU responses to the crisis

**Financial integration is much deeper in a single currency area than between economies of different currencies. The risk of contagion in a financial run is, as seen lately, also much higher.**

The European Financial Stability Facility is a temporary *ad hoc* measure, providing financial assistance to eurozone states in economic difficulty. However, the monetary union will require a more permanent mechanism for ensuring that markets price the solvency risk of public debt and not liquidity defaults. An answer to these problems could be the provision of large-scale liquidity, rather than excessive budget consolidation. It is doubtful that the segregated national bond markets in Europe can provide the solution.

### Read more

'Fiscal policy rules and the sustainability of public debt in Europe', Stefan Collignon, *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/28*

## Integration by law

**Tax powers are often said to be the last refuge of national sovereignty, but this slogan does not withstand empirical testing.**

The creation of a single market has unleashed forces that dramatically reduce the discretion of national legislatures to decide on tax systems. The question is not *whether* to Europeanise taxes, but *how*: by judicial fiat or by political decision? The European Court of Justice (ECJ) has moved from total self-restraint on tax matters to a persistent review of the European constitutionality of national personal tax norms. It has systematically empowered transnational private actors, who are no longer fully subject to national tax systems. This has led to the erosion of national tax autonomy, and a convergence of tax systems towards the bottom. Even a potential renationalisation of tax powers presupposes a European framework through which political institutions could reclaim powers from private actors.

### Read more

'The unencumbered European taxpayer', Agustín J. Menéndez, in *The sinews of European peace*, RECON Report 10, 2009

## Free movement of workers

**ECJ rulings seriously affect the borders of welfare communities as well as the degree of solidarity expected by their members.**

This Europeanisation of economic risk communi-

ties is mirrored in a limited and imperfect Europeanisation of political communities, legislative competences and institutional set-up. As a consequence, the welfare communities are Europeanised by stealth. In the process, welfare systems have come to be assessed by reference to constitutional standards (the four economic freedoms), which have an internal logical structure very different from that of national welfare policies.

### Read more

'Free movement of persons', Flavia Carbonell, in *The sinews of European peace*, RECON Report 10, 2009

'European citizenship after Martínez Sala and Baumbast', Agustín J. Menéndez, in *The past and future of EU law*, Maduro/Azoulai (eds), Hart, 2010

## The costs of children

**Childcare in Europe remains largely carried out by mothers, despite recent efforts to share childcare more fairly within the family and with other actors.**

Some European countries have long invested heavily in public childcare services as a way to mitigate the gendered risks associated with long periods out of work. Others are newer on the scene and attempt to offer a wider set of care choices by subsidising a range of home-based, family-oriented or market-provided childcare options. Not all care choices are of equal importance in terms of reducing gender inequalities.

### Read more

*The costs of children*, David Mayes/Mark Thomson (eds), Edward Elgar, 2012

## Choice in health care

**RECON has studied ongoing reforms of European welfare states that aim at increasing 'choice' for patients, clients and beneficiaries.**

Cost-containment is a key consideration behind this development, but findings suggest that 'choice' is being promoted also for other reasons. 'Choice policies' tend to give rise to questions of labour market policy issues, both in terms of pressure on relatives to act as carers rather than taking part in the formal labour market, and in responding to the increasing demand for formal care in a home setting.

### Read more

'Provider "choice" and "competition" in European health systems', Joan Costa-i-Font/Valentina Zigante, *RECON Online Working Paper*, 2011



# A European identity?

Democratic legitimacy needs to be grounded in the collective will of the members of a political community. European integration has transformed the old Europe of independent nation states and the European Union has formally embraced democratic principles and procedures. However, it has not yet consolidated a democratic practice bringing forth citizens' trust and solidarity.

One might say that the search for democracy in the EU is connected to the search for an expression of the shared identity of the European people. To what extent does such a European identity exist? And if so, how can we see it? How does it affect identification with the nation state?

The aim of RECON in this research field is to understand and explain interrelations between collective identities, European integration and democracy. RECON investigates how collective identity is expressed and reshaped in the enlarged Europe. While the nation state has traditionally been the main frame of political reference to most Europeans, political processes are increasingly taking place within a European sphere. As a consequence, European integration influences individuals by altering their political frames of reference, and further, which political community individuals identify with. European integration thus challenges old concepts of collective identity, and also the kind of legitimacy on which a democratic order and political institutions can be built.

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## Selected findings

- **Collective identity should be understood as evolving through democratic processes, not as based on historically and culturally rooted identities**
- **European identification supplements and reshapes national identification**
- **Young Europeans exhibit a broad and inclusive identity which goes beyond national identity, indicating a move towards a European collective identity**
- **Structural and cultural changes in Central and Eastern Europe and in Turkey are closely related to values identified as 'European'**
- **As Turkey increasingly moves towards the EU's democracy standards, underlying anti-democratic tensions in domestic politics become visible**
- **NGOs contribute to reshaping collective identities and building a more inclusive and equal society**



*'I love Europe' by Diana Jung  
© European Commission 2010*



**Read more on the findings in the following pages**

More details and publications from the research field 'Identity Formation and Enlargement', including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at:

**[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)**

## Identity formation in Europe

**Collective identity evolves through democratic processes taking place in the public sphere, where the collective will of members of a European political community are expressed.**

Despite growing mobility and interaction between citizens in the EU, as well as political processes increasingly taking place at the European level, there is still no *European people*.

Collective identity has traditionally been understood as something that is based on historically and culturally rooted identities, such as national identities. In order to understand and explain collective identities beyond the nation state, RECON introduces a new conception of collective identity, arguing that democratic legitimacy is achievable despite the lack of a European people. Collective identity should be understood as arising through conversations and narratives about identification and belonging to a political community, undertaken in a European public sphere. Change in identity and belonging – identity transformation – may be seen as an open-ended process, where the outcome depends on the process. In a European public sphere identities may be reshaped, and the degree of attachment may be strengthened or weakened throughout the democratic processes.



### Read more

*Collective identity and democracy in enlarging Europe*, Magdalena Góra/Zdzisław Mach/Katarzyna Zielińska (eds), Peter Lang, 2011

*The nexus between democracy, collective identity formation and EU enlargement*, Petra Guasti/Jessie Hronesova/Zdenka Mansfeldova (eds), Institute of Sociology of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2011

'Situating the demos of European democracy', Magdalena Góra/Zdzisław Mach/Hans-Jörg Trenz, in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

## New generations find their way

**Young Europeans support a democratic order within the confines of the nation state. Yet they show signs of a broader, more inclusive identification and belonging to Europe as a whole.**

A study on identity patterns among students in Germany, Hungary and Poland reveals a strong identification with universal values, diversity, pluralism and peaceful solutions through democratic processes. Yet, the students' identity is affected by their university affiliations, access to unrestricted information via modern technology, desire to gain experience and explore the world, cross-border mobility and ever increasing contacts with people from various cultures, nationalities and backgrounds. This provides for the development of a broader, more inclusive sense of belonging. Young people in Europe are recreating their stories of belonging with European and universal identifications supplementing the national ones.

Further RECON studies on young urban dwellers in Poland find that they have generated new narratives about their identity. These challenge the traditional, nationality-based identity in Poland. This may be the beginning of a development towards a new, more fragmented and fluid Polish collective identity.

### Read more

*Identity and democracy in the new Europe: The next generation finds its way*, Olga Brzezińska/Erika Kurucz/Ulrike Liebert/Rosemarie Sackmann (eds), RECON Report, 2011

'Urbanity and identity after the accession of Poland to the EU', Marcin Galent/Paweł Kubicki in *Collective identity and democracy in enlarging Europe*, Góra/Mach/Zielińska (eds), Peter Lang, 2011

## Anti-democratic tensions in Turkey

**As Turkey moves towards meeting the EU's democracy standards, underlying anti-democratic tendencies and tensions in domestic politics, which might threaten the basis of individual rights and liberties, come to the fore.**

The unsettled relationship between Turkey and the EU provokes debate about the relationship between a *liberal* model of an open democratic society, based on Enlightenment values, and a *traditional* collectivist vision of the state, based on religious heritage and ethnic nationalism.

Europe as a concept and European institutions as actors create new frames for such debates. Struggles of modernisation versus tradition, and of preserving national sovereignty versus building an open European society and polity, come to the fore. A case study investigates the trade-offs between secularism and democracy, and the extent to which the EU's political conditions has made Islam more visible.

This tendency is also revealed in findings from research on women's rights in Turkey. This study indicates ambivalence in Islamist perspectives on women's rights. As Turkey moves closer to EU membership, tensions regarding gender equality become more visible. Whilst secularists of all ideological backgrounds agree with the European position in this matter, the Islamist perspectives are ambivalent regarding women's rights and sexuality in Turkey.



### Read more

'Turkey in cosmopolis? Turkish elite perceptions of the European project', Meltem Müftüler-Baç/Nora Fisher Onar, in *Collective identity and democracy in enlarging Europe*, Góra/ Mach/Zielińska (eds), Peter Lang, 2011

'The European Union and Turkey: Democracy, multiculturalism and European identity', Meltem Müftüler Baç, *RECON Online Working Paper 2011/20*

'Women's rights in Turkey as gauge of its European vocation', Meltem Müftüler-Baç/Nora Fisher Onar, *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/04*

## NGOs as change agents

**A study of NGOs in Poland finds that excluded groups, such as women and sexual minorities, turn to the EU in their quest for diversity and equality.**

The shared agenda of these NGOs is to make the Polish state and society more open to diversity, and to make the state more inclusive by guarantees of equality. When national NGOs experience limitations of state policies and funding that hinders their growth and cooperation, they turn to the EU and the European institutions to induce changes on Polish government. Findings reveal that NGOs find it easier to challenge national policies when they are supported by common European initiatives such as non-discrimination policies. Similarly, NGOs report that influencing social attitudes is much more difficult without the support of shared European social policies.

### Read more

*Extending the boundaries of civic membership: Polish NGOs as change agents*, Beata Czajkowska (ed), RECON Report 2011



# Beyond Europe

## Globalisation and/or democratisation?

In posing the foundational question of whether democracy is possible also beyond the nation state, RECON does not only address the EU as a confined political entity, but also as part of a globalised and increasingly interdependent world.

The world is largely integrated through a common economic legal system, and trade relations are mainly governed by the law of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). At the same time the EU is also a legally integrated economic system. In cases of conflict between these two legal systems, who has the last word? This is an unsettled issue that causes tensions which come to the fore as conflicts between economic interests and diverging policies. How does international trade law and policy affect the conditions of social regulation for constitutional democracies?

One of the issues RECON has examined in particular is the controversy on Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). This field has experienced an uneasy history with many reforms within the EU and with transnational conflicts under the WTO. GMO policies cannot be definitely settled by scientific expertise because of their politically sensitive, normative and ethical dimensions. So how and where should disagreements legitimately be settled? After all, the EU aspires to be a democratic organisation; this is reflected by its commitment to the principle of precaution. This is not easily compatible with the intergovernmental character of the WTO and its dedication to trade liberalisation.

RECON's third model of democracy envisions the EU as a regional-cosmopolitan vanguard. The implication is that supranational entities hold better prospects for cosmopolitanism (moral universalism with the individual as the ultimate unit of concern) than states. Is that the case? RECON has compared the EU with Canada in order to shed light on this question.

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## Selected findings

- **Labour law and social rights have been overridden by economic freedoms in recent judgements by the European Court of Justice**
- **Trade policies in the EU and at the international level have been ‘politicised’ and forced to respond to concerns such as environmental and social protection**
- **The ongoing European reform of the GMO regulatory framework is a positive step towards conflicts resolution through decentralisation and flexibility**
- **The state form can be as conducive to cosmopolitanism as can a supranational entity, in particular under multinational conditions**
- **Comparisons of the EU and Canada show that Canada’s failure to develop a common national sense of community and identity has compelled it to develop more inclusive (or cosmopolitan) conceptions of communal belonging**



**Read more on the findings in the following pages**

More details and publications from the research field ‘Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared’, including all RECON reports and working papers mentioned in the below, are available at: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

## Tensions between trade liberalisation, risk regulation and social protection

Is the institutional design of the EU, with its emphasis on economic freedoms and control of anti-competitive practices and policies, grinding its commitment to the social market economy? Is there space in WTO law, orientated towards trade liberalisation, for non-trade concerns?

### GMOs and animal cloning

RECON studies on the regulation of GMOs and on animal cloning have focused on 'uncertain' risks to health and the environment. Findings suggest that the ongoing European reform of the GMO regulatory framework is a positive step towards conflicts resolution through decentralisation and flexibility.

Analyses have focused on the EU's precautionary principle and the impact of WTO law on European practices. The ongoing European reform efforts, which aim at granting the member states more autonomy on GMO cultivation, raise serious questions of EU and WTO trade law compatibility. However, they may also help resolve the current deadlocked situation in EU authorisations of GMOs.



As for animal cloning, this is a politically sensitive field and the legal competence of the EU to regulate is not clearly established. Europe's trade partners are closely monitoring EU policy developments, as they are getting ready for exporting products from cloned animals. Trade-restrictive EU regulations would thus represent a potential for new international trade disputes in the WTO.

The studies suggest that the EU should coordinate its preferences with the regulatory authorities of its main trade partner, the US. The ongoing reform of the GMO regulatory framework is a positive step which promises to be of more general exemplary importance.

### European regulatory policies and WTO law

**Within the internal market, but also at the international level, trade policies have to respond to non-trade concerns such as quests for environmental and social protection. This 'politicisation' of trade has generated sophisticated regulatory patterns at all levels of governance.**

Several RECON publications show that stronger global governance can be a chance for the EU to clarify its own *raison d'être* to the wider world. At the same time, the design of the European project is challenged by more assertive global structures, which constrain the EU's decisional autonomy. The conflict constellations generated by globalisation and Europeanisation need to



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#### Read more

'Applying precaution in community authorisation of GMOs', Maria Weimer, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2009/14

'Policy choice versus science in regulating animal cloning under the WTO law', Maria Weimer, *RECON Online Working Paper* 2010/29

'Judicialization and transnational governance', Christian Joerges, in *The law/politics distinction in contemporary public law adjudication*, Bogdan (ed.) Eleven International, 2009

#### Read more

*Transnational standards of social protection*, Christian Joerges and Poul Kjaer (eds), RECON Report 4, 2008

*Constitutionalism, multilevel trade governance and international economic law*, Christian Joerges/Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann (eds), Hart, 2nd edition, 2011

*Karl Polanyi, globalisation and the potential of law in transnational markets*, Christian Joerges/Josef Falke (eds), Hart, 2011

'A hybrid within a hybrid', Poul Kjaer, *European Journal of Risk Regulation*, 2010

be resolved within regulatory patterns which provide for the cooperation of expert communities and the inclusion of non-governmental actors in the resolution of regulatory problems and the implementation of regulatory policies.

## Social protection trumped by market economy

**Recent labour-law jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) was confronted with conflicts between the collective labour law of ‘old Europe’ and the claims of the new member states to open access for labour and service providers. The ECJ’s resort to European economic freedoms has provoked wide criticism.**

Findings from RECON studies on the tensions between trade liberalisation and social protection suggest that the ECJ’s jurisprudence is a step towards the ‘hard law’ of negative integration. The search for fair compromises is underway, but it is not very likely that Europe’s market economy is corrected through ‘social market economy’, ‘social rights’ and the soft means of the Open Method of Coordination.

### Read more

*Human rights and transnational corporations*, Claire O’Brien, Hart, 2012

‘On the “social deficit” of the European integration project and the ECJ judgments in *Viking* and *Laval*’, Christian Joerges/Florian Rödl, *RECON Online Working Paper 2008/06*

‘The *Rechtsstaat* and social Europe’, Christian Joerges, *Comparative Sociology*, 2010

## Legal conceptualisation

**RECON has examined the legal conceptualisation of European and transnational governance. This has generated the ‘idea of a three-dimension conflicts law as constitutional form’.**

The objective is to present a new type of non-state legal framework with democratic credentials, which reflects the specifics of the postnational constellation and has the potential to orient the legal assessment of European and transnational conflict configurations. RECON researchers have contrasted this theory with sociological and political theories of global governance. Further exemplary studies examine constitutional conflicts, the generation of transnational human rights frameworks, transnational air-space security, and strategies to combat global poverty.

### Read more

*Conflict of laws and laws of conflict in Europe and beyond*, Rainer Nickel (ed.), Intersentia, 2010

*After globalisation*, Christian Joerges (ed.) in cooperation with Tommi Ralli, RECON Report 15, 2011

‘A new type of conflicts law as constitutional form in the postnational constellation’, Christian Joerges/Poul Kjaer/Tommi Ralli (eds), *Transnational Legal Theory*, special issue, 2011

*Jürgen Habermas, Volumes I and II*, Christian Joerges/Camil Ungureanu/Klaus Günther (eds), Ashgate, 2011

## Cosmopolitanism in the EU and beyond

**Can cosmopolitanism contribute to set the historical record straight, to supplement and revise the dominant *national* account of history, the story of life as one lived within a world of distinct nation states?**

This need is given impetus from the manner in which globalisation reconfigures economic, social, cultural, and political structures. Does the EU qualify as a cosmopolitan vanguard? To establish that it is necessary not only to consider how cosmopolitan the EU is, but also to make clear whether the EU is more suitable for cosmopolitanism, or better able to promote it, than other types of political or social entities such as global institutions, an increasingly globalised civil society, and states. But might also states serve as cosmopolitan vanguards? If so, what features of states would make them cosmopolitan forerunners? A comparison of the EU and Canada shows that Canada forms an alternative path to cosmopolitan democracy, and that the (hierarchical) state form, in particular when it is reconfigured along post-national or even multinational lines, is conducive to cosmopolitanism.

### Read more

‘Cosmopolitanism in Europe and beyond’, John Erik Fossum, in *Rethinking democracy and the European Union*, Eriksen/Fossum (eds), Routledge, 2011

‘Review essay: A cosmopolitan constellation?’, John Erik Fossum, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2011

‘A state-less vanguard for a rightful world order’, Erik O. Eriksen, in *Political theory of the European Union*, Neyer/Wiener (eds), Oxford University Press, 2011

# RECON publications

RECON's research is published in a large number of books, special issues of academic journals, book chapters and journal articles, in addition to the project's own publication series presented below.



## Publications database

RECON's publications database includes working papers and reports, journal articles, books and other publications, as well as workshop and conference papers by affiliated researchers. All publications in the RECON working paper and report series are also included.

A search engine at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu) allows you to search all the 1,200 publications and presentations currently in the database. A list of publications and activities is also available for each researcher and for each research field.



## RECON Online Working Paper Series

The RECON Online Working Paper Series publishes manuscripts from scholars involved in the project, but also from other researchers working within the fields covered by RECON. The focus of the series is on the study of democracy within the multilevel configuration that makes up the EU.

The papers are available in electronic format at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

The series includes 111 papers to date, and more papers will be published as the project comes to an end.



## RECON Report Series

The RECON Report Series is part of the established ARENA Report Series, and publishes collections of papers, such as conference and workshop proceedings, or longer studies or theses.

The reports can be downloaded in electronic format at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu), but can also be ordered in print at [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu)

The series includes 15 reports to date, and more reports will be published as the project comes to an end.



## RECON Newsletter

Updates on research findings and publications, comprehensive reports from conferences and other events, as well as other news from the project, have been presented in RECON's newsletter with 2-3 issues per year.

All newsletters are available in electronic and print versions, and can be accessed at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu) or ordered at [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu)



# RECON websites

RECON's website [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu) offers a comprehensive overview of research activities, publications, events and news from the project, including:

- 60 conferences staged by the project
- A searchable database with 1,200 publications and presentations by all affiliated researchers
- RECON's Press Room with policy memos, brochures, leaflets and newsletters, as well as a collection of press clippings and media coverage



Two specialist websites have also been launched within RECON, one on the European Union Democratic Audit, and the second on national constitutional adaptations to European integration:

## EU Democratic Audit Website

The European Union Democratic Audit Website has been set up with the aim to provoke discussion about indicators and data sources which might be used to assess how democratic the EU is.

The website is located at Christopher Lord's personal profile on the website of ARENA – Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo (RECON coordinator) at: [www.arena.uio.no](http://www.arena.uio.no)

<http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/people/aca/chrilor/democratic-audit/>

*The website has been developed as part of WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up*

## Website on the Europeanisation of National Constitutions

This website offers a comprehensive overview of how national constitutions are adapting to the process of European integration.

Information is provided on all member states, candidate countries and potential candidate countries, with extensive information on the constitution of each country.

The website lists constitutional provisions concerning the EU, international treaties, constitutional reforms and referendums. It includes a total of 150 parliamentary debates, reports from constitutional committees and speeches from the ratification period of each EU Treaty. Moreover, documentation on national judicial decisions on EU treaties and EU legislation is provided. The website also contains a comprehensive selected bibliography.

The website is a useful tool for practitioners, policy makers, political actors, interest groups, informed readers, journalists and students interested in EU constitutionalism.

<http://proyectos.cchs.csic.es/europeconstitution/>

*Part of WP 2 – The Constitutionalisation of the EU, the Europeanisation of National Constitutions, and Constitutionalism Compared*



## Project coordination

[www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

November 2011

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## RECON partners



**University of Oslo (coordinator)**  
ARENA - Centre for European Studies



**Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna**  
Institute for European Integration Research (EIF)



**Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest**  
Institute of Sociology



**European University Institute**  
Department of Law



**Freie Universität Berlin**  
Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science



**Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic**  
Institute of Sociology



**Jagiellonian University, Krakow**  
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**Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt**  
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**London School of Economics and Political Science**  
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**Queen's University Belfast**  
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**Sabanci University, Istanbul**  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences



**Spanish National Research Council, Madrid**  
Institute of Public Goods and Policies (IPP)



**Université Libre de Bruxelles**  
Institute for European Studies



**University of Auckland**  
Europe Institute



**University of Bremen**  
Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS)  
Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP)



**University of León**  
Department of Basic Public Law



**University of Mannheim (affiliated partner)**  
Mannheim Center for European Social Research



**University of Reading**  
School of Sociology, Politics and International Relations



**VU University Amsterdam**  
Department of Political Science



**University of Hamburg**  
Institute for Political Science

## List of RECON's dissemination activities

Date	Type	Partner
5 January 2007	Launch of RECON website: <a href="http://www.reconproject.eu">www.reconproject.eu</a>	ARENA
16-17 January 2007	'Social construction of other people's culture – reconstruction of identity after migration', Zdzisław Mach, paper presented at the international conference 'The Other – the Friend or the Enemy', Tischner European University, Krakow, Poland	JUK
17 January 2007	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 1/2007</a>	ARENA
January 2007	RECON Report No. 1: ' <a href="#">Altiero Spinelli: From Ventotene to the European Constitution</a> ', Agustín J. Menéndez (ed.), ARENA Report 1/07	ULEON/ ARENA
22-26 January 2007	'Citizen activism in Europe', Paul Magnette, lecture series at Boston University (22 January), City University of New York (24 January), Catholic University of America, Washington (26 January), USA	ULB
24 January 2007	'Hva er feminisme?' [What is feminism?], Cathrine Holst, seminar 'Prosalong', Fritt Ord, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
25 January 2007	' <a href="#">Er demokrati mulig i dag?</a> ' [Is democracy possible today?], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Vox Publica</i> (electronic journal on democracy and the freedom of speech, issued by the Department of Information Science and Media Studies at the University of Bergen, Norway)	ARENA
26 January 2007	' <a href="#">Er demokrati mulig i dag?</a> ' [Is democracy possible today?], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Dagbladet</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> largest Norwegian newspaper)	ARENA
26 January 2007	' <a href="#">De skal løse demokratigåten</a> ' [They will solve the puzzle of democracy], article on RECON in Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> , Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
26-27 January 2007	<a href="#">RECON kick-off conference</a> , Oslo, Norway	ARENA
29 January 2007	Participation by Helene Sjursen in working session organised by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with its project 'Refleks – Norwegian interests in a globalised world', which is to provide background for a parliamentary report revising Norwegian foreign policy, Lysebu, Norway	ARENA
January 2007	'Die Außenpolitik der Europäischen Union', Wolfgang Wagner, in <i>Handbuch zur deutschen Außenpolitik</i> , edited by G. Hellmann/S. Schmidt/R. Wolf, VS Verlag	PRIF
6 February 2007	'La France et la crise constitutionnelle européenne', Paul Magnette, talk at a roundtable on France and the European crisis, Fondation pour l'innovation politique et Confrontations Europe, Brussels, Belgium	ULB
6-7 February 2007	'Parliamentary control of ESDP – how to strengthen accountability?', Wolfgang Wagner, speech at <a href="#">Berlin Conference on European Security and Defence Policy</a> , fourth sitting: 'ESDP: The role of parliamentarians: Supporting and guiding the action of European governments in the area of ESDP', Assembly of the WEU / Interparliamentary Security and Defence Assembly, German Bundestag, Berlin, Germany	PRIF
9-10 February 2007	'Good Governance in der internationalen Handelspolitik. Macht, Recht und Deliberation in der WTO', Ulrike Ehling/Jürgen Neyer, paper presented at the workshop 'Gutes Regieren durch Deliberation und Entscheidungsverfahren', Bamberg, Germany	FUB
11 February 2007	'Demokratiet som forsvant' [The democracy that disappeared], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Dagbladet</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> largest Norwegian newspaper)	ARENA
17 February 2007	'On the prospects for a viable constitutional patriotism in complex multinational entities: Canada and the EU compared', John Erik	ARENA

	Fossum, paper presented at the 28 <sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Canadian Studies Association in German speaking countries: 'Canada's Constitutions: Rights, Identities, Cultures', Grainau, Germany	
22 February 2007	'Po co Europejczykom i Polakom Konstytucja Europejska?' (Why Europeans and Poles need a European Constitution?), Zdzisław Mach, lecture at the Jagiellonian Club Professors Meeting, Krakow, Poland	JUK
27 February 2007	'EU-utvidelse og demokratiske reformer', [ <i>EU enlargement and democratic reforms</i> ], Erik O. Eriksen, presentation at the Norwegian National Defence College, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
February 2007	'European Constitutionalism in the State Constitutional Tradition', Neil Walker, in <i>Current Legal Problems 2006 Volume 59</i> , edited by Jan Holder/Colm O'Cinneide, Oxford University Press	EUI
February 2007	'Europarecht als ein Kollisionsrecht neuen Typs: Wie eine europäische unitas in pluralitate verfasst werden kann', Christian Joerges, in <i>Umweltrecht und Umweltwissenschaft. Festschrift für Eckard Reh binder</i> , edited by M. Führ/R. Wahl/P. von Wilmowsky, Erich Schmidt Verlag	EUI
February 2007	'Constructing Identities in a Post-Communist Society: Ethnic, National, and European', Zdzisław Mach, in <i>Identity and Networks: Fashioning Gender and Ethnicity Across Cultures</i> , edited by D. F. Bryceson/J. Okely/J. Webber, Berghahn Books	JUK
February 2007	' <a href="#">Faut-il un peuple européen?</a> ', Justine Lacroix, in <i>L'Etat des citoyennetés en Europe et dans les Amériques</i> , edited by Jane Jenson, Bérengère Marques-Pereira and Eric Remacle, Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal	ULB
Winter 2007	' <a href="#">Democratising Europe</a> ', Stefan Collignon, <i>Social Europe - the journal of the European left</i> , Vol. 2, No. 3	LSE
3 March 2007	'Public debates on humanitarian and military interventions in Europe and the U.S. (1990-2005)', Cathleen Kantner/Swantje Renfordt, presentation at the 48 <sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention 'Politics, Policy and Responsible Scholarship', Chicago, USA	FUB
7 March 2007	'L'espace public européen', Paul Magnette, paper presented to a conference on the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rome Treaties, Institute d'Études Politiques (IEP), Grenoble, France	ULB
8 March 2007	'Kjønn i akademia', Cathrine Holst, presentation at a seminar on gender in academia ['Kjønn i akademia'], University of Bergen, Norway	ARENA
9 March 2007	RECON WP 9 Workshop: 'Re-framing Transnational Governance', European University Institute, Florence, Italy	EUI
15 March 2007	'Re-constitutionalising transnational governance through conflict of laws: The example of international trade – an outline', Christian Joerges, keynote speech at the conference 'The New International Law', Oslo, Norway	EUI
16 March 2007	'Why compare the European Union with Canada?', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the conference 'Thirty Years of Transatlantic Partnership Canada, Québec European Union', Brussels, Belgium	ARENA
21 March 2007	'The democratic deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy – Why Bother?', Wolfgang Wagner, lecture at the Institute of European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, USA	PRIF
22 March 2007	'Heritage, remembering and forgetting – the case of German culture in Poland', Zdzisław Mach, lecture at Lund University, Sweden	JUK
24 March 2007	'European integration, European identity and the role of the nation'	JUK

	state in the uniting Europe', Zdzisław Mach, paper presented at the conference 'Regionalne obchody 50 rocznicy podpisania Traktatów Rzymskich' (Regional celebration of the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rome Treaties), Institute of Strategic Studies/Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland	
26-27 March 2007	'Judicialization and transnational governance: The example of WTO law and the GMO dispute', Christian Joerges, contribution to the conference on 'The Law/Politics Distinction in Contemporary Public Law Adjudication', New Europe College, Bucharest, Romania	EUI
27 March 2007	'National image setting: Tourism, promotion' and 'Polish, Hungarian and European identity', Paweł Kubicki, papers presented at the Polish-Hungarian V4 Conference, Centre of European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland	JUK
29 March 2007	'Issues, methods and outcomes of ethnological studies on cultural diversity in Poland (with a special emphasis on the memory of Jewish communities and intercultural communication)', Paweł Kubicki/Marcin Galent, presentation at the workshop 'Cultural Diversity in Central European Urban Spaces', organised by the Ethnic and Minority Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (ENMRI-HAS) and supported by the Visegrad Fund, Budapest, Hungary	JUK
March 2007	'The Three Sources of Legitimacy for European Fiscal Policy', Stefan Collignon, <i>International Political Science Review</i> , Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 155-84	LSE
March 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/01: 'Europe in Transformation: How to Reconstitute Democracy?'</i> , Erik O. Eriksen/John Erik Fossum	ARENA
March 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/02: 'Democratizing the Transnational Polity. The European Union and the Presuppositions of Democracy'</i> , James Bohman	ARENA
March 2007	'Challenges and Perspectives of the EU Political System', Grzegorz Pożarlik, lecture series on topics such as: Deliberative democracy as a way of legitimation of the EU political system; EU institutional reform 2007 and beyond; a view from the new Europe; European public sphere in the context of constitutional debate, Double Degree in European Studies MA Programme, University of Vienna, Austria	JUK
12-14 April 2007	'Europeanization from below: Civil society monitoring the progress of Bulgaria's preparedness for accession into the EU', Svetlozar Andreev, presentation at the SAIS – Johns Hopkins University conference 'Becoming Good Europeans? The New Member States in the European Union', Washington DC, USA	CEPC
13 April 2007	'Enlargement in perspective: The EU's quest for identity', Helene Sjursen, presentation at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway	ARENA
18 April 2007	'Les discours de réaction à l'intégration européenne', Justine Lacroix, presentation at the Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
18 April 2007	'Sur la crise du projet politique européen', Paul Magnette, talk at a conference on the 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rome Treaties, Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
27-29 April 2007	'Europeanisation of public communication: The question of standards', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the conference 'The Communicative Construction of Transnational Political Spaces and Times', Bielefeld, Germany	ARENA
29 April 2007	'L'élitisme du modèle européen dans la pensée politique', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at the 1 <sup>st</sup> Annual Conference of the European studies section of the French Association of Political	ULB



	Science (AFSP): 'Une Europe des elites?', Sciences Po Bordeaux, France	
April 2007	'Europeanisation of public communication: The question of standards', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the workshop 'Research on the European Public Sphere', Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria	ARENA
April 2007	'Reconceptualizing European law's supremacy: A plea for a supranational conflict of laws', Christian Joerges, in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	EUI
April 2007	'Discussing the normative foundations of democratic governance', Paul Magnette, in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	ULB
April 2007	'Prerequisites of transnational democracy and mechanisms for sustaining it: The case of the European Union', Klaus Eder/Hans-Jörg Trenz, in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/ Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	ARENA
April 2007	'Parliamentary representation in a decentered polity', Christopher Lord in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	UoR
April 2007	'The euro-polity in perspective: Some normative lessons from deliberative democracy', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	JWGU
April 2007	'A Comment on Schmalz-Bruns', Erik O. Eriksen, in <i>Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union</i> , edited by Beate Kohler-Koch/ Berthold Rittberger, Rowman and Littlefield	ARENA
April 2007	<i>RECON Report No. 2: 'The interpretative Moment of European Journalism: The impact of Media Voice in the ratification process'</i> , Hans-Jörg Trenz/Maximilian Conrad/Guri Rosén, ARENA Report 3/07	ARENA
April 2007	'Deliberation und demokratische Legitimität in der EU - Zwischen Konsens und Kompromiss', Erik O. Eriksen, in <i>Anarchie der kommunikative Freiheit: Jürgen Habermas und die Theorie der internationalen Politik</i> , edited by Peter Niesen/Benjamin Herborth, Surhkamp	ARENA
April 2007	'Global Governance und kommunikatives Handeln', Thomas Risse, in <i>Anarchie der kommunikative Freiheit: Jürgen Habermas und die Theorie der internationalen Politik</i> , edited by Peter Niesen/Benjamin Herborth, Surhkamp	FUB
April 2007	'Dialektik der Moral. Grundlagen einer Diskurstheorie transnationaler Gerechtigkeit', Rainer Forst, in <i>Anarchie der kommunikative Freiheit: Jürgen Habermas und die Theorie der internationalen Politik</i> , edited by Peter Niesen/Benjamin Herborth, Surhkamp	JWGU
April 2007	'An den Grenzen der Entstaatlichung. Bemerkungen zu Jürgen Habermas' Modell einer "Weltinnenpolitik ohne Weltregierung"', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, in <i>Anarchie der kommunikative Freiheit: Jürgen Habermas und die Theorie der internationalen Politik</i> , edited by Peter Niesen/Benjamin Herborth, Surhkamp	JWGU
April 2007	'European citizenship and new forms of democracy', Carlos Closa, in <i>Genesis and destiny of the European Constitution/Genèse et destinée de la Constitution européenne</i> , edited by Giuliano Amato, Hervé Bribosia and Bruno de Witte, Bruylant	CEPC

April 2007	'After finalité': The future of the European Constitution idea', Neil Walker, in <i>Genesis and destiny of the European Constitution/Genèse et destinée de la Constitution européenne</i> , edited by Giuliano Amato, Hervé Bribosia and Bruno de Witte, Bruylant	EUI
April 2007	'Vers un changement de "régime politique"?', Paul Marnette, in <i>Genesis and destiny of the European Constitution/Genèse et destinée de la Constitution européenne</i> , edited by Giuliano Amato, Hervé Bribosia and Bruno de Witte, Bruylant	ULB
April 2007	'The socio-economic model of the European Union: Stuck with the status quo?', Julio Baquero Cruz, in <i>Genesis and destiny of the European Constitution/Genèse et destinée de la Constitution européenne</i> , edited by Giuliano Amato, Hervé Bribosia and Bruno de Witte, Bruylant	CEPC
April 2007	'European democracy between two ages', Paul Marnette, in <i>Fundamentals of EU Law Revisited</i> , edited by Catherine Barnard, Oxford University Press	ULB
April 2007	'Social models in Europe', Stefan Collignon, <i>Eurointelligence</i>	LSE
April 2007	'What is left of the European economic constitution?', Christian Joerges, in <i>The European Union as a Model for the Development of Mercosur?</i> , edited by W. Matiaske/Hauke Brunkhorst/G. Gröninger/M. Neves, Rainer Hampp	EUI
Spring 2007	'The Legacy of the Maastricht-Urteil and the Pluralist Movement', Julio Baquero Cruz, <i>EUI Working Paper</i> , RSCAS 2007/13	CEPC
Spring 2007	'Party stances in the referendums on the EU Constitution: Causes and consequences of competition and collusion', Ben Crum, <i>European Union Politics</i> , Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 61-82	VUA
Spring 2007	'Does Culture and identity play a role? The Turkish accession to the EU', Evrim Taskin/Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <i>Ankara Review of European Studies</i> , Vol. 6, No.2, pp. 31-50	SABU
3 May 2007	'Turkey's accession to the EU: Implications for the European integration process', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at a seminar, Barcelona Institute for International Studies (IBEI), Barcelona, Spain	SABU
3 May 2007	'Deliberation and the problem of epistocratic legitimation', Erik O. Eriksen, paper presented at the workshop 'Deliberation and Democratic Governance', Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research (SCORE), Sweden	ARENA
8 May 2007	<a href="#">RECON leaflet</a>	ARENA
9 May 2007	'Unitas in pluralitate: Das Kollisionsrecht als Form der Konstitutionalisierung Europas', Christian Joerges, lecture at the University of Bayreuth, Germany	EUI
7-12 May 2007	'Women's substantive representation in the multi-level euro polity: Towards a framework for analysis', Yvonne Galligan/Sara Clavero, paper presented at ECPR joint sessions of workshops, University of Helsinki, Finland	QUB
11-12 May 2007	'Turkey and the European Union: Political Costs and Conditionality', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at the Conference 'The end of the democratic movement', Sciences Po and Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris, France	SABU
14 May 2007	'How the EU Could solve its constitutional crisis?', Paul Marnette, paper presented at the Garnet Travelling Seminar, Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
15 May 2007	'L'Europe en crise de légitimité', Paul Marnette, presentation at the symposium 'Convergence of European Democracies in the EU', UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium	ULB

16 May 2007	'Euroscepticism in French political thought', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	ULB
17 May 2007	'What can the EU learn from Canada?', John Erik Fossum, participant in roundtable discussion, Panel Session 3J, EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	ARENA
17 May 2007	'Why there is (also) no domestic public opinion on Europe: Three case-studies from The Netherlands', Ben Crum/Saskia Hollander/Stijn van Kessel, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	VUA
18 May 2007	'The democratic deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy – why bother?', Wolfgang Wagner, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	PRIF
19 May 2007	'The unfinished democratization of Europe', Erik O. Eriksen, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	ARENA
19 May 2007	'Reconstituting democracy in the EU', Erik O. Eriksen/John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	ARENA
19 May 2007	'Connecting national and supranational democracy: Lessons from the making of the EU Constitutional Treaty', Ben Crum, paper presented at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	VUA
19 May 2007	'Reconstituting Democracy in the EU', John Erik Fossum, Chair of Panel Session 10D at the EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference, Montreal, Canada	ARENA
17-19 May 2007	RECON WP 5 workshop: 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: New Approaches to Civil Society and the Public Sphere', Delmenhorst, Germany	UniHB/ ARENA
21 May 2007	Participation by Helene Sjursen in panel debate, 'Europakonferansen 2007 – Norge og EU på den internasjonale arena' [the Norwegian Foreign Ministry's annual conference on Europe, 'Norway and the EU at the international arena], Hotel Bristol, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
21-22 May 2007	'Civil society: Between participation, representation and discourse', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the CINEFOGO expert seminar on Social Movements and Civil Society, Trento, Italy	ARENA
24-26 May 2007	Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, presentation at the international conference 'Globale Gerechtigkeit und Demokratie', Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt, Germany	JWGU
25 May 2007	<i>Bundesrepublik Europa? Die demokratische Herausforderung und Europas Krise. Mit einem Vorwort von Kurt Beck</i> , Stefan Collignon, Vorwärts Buch	EUI
25 May 2007	'Adieu to constitutional elitism?', John Erik Fossum, presentation at the conference 'A Living Tree: The Legacy of 1982 in Canada's Political Evolution', Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada	ARENA
28 May 2007	'Czy społeczności lokalne się europeizują?' [Do local communities undergo Europeanisation?], Zdzisław Mach/Dariusz Niedźwiedzki, paper presented at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Science, Warszawa, Poland	JUK
31 May 2007	'On the prospects for a viable constitutional patriotism in complex multinational entities: Canada and the European Union compared', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference, Saskatoon, Canada	ARENA

31 May 2007	'European Public Sphere: East/West: Struggles for the freedom of expression', Maria Heller, guest lecture at the Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen, Norway	ELTE
May 2007	<a href="#">RECON Online Working Paper 2007/03: 'Conflict of Laws as Constitutional Form. Reflections on International Trade Law and the Biotech Panel Report'</a> , Christian Joerges	EUI
May 2007	<a href="#">'How the EU could solve its constitutional crisis'</a> , Paul Magnette/Olivier Costa, Garnet Policy Brief No. 4	ULB
31 May – 1 June 2007	'Why there is (also) no domestic public opinion on Europe: Three case-studies from The Netherlands', Ben Crum/Saskia Hollander/Stijn van Kessel, paper presented at the Annual Convention of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists ('Politologenetmaal'), Antwerp, Belgium	VUA
31 May-June 2007	'How the rule of law might survive the European turn to governance', Christian Joerges, contribution to the Third Annual Consortium Conference of the NewGov project, European University Institute, Florence, Italy	EUI
June 2007	'Reconciling diversity and unity: Language minorities and European integration', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Ethnicities</i> , Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 157-85	ARENA
1 June 2007	'L'idée cosmopolitique et son actualité européenne', Justine Lacroix/Paul Magnette (with Francis Cheneval/Jean-Marc Ferry/Hugues Dumont/Etienne Tassin/ Mario Telo), seminar at the Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
3 June 2007	'Gender justice and democracy in the EU', Sara Clavero, presentation to the annual conference of ATHENA (Advanced Thematic Network in European Women's Studies), Central European University, Budapest, Hungary	QUB
4 June 2007	'Velferdsforskningens normative grunnlag' [the normative underpinnings of welfare research], Cathrine Holst, presentation at the seminar 'Et kritisk blikk på norsk velferdsforskning' [a critical view on Norwegian welfare research], FAFO, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
6 June 2007	'Reconstituting democracy in Europe – three options', Erik O. Eriksen, public lecture at the NCCR Democracy Research Colloquium, University of Zürich, Switzerland	ARENA
8-9 June 2007	'Polish Nationalism in 21 <sup>st</sup> century', Paweł Kubicki, presentation at the International V4 conference 'Processes of redefinition and reconstruction of the term nation in Central Europe', organized jointly by Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture Bratislava (CVEK) and Institute for the Reproduction and Integration of Society (IVRIS), Telč, Czech Republic	JUK
14 June 2007	'Feminiseringstesen [The thesis of feminising]', Cathrine Holst, presentation at a seminar on gender and profession ('Kjønn og profesjon'), Oslo University College, Norway	ARENA
14-16 June 2007	Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, presentation at the international conference: 'Democracy and Legitimization of Law in World Society', University of Flensburg, Germany	JWGU
15-16 June 2007	RECON WP 3 conference: 'Representation and Institutional Make-up', Brussels, Belgium	UoR
16 June 2007	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 2/2007</a>	ARENA
18-20 June 2007	'Methods of European policy making', Zdzisław Mach, lecture series at the International University Institute for European Studies, Gorizia, Italy	JUK
19-20 June 2007	International Conference: 'Together Since 1957: From Rome to	CEPC



	Berlin', Center for Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid, Spain	
22 June 2007	'La citoyenneté européenne et les principes du fédéralisme', Paul Magnette, paper presented at the conference 'La citoyenneté européenne', Centre Michel Villey, Paris, France	ULB
30 June 2007	'Europe Dec valeurs ou Europe Dec droits?', Justine Lacroix, presentation at the international conference 'Les cultures politiques de l'Europe', Université du Luxembourg	ULB
June 2007	' <a href="#">Reconstituting Democracy in Europe</a> ', Erik O. Eriksen, <i>UACES News</i>	ARENA
June 2007	'Communautarisme et pluralisme dans le débat français. Tentatives d'élucidation sémantique', Justine Lacroix, <i>Ethique publique</i> , Vol. 9, No. 1	ULB
Summer 2007	'Reconceiving Law and New Governance', Neil Walker/Grainne de Burca, <i>Columbia Journal of European Law</i> , Vol. 13, pp. 519-37	EUI
3 July 2007	' <a href="#">EU ut av krisen?</a> ' [The EU out of the crisis], Anne Elizabeth Stie, policy memo	ARENA
11-14 July 2007	Workshop: 'Missing Links? Citizenship, Civil Society & Political Parties in European Constitutional Politics', Institute of Sociology Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague	ASCR/UniHB
12-13 July 2007	'Beyond Democracy? – On the Constitution of Europe's Legal Plurality', Christian Joerges/Florian Rödl, presentation at the conference 'Private Law Beyond the State', Hamburg MPR for Private International and Comparative Law, Hamburg, Germany	EUI/UniHB
14 July 2007	'Die demokratische Kontrolle internationalisierter Sicherheitspolitik', Wolfgang Wagner, paper presented to the meeting of the IR standing group of the German Political Science Association (DVPW), Darmstadt, Germany	PRIF
17 July 2007	' <a href="#">Integration through de-legislation? An irritated heckler</a> ', Christian Joerges, <i>European Governance Papers</i> No. N-07-03	EUI
22 July–17 August 2007	RECON WP 5 Summer School: 'Advanced Methods and Techniques in Media Analysis', University of Bremen, Germany	UniHB
26 July 2007	'Making normative meaning accountable in "International Politics"', Antje Wiener, presentation at the international conference 'Law and Society in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century: Transformations, Resistances, Futures', Humboldt University Berlin, Germany	BATH
28 July 2007	'Human rights regulation in the transnational private sector: Time for a procedural turn?', Claire O'Brien, presentation at the international conference 'Law and Society in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century: Transformations, Resistances, Futures', Humboldt University Berlin, Germany	EUI
28 July 2007	'Constructing a common basis: OMC processes as a pre-condition for hard law integration', Poul F. Kjaer, presentation at the international conference 'Law and Society in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century: Transformations, Resistances, Futures', Humboldt University Berlin, Germany	EUI
July 2007	' <a href="#">Rationality within REACH? On Functional Differentiation as the Structural Foundation of Legitimacy in European Chemicals Regulation</a> ', Poul F. Kjaer, EUI Working Paper LAW 18	EUI
July 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/04: '<a href="#">Constitutional Patriotism. Canada and the European Union</a>'</i> , John Erik Fossum	ARENA
July 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/05: '<a href="#">Taking Constitutionalism Beyond the State</a>'</i> , Neil Walker	EUI
July 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/07: '<a href="#">Adversary or 'Depoliticized' Institution? Democratizing the Constitutional Convention</a>'</i> , Thorsten Hüller	EUI
23 August 2007	'What model for democracy beyond the nation state?', Erik O.	ARENA

	Eriksen, presentation to the European Community Studies Association Denmark, Roskilde University, Denmark	
August 2007	<a href="#">‘Integration durch Entrechtlichung? Ein Zwischenruf’</a> , Christian Joerges, UniHB Discussion Paper 1/2007	EUI
5 September 2007	‘L’Europe borderline: Frontières et territoires dans les oppositions de la pensée politique française au processus d’intégration européenne’, Justine Lacroix, paper presented at the 9 <sup>th</sup> Congress of the Association française de science politique, Toulouse, France	ULB
6 September 2007	‘The EU constitutional process: A failure of political representation?’, Ben Crum, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	VUA
6 September 2007	‘Democratic reordering of Europe?’, Erik O. Eriksen/John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	ARENA
6 September 2007	‘Measuring Europeanisation of public communication: The question of standards’, Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	ARENA
7 September 2007	‘The interpretative moment of European journalism: The impact of media voice in the ratification process, Hans-Jörg Trenz, and Guri Rosén, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	ARENA
8 September 2007	‘Towards a European parliamentary organisational field’, John Erik Fossum/Ben Crum, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	ARENA VUA
8 September 2007	‘Public debates on humanitarian and military interventions in Europe and the U.S. (1990-2005)’, Cathleen Kantner/Swantje Renfordt, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa, Italy	FUB
12 September 2007	‘Reconstituting democracy in Europe’, Erik O. Eriksen, presentation at Department of Political Science, Lund University, Sweden	ARENA
14 September 2007	‘Habermas på norsk’ [Habermas in Norwegian], Cathrine Holst, presentation at a seminar on Habermas, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
14 September 2007	‘Politics vs. law in the international realm: A critical discussion based on the German International Law Criminal Code’, Antje Wiener/Wolfgang Kaleck, paper presented at the 6 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European International Relations Conference: ‘Making Sense of a Pluralist World’, Turin, Italy	BATH
17 September 2007	‘Norway and European security’, Helene Sjursen, lecture at the conference ‘Interests, values and resources: What do we want with Norwegian foreign policy?’, organised by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Litteraturhuset, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
17 September 2007	Seminar: ‘The Fate of the Constitutional Treaty’, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
21 September 2007	RECON WP 9 workshop: ‘Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe – Patterns of Supranational and Transnational Juridification’, European University Institute, Florence, Italy	EUI
23 September 2007	‘Eine exemplarische Betrachtung der gegenwärtigen politikwissenschaftlichen Forschung zur Legitimation der Europäischen Union anhand einer Analyse Dec Weissbuchs “Europäisches Regieren” der Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften’, Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the conference ‘17. Jahrestagung der AG Objektive Hermeneutik’, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany	ARENA
24 September 2007	Participation by Erik O. Eriksen in a panel debate on ‘the EU and democratisation’, conference at the occasion of the 60 <sup>th</sup> anniversary	ARENA

	of political science in Norway, University of Oslo, Norway	
28 September 2007	Plenary lecture on the RECON models, John Erik Fossum, presentation to the research clusters 'Political Theory' and 'European Governance and Gender', School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy, Queen's University, Belfast, UK	ARENA
28-29 September 2007	RECON Workshop: 'Gender Justice and Democracy in the European Union', Queen's University Belfast, UK	QUB
September 2007	'Democracy and European Integration: A Legacy of Tensions, a Re-conceptualisation and Recent True Conflicts', Christian Joerges, EUI Working Paper LAW 27/2007	EUI
September 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/09: <a href="#">"Doing Good" in the World? Reconsidering the Basis of the Research Agenda on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy</a></i> , Helene Sjursen	ARENA
September 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/10: <a href="#">'The Democratic Deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy – Why Bother?'</a></i> Wolfgang Wagner	PRIF
September 2007	'How can one be European? Reflections on the pillars of European civic identity', Paul Magnette, <i>European Law Journal</i> , Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 664-79	ULB
September 2007	<i>RECON Report No. 3: <a href="#">'How to Reconstitute Democracy in Europe? Proceedings from the RECON Opening Conference'</a></i> , Erik O. Eriksen (ed.), ARENA Report 8/07	ARENA
September 2007	<a href="#">'Europe at 50 – A mid-life crisis? "Democratic Deficit" and "Sovereignty Surplus." Part three of the Constitution trilogy'</a> , Neil Walker, The Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies Working Paper No. 11-07, University of Cornell	EUI
4 October 2007	Commentary on Peter J. Katzenstein, Helene Sjursen, seminar on 'Norway in a World of Regions: How should we think about World Politics after the end of the Cold War and September 11?', organised by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Håndverkeren, Oslo	ARENA
5-7 October 2007	'Gender Justice?', Cathrine Host, presentation at the Conference 'Zweifel 2007', Berlin, Germany	ARENA
10 October 2007	'Accountability and personalisation of the European Council Presidency', Ben Crum, paper presented at the Symposium '(Re)assessing the Value of the European Union Council Presidency', Oxford University, UK	VUA
16 October 2007	'Beyond intergovernmentalism', Erik O. Eriksen, presentation at the conference 'Northern Europe and the Future of the European Union', Humboldt-University of Berlin, Germany	ARENA
18 October 2007	Europas "lille røde" [The "little red book" of Europe], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Aftenposten</i>	ARENA
19 October 2007	'Feminisme som politisk tradisjon' [Feminism as political tradition], Cathrine Holst, presentation at Civita, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
19 October 2007	'Traktat eller grunnlov?' [Treaty or Constitution?], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Nationen</i>	ARENA
19 October 2007	Launch of website on the Europeanisation of National Constitutions: <a href="http://www.europeconstitution.eu">www.europeconstitution.eu</a>	CEPC
22 October 2007	RECON seminar: RECON in context, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
22 October 2007	'Social aspects of the Constitutional Treaty: Some remarks on identity and European citizenship', Zdzislaw Mach, and 'Constitutionalisation of European citizenship', Grzegorz Pozarlik, speeches at the international conference 'European Constitution and National Constitutions', organised by the Jagiellonian University – Institute of European Studies, the University of Hull and the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University College, under the honorary	JUK

	patronage of Hans-Gert Poettering (President of the European Parliament) and Jean-Paul Costa (President of the European Court of Human Rights), Krakow, Poland	
26-27 October 2007	RECON WP 8 workshop: 'Collective Identity Formation', Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland	JUK
October 2007	<i>Das Recht auf Rechtfertigung</i> , Rainer Forst, Suhrkamp, Swedish edition: <i>Rätten till rättfärdigande</i> , Daidalos (2 <sup>nd</sup> edn 2010)	JWGU
October 2007	'The democratic deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy – why bother?', Wolfgang Wagner, paper presented to the Department of Political Science, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, The Netherlands	PRIF
October 2007	'Verfassung ohne Integration in Europa? Auf der Suche nach einem sozialen Konstituenten transnationaler Integrationsprozesse', Hans-Jörg Trenz in <i>Die Natur der Gesellschaft</i> , edited by Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, Campus	ARENA
4-5 November 2007	'Incorporating constitutional norms into private orderings', Christian Joerges, presentation at the conference 'Rethinking Constitutionalism in an Era of Globalization and Privatization', Cardozo School of Law and NYU School of Law, USA	EUI
5 November 2007	'Die parlamentarische Kontrolle der europäischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik', Wolfgang Wagner, paper presented at the 7 <sup>th</sup> Walter Hallstein Symposium 'Europäische Integration und parlamentarische Demokratie', Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany	PRIF
7 November 2007	'Governance without democracy? European security policy in transformation', Helene Sjursen, public lecture at the NCCR Democracy Research Colloquium, University of Zürich, Switzerland	ARENA
9 November 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/11: 'The Interpretative Moment of European Journalism: The Impact of Newspaper Opinion Making in the Ratification Process'</i> , Hans-Jörg Trenz/ Maximilian Conrad/Guri Rosén	ARENA
9 November 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/12: 'Measuring Europeanisation of Public Communication: The Question of Standards'</i> , Hans-Jörg Trenz	ARENA
15-17 November 2007	'Turkey and the European Union: Political Costs and Conditionality', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at the ISA-NE & NPSA Joint Annual Conference, Philadelphia, USA	SABU
20 November 2007	'A new standard of output-oriented legitimacy for the assessment of the EU? Some reflections on the task of establishing a theory of legitimation of political rule', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the ARENA Seminar, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
23-24 November 2007	RECON WP 9 workshop: 'Transnational Standards of Social Protection: Contrasting European and International Governance', University of Bremen, Germany	EUI/UniHB
27 November 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/13: 'The European Democratic Challenge'</i> , Agustín José Menéndez	ULEON
27 November 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/14: 'Theoretical Models of Fiscal Policies in the Eurozone: The Lisbon Strategy, Macroeconomic Stability and the Dilemma of Governance with Governments'</i> , Stefan Collignon	EUI
28 November 2007	'L'identité nationale dans la mondialisation', Justine Lacroix, conference with Marcel Gauchet (EHESS), organized by the <i>Parti Socialiste français</i> , Paris, France	ULB
28 November 2007	'Changes in the European Common Foreign and Security Policy', Helene Sjursen, paper presented at the CONNEX workshop 'Civil Society and Interest Representation in the EU's Foreign and Security	ARENA



	Policy, University of Mannheim, Germany	
28 November 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/15: 'Enlargement in Perspective: The EU's Quest for Identity'</i> , Helene Sjursen	ARENA
30 November 2007	'The EEA Agreement – a crofter contract?', Erik O. Eriksen, presentation at the conference 'EFTA – EU – Relations', World Trade Institute, Bern, Switzerland	ARENA
November 2007	'The Treaty of Lisbon: Implementing the institutional innovations', Ben Crum et al., joint study by CEPS, EGMONT and the EPC, Brussels	VUA
November 2007	' <a href="#">Mehr als Wirtschaft. Der Beitrag Des Airbusprojekts zur europäischen Identität</a> ', Jana Katharina Grabowsky, Berlin Working Paper on European Integration No. 5	FUB
1 December 2007	"Identitás és hétköznapi diskurzus" [ <i>Identity and everyday discourse</i> ], Péter Bodor, paper presented at the conference 'Nemzeti művelődés - egységesülő világ' [ <i>National culture – globalizing world</i> ], National Széchényi Library and ELTE University, Budapest, Hungary	ELTE
3 December 2007	'EU as a Democratic Challenge', paper presented to doctoral course 'Democracy in Transition', Danish Political Science Research School, University of Roskilde, Denmark	ARENA
6 December 2007	'Le cœur dans les étoiles ? La communauté émotionnelle européenne au révélateur de la symbolique de l'UE', François Foret, paper presented at the 2 <sup>nd</sup> International Conference of the European studies section of the French Association of Political Science (AFSP), 'Amours et Désamours entre Européens: pour une sociologie politique Des sentiments dans l'intégration européenne', Institute of Political Studies (IEP), Grenoble, France	ULB
7 December 2007	'The Societal Function of the European Union', Poul Kjaer, paper presented at the international conference 'Niklas Luhmann's <i>Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft</i> . Ten years after', University of Lucerne, Switzerland	EUI
7-8 December 2007	RECON WP 6 workshop: 'Parliamentary Control of Foreign and Security Policy', Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Germany	PRIF
11 December 2007	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 3/2007</a>	ARENA
12 December 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/16: 'A Done Deal? The EU's Legitimacy Conundrum Revisited'</i> , Erik Oddvar Eriksen/John Erik Fossum	ARENA
12 December 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/17: 'Do Europeans Speak With One Another in Time of War? Results of a Media Analysis on the 2003 Iraq War'</i> , Swantje Renfordt	FUB
17 December 2007	'Kjønn og adaptive preferanser' [Gender and adaptive preferences], Cathrine Holst, seminar with Jon Elster, Oslo University College, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
21 December 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/18: 'Assessing Democratic Legitimacy From a Deliberative Perspective: An Analytical Framework for Evaluating the EU's Second Pillar Decision-Making System'</i> , Anne Elizabeth Stie	ARENA
29 December 2007	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2007/19: 'Integration Without Democracy? Three Conceptions of European Security Policy in Transformation'</i> , Helene Sjursen	ARENA
December 2007	'The European Union and its Common Defense and Security Policy', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, in <i>State of European Integration</i> , edited by Yannis A. Stivachtis, Ashgate	SABU
December 2007	'Accommodating Normative Divergence in World Politics: European	BATH

	Foreign Policy Coordination', Uwe Puetter/Antje Wiener, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , Vol. 45, No. 5, pp. 1063-1086	
December 2007	'Hva er utviklingsretningen og fremtiden for den euro-atlantiske sikkerhetsstrukturen? Hvor går NATO?' [What direction and future for the Euro-Atlantic security structure? What direction for NATO?], Helene Sjursen, policy memo in the publication series 'Global Norway – What now?', issued by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry as part of its project 'Refleks – Norwegian interests in a globalised world', which is to provide background for a parliamentary report revising Norwegian foreign policy	ARENA
December 2007	'Why convening referendums?', Carlos Closa, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Vol. 14, No. 8, pp. 1-22	CEPC
December 2007	'Can the EU Presidency make its mark on interstate bargains? The Italian and Irish presidencies of the 2003-2004 IGC', Ben Crum, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Vol. 14, No. 8, pp. 1208-26	VUA
December 2007	'On democratizing European constitution-making: possible lessons from Canada's experience', John Erik Fossum, <i>Supreme Court Law Review</i> , Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 1-39; also available in <i>A Living Tree: The Legacy of 1982 in Canada's Political Evolution</i> , edited by Ian Peach/Graeme Mitchell/ David Smith/John Whyte, LexisNexis Canada	ARENA
December 2007	' <a href="#">Religion et puissance publique en Europe</a> ', François Foret, <i>Politique</i> , No. 52	ULB
2007	' <a href="#">Die Europäische Wende zu Neuen Formen Des Regierens (New Modes of Governance) – Rechtsprobleme eines politischen Konzepts</a> ', Christian Joerges (with Beate Braams and Michelle Everson), <i>TranState Working Papers</i> 55	EUI
2007	'Balansefeminismens begrensninger', Cathrine Holst, <i>Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning</i> , No. 1, pp. 5-20	ARENA
2007	'Justifying Freedom of Expression', Cathrine Holst (with Anders Molander), in <i>Discursive Modernity</i> , edited by Nils Gilje/Harald Grimen, Universitetsforlaget	ARENA
2007	'Post-constituent constitutionalism? The case of the European Union', Neil Walker, in <i>The Paradox of Constitutionalism</i> , edited by Martin Loughlin/Neil Walker, Oxford University Press	EUI
2007	'Making a World of Difference? Habermas, Cosmopolitanism and the Constitutionalization of International Law', Neil Walker, <i>The Practice of Law-Making and the Problem of Difference</i> , edited by O. Shabani, University of Wales Press	EUI
2007	<i>Feminism, Epistemology &amp; Morality</i> , Cathrine Holst, VDM Verlag	ARENA
2007	<i>Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit? – Eine Mediananalyse europäischer und amerikanischer Debatten über den Irak-Krieg 2003</i> , Swantje Renfordt, VDM Verlag	FUB
2007	<i>Stolz auf Europa. Airbus und der Beitrag wirtschaftlicher Kooperation zur transnationalen Identitätsbildung</i> , Jana Katharina Grabowsky, VDM Verlag	FUB
2007	<i>Zur Konstruktion europäischer Identität. Deutungen europäischer Identität in Medientexten und Interviews</i> , Simone Schmitt, VDM Verlag	FUB
2007	'The European citizenship paradox: Renegotiating equality and diversity in the New Europe', Ulrike Liebert, <i>Critical Review of Social and Political Philosophy</i> , Special Issue, Vol. 10, No 4, pp. 417-42	UniHB
2007	'The politics for a Social Europe and the Lisbon Process', Ulrike Liebert, in <i>European Solidarities: Tensions and Contentions of a Concept</i> , edited by Lars Magnusson/Bo Stråth, PIE-Peter Lang	UniHB

2007	'A transnational space of contention? Patterns of Europeanisation of civil society in Germany', Hans-Jörg Trenz, in <i>Governance and Civil Society in the European Union: Normative Perspectives</i> , edited by Carlo Ruzza/Vincent Della Sala, Manchester University Press	ARENA
2007	'Feminisme, epistemologi og moral: Svar til Vidar Halvorsen', Cathrine Holst, <i>Materialisten</i> , No. 3, pp. 104-14	ARENA
2007	'Petitioner or partner? Constructions of European integration in Polish print media debates on the EU Constitutional Treaty', Amelie Kutter, <i>Discourse and Contemporary Social Change</i> , edited by Norman Fairclough/Giuseppina Cortese/Patrizia Ardizzone, Peter Lang	FUB
2007	' <a href="#">The legacy of the Maastricht-Urteil and the pluralist movement</a> ', Julio Baquero Cruz, EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2007/13	CEPC
2007	'Von der politischen zur sozialen Konstitutionalisierung Europas', Hans-Jörg Trenz/Regina Vettors/Erik Jentges, <i>Politische Vierteljahresschrift</i> , Vol. 48, No. 4	ARENA
2007	'Europeanization from below: Civil society monitoring of Bulgaria's accession to the EU', Svetlozar Andreev, Studies in Public Policy (SPP) 423, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, UK	CEPC
2007	'The societal function of European integration in the context of world society', Poul F. Kjaer, <i>Soziale Systeme</i> , Vol. 13, No. 1+2, pp. 367-78	EUI
2007	'Une Europe sans corps ni tête. La pensée française après le 29 mai', Justine Lacroix, in <i>Les résistances à l'Europe</i> , edited by Justine Lacroix and Ramona Coman, Brussels: Editions de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles	ULB
2007	'Les résistances à l'Europe: Cultures nationales, idéologies et stratégies d'acteurs', Justine Lacroix (with Ramona Coman), collections ' <i>Etudes européennes</i> ', Brussels: Editions de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles	ULB
2007	' <a href="#">Polish nationalism, history, and the EU membership</a> ', Zdzisław Mach, policy memo (a shorter version published in Europe's World)	JUK
11 January 2008	Presentation and participation by Helene Sjursen in Session 3: Moral and Normative Deliberations in the EU Foreign Policy, at the 'European Foreign and Security Policy Studies' Young Faces Conference, Lund, Sweden	ARENA
24 January 2008	RECON Workshop: 'The "Christian Heritage" in Republic and Consociation. Politics and Religion at the time of Europe in France and Belgium', Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium	ULB
25-26 January 2008	RECON Workshop: 'The Reform Treaty and National Constitutions. Towards further Europeanisation? What are the Democratic?', Center for Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid, Spain	CEPC
31 January-1 February 2008	'Topics for a Possible Lisbon II Strategy', Stefan Collignon, 2nd Meeting of the Parliamentarians' Dialogue European Economic and Social Model: 'The Future of the Lisbon-Strategy after 2010', Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Lisbon, Portugal.	EUI/Siena
January 2008	'European Responses to International Terrorism: Diversity Awareness as a New Capability?', Antje Wiener, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 195-218	BATH
January 2008	'Martha Nussbaums liste: Noen kritiske ansatser', Cathrine Holst, in <i>Kjønn, krig, konflikt</i> , edited by Hege Skjeie, Inger Skjelsbæk and Torunn L. Tryggestad, Oslo: Pax	ARENA
January 2008	' <a href="#">Reconstituting European Democracy</a> ', Eriksen, Erik O. and Fossum, John Erik, ARENA Working Paper 01/2008, Oslo: ARENA	ARENA

January 2008	'Externe Effekte von Mehrebenenregieren. Die Europäische Union in der WTO', Ulrike Ehling and Jürgen Neyer, in <i>Die Europäische Union: Governance und Policy-Making, Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderhefte 40/2007</i> , edited by Ingeborg Tömmel	EUI / Viadrina
January 2008	<i>Viva la Repubblica Europea! Idee d'Europa</i> (preface by Giuliano Amato), Stefan Collignon, Venezia: Marsilio	EUI/Siena
January 2008	'La ratificación de la Constitución Europea: procesos y actores', Carlos Closa, in <i>La Unión Europea en perspectiva constitucional</i> , edited by Ana M. Carmona Contreras, Madrid: Aranzadi/Thomson	CSIC
January 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/01: 'Polanyi in Brussels. European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society'</i> , James Caporaso and Sidney Tarrow	ARENA
12 February 2008	'European Constitutional Avoidance', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the ARENA Seminar, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
22 February 2008	'What Deliberative Democracy can do for the EU's Legitimacy', paper presented by John Erik Fossum at the University of Reading Conference on representation, Reading, UK	ARENA
February 2008	'Constitutional Patriotism: Canada and the European Union', John Erik Fossum, in <i>Constituting Communities - Political Solutions to Cultural Difference</i> , edited by Per Mouritsen and Knud Erik Jørgensen, London: Palgrave, pp. 138-161	ARENA
February 2008	'Conceptualizing Gender Democracy in the Study of the European Union', Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, paper presented at the PSA Women and Politics Working Group Annual Conference, Department of International Policy Studies, University of Surrey, Surrey, UK	QUB
1 March 2008	'More than Rhetorics? EU Foreign Policy in the ILO', Marianne Riddervold, paper presented at the ARENA Seminar, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
3-4 March 2008	'Habermas on Statehood: the Claim of his Discourse Theory of the 'demokratischer Rechtsstaat'', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the conference 'Norges forhold til EU – demokratiske implikasjoner' [Norway's relations with the EU - democratic implications], ECSA Norway - Norwegian Society for European Studies, Bergen, Norway	ARENA
3-4 March 2008	'Interests or Preferences? EU Foreign Policy in the ILO', Marianne Riddervold, paper presented at the conference 'Norges forhold til EU – demokratiske implikasjoner' [Norway's relations with the EU - democratic implications], ECSA Norway - Norwegian Society for European Studies, Bergen, Norway	ARENA
11 March 2008	'From Discourse to Violence: Radical Right-Wing Youth Subculture in Hungary', Borbála Kriza, paper presented at the conference 'The State and the 'Others' – Reacting to Xenophobia', Leipzig University, Germany	ELTE
19 March 2008	'L'Europe en construction peut-elle dépasser les identités stato-nationales', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at a conference at the European Institute, University of Geneva, Switzerland	ULB
26 March 2008	'Public Debates on Humanitarian and Military Interventions in the European Union and the U.S. (1990-2006)', Cathleen Kantner (co-authors Swantje Renfordt and Amelie Kutter), paper presented at the 49 <sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention: 'Bridging Multiple Divides', San Francisco, CA, USA	FUB
26 March 2008	'The EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defense Policies and the Turkish perceptions', Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy, paper presented at the 49 <sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention 'Bridging Multiple Divides', San Francisco, CA, USA	SABU
26 March 2008	'Accommodating Normative Divergence in European Foreign Policy	BATH



	Coordination: The Example of the Iraq Crisis', Antje Wiener (co-author Uwe Puetter), paper presented at the 49 <sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention: 'Bridging Multiple Divides', San Francisco, CA, USA	
26-29 March 2008	'Transnational Publics and Their Problems', Cathleen Kantner, paper presented at the 49 <sup>th</sup> Annual ISA Convention: 'Bridging Multiple Divides', San Francisco, CA, USA	FUB
March 2008	RECON Online Working Paper 2008/04: <a href="#">'European Identity, European Public Sphere and Foreign Policy'</a> , Thomas Risse and Jana Katharina Grabowsky	FUB
March 2008	<a href="#">'Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy: Why, Who and How?'</a> , Guri Rosén, summary of the discussions at the RECON workshop 'Parliamentary control of European Security Policy', Frankfurt, December 2007, <a href="#">CFSP Forum</a> , Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 9-12 (also in RECON Newsletter 1/2008)	ARENA
March 2008	'The European Union's Accession Negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign Policy Perspective', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <i>Journal of European Integration</i> , Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 63-78	SABU
3-4 April 2008	'L'Europe et la pensée française', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at the conference 'Les cosmopolitismes européens', University of Nantes, France	ULB
11-12 April 2008	RECON WP 8 training session: <a href="#">'Comparable focus-group methodology for researchers'</a> , Zakopane, Polen	JUK/ELTE
11-16 April 2008	'The Effects of Ratification Procedures on EU Constitutional Politics', Carlos Closa, paper presented at the workshop 'The Politics of Constitutional Change', ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	CEPC
11-16 April 2008	'Democratic Re-Ordering of Europe: Democratization Constrained', John Erik Fossum (co-author Erik Oddvar Eriksen), paper presented at the workshop 'Contested Constitutionalisation: Towards a Theory of Democratic Constitutionalism', ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	ARENA
11-16 April 2008	'The Limits of Transnational Constitutional Dialogue: A Discourse Analytical Perspective on Norm Contestation in the Polish and French Media Debates on the EU Constitution', Amelie Kutter, paper presented at the workshop 'Contested Constitutionalisation: Towards a Theory of Democratic Constitutionalism', ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	FUB
11-16 April 2008	'Mass Media and Contested Meanings: The Discursive Makings of a European Political Order', Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the workshop 'Contested Constitutionalisation: Towards a Theory of Democratic Constitutionalism', ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	UniHB / ARENA
11-16 April 2008	'Justice or Recognition: Normative Foundations of Democratic Constitutionalism', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (with Tanja Hitzel Cassagnes), paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	JWGU
11-16 April 2008	'The Contested Nature of EU Constitution-Making: Mediating the Legitimacy of the European Normative Order', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the workshop 'Contested Constitutionalisation: Towards a Theory of Democratic Constitutionalism', ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, France	ARENA
16 April 2008	'Problems of Central and Eastern European Civil Society', Maria Heller, lecture at the European conference 'Laïcité et droits de l'homme', organised by the European Humanist Federation on the occasion of the 60 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Brussels, Belgium	ELTE
24-25 April 2008	'Elections and Post-Communist Party Systems in Central Europe',	ASCR

	Zdenka Mansfeldova, paper presented at the 4 <sup>th</sup> Congress of the Belgian Political Science Association, 'Atelier 6 - Les élections à chaud: quel rôle pour le politologue?', Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium	
24-25 April 2008	'Interests or Preferences? EU Foreign Policy in the International Labour Organization', Marianne Riddervold, paper presented at Panel 14 'The EU and other International Organizations', UACES Student Forum 9th Annual Conference, University of Kent, UK	ARENA
25 April 2008	RECON WP 1 workshop: <a href="#">RECON models applied</a> , ARENA – Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
25-27 April 2008	'International Law in Media Discourse: Investigating the 'Social Validity' of Rules on the Use of Force in Western Mass Communication (1990-2006)', Swantje Renfordt, paper presented at the German Political Science Association (DVPW) Junior Conference, Arnoldshain, Germany	FUB
29 April 2008	'Accountability and Personalisation of the European Council Presidency', Ben Crum, Colloquium 'Les présidences de l'Union européenne en redéfinition: Quelle légitimité? Quelle efficacité?', Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	VUA
29 April 2008	'Les enjeux de la réforme d'une non-institution plurielle', François Foret, paper presented at the conference 'Les présidences de l'Union européenne en redéfinition: Quelle légitimité? Quelle efficacité?', Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
April 2008	'Prospects for Women's Legislative Representation in Postsocialist Europe: The Views of Female Politicians', Yvonne Galligan, and Sara Clavero, <i>Gender &amp; Society</i> , Vol. 22, No. 2, 149-171	QUB
April 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/05: 'Researching Gender Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Prospects'</i> , Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero	QUB
April 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/06: 'On the 'Social Deficit' of the European Integration Project and its Perpetuation Through the ECJ Judgements in Viking and Laval'</i> , Christian Joerges and Florian Rödl	EUI/UniHB
April 2008	RECON Online Research Report: 'Collective Identity Formation in Accession States', Zdzislaw Mach, Maria Heller and Meltem Müftüler-Baç (eds)	JUK
April 2008	<i>The End of the West? Crises and Change in the Atlantic Order</i> , Thomas Risse (with Jeffrey Anderson and G. John Ikenberry) (eds), Ithaca: Cornell University Press	FUB
April 2008	'Forward with Europe. A Democratic and Progressive Reform Agenda After the Lisbon Strategy', Stefan Collignon, <i>International Policy Analysis</i> , Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, Berlin, Germany	EUI/Siena
8-10 May 2008	'European Civil Society: Reality or Wishful thinking?', Petra Rakušanová Guasti, paper presented at the NEWGOV Cross-Cluster Workshop and Practitioner's Event 'Civil Society, New Modes of Governance and Enlargement', Free University Berlin, Berlin, Germany	ASCR
14-17 May 2008	'Gender Justice in the EU: The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the conference 'Philosophy and the Social Sciences', session 'Politics of Methodology', Prague, Czech Republic	ARENA
16-17 May 2008	RECON WP 9 workshop: ' <a href="#">Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared</a> ', European University Institute, Florence, Italy	ARENA/EUI
18 May 2008	'Contestation – A Concept in International Politics and Law', Antje Wiener and Uwe Puetter, paper presented at the British-German International Relations Conference, Evangelische Akademie	BATH

	Arnoldsheim, Arnoldshain, Germany.	
19 May 2008	'España y el futuro constitucional de la UE', Carlos Closa, OPEX working paper 25/2008, Madrid: Fundación Alternativas	CSIC
19 May 2008	'Religion, identité et communication en Europe', François Foret, paper presented at the seminar 'Les identités laïques?', CIERL – Centre interdisciplinaire d'étude des religions et de la laïcité, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
21 May 2008	'Gender Justice in the EU: The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Department of Sociology, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
22 May 2008	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 1/2008</a>	ARENA
27-28 May 2008	'The EU Constitution and its Ratification Procedures', Carlos Closa, presentation at Jean Monnet Conference 'The European Union at 50: Assessing the past, Looking ahead', University of Macau, China	CEPC
29-30 May 2008	'Accountability and Personalisation of the European Council Presidency', Ben Crum, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists, Nijmegen, the Netherlands	VUA
29-30 May 2008	National Interests or Individual Ideological Preferences? The Services Directive inside the EU's Council of Ministers', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the Annual Convention of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists ('Politologenetmaal'), Nijmegen, The Netherlands	VUA
29-30 May 2008	RECON WP 5 workshop: <a href="#">'European Stories – the Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts'</a> , Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
May 2008	'Gender and Political Representation in the EU: New Perspectives, Future Challenges', Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, paper presented at the International Workshop 'European Integration and the Contemporary European State', Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Swansea, UK	QUB
May 2008	'Frihet, eiendom og grunnlov' [Freedom, property and constitution], Cathrine Holst, <i>Vagant</i> 1/2008	ARENA
May 2008	'Turkey's Accession to the European Union: the EU's Internal Dynamics', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> , vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 208-26	SABU
May 2008	'The Emergence of a European Community of Communication: Insights from Empirical Research on the Europeanization of Public Spheres', Thomas Risse (with Marianne van de Steeg), unpublished paper	FUB
May 2008	<a href="#">'Elements of a Sociology of European Integration'</a> , Hans-Jörg Trenz, ARENA Working Paper 11/2008, Oslo: ARENA	ARENA
May 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/07: 'In Search of the European Public Sphere Between Normative Overstretch and Empirical Disenchantment'</i> , Hans-Jörg Trenz	ARENA
May 2008	'Understanding Media Impact on European Integration: Enhancing or Restricting the Scope of Legitimacy of the EU?', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Journal of European Integration</i> , Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 291-309	ARENA
May 2008	'Wielokulturowa przestrzeń miasta a nowe tożsamości społeczne' [Multiculturalism of Cities and New Social Identities], Paweł Kubicki, paper presented at the conference 'Jednostka – społeczeństwo - państwo wobec megatrendów współczesnego świata' [Individual – Society – State – in the light of Megatrends of Contemporary World], Jurata, Poland	JUK
4-7 June 2008	'Explaining Constitutional Failure in the EU and Canada', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the Canadian Political Science	ARENA

	Association's Annual General Meeting, Vancouver, Canada	
23 June 2008	'Turkish Membership in the EU: Do We Still Have Patience?', Yaprak Gürsoy, paper presented at Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), Brazil	SABU
June 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/08: 'The EU Constitutional Process: A Failure of Political Representation?'</i> , Ben Crum	VUA
June 2008	'Svar til Hege Skjeie og Mari Teigen', Cathrine Holst, <i>Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning</i> , 2/2008, 4pp.	ARENA
June 2008	<i>La pensée française à l'épreuve de l'Europe</i> , Justine Lacroix, Paris: Editions Grasset	ULB
June 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/09: 'Interests or Principles? EU Foreign Policy in the ILO'</i> , Marianne Riddervold	ARENA
3-9 July 2008	'Researching Gender Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Prospects', Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, paper presented at the Women's Worlds Congress, Madrid, Spain	QUB
July 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/10: 'Deliberating CFSP: European Foreign Policy and the International Criminal Court'</i> , Nicole Deitelhoff	PRIF
July 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/11: 'Some Indicators of the Democratic Performance of the European Union and How They Might Relate to the RECON Models'</i> , Christopher Lord	UoR
July 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/12: 'Legitimate Political Rule Without a State? An analysis of Josef H. H. Weiler's justification of the legitimacy of the European Union qua non-statehood'</i> , Daniel Gaus	ARENA
26 August 2008	'Non-Domination, Recognition, Dialogue: a New Paradigm for the Democratic Organisation of Modern Societies?', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the conference 'Democracy and Difference', CULCOM, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
26 August 2008	'Martha Nussbaum's Feminist Theory of Transnational Justice and the EU', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the conference 'Democracy and Difference', CULCOM, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
August 2008	'L'Europe entre banalisation et réinstitutionnalisation', François Foret, in <i>L'Union européenne: la fin d'une crise?</i> , edited by Paul Magnette and Anne Weyembergh, Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles	ULB
August 2008	'Dieu Loin de Bruxelles: L'europeanisation informelle du religieux', François Foret (with Xabier Itçaina) (eds), <i>Politique Européenne</i> , No. 24	ULB
August 2008	'Global and European Information Society: Convergence, divergence and fragmentation', Maria Heller, in <i>Convergence and fragmentation: Media Technology and the Information Society</i> , edited by Peter Ludes, Bristol: Intellect	ELTE
August 2008	'Mass Media and Contested Meanings: EU Constitutional Politics after Popular Rejection', Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz, EUI Working Papers RSCAS 2008/28, Florence: EUI	UniHB / ARENA
August 2008	'Reframing Deliberative Cosmopolitanism: Perspectives on Transnationalisation and Post-national Democracy from Labor Law', Claire O'Brien, <i>German Law Journal</i> , Vol. 9, No. 8, pp. 1007-1041	EUI
August 2008	'Media Coverage and National Parliaments in EU Policy-Formulation: Debates on the EU Budget in the Netherlands 1992-2005', Pieter de Wilde, presentation at the 2 <sup>nd</sup> ECPR Graduate Conference, Barcelona, Spain	ARENA
1-3 September 2008	'Engendering Democracy in the European Union: Three Scenarios and their Implications', Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, paper	QUB



	presented at the 38th UACES Annual Conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe 2008: Rethinking the European Union', Edinburgh, UK	
1-3 September 2008	'Parliaments and European Security Policy: Mapping the parliamentary field', Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Nicole Deitelhoff, paper presented at the 38th UACES Annual Conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe 2008: Rethinking the European Union', Edinburgh, UK	PRIF
11 September 2008	Address by Stefan Collignon, Economists' Group Roundtable, Institute of International and European Affairs, Dublin, Ireland	EUI/Siena
11-14 September 2008	'Approaching Identity Talk and the Case of Ascribing Schizophrenia to Europe and Hungary', Péter Bodor, paper presented at the 39th Poznan Linguistic Meeting (PLM2008), Gniezno, Poland	ELTE
15 September 2008	'Verdensoffentligheden' [A global public sphere], Erik O. Eriksen and Hans-Jörg Trenz, op-ed, <i>Aftenposten</i>	ARENA
17 September 2008	<a href="#">Outreach seminar on the Public Sphere</a> : 'Cuando los ciudadanos dicen "no": El desencanto europeo: ¿fracaso de la comunicación política o rechazo de las políticas sustantivas de la Unión?', University of León, Spain	ULEON
17-19 September 2008	'The Elite Perception of Democracy and Representation in the Czech Republic: General Overview of the First 15 Years', Petra Rakušanová Guasti and Zdenka Mansfeldova, paper presented at the International Conference 'Development of Parliaments and legislatures: Approaches and Findings', organized by the Research Committee of legislative Specialists of IPSA, Technical University of Dresden, Germany	ASCR
18-20 September 2008	ConstEPS/RECON WP 5 workshop: ' <a href="#">Unity amidst variety in the enlarged Europe? Reconstituting democracy beyond the state, conditions and constraints</a> ', University of Bremen, Germany	UniHB
19-20 September 2008	RECON WP 7 workshop: ' <a href="#">The sinews of peace: Democratising the political economy of the European Union</a> ', University of León, Spain	ULEON
25 September 2008	'The EU: a cosmopolitan vanguard?', Erik O. Eriksen, paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	ARENA
26 September 2008	'From Euroscepticism to Resistances to European Integration: Exploring New Conceptual Paths in an Interdisciplinary Perspective', Amadine Crespy (with Nicolas Verschuere), paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	ULB
26 September 2008	'The Myth of an Output-Legitimacy for the European Union: A Critique of a Popular Conceptual Misunderstanding', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	ARENA
26 September 2008	Meltem Müftüler-Baç, chair and discussant of panel 'Turkey's Accession to the EU and the role of the public opinion' (Section 'Politics and Economics of EU Enlargement'), the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	SABU
26 September 2008	'Interests or Principles? EU Foreign Policy in the ILO', Marianne Riddervold, paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	ARENA
26-27 September 2008	RECON WP 8 workshop: ' <a href="#">Identities in Conflict in the Enlarged Europe</a> ', Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary	ELTE
27 September 2008	'National Interests or Individual Ideological Preferences? The Services Directive inside the EU's Council of Ministers', Eric Miklin,	VUA

	paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU-Politics of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, Riga, Latvia	
30 September 2008	'The Europeanisation of Gender Equality Norms: Lessons from Four Waves of Enlargement', Sara Clavero, lecture at inaugural ceremony, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland	QUB
September 2008	'La evolución del proceso de integración europea en 2007: paradojas democráticas y política constitucional clandestina en la UE', Carlos Closa, 2008 CIDOB International Yearbook, edition 2007, pp. 257-62, Barcelona: CIDOB	CSIC
September 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/13: 'Media Coverage and National Parliaments in EU Policy-Formulation: Debates on the EU budget in the Netherlands 1992-2005'</i> , Pieter de Wilde	ARENA
September 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/14: 'Collective Identity Formation in the Process of EU Enlargement: Defeating the Inclusive Paradigm of a European Democracy?'</i> , Zdzisław Mach and Grzegorz Pozarlik	JUK
September 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/15: 'Reconstituting Democratic Taxation in Europe: the Conceptual Framework'</i> , Agustín José Menéndez	ULEON
September 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/16: 'Assessing Gender Democracy in the European Union: a Methodological Framework'</i> , Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero	QUB
September 2008	'Borrowing and Swearing: Indirect Construction of Gender at a Hungarian Workplace', Nóra Schleicher, in <i>Gender and Sexual Identities in Transition</i> , edited by José Santaemilia and Patricia Bou, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing	ELTE
September 2008	'Reasserting the nation state: the Trajectory of Euroscepticism in the Netherlands 1992-2005', Pieter de Wilde, paper presented at the 18th ECPR Summer School on European Parties and Party Systems, Florence, Italy	ARENA
September 2008	<i>Légitimer l'Europe. Pouvoir et symbolique à l'ère de la gouvernance</i> , François Foret, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.	ULB
7 October 2008	'The European Union and the Sui Generis-Trap', paper presented by John Erik Fossum at the ARENA Seminar, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
7 October 2008	'Normative utopia or Empirical Analysis? Reflections on the Claim of Habermas' Theory of Constitutional Democracy', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the Vitenskapsteoretisk Forum, The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway	ARENA
8 October 2008	'La 'diversité profonde' d'après Charles Taylor: une application à l'Union européenne', Janie Pélabay, paper presented at a seminar at the Centre de Théorie Politique, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium	ULB
16-17 October 2008	'The Cost of non-EU from a RECON perspective', John Erik Fossum, presentation on IConnectEU workshop in Brussels, Belgium	ARENA
17-18 October 2008	'Schaffung einer Europäischen Öffentlichkeit', Hans-Jörg Trenz, keynote speech at the joint conference of ECSA Austria, AEI Germany and ECSA Switzerland 'The European Union and Democracy' (in German), Lucerne, Switzerland	ARENA
21-24 October 2008	'Digital Media and the Return of the Representative Public Sphere', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the DIGICULT General Conference 'Digital Media and Democracy', Paris, France	ARENA
24-25 October 2008	RECON WP 1 workshop: ' <a href="#">Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective</a> ', Johann Wolfgang Goethe University,	JWGU

	Frankfurt am Main, Germany	
25-26 October 2008	'How far is it from Königsberg to Kandahar? Democratic Peace and Democratic Violence in International Relations', Wolfgang Wagner (with Anna Geis), paper presented at the Millenium Annual Conference 2008 on 'Interrogating Democracy in International Relations', London School of Economics, UK	PRIF
31 October 2008	'What kind of European Public Sphere?', Erik O. Eriksen, paper presented at the EUROSHERE Seminar on Public Sphere and Diversity, University of Bergen, Norway	ARENA
31 October 2008	'L'autoclarification identitaire. Une stratégie de substantialisation du lien politique', Janie Pélabay, paper presented at the workshop 'Comment la société politique est-elle possible?', CEVIPOF - Centre de Recherches Politiques de Sciences Po, Paris, France	ULB
October 2008	<i>RECON Report No. 4: <a href="#">Transnational Standards of Social Protection. Contrasting European and International Governance</a></i> , Christian Joerges and Poul F. Kjaer (eds), ARENA Report 5/08	EUI/UniHB
October 2008	'European Union and New Zealand: Converging Approaches to the Knowledge Economy?', Anna Michalski and Christine M. Cheyne, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , vol. 15, no. 7, pp. 1087-1106	UOA
October 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/17: <a href="#">The European Union's Enlargement Process and the Collective Identity Formation in Turkey: the Interplay of Multiple Identities</a></i> , Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy,	SABU
October 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/18: <a href="#">Gender Justice in the European Union. The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices</a></i> , Cathrine Holst	ARENA
October 2008	'Taking constitutionalism beyond the state', Neil Walker, <i>Political Studies</i> , Vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 519-543	EUI
October 2008	'¿Y por fin somos europeos?' <i>La comunicación política en el debate constituyente europeo</i> , Agustín José Menéndez, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Fernando Losada (eds), Madrid: Dykinson.	ARENA/ ULEON
October/November 2008	'Methodologischer Nationalismus oder Mediennationalismus. Über die begrenzte Notwendigkeit einer Neuorientierung der Medien- und Öffentlichkeitsforschung in Europa', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Medien &amp; Zeit</i> , vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 4-17	ARENA
3-4 November 2008	'The Constitutional Debate Revisted: Public Debates in France and Germany', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the Dissemination Conference 'The European Public Sphere and the EU's 'Democratic Deficit': Where are we now? Practical and Policy Implications to be Drawn From Existing Research', of the project 'EU 'Constitutionalisation' and Public Claims-making over Europe', Bristol Institute of Public Affairs, University of Bristol, UK	ARENA
6 November 2008	'French Political Thought and European Integration', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at a seminar at the Center for the Study of Political Ideologies, Oxford University, UK	ULB
13 November 2008	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 2/2008</a>	ARENA
13 November 2008	'Gender Justice in the EU: The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Institute for Social Research, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
13-14 November 2008	RECON WP 6 workshop: <a href="#">Beyond intergovernmentalism and the quest for unity: democracy or efficiency?</a> , Istanbul, Turkey	SABU/ARENA
17 November 2008	'Europe borderline', Lacroix, Justine, paper presented at the ARENA Seminar, University of Oslo, Norway	ULB
20-21 November	RECON Baltic expert workshop: <a href="#">European Integration –</a>	RGSL

2008	<a href="#">Challenges and Visions from the Baltic Perspective: Debates on the Future of Europe from the Constitutional to the Lisbon Treaty and beyond</a> , Riga Graduate School of Law, Latvia	
21-23 November 2008	'Turkish Accession to the EU: Effects on Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Consolidation', Yaprak Gürsoy, paper presented at a seminar on Democracy and Democratization in Turkey, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain	SABU
November 2008	'Toma de Decisiones de la Unión Europea. Las Normas Jurídicas y la Política en la Formación del Derecho Europeo', Fernando Losada and Agustín José Menéndez, in <i>El informe del Consejo de Estado sobre la inserción del Derecho Europeo en el ordenamiento español</i> , edited by Francisco Rubio Llorente and Paloma Biglino, Madrid: Consejo de Estado and Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales	ULEON
November 2008	<a href="#">Media in Cosmopolis</a> , Hans-Jörg Trenz and Erik O. Eriksen, commentary published in RECON Newsletter 2/2008.	ARENA
November 2008	<a href="#">Reconstituting capitalism versus reconstituting democracy?</a> , Agustín José Menéndez, commentary published in RECON Newsletter 2/2008.	ULEON
November 2008	<i>Kjønnsteori</i> , Cathrine Holst (with Cathrine Egeland, Randi Gressgård, Kari Jegerstedt, Ellen Mortensen, Sissel Rosland and Kristin Sampson), Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk	ARENA
1 December 2008	Roundtable discussion at the ARENA Conference 'Media and the Public Sphere in Europe', Cathleen Kantner, Oslo, Norway	FUB
1 December 2008	'Media, democracy and the transformation of the European Political order', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the ARENA Conference 'Media and the Public Sphere in Europe', Oslo, Norway	ARENA
4 December 2008	RECON WP 1 workshop: <a href="#">'Empirical and Conceptual Challenges for the Theory of Deliberative Democracy'</a> , University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
3-5 December 2008	'Gender Justice in the EU: The Normative Subtext of Methodological Choices', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the National Ethics conference, session 'Normative Political Theory', Oslo, Norway	ARENA
5 December 2008	'The European Public Sphere: An Unfinished Project', Hans-Jörg Trenz, Keynote at the opening conference of the Centre for Modern European Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark	ARENA
5 December 2008	<a href="#">'Norge til disposisjon'</a> [Norway at your service], Helene Sjursen, article in Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> , Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
15 December 2008	'Fra bremsekloss til medløper: Norge i EUs utenriks- og sikkerhetspolitikk', Helene Sjursen, <i>Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift</i> , No. 4, pp. 323-332	ARENA
December 2008	'Democratic Constitutionalisation Beyond the Nation-State: Lessons from the Rise and Fall of the European Constitutional Treaty', Ben Crum, restricted research report (148 pp.), Amsterdam/Oslo	VUA
December 2008	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2008/19: 'The Perception of the EU as an Emerging Security Actor in Media Debates on Humanitarian and Military Interventions (1990-2006)'</i> , Cathleen Kantner, Amelie Kutter and Swantje Renfordt	FUB
December 2008	<i>RECON Report No. 5: 'Reconstituting democracy from below. New approaches to civil society in the new Europe'</i> , Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz (eds), ARENA Report 6/08	UniHB/ ARENA
December 2008	'Mediating European Democracy: Comparative News Media and EU Treaty Reform in 14 Member States (2004-2007)', Ulrike Liebert, and Hans-Jörg Trenz (with Alexander Gattig, Sönke Maatsch and Regina Vettors) restricted research report (116 pp.), Bremen/Oslo	UniHB/ ARENA
December 2008	<i>RECON Report No. 6: 'The Parliamentary Control of European</i>	PRIF



	<a href="#">Security Policy</a> ’, Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner, and Nicole Deitelhoff (eds), ARENA Report 7/08	
December 2008	<a href="#">RECON Online Working Paper 2008/20: ‘Decision-Making void of Democratic Qualities? An Evaluation of the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy</a> ’, Anne Elizabeth Stie	ARENA
December 2008	Technical coding guidelines for comparative print media/text analysis using ATLAS.ti computer software’, Sönke Maatsch and Alexander Gattig, manual restricted to project participants, Bremen/Oslo	UniHB
December 2008	<a href="#">‘Warum Europa nicht zusammen findet</a> ’ Stefan Collignon, <i>NGFH</i> 12/2008	EUI/Siena
December 2008	“The Rule of Law and the EU: Necessity’s Mixed Virtue”, Neil Walker, in <i>Relocating the Rule of Law</i> , edited by Gianluigi Palombella and Neil Walker, Oxford: Hart.	EUI
Autumn 2008	<a href="#">‘The Dawn of a New Era: Social Democracy after the Financial Crisis</a> ’, Stefan Collignon, <i>Social Europe Journal</i> , Vol. 4, No.1	EUI/Siena
Winter 2008	<a href="#">‘Turkey and the European Union’s Political Conditionality</a> ’, Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <a href="#">EUSA Review</a> , Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 6-7. Also published in RECON Newsletter 1/2008.	SABU
2008	‘The European citizenship paradox: Renegotiating equality and Diversity in the New Europe’, Ulrike Liebert, in <i>Contesting Citizenship</i> , edited by Birte Siim and Judith Squires, London: Routledge	UniHB
2008	‘Ist eine europäische Identität notwendig und möglich? Zur deutschen Debatte’, Ulrike Liebert, in <i>Europäische Identität. Was die EU-Bürger eint</i> , edited by Thomas Meyer and Johanna Eisenberg, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag	UniHB
2008	‘Le rapt de la société civile’, Maria Heller, in <i>Laïcité et droits de l’Homme. Valeurs universelles et indissociables. Actes du colloque</i> , edited by Michel Vanden Abeele, Bruxelles: European Humanist Federation and Centre d’Action Laïque	ELTE
2008	‘Dissent over the European Constitutional Treaty within the French Socialist Party: Between Response to Anti-Globalization Protest and Intra-Party Tactics’, Amadine Crespy, <i>French Politics</i> , No. 6, pp. 23-44	ULB
2008	‘Trust in the Everyday Life of Guests and Hosts: Employers and Employees in Belgium’, Marcin Galent, <i>European Review</i> , Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 573-83	JUK
2008	‘Civil-Military Relations as a Component of Democratic Consolidation in Turkey: A Comparison with Greece’, Yaprak Gürsoy, in <i>Turkey-European Union Relations: Dilemmas, Opportunities, and Constraints</i> , edited by Yannis A. Stivachtis and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, Lanham: Lexington Books	SABU
2008	‘The Poles towards Multidimensional Identities: Determinants and Dynamics of Local, National and European Identities’, Paweł Kubicki, in <i>Quest for the Portrait of Poles – 20 years later</i> , edited by J. Szomburg, Gdansk: Gdansk Institute for Market Economics	JUK
2008	‘Du suffrage universel à la participation universelle. Pour une obligation libérale de se rendre aux urnes’, Justine Lacroix, <i>Raison publique</i> , No. 8, pp. 95-111	ULB
2008	‘Europe des valeurs ou Europe des droits?’, Justine Lacroix, in <i>Des valeurs pour l’Europe?</i> , edited by Francis Cheneval, Nicolas Levrat and Samantha Besson, Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Bruylant	ULB
2008	‘La critique communautarienne du soi libéral’, Justine Lacroix, in <i>Sujet moral et communauté</i> , edited by D. Müller, M. Sherwin, N. Maillard and C. S. Titus, Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg	ULB

2008	'Turkey's Accession Negotiations with the EU: The Long Road Ahead', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, in <i>Turkey-European Union Relations: Dilemmas, Opportunities, and Constraints</i> , edited by Yannis A. Stivachtis and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, Lanham: Lexington Books	SABU
2008	<i>Turkey-European Union Relations: Dilemmas, Opportunities, and Constraints</i> , Meltem Müftüler-Baç (with Yannis Stivachtis) (eds), Lanham: Lexington Book	SABU
2008	'Lorsque la clarification des sources se fait politiquement constitutive. À propos de: Joseph H.H. Weiler, L'Europe chrétienne ? Une excursion', Janie Pélabay, <i>Raison Publique</i> , No. 8, pp. 165-76	ULB
2008	'Measuring Europeanisation of Public Communication. The Question of Standards', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>European Political Science</i> , Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 273-84	ARENA
2008	'Les présidences de l'Union européenne en redéfinition: Quelle légitimité ? Quelle efficacité?', François Foret (with Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer) (eds), <i>Cahiers du CEVIPOL 2008/4</i> , Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles/CEVIPOL	ULB
2008	'Can a Permanent President Contribute to the Democratic Accountability of the European Council?', Ben Crum, in 'Les présidences de l'Union européenne en redéfinition: Quelle légitimité ? Quelle efficacité ?', edited by François Foret and Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, <i>Cahiers du CEVIPOL 2008/4</i> , Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles/CEVIPOL	VUA
2008	<i>Pour la République européenne</i> , Stefan Collignon (with Christian Paul), Paris: Odile Jacob	EUI/Siena
2008	'Menschenrechte und Demokratie – eine kosmopolitische Perspektive', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (with Franziska Martinsen and Nadja Meisterhans), <i>Zeitschrift für Menschenrechte</i> , 1/2008	JWGU
2008	<a href="#">'From Democratic Peace to Democratic Distinctiveness: a Critique of Democratic Exceptionalism in Peace and Conflict Studies'</a> , Wolfgang Wagner (with Anna Geis), <i>Comparative Research in Law and Political Economy</i> , CLPE Research Paper 39/2008, Vol. 4, No. 8.	PRIF
2008	'L'Europe <i>borderline</i> : Frontières et territoire dans les critiques adressées par la pensée politique française au procès d'intégration européenne', Justine Lacroix, in <i>L'Union européenne: la fin d'une crise?</i> , edited by Paul Magette and Anne Weyembergh, Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles.	ULB
2008	'Two constitutionalisms? A comparison of British and French government attempts to justify the Constitutional Treaty', Christopher Lord, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Vol. 15, No. 7, 2008, pp. 1001-1018.	ARENA
2008	'From democratic peace to democratic distinctiveness: a critique of democratic exceptionalism in peace and conflict studies', Wolfgang Wagner (with Anna Geis), <i>Comparative Research in Law and Political Economy</i> , CLPE Research Paper 39/2008, Vol. 4, No. 8.	PRIF
2008	"Europe at 50: A Midlife Crisis? Democratic Deficit and Sovereignty Surplus", Neil Walker, <i>Irish Journal of European Law</i> , Vol. 15, No. 1 & 2, pp. 23-34.	EUI
21 January 2009	'Some comments on EU's legitimation through identification', Janie Pélabay, discussing at a workshop on European studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium	ULB
27 January 2009	'L'institutionnalisation symbolique de l'Europe', François Foret, presentation at the seminar 'L'institutionnalisation de l'Europe' at the University of Paris, 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, France.	ULB
27 January 2009	'Légitimer l'Europe', François Foret, presentation at a seminar of the Centre Européen de Sciences Politiques, Sciences Po-Paris, France	ULB

28 January 2009	'The characteristics of Norwegian welfare research including its relationship to European and women's studies', Cathrine Holst, plenary lecture at the Welfare Research Conference of the Norwegian Research Council, Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
January 2009	<a href="#">'Informal Politics, Formalised Law and the "Social Deficit" of European Integration: Reflections after the Judgments of the ECJ in Viking and Laval'</a> , Christian Joerges and Florian Rödl, <i>European Law Journal</i> , Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 1-19.	UniHB
January 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/01: 'Reasserting the Nation State: The Trajectory of Euroscepticism in the Netherlands 1992-2005'</i> , Pieter De Wilde.	ARENA
January 2009	'The Variety of Sovereignty', Neil Walker, in <a href="#">Sovereignty Games: Instrumentalizing State Sovereignty in Europe and Beyond</a> , edited by Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen, New York: Palgrave.	EUI
January 2009	<a href="#">'The EU: A Cosmopolitan Vanguard?'</a> , Erik O. Eriksen, <i>Global Jurist</i> , Vol. 9, No. 1 (Advances), Article 6.	ARENA
January 2009	<a href="#">'The historical origins of the EU's system of representation'</a> , Berthold Rittberger, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 43-61.	ARENA (MZES)
January 2009	'The European Union's Accession negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign policy perspective', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, in <a href="#">The Future of European Foreign Policy</a> , edited by Erik Jones and Saskia van Genugten, New York: Routledge.	SABU
5 -7 February 2009	RECON WP 9 workshop: <a href="#">'The Social Embeddedness of Transnational Markets'</a> , Centre for European Law and Politics, University of Bremen, Germany.	UniHB
9 February 2009	RECON WP 3 workshop: <a href="#">'Workshop on Atlas Ti'</a> , Institute for European Integration, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria.	OEAW
10 February 2009	'Mechanisms of Collective Identity Formation', Cathleen Kantner, presentation at research colloquium of Prof. Dieter Fuchs, University of Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany.	FUB
13 February 2009	'The public sphere- and identity-deficit of the European Union "revisited"', Cathleen Kantner, paper presented at the conference <a href="#">'Europa auf dem Prüfstand: Demokratie-, Öffentlichkeits- und Identitätsdefizit der Europäischen Union'</a> , Rahmen des Ludwig Boltzmann-Institutes für Europäische Geschichte und Öffentlichkeit', Zürich, Switzerland.	FUB
15 February 2009	'Tradeoffs between Secularism and Democracy in Turkey: The Political Cleavages', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at <a href="#">the 50th Annual convention, International Studies Association in New York</a> , New York, USA	SABU
20 February 2009	'"Égalité proportionnelle" et "redevabilité" dans la pensée communautaire', Janie Pélabay, presentation at the Colloque international 'Human Inequality', University of Luxembourg and The Centre for Equal Treatment in Luxembourg	ULB
27 February 2009	'The European Public Sphere: Public Control or Democratic Self-Constitution', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the conference <a href="#">'European Public Sphere and Journalistic Responsibility'</a> , Vienna, Austria	ARENA
27 February 2009	'The EU's enlargement process and the current crisis', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey.	SABU
February 2009	'Computer- und korpuslinguistische Verfahren für die Analyse massenmedialer politischer Kommunikation: Humanitäre und militärische Interventionen im Spiegel der Presse', Amelie Kutter and	FUB

	Cathleen Kantner (with Peter Kolb and Manfred Stede), in <a href="#">Technischer Bericht, 1/2009. GSCL-Symposium Sprachtechnologie und eHumanities</a> , edited by W. Hoepfner, Duisburg: Universität Duisburg-Essen.	
February 2009	'Institutions publiques, démocratie et société civile en Europe Centrale' and 'Identités en conflit dans le contexte hongrois', Maria Heller, papers presented at the EUROLARG Socrates intensive course 'Européanisation et élargissement: défis aux institutions, acteurs et identités multi-niveaux', Lisbon, Portugal.	ELTE
February 2009	'Media: The Unknown Player in European Integration', Hans-Jörg Trenz, in <i>Media, Democracy and European Culture</i> , edited by Ib Bondebjerg and Peter Madsen, Bristol: Intellect	ARENA
5 March 2009	'Churches in Brussels, Churches in the Member States: same story?', François Foret, presentation at the international conference <a href="#">'Religions and Churches in a Common Europe'</a> , Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pécs, Hungary.	ULB
13 March 2009	'European civil society: between participation, representation and discourse', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the EUI conference <a href="#">'Bringing Civil Society In: The European Union and the rise of representative democracy'</a> , Florence, Italy.	ARENA
13 March 2009	'Resisting the "neo-liberal Europe": national and transnational mobilisation against the Bolkestein directive', Amandine Crespy, presentation at the conference 'Bringing Civil Society In: The European Union and the rise of representative democracy', European University Institute, Florence, Italy.	ULB
20 -21 March 2009	RECON WP 2 workshop: <a href="#">'Lessons from Europe's and Canada's constitutional experiences'</a> , ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
21 March 2009	'The Security and cultural impact of the Turkish Accession to the EU', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at the Extra Europe Symposium, Linz, Austria.	SABU
26 March 2009	RECON WP 3 workshop: <a href="#">'Workshop on Indices and Models'</a> , ARENA, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
27 March 2009	RECON WP 1 workshop: <a href="#">'RECON models operationalised'</a> , ARENA, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
March 2009	<a href="#">'Politique et religion en France et en Belgique. L' 'héritage chrétien' en question</a> , edited by François Foret, Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles.	ULB
March 2009	<a href="#">'Minding the gap'</a> , Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, policy memo in <i>Public Service Review</i> , European Union, Issue 17. Also published as a <a href="#">RECON policy memo</a> and in RECON Newsletter 1/2009.	QUB
March 2009	<a href="#">'Three-dimensional Conflict of Laws in Europe'</a> , Poul F. Kjaer, UniHB Discussion Paper 2/2009, Centre for European Law and Politics, University of Bremen, Germany.	EUI
March 2009	<a href="#">'Out of Place and Out of Time: Law's Fading Co-ordinates'</a> , Neil Walker, Edinburgh School of Law, Working Paper Series No. 2009/1	EUI
March 2009	<a href="#">'Symbolic dimensions of EU legitimization'</a> , François Foret, <i>Media, Culture and Society</i> , Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 313-324.	ULB
March 2009	<a href="#">'Religion: a Solution or a problem for the Legitimization of the European Union?'</a> , François Foret, <i>Religion, State and Society</i> , Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 37-50.	ULB
14-19 April 2009	'Private Involvement in Compulsory Education', Christa van Wijnbergen (with Alison Johnston), paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions workshop 'The Politics of Skill Formation: Institutions, Actors, and Change', Lisbon, Portugal.	LSE
14 -19 April 2009	"Neoliberal Globalization" versus "Social Europe"? Explaining the	ULB



	contentious decision-making over services liberalisation in the EU', Amandine Crespy, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Lisbon, Portugal	
14 -19 April 2009	'Europeanization on the Parliaments of the Central and Eastern Europe: Relationships between Parliamentary Chambers in Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and Slovenia', Petra Guasti, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Lisbon, Portugal	ASCR
17 -18 April 2009	RECON WP 8 Workshop: ' <a href="#">Identity as a variable of democracy in Europe: a comparative Q methodology approach</a> ', Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.	JUK/ UniHB
23 April 2009	'New Issues in Fiscal Policy in Europe Palisades', David Mayes, chair of panel at the European Union Studies Association 11 <sup>th</sup> Biennial International Conference, Marina del Rey, CA, USA	UOA
30 April -1 May 2009	RECON WP 5 workshop: ' <a href="#">European stories – How national intellectuals debate Europe</a> ', European Studies Centre, University of Oxford, UK	ULB
April 2009	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 1/2009</a>	ARENA
April 2009	'Whose project is it? Media debates on the ratification of the EU Constitutional Treaty <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz (with Regina Vettters and Erik Jentges), <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 412-430.	ARENA
April 2009	' <a href="#">Die Parlamentarische Kontrolle der europäischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik</a> ', Wolfgang Wagner, in <i>Europäische Integration und parlamentarische Demokratie</i> , edited by Stefan Kadelbach, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	PRIF
April 2009	RECON Online Working Paper 2009/02: ' <a href="#">In search of popular subjectness: Identity formation, constitution-making and the democratic consolidation of the EU</a> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz.	ARENA
April 2009	<a href="#">European Integration from Rome to Berlin: 1957-2007</a> , Julio Baquero Cruz and Carlos Closa (eds), London: Peter Lang.	CSIC
April 2009	'From Constitution to Treaty: democratic paradoxes and clandestine constitutional politics in the EU', Carlos Closa, in <i>European integration from Rome to Berlin: History, Law and Politics</i> , edited by Julio Baquero Cruz and and Carlos Closa Montero, London: Peter Lang.	CSIC
April 2009	'Why Europe Needs a Political Union with Full Democracy', Stefan Collignon, in <i>European integration from Rome to Berlin: History, Law and Politics</i> , edited by Julio Baquero Cruz and and Carlos Closa Montero, London: Peter Lang	LSE
April 2009	' <a href="#">Embeddedness through Networks – a Critical appraisal of the Network Concept in the Oeuvre of Karl-Heinz Ladeur</a> ', Poul F. Kjaer, <i>German Law Journal</i> , Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 483-500.	EUI
April 2009	' <a href="#">Beyond the Holistic Constitution?</a> ', Neil Walker, Edinburgh School of Law Working Paper Series No. 2009/16	EUI
April 2009	' <a href="#">Does Europe Need Common Values? Habermas vs. Habermas</a> ', Justine Lacroix, <i>European Journal of Political Theory</i> , Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 140-156	ULB
April 2009	' <a href="#">New approaches to civil society in Europe</a> ', special issue edited by Ulrike Liebert/Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Policy and Society</i> , Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 1-98	UniHB/ ARENA
April 2009	' <a href="#">Civil society and the reconstitution of democracy in Europe: Introducing a new research field</a> ', Ulrike Liebert/Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Policy and Society</i> , Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 1-9.	UniHB/ ARENA
April 2009	' <a href="#">European civil society: between participation, representation and discourse</a> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Policy and Society</i> , Vol. 28, No. 1, pp.	ARENA

	35-46.	
April 2009	' <a href="#">The contentious role of civil society in reconstituting democracy in the European Union</a> ', Ulrike Liebert, <i>Policy and Society</i> , Vol. 28, No. 1, pp.71-86.	UniHB
April 2009	'Der Grund der Kritik. Zum Begriff der Menschenwürde in sozialen Rechtfertigungsordnungen', Rainer Forst, in <a href="#">Was ist Kritik?</a> , edited by Rahel Jaeggi and Tilo Wesche, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	JWGU
7-10 May 2009	'Varieties of Identity Claims – Footnotes to Goffman and Austin', Peter Bodor, paper presented at the conference 'Race, religion, and representation', The Department of Pragmatics, University of Łódź, Poland	ELTE
9 May 2009	' <a href="#">Les institutions européennes sont-elles démocratiques?</a> ', Justine Lacroix, paper presented at the forum 'Ré-inventer la démocratie', Grenoble, France	ULB
15 -16 May 2009	RECON WP 2 workshop: ' <a href="#">With or without Lisbon: continuous institutional change in the EU</a> ', Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands	VUA
15 May 2009	'Les enjeux de l'élection du Parlement européen en 2009', François Foret, presentation and debate at a popular meeting, Centre de Communication de l'Ouest, Nantes, France	ULB
15 May 2009	'The EU's human rights policy as a foreign policy tool', Selin Türkeş, paper presented at the Jean Monnet Graduate Student Workshop, Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey	SABU
20 May 2009	'Légitimer l'Europe', François Foret, presentation at the PACTE seminar on globalisation, l'Institut des études politiques de Grenoble, France	ULB
20 May 2009	'The Under-complexity of Democracy', Poul F. Kjaer, in <i>Soziologische Jurisprudenz. Festschrift für Gunther Teubner zum 65. Geburtstag</i> , edited by Graf-Peter Calliess, Andreas Fischer-Lescano, Dan Wielsch and Peer Zumbansen, Berlin: Gruyter-Verlag	EUI
22 May 2009	RECON WP 3 <a href="#">workshop on representative theory</a> , Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria	OEAW
28-29 May 2009	'Visibility of Choices and Better Scrutiny? The Effects of a Politicisation of EU Decision-making on National Parliaments', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the Annual Convention of Flemish and Dutch Political Scientists, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.	VUA
May 2009	' <a href="#">Digital Media and the Return of the Representative Public Sphere</a> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Javnost. The Public</i> , Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 33-46	ARENA
May 2009	'Contested Norms in International Law and International Relations', special issue edited by Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener, <i>Journal of International Law &amp; International Relations</i> , vol. 5, no. 1	UHAM
May 2009	'The European democratic challenge: the forging of a supranational <i>volonté générale</i> ', Agustín José Menéndez, <i>European Law Journal</i> , Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 227-308	ULEON
May 2009	RECON Online Working Paper 2009/03: ' <a href="#">On Political Representation: Myths and Challenges</a> ', Johannes Pollak, Monika Mokre, Emmanuel Sigalas, Jozef Bátora and Peter Slominski	OEAW
May 2009	' <a href="#">Een Herwaardering van het Nationale Belang in de Europese Context</a> ', Ben Crum, policy memo in <i>Ons Belang in Europa</i> , edited by Aysel Sabahoğlu, Utrecht: Wetenschappelijk Bureau GroenLinks.	VUA
May 2009	' <a href="#">Les chantiers identitaires de la mondialisation: l'exemple de l'Union européenne</a> ', François Foret, <i>Cahier de recherche PACTE-CNRS</i> , Working Paper 8/2009.	ULB
May 2009	'Citizenship, democracy and the public sphere', John Erik Fossum, in <a href="#">The SAGE Handbook of European Studies</a> , edited by Chris Rumford,	ARENA

	London: Sage.	
4 June 2009	'European Political Rituals: a Challenging Tradition in the Making', François Foret, presentation at the conference 'Political rituals', Department of Politics and Balliol College, University of Oxford, UK	ULB
12 June 2009	'Resisting "neo-liberal Europe": social and political mobilization against the Bolkestein directive', Amandine Crespy, presentation at the workshop 'Europeanisation as a modernising project? Justification, practices and contestations of the emerging European polity', Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), Germany.	ULB
24 June 2009	'The results of the European elections in perspective', François Foret, presentation for the Committee of the Regions, Commission for Constitutional Affairs, European Governance and the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, Brussels, Belgium.	ULB
June 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/05: 'European citizenship after Martínez Sala and Baumbast. Has European law become more human but less social?'</i> , Agustín José Menéndez.	ULEON
June 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/06: 'Regional federalisation with a cosmopolitan intent'</i> , Kjartan Koch Mikalsen.	ARENA
June 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/07: 'Civil society and EU constitution-making. Towards a European social constituency?'</i> , Hans-Jörg Trenz (with Nadine Bernhard and Erik Jentges).	ARENA
June 2009	'The European Parliament Elections in The Netherlands, 4 June 2009', Ben Crum (with Stijn van Kessel), European Parliament Election Briefing, No. 28, European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN).	VUA
June 2009	'Multi-Level Constitutionalism: Looking Beyond the German Debate', Neil Walker, LSE 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series, No. 08/2009, London School of Economics and Political Science.	EUI
June 2009	"European Polity: Layers of Legitimacy", Dionysia Tamvaki, <i>International Social Science Journal</i> , vol. 60, no. 196, pp. 235-51	UoR
June 2009	<i>Euroscepticism in the European Parliament elections of June 2009</i> , RECON country reports on <i>France and Belgium</i> (Amandine Crespy), <i>Germany</i> (Kathrin Packham/Jan Klepatz), <i>Poland</i> (Magdalena Góra/Jacek Kołodziej/Grzegorz Pożarlik/Natasza Styczyńska), <i>The Netherlands</i> (Pieter de Wilde), and the <i>United Kingdom</i> (Asimina Michailidou)	ULB
June 2009	Transfer of the website on the Europeanisation of National Constitutions from <a href="http://www.europeconstitution.eu">www.europeconstitution.eu</a> to <a href="http://proyectos.cchs.csic.es/europeconstitution">proyectos.cchs.csic.es/europeconstitution</a>	CSIC
12-16 July 2009	'Media: The Unknown Player of European Integration', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the panel 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Reconstitution of Democracy in Europe', 21 <sup>st</sup> International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	ARENA
12-16 July 2009	'What does Central European Organized Civil Society Contribute to European Civil Society?', Petra Guasti, paper presented at the panel 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Reconstitution of Democracy in Europe', 21 <sup>st</sup> IPSA World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	ASCR
12-16 July 2009	'A cosmopolitan view of the ECJ: Public liability and judicial review as case studies', Raúl Letelier, paper presented at the panel 'The Unfinished Democratisation of the EU', 21 <sup>st</sup> IPSA World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	ULEON
12-16 July 2009	'Turning Aliens into Members: Globalisation, Immigration, and Citizenship in the Union of States', Tatjana Evas and Ulrike Liebert	UniHB

	(co-authored with Aleksandra Maatsch), paper presented at the panel 'Globalization, Migration and Changes of Citizenship in Different Regional Contexts', 21 <sup>st</sup> IPSA World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	
12-16 July 2009	<a href="#">'Exit, Voice or Loyalty? The New Politics of European Civil Society'</a> , Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the panel 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Reconstitution of Democracy in Europe', 21 <sup>st</sup> IPSA World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	UniHB
13 July 2009	'Unaccounted Players: Courts and Treaty Ratification', Carlos Closa, paper presented at the panel 'The politics of ratification of the EU Treaties', 21 <sup>st</sup> IPSA World Congress 'Global discontent? Dilemmas of change', Santiago, Chile.	CSIC
July 2009	<a href="#">Sozialphilosophie und Kritik</a> , edited by Rainer Forst (with Martin Hartmann, Rahel Jaeggi, Martin Saar), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.	JWGU
July 2009	'Zwei Bilder der Gerechtigkeit', Rainer Forst, in <i>Sozialphilosophie und Kritik</i> , edited by Rainer Forst, Martin Hartmann, Rahel Jaeggi and Martin Saar, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.	JWGU
July 2009	<a href="#">'The Multilevel Parliamentary field: a framework for theorizing representative democracy in the EU'</a> , Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum, <i>European Political Science Review</i> , Vol. 1, No. 2, pp 249-271.	VUA / ARENA
July 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/08: 'Explicating social action: Arguing or bargaining?'</i> , Erik O. Eriksen.	ARENA
July 2009	'Reframing European Constitutionalism', Neil Walker, in <a href="#">Ruling the World: Constitutionalism, International Law &amp; Global Governance</a> , edited by Jeffrey Dunoff and Joel Trachtman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	EUI
July 2009	<a href="#">'Beyond boundary disputes and basic grids: Mapping the global disorder of normative orders'</a> , Neil Walker, <i>International Journal of Constitutional Law</i> , Vol. 6, No. 3-4, pp. 373-396.	EUI
July 2009	'When European publics polarise: Studying recontextualisation in Polish and French media debates on the EU constitution', Amelie Kutter, paper presented at the 'Public sphere group', Research College, Berlin, Germany.	FUB
1 August 2009	<a href="#">"EU og norske intellektuelle"</a> [The EU and Norwegian intellectuals], Cathrine Holst, August-commentary at <i>Europaveien.no</i> . (In Norwegian)	ARENA
11 August 2009	'Religion: a solution or a problem for the legitimization of the European Union?', François Foret, in <a href="#">Religion and Politics in the construction of the European Union</a> , edited by Lucian Leustean and John Madeley, London: Routledge.	ULB
August 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/09: 'Designing Politicization. How control mechanisms in national parliaments affect parliamentary debates in EU policy-formulation'</i> , Pieter De Wilde.	ARENA
August 2009	'Bak parolene: Fem utfordringer for feminismen [Behind the slogans: five challenges for feminism]', Cathrine Holst, in <a href="#">Demokratiet før og nå</a> , edited by Anders Rapvik Jupskås et al., Oslo: Unifob	ARENA
5 September 2009	<a href="#">'Eurocepticism and the digital public sphere'</a> , Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the 9 <sup>th</sup> European Sociological Association (ESA) General Conference, 'European Society or European Societies?', Lisbon, Portugal.	ARENA
5 September 2009	'When "Bolkestein" is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse: A discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of EU multi-level politics', Amandine Crespy, presentation at	ULB



	the American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada.	
7-9 September 2009	'L'intégration européenne: état des lieux, état de crise?', François Foret, introductory presentation to the 10 <sup>th</sup> International Conference of the French Association of Political Science (AFSP), 'L'Europe sans constitution: quelle communauté politique en construction?', Grenoble, France.	ULB
10 September 2009	'The European Union: A Distinct Kind of International Actor?', Amelie Kutter, report in <a href="#">i-see! Lettre d'information de la Section d'Etudes Européennes</a> , No. 12, pp. 51-54.	FUB
10 September 2009	' <a href="#">Why do they agree? EU coordination in the International Labour Organization</a> ', Marianne Riddervold and Helene Sjursen, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	ARENA
10 September 2009	' <a href="#">Multilevel Citizenship Attribution in the European Union: A Research Agenda</a> ', Espen D. H. Olsen, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	ARENA
10 September 2009	' <a href="#">The European Union as International Actor: EU Public Visibility in Media Debates on Humanitarian and Military Interventions (1990-2005/6)</a> ', Cathleen Kantner, Amelie Kutter and Swantje Renfordt, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	FUB
10 September 2009	' <a href="#">Is there a Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy? An Addendum to the Literature on EU</a> ', Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Potsdam, Germany.	SABU
10 September 2009	' <a href="#">Informal Elite Dialogue and Democratic Control: Core Dilemma or Key Opportunity for EU Foreign and Security Politics?</a> ', Uwe Puetter, Antje Wiener and Hannes Hansen-Magnusson, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	UHAM
11 September 2009	' <a href="#">European Political Rituals: a Challenging Tradition in the Making</a> ', François Foret, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	ULB
11 September 2009	' <a href="#">Civil Society and the Legitimacy of the EU Polity</a> ', Petra Guasti, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	ASCR
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Specifying the Terms of Engagement between Demois: The Services Directive in the EU's Multilevel Parliamentary Field</a> ', Ben Crum and Eric Miklin, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	VUA
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Complex Diversity: the EU and Canada Compared</a> ', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference at the University of Potsdam, Germany.	ARENA
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Civil society as an element of the compound representative structure of the EU</a> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	ARENA
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Advancing the Linguistic Turn in Constructivist Studies</a> ', Amelie Kutter, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	FUB
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Politicising EU decision-making through national parliaments: Chances and risks</a> ', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	VUA
12 September 2009	' <a href="#">Distributive Conflict, Social Justice and Rule of Law in Ethnically Diverse Post-communist Democracies in the EU: a Case Study of the Jurisprudence of Estonian Courts</a> ', Tatjana Evas, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of	UniHB

	Potsdam, Germany.	
12 September 2009	<a href="#">'Comparative Political Discourse Analysis: A Qualitative–Quantitative Approach (QQC-PDA)'</a> , Ulrike Liebert, Aleksandra Maatsch and Kathrin Packham, paper presented at the 5 <sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Potsdam, Germany.	UniHB
12 September 2009	'Surveys of MPs in the parliament of the Czech Republic between 1993 and 2007', Zdenka Mansfeldová, paper presented at the workshop 'Interviewing Members of Parliament', University of Jena and Leibniz-Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Berlin, Germany.	ASCR
14-19 September 2009	RECON WP 5 workshop: <a href="#">'Euroscpticism in EU election e-debates: Coding online text'</a> , ARENA, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
22 September 2009	'Explaining Party Performance in European Communication. A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Party Political Cueing in Domestic EU Treaty Ratification', Kathrin Packham, PhD Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Bremen, Germany.	UniHB
22 September 2009	"Nadchodzą nowi mieszkańcy" [A new urban middle class develops], Pawel Kubicki, interview with Pawel Kubicki, <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> (Poland's second-largest daily newspaper).	JUK
September 2009	<a href="#">'Der Sinn von Demokratie. Die Diskurstheorie der Demokratie und die Debatte über die Legitimität der EU'</a> , Daniel Gaus, Frankfurt: Campus	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">'The Unfinished Democratization of Europe'</a> , Erik O. Eriksen, Oxford: Oxford University Press	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">RECON Report No 7: 'Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe and Beyond: Patterns of Supranational and Transnational Juridification'</a> , Rainer Nickel (ed.), ARENA Report 1/09.	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">RECON Report No. 8: 'RECON – Theory in Practice'</a> , Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (eds), ARENA Report 2/09.	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">RECON Report No. 9: 'The Lisbon Treaty and national constitutions: Europeanisation and democratic implications'</a> , Carlos Closa (ed.), ARENA Report 3/09, Oslo.	ARENA/ CEPC
September 2009	<a href="#">RECON Online Working Paper 2009/10: 'Denouncing European Integration. Euroscepticism as a reactive identity formation'</a> , Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter De Wilde.	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">'From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective'</a> , Amandine Crespy (with Nicolas Verschueren), <i>Perspectives on European Politics and Society</i> , Volume 10, Issue 3, pp. 377-393.	ULB
September 2009	<a href="#">'Impartial mediator or critical watchdog? The role of Political Journalism in EU-constitution-making'</a> , Hans-Jörg Trenz and Guri Rosén (with Maximilian Conrad), <i>Comparative European Politics</i> , Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 342-363.	ARENA
September 2009	<a href="#">'National Interests or Individual Ideological Preferences? The Services Directive inside the EU's Council of Ministers'</a> , Eric Miklin, <i>West European Politics</i> , Vol. 32, No. 5, pp. 943-962.	VUA
September 2009	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 2/2009</a>	ARENA
9-10 October 2009	<a href="#">RECON Midterm Conference</a> , Prague, Czech Republic.	ASCR/ ARENA
12 November 2009	<a href="#">Mild og modig</a> [Gentle and brave], interview with Cathrine Holst in Apollon (research magazine at the University of Oslo)	ARENA
19 October 2009	'French Political Theory and European Integration', Justine Lacroix, presentation at research seminar, Center for Social Ethics, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.	ULB

12-13 November 2009	RECON WP 4 workshop: ' <a href="#">Assessing Gender Democracy in Europe</a> ', Centre for the Advancement of Women in Politics, Queen's University Belfast, UK	QUB
12 November 2009	'Theories of European integration and religion', François Foret, presentation at a seminar organised by the LSE Forum on Religion, London, UK	ULB
14 November 2009	'Human rights in the EU's foreign policy: universal in discourse, flexible in practice', Selin Türkeş, paper presented at conference, Turkish Political Science Association, Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey.	SABU
27 November 2009	'Populism, belonging and the media', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the Cinefago workshop ' <a href="#">Populism Left and Right</a> ', University of Leicester, UK	ARENA
November 2009	RECON Online Working Paper 2009/11: ' <a href="#">Recognition and Political Theory: Paradoxes and conceptual challenges of the politics of recognition</a> ', Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns.	JWGU
November 2009	RECON Online Working Paper 2009/12: ' <a href="#">How Independent are EU Agencies?</a> ', Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger.	ARENA (MZES)
November 2009	RECON Online Working Paper 2009/13: ' <a href="#">Using Eurobarometer Data on Voter Participation in the 2004 European Elections to Test the RECON Models</a> ', Dionysia Tamvaki.	UoR
November 2009	' <a href="#">Europe's American dream</a> ', John Erik Fossum, <i>European Journal of Social Theory</i> , Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 483–504.	ARENA
November 2009	' <a href="#">Accountability and personalisation of the European Council Presidency</a> ', Ben Crum, <i>Journal of European Integration</i> , Vol. 31, No. 6, pp. 685-701.	VUA
November 2009	' <a href="#">Organisierte Zivilgesellschaft im EU-Verfassungsprozess. Partner des Regierens oder Konstituent politischer Ordnung</a> ', Hans-Jörg Trenz (with Nadine Bernhard and Erik Jentges), <i>Berliner Journal für Soziologie</i> , Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 353-377.	ARENA
November 2009	'Kollisionsrecht als verfassungsrechtliche Form: Das Beispiel der Verrechtlichung des internationalen Handels durch die WTO', Christian Joerges, in <i>Was bleibt vom Staat? Demokratie, Recht und Verfassung im globalen Zeitalter</i> , edited by Nicole Deitelhoff and Jens Steffek, Frankfurt am Main: Campus.	ZERP
4-5 December 2009	'Linguistic construction of gender identities in personal memories', Nóra Schleicher, paper presented at the conference 'Memory, Identity, Discourse', Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
4-5 December 2009	'Memory morsels. Spanish, French and Hungarian public and private memories and their role in identity formation', Maria Heller, paper presented at the conference 'Memory, Identity, Discourse', Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
4-5 December 2009	'Discursive identities', Peter Bodor, paper presented at the conference 'Memory, Identity, Discourse', Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
4-5 December 2009	'"I don't feel European, this is my problem". Birth of a new identity?', Júlia Vajda, paper presented at the conference 'Memory, Identity, Discourse', Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
8 December 2009	'How are we to distinguish democracy from epistocracy?', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the symposium on David Estlund's book 'Democratic Authority: a philosophical framework', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
11 December 2009	'Progressive Nationalism? Norwegian intellectuals and Europe', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the ARENA Annual Conference ' <a href="#">Euro scepticism in Perspective</a> ', Oslo, Norway.	ARENA

11 December 2009	'Why Euroscepticism matters', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the ARENA Annual Conference 'Euroscepticism in Perspective', Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
11 December 2009	'Euroscepticism in the Media: What are we talking about', Pieter de Wilde, paper presented at the ARENA Annual Conference 'Euroscepticism in Perspective', Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
11 December 2009	'Denouncing Europe? Citizens' debate online', Asimina Michailidou, paper presented at the ARENA Annual Conference 'Euroscepticism in Perspective', Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
18 December 2009	RECON WP 3 workshop: ' <a href="#">Methodological dimensions of the RECON democracy models</a> ', Institute for European Integration, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria.	OEAW
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/14: '<a href="#">Applying precaution in Community authorisation of genetically modified products. Challenges and suggestions for reform</a>', Maria Weimer.</i>	EUI
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/15: '<a href="#">Is there an Europeanisation of Turkish foreign policy? An addendum to the literature on EU candidates</a>', Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy.</i>	SABU
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/16: '<a href="#">Reconstituting Political Representation in the EU? The analytical framework and the operationalisation of the RECON models</a>', Emmanuel Sigalas, Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak, Jozef Bátora and Peter Slominski.</i>	OEAW
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/17: '<a href="#">EU foreign policy elites and fundamental norms. Implications for governance</a>', Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener.</i>	UHAM
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/18: '<a href="#">Making a common foreign policy. EU coordination in the ILO</a>', Marianne Riddervold.</i>	ARENA
December 2009	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2009/19: '<a href="#">The Commission and its Principals. Delegation Theory on a Common European External Trade Policy in the WTO</a>', Rachel Herp Tausendfreud.</i>	UniHB
December 2009	RECON Report No 10: ' <a href="#">The Sinews of European Peace. Reconstituting the Democratic Legitimacy of the Socio-Economic Constitution of the European Union</a> ', Raúl Letelier and Agustín José Menéndez (eds), ARENA Report 7/09.	ARENA/ ULEON
December 2009	<i>Hva er feminisme?</i> , Cathrine Holst, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.	ARENA
2009	'Legitime politische Ordnung jenseits des demokratischen Rechtsstaats? Ein Versuch der Explikation des Staatsverständnisses von Jürgen Habermas im Lichte des Geltungsanspruchs der Diskurstheorie des demokratischen Rechtsstaats', Daniel Gaus, in <a href="#">Das Staatsverständnis von Jürgen Habermas</a> , edited by Gary S. Schaal, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	ARENA
2009	'Egy osztálytalálkozó tanulságai. A nyilvános beszéd gender szempontú elemzése', [Lessons of a class reunion: an analysis of the role of gender in public speaking], Nóra Schleicher, in <i>Látás-viszonyok</i> , edited by P. Somlai, B. Surányi, R. Tardos and M. Vásárhelyi, Budapest: Pallas.	ELTE
2009	'The European Union's Legitimacy Crisis and The Final Frontiers of Europe', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, in <i>European Integration from Rome to Berlin; 1957-2007</i> , edited by Julio Baquero Cruz and Carlos Closa, Brussels: Peter Lang.	SABU
2009	'Freedom of expression and freedom of discourse: Assessing a Justificatory Strategy', Cathrine Holst (with Anders Molander), in <a href="#">Freedom of Speech Abridged? Cultural, Legal and philosophical Challenges</a> , edited by Anine Kierulf and Helge Rønning, Göteborg: Nordicom.	ARENA



2009	'The analysis of canonical texts from a social science perspective: Examples from European studies and feminist theory', Cathrine Holst, comment at the workshop 'Constitutive texts in the Social sciences' at the University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
2009	'Nussbaum versus Rawls', Cathrine Holst, in <a href="#">Nature and Rational Agency</a> , edited by Siri Granum Carson, Truls Wyller and Kjartan Koch Mikalsen, London: Peter Lang Publishing.	ARENA
2009	'Habermas om offentligt förnuft och religion' [Habermas on public reasoning and religion], Cathrine Holst (with Anders Molander), <i>Retfærd. Nordisk juridisk tidsskrift</i> , 1/2009, pp. 48-61.	ARENA
2009	'Droits de l'homme ou droits de l'individu?', Justine Lacroix, in <i>De Gauche</i> , edited by A. Caillé and R. Sue, Paris: Fayard.	ULB
2009	'One Union, One Story? In Praise of Europe's Narrative Diversity', Janie Pélabay (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis), in <a href="#">Reflections on European Integration</a> , edited by David Phinnemore and Alex Warleigh-Lack, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.	ULB
2009	'L'Union européenne et la question du pluralisme: Quelle diversité? Quelle unité?', Janie Pélabay, <i>Eyes on Europe</i> , no. 10.	ULB
2009	'Are European elections still second order elections? Citizens' participatory intentions before the European elections 2009', Ewelina Pawlak, MA Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Bremen	UniHB
2009	'Legitime politische Herrschaft ohne staatliche Organisation? Eine Analyse von Joseph H. H. Weilers Rechtfertigung der Legitimität der Europäischen Union qua Nicht-Staatlichkeit', Daniel Gaus, in <i>Staatlichkeit ohne Staat? – Chancen und Aporien von Demokratie und Recht auf globaler Ebene</i> , edited by Nicole Deitelhoff and Jens Steffek, Frankfurt: Campus	ARENA
2009	' <a href="#">Migration and Europeanisation: Changing Identities and Values among Polish Pendulum Migrants and Their Employers</a> ', Marcin Galent/Dariusz Niedźwiedzki (with Idesbald Goddeeris), Krakow: Nomos	JUK
2009	'Norske intellektuelles syn på EU' [The Norwegian intellectuals' perspective on the EU], John Erik Fossum and Cathrine Holst, <i>Internasjonal Politikk</i> , Vol. 67, No. 3, 2009, pp. 441-452.	ARENA
2009	'Jürgen Habermas: Facticidade e Validade', Rainer Forst, in <i>Jürgen Habermas: 80 anos</i> , edited by Günter Frankenberg and Luis Moreira, Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Juris.	JWGU
2009	'Az identitás diszkurzív konstrukciója' [Discursive construction of identity], Peter Bodor, <i>Pszichológia</i> , 2009/4, pp. 327-357.	ELTE
7-8 January 2010	'Parliamentary Representation in a Post National Europe: Evidence from the 2009 EP Election', Emmanuel Sigalas and Johannes Pollak, paper presented at the Swiss Political Science Association conference, Geneva, Switzerland.	OEAW
14 January 2010	'On EU democratisation: the representation-deliberation interface', Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the workshop session: 'Deliberation and representation - challenges of institutional realisation (I)' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
14 January 2010	'European citizenship after <i>Martínez Sala</i> and <i>Baumbast</i> : Has European law become more human but less social?', Agustín José Menéndez, paper presented at the workshop session: 'Law and politics in Europe - some tendencies (I)' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ULEON
14 January 2010	'A new type of Conflicts Law as the legal paradigm of the	UniHB

	postnational constellation', Christian Joerges, paper presented at the workshop: 'Law and politics in Europe - some tendencies (I)' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	
15 January 2010	'Two kinds of democratic legitimacy for the EU? Input- and output-oriented legitimacy as a case of conceptual misformation', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the workshop 'Public reason and political legitimacy' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
15 January 2010	'On the value of parliamentary representation as a means of securing 'justification during the course of legislation'', Christopher Lord, paper presented at the workshop session: 'Deliberation and representation - challenges of justification and selection (III)' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
15 January 2010	'Democratic legitimacy through deliberation', Erik O.Eriksen, paper presented at the workshop session: 'Law, politics and challenges to legitimacy' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
15 January 2010	'Fragmented online public spheres: Participatory journalism online in the European Parliament elections of June 2009', Pieter De Wilde, paper presented at the workshop session: 'The scope and contents of online news-making in European politics' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
15 January 2010	'Mediat(z)ing EU politics: an empirical evaluation of the online European public sphere', Asimina Michailidou, paper presented at the workshop session: 'The scope and contents of online news-making in European politics' at the Demokratiprogrammet Conference 'Democracy as idea and practice', University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
14-16 January 2010	'The Public Sphere Deficit of the European Union Reconsidered' Cathleen Kantner, presentation at the KFG Workshop 'The Contentious Face of European Politics: Towards an Analysis of Discursive and Visual Strategies of Transnational Diffusion', Berlin, Germany.	FUB
14-16 January 2010	'Images and Discourse: Diffusion in Transnational Publics', Amelie Kutter (with Nicole Doerr), presentation at the KFG Workshop 'The Contentious Face of European Politics: Towards an Analysis of Discursive and Visual Strategies of Transnational Diffusion', Berlin, Germany.	FUB
15-16 January 2010	'The Changing Dynamics of Turkish foreign policy: Domestic Determinants', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at the workshop 'Whither Europe-Turkey', Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey.	SABU
26 January 2010	'The Internal Dynamics in the EU Towards Turkey's Accession', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Oxford University, UK.	SABU
29-30 January 2010	'The EU Constitutional Project: A Catalyst for European Identity?', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the conference 'Europe 2020 – the Civic Visions', Sofia, Bulgaria.	ARENA
January 2010	'Towards Proceduralisation of Private Law in the European Multi-Level System', Christian Joerges (with Christoph Schmid) ZERP Working Paper 2010/03, Bremen: ZERP.	UniHB
January 2010	' <a href="#">More Democracy in the European Union?! Mixed Messages from the German Lisbon Ruling</a> ', Ulrike Liebert, in <i>The German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Ruling: Legal and Political Science</i>	UniHB

	<i>Perspectives</i> , edited by Andreas Fischer-Lescano, Christian Joerges and Arndt Wonka, ZERP Discussion Paper 1/2010	
January 2010	' <a href="#">The Lisbon Judgment, Germany's Sozialstaat, the ECJ's Labour Law Jurisprudence and the Reconceptualisation of European Law as a new Type of Conflicts Law</a> ', Christian Joerges in <i>The German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Ruling: Legal and Political Science Perspectives</i> , edited by Andreas Fischer-Lescano, Christian Joerges and Arndt Wonka, ZERP Discussion Paper 1/2010	UniHB
January 2010	'The Europeanization of Political Communication: Conceptual clarifications and empirical measurements', Hans-Jörg Trenz, in <a href="#">Mapping the European Public Sphere. Institutions, media and civil society</a> , edited by Cristiano Bee and Emanuela Bozzini, London: Ashgate.	ARENA
January 2010	' <a href="#">Out of Place and Out of Time: Law's Fading Co-ordinates</a> ', Neil Walker, <i>Edinburgh Law Review</i> , vol.14, no. 1, pp. 13-46.	EUI
January 2010	'The EU's many Representative Modes: Colliding? Cohering?', Christopher Lord and Johannes Pollak, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 117-36.	ARENA/ OEAW
26 February 2010	'EU Former en Felles Utenrikspolitikk' [The EU is shaping a Common Foreign Policy], Helene Sjursen, article in the Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	ARENA
February 2010	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 1/2010</a>	ARENA
February 2010	'Martínez Sala and Baumbast: An Institutional Analysis', Carlos Closa, in <a href="#">The Past and Future of EU Law: The Classics of EU Law Revisited on the 50th Anniversary of the Rome Treaty</a> , edited by Miguel Poiares Maduro and Loïc Azoulay, Oxford: Hart Publishing.	CSIC
February 2010	'European Citizenship after Martínez Sala and Baumbast: Has European Law Become More Human but Less Social?', Agustín José Menéndez, in <a href="#">The Past and Future of EU Law: The Classics of EU Law Revisited on the 50th Anniversary of the Rome Treaty</a> , edited by Miguel Poiares Maduro and Loïc Azoulay, Oxford: Hart Publishing.	ULEON
February 2010	'Internationale Krisen als Motor der Institutionalisierung? Mediendebatten zu Kriegerischen Konflikten und die Entwicklung der Europäischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (1990-2006)', Amelie Kutter, presentation at Media and International Politics, Annual Conference of DG PuK and DVPW, Mannheim, Germany.	FUB
3 March 2010	'EU som Utenrikspolitikk: Bare Spillfekteri?' [The EU as foreign policy: Only humbug?], Marianne Riddervold and Helene Sjursen, presentation at lunch seminar at the Norwegian Ministry of Defence.	ARENA
16 March 2010	'Institutional Innovation in the EU: The Presidency of the European Council', Carlos Closa, ARI 47/2010, Analysis of the Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, Spain.	CSIC
18 March 2010	'Conflits des identités nationale et européenne', Maria Heller, paper presented at the EURDEMOS 2010 intensive course 'De l'Europe des empires vers un nouvel empire européen?', Galatasaray University, Istanbul, Turkey.	ELTE
18-20 March 2010	' <a href="#">Gender Democracy: Comparing Governance Processes in the EU</a> ', Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero, paper presented at the panel 'Is there a model of gender-based governance? EU and non EU', IPSA conference 'Is there a European Model of Governance? A Comparative Perspective', Luxembourg.	QUB
18-20 March 2010	'Civil Society and the Legitimacy of the EU Polity', Petra Rakušanová Guasti, paper presented at the IPSA International Conference 'Is there a European Model of Governance? A Comparative Perspective', Luxembourg.	ASCR

18-20 March 2010	'Inter-parliamentary Cooperation in EU decision-making: Shifting the Power Relations within National Parliaments? The Case of the Austrian Parliament', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the IPSA International Conference 'Is there a European Model of Governance? A Comparative Perspective', Luxembourg.	VUA
18-20 March 2010	' <a href="#">The Content and Quality of Representation in the European Assembly: Towards building an updated Discourse Quality Index at the EU level</a> ', Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvaki, paper presented at the IPSA International Conference 'Is there a European Model of Governance? A Comparative Perspective', Luxembourg	ARENA
19 March 2010	'Le problème de l'Euroscepticisme', Maria Heller, paper presented at the EURDEMOS 2010 intensive course 'De l'Europe des empires vers un nouvel empire européen?', Galatasaray University, Istanbul, Turkey.	ELTE
23 March 2010	'EU som Utenrikspolitisk Aktør: Funn fra to Maritime Case [The EU as a Foreign Policy Actor: Findings from two Maritime Cases]', Marianne Riddervold, presentation at a seminar on the EU as an actor in foreign policy by 'Europaforum for forskning', Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
22-27 March 2010	'The Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy' Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn, paper presented at the workshop 'Inter-Parliamentary Relations in Europe', ECPR Joint Sessions, Münster, Germany.	PRIF
22-27 March 2010	'Reconstructing Parliamentary Sovereignty in Multilevel Politics: The Case of the EU Services Directive', Ben Crum and Eric Miklin, paper presented at the workshop on 'Inter-Parliamentary Relations in Europe' at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Münster, Germany.	VUA
22-27 March 2010	'Causal Complexities of Electoral Change in Europe: Using QCA for Testing "First" and "Second" Order Election Models', Ulrike Liebert (with Ewelina Pawlak), paper presented at the workshop on 'Inter-Parliamentary Relations in Europe' at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Münster, Germany.	UniHB
23 March - 1 April 2010	'Effects of Europeanization on the Parliaments of the Central and Eastern Europe: Relationships between Parliamentary Chambers in the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and Slovenia.', Petra Rakušanová Guasti, paper presented at the panel 'The Past, Present, and Future of Bicameralism', 60 <sup>th</sup> PSA Annual Conference, Edinburgh, UK.	ASCR
26 March 2010	'Tożsamości nie nabywa się poprzez urodzenie w mieście' [Identity is not acquired through birth in a city], interview with Pawel Kubicki and Marcin Galent in <i>Gazeta Krakowska</i> (the largest regional daily newspaper in Kraków, Poland).	JUK
March 2010	'Beyond the Holistic Constitution?', Neil Walker, in <a href="#">The Twilight of Constitutionalism</a> , edited by Martin Loughlin and Petra Dobner, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	EUI
March 2010	' <a href="#">The Benelux Countries: How Politicisation Upset a Pro-Integration Coalition</a> ', Ben Crum and Peter Bursens, in <i>National Politics and European Integration: From the Constitution to the Lisbon Treaty</i> , edited by Maurizio Carbone, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.	VUA
8 April 2010	'Turkey's Accession to the EU: An Islamic Challenge for Europe?', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, Italy.	SABU
9 April 2010	'Hvor stopper Europa?' [Where does Europe end?], Helene Sjørusen, article in the Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	ARENA
9 April 2010	'Q Method Analysis of Patterns of Collective Identity Among Hungarian University Students', Erika Kurucz, paper presented in the	ELTE



	ELTE-RECON public lecture series.	
8-9 April 2010	'Enhancing Democracy in the European Union? Mixed Messages from the German Lisbon Ruling', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the conference 'Der 'verfasste politische Primärraum': Staat, Demokratie und Integration nach dem Lissabon-Urteil', German Association of Political Science (DVPW), Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg, Germany.	UniHB
15-17 April 2010	'Choice and Competition in Compulsory Education', Christa Van Wijnbergen (with Alison Johnston), paper prepared for the panel 'Comparative political economy of education and welfare', Seventeenth International Conference of Europeanists, Montreal, Canada.	LSE
20 April 2010	'Squaring the Circle: Gender Democracy in Hungary as Reflected by the Implementation of the Goods and Services Directive: A Study About the Legislative Process', Róza Vajda, research paper presented at ELTE-RECON public lecture series, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
23 April 2010	' <a href="#">Thinking about Gender and Democracy</a> ', Yvonne Galligan, Papers on Parliament Vol. 53: Lectures in the Senate Occasional Lectures Series, and other Papers, Canberra: Parliament of Australia.	QUB
26 April 2010	'Differentiated Integration and Flexibility in the EU under the Lisbon Treaty: Challenges for the Trio Presidency', Carlos Closa, ARI 77/2010, Analysis of the Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, Spain.	CSIC
29 April 2010	'Democratic Participation: What can Canada and the EU Learn from Each Other?', John Erik Fossum, presentation at the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue's Democracy and Participation Symposium 'What can Canada and the European Union learn from each other?' at the University of Victoria Victoria, BC, Canada.	ARENA
28-29 April 2010	'Europe's Constitutional Situation and What Lessons Europe Might Learn from Canada's Constitutional Experience', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the symposium 'Democracy and Participation: What can Canada and the European Union learn from each other?', Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, University of Victoria, Canada.	ARENA
30 April 2010	'Democratizing Constitution Making in Canada and the European Union', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the European Community Studies Association 8 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference 'Whither Europe?' Victoria, BC, Canada.	ARENA
April 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/01: <a href="#">The COREU/ CORTESY Network and the Circulation of Information within EU Foreign Policy</a></i> , Federica Bicchì and Caterina Carta.	LSE
April 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/02: <a href="#">European Identity Constructions in Public Debates on Wars and Military Interventions</a></i> , Dominika Biegón.	UniHB
6-7 May 2010	'Playing Into the Hands of the Commission? Accounting for the Impact of International Organisations on EU foreign Policy Making (ILO)', Marianne Riddervold and Helene Sjursen, paper presented at the workshop 'The influence of international institutions on the European Union', Barcelona, Spain.	ARENA
14 May 2010	'EUs Motstrebende Medlem' [The EU's Reluctant Member] Helene Sjursen, article in the Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	ARENA
27-28 May 2010	RECON WP 6 workshop: <a href="#">Computer-aided methods of textual analysis</a> , Free University Berlin, Germany.	FUB
28-29 May 2010	RECON WP 3 workshop: <a href="#">Directions of Change</a> , Institute for	OEAW

	European Integration Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria.	
28-29 May 2010	RECON WP 5 workshop: <a href="#">Euroscepticism and the future of European democracy</a> , Jagellonian University Krakow, Poland.	JUK
29 May 2010	'Justitia ist Blind und ist es Doch Nicht', Rainer Forst, <i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i> , p.61.	JWGU
27-29 May 2010	'Diszkurzus és érzelem' [Discourse and emotions], Péter Bodor, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Hungarian Association of Psychology, Pécs, Hungary.	ELTE
May 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/04: 'Women's Rights in Turkey as Gauge of its European Vocation: The Impact of 'EU-niversal Values''</i> , Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Nora Fisher Onar.	SABU
May 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/05: 'The Idea of a Three-Dimensional Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form'</i> , Christian Joerges.	UniHB
2 June 2010	'Gender Equality in the European Union: What Lessons for Democracy?', Yvonne Galligan, paper presented at the Europe Institute, University of Auckland, New Zealand.	QUB
3 June 2010	'Representative Democracy in the EU and Canada Compared', John Erik Fossum (with David Lycock), paper presented at the Annual Conference for the Canadian Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada.	ARENA
4 June 2010	'Representation in the EU and Canada Compared', John Erik Fossum, presentation at the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue seminar 'Who is in Charge? Parliament, the Prime Minister or, the provinces? European and Canadian Experience with Parliaments in Multi-level (Federal) Systems', Victoria, BC, Canada.	ARENA
4 June 2010	'The Online Public Sphere: Research Strategies', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the workshop 'Culture and politics in the public spheres of multicultural societies', Centre for French-Norwegian Research Cooperation in Social and Human Sciences, Paris, France.	ARENA
7 June 2010	'What Do We Owe the Poles (or the Greeks)? Transnational Social Justice in the European Union', Ben Crum, paper presented at the Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Madrid, Spain.	VUA
16-19 June 2010	'Are there Analytical Reasons for Preferring Real World Examples to Thought Experiments in Normative Political Theory?', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the workshop 'Political Ethics', Uppsala, Sweden.	ARENA
22 June 2010	'Two Decades of Czech Parliamentarism', Zdenka Mansfeldová, Lecture at the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, Czech Republic.	ASCR
23-26 June 2010	'Internal-external Consistency in the EU's Human Rights Policy: Comparative Study of the EU's Positions on Closure Cases of DTP and Batasuna', Selin Turkes, paper presented at the ECPR 5 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal.	SABU
23-26 June 2010	'Enhancing Democracy through Constitutional Pluralism? The Czech, German and Latvian Lisbon Rulings in Dialogue', Tatjana Evas and Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the ECPR 5 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal.	UniHB
23-26 June 2010	'The Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy', Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn, paper presented at the ECPR 5 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal.	PRIF
23-26 June 2010	'Europeanization of the Mass Media: Normative Assessment and	ARENA

	Empirical Analysis', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presented at the ECPR 5 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal.	
23-26 June 2010	'Technocratic or Democratic? Role Orientations of EU Agency Personnel', Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger, paper presented at the ECPR 5 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal.	ARENA (MZES)
25 June 2010	'Der Beitrag der Zivilgesellschaft zum Repräsentativen Feld der EU', Sandra Kröger, presentation in the Colloquium 'EU governance und Zivilgesellschaft vor dem Hintergrund der Osterweiterung', Research Center for East European Studies, Bremen University, Germany.	UniHB
30 June 2010	'What do we owe the Poles (or the Greeks)? Transnational Social Justice in the European Union', Ben Crum, paper presented at a Staff seminar of the Department of Political Science, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands.	VUA
June 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/06: <a href="#">'Gender Identity in a Democratic Europe'</a></i> , Nóra Schleicher.	ELTE
June 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/07: <a href="#">'In Defence of Kant's League of States'</a></i> , Kjartan Koch Mikalsen.	ARENA
June 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/08: <a href="#">'European Governmentality or Decentralised Network Governance? The Case of the European Employment Strategy'</a></i> , Kolja Möller.	UniHB
June 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/09: <a href="#">'2009 European Parliamentary Elections on the Web. A Mediatization Perspective'</a></i> , Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz.	ARENA
June 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/10: <a href="#">'The Committee of the Regions. The RECON Models from a Subnational Perspective'</a></i> , Justus Schönau.	ARENA
June 2010	<i>RECON Report No. 11: <a href="#">'What Democracy for Europe? Proceedings from the RECON Midterm Conference'</a></i> , Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (eds), ARENA Report 3/10	ARENA
June 2010	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 2/2010</a>	ARENA
June 2010	<a href="#">Europe's Economic Government: Or How to Use the Treaty for More Effective Economic Coordination in the Euro Area?</a> , Stefan Collignon, policy paper.	LSE
June 2010	<a href="#">After Greece, the European republic</a> , Stefan Collignon, commentary	LSE
June 2010	<a href="#">Three fallacies of the European economic crisis</a> , Agustín José Menéndez, commentary	ULEON
June 2010	'A Matter of Principle'? EU Foreign Policy in the International Labour Organization', Marianne Riddervold, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 581-98.	ARENA
2 July 2010	'Reflections on Cosmopolitanism and the Emerging European Identity: Turkey in the EU's Reflection Group Report', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, Turkey.	SABU
5-10 July 2010	'Gender Identity in a Democratic Europe', Nóra Schleicher, paper presented at the Summer University Course 'Feminist Intersectionality and Political Discourse', Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.	ELTE
18-23 July 2010	'Internal-external consistency in the EU's human rights policy: Comparative study of the EU's positions on closure cases of DTP and Batasuna', Selin Turkes, paper presented at the World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies-WOCMES, University of Autonomia, Barcelona, Spain.	SABU
23 July 2010	'Mindre Kontroll med Utenrikspolitikken' [Less Control With the	ARENA

	Foreign Policy], Helene Sjursen, article in the Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	
July 2010	'The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification. A Reflexive Approach', Rainer Forst, <i>Ethics</i> , vol. 120, no. 4, pp.711-740.	JWGU
July 2010	'Credibility, Complexity and Uncertainty: Explaining the Institutional Independence of 29 EU Agencies', Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger, <i>West European Politics</i> , Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 730-52.	ARENA (MZES)
July 2010	'Religion Between Nation and Europe: The French and Belgian "No" to the Christian Heritage of Europe', François Foret (with Virginie Riva), <i>West European Politics</i> , vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 791-809.	ULB
July 2010	'Towards a Critical Theory of Transnational Justice', Rainer Forst, in <i>Globale Gerechtigkeit: Schlüsseltexte zur Debatte Zwischen Partikularismus und Kosmopolitismus</i> edited by Christoph Broszies and Henning Hahn, Berlin, Suhrkamp.	JWGU
Summer 2010	'Religions de la Politique, Religion et Politique. Soubassements d'un Débat Européen', François Foret, <i>Annuaire Droit et Religion</i> .	ULB
August 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/11: 'European Transformation. A Pragmatic Approach'</i> , Erik O. Eriksen.	ARENA
August 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/12: 'Informal Elite Dialogue and Democratic Control in EU Foreign and Security Policy'</i> , Antje Wiener and Uwe Puetter.	UHAM
August 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/13: 'Democracy Models and Parties at the EU Level. Empirical Evidence from the Adoption of the 2009 European Election Manifestoes'</i> , Emmanuel Sigalas, Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak, Peter Slominski and Jozef Bátora.	OEAW
August 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/14: 'The Quality of Democracy in the Czech Republic'</i> , Zdenka Mansfeldová and Petra Rakušanová Guasti.	ASCR
August 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/15: 'Two Stories about Toleration'</i> , Rainer Forst.	JWGU
August 2010	'A Democratically Accountable European External Action Service: Three Scenarios', Jozef Bátora, in <i>Understanding the Role of Bureaucracy in the European Security and Defence Policy</i> , edited by Sophie Vanhoonacker, Hylke Dijkstra and Heidi Maurer, <i>European Integration online Papers (EIoP)</i> , Special Issue 1, Vol. 14.	OEAW
August 2010	'Parliaments and European Security Policy: Mapping the Parliamentary Field', Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Nicole Deitelhoff, in <i>Understanding the Role of Bureaucracy in the European Security and Defence Policy</i> , edited by Sophie Vanhoonacker, Hylke Dijkstra and Heidi Maurer, <i>European Integration online Papers (EIoP)</i> , Special Issue 1, Vol. 14.	PRIF
August 2010	Decision-making Void of Democratic Qualities? An Evaluation of the EU's Second Pillar Decision-making Procedure, Anne Elizabeth Stie, in <i>Understanding the Role of Bureaucracy in the European Security and Defence Policy</i> , edited by Sophie Vanhoonacker, Hylke Dijkstra and Heidi Maurer, <i>European Integration online Papers (EIoP)</i> , Special Issue 1, Vol. 14.	ARENA
1-5 September 2010	'Noumenal Power', Rainer Forst, paper presented at the APSA annual conference 'The Politics of Hard Times: Citizens, Nations, and the International System under Economic Stress', Washington DC, USA.	JWGU
5-7 September 2010	RECON WP 9 workshop: <i>After Globalisation - New Patterns of Conflict</i> , University of Bremen, Germany.	UniHB
6-8 September	'Social Democrats Marching to Market: The Case of Employment	LSE



2010	Services', Waltraud Schelkle, (co-authors Deborah Mabbett and Maximilian Freier), paper presented at the UACES Conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe: Europe at a Crossroads', Bruges, Belgium	
6-8 September 2010	'Mediati(z)ing EU Politics: Online News Coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the UACES conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe: Europe at a Crossroads', Bruges, Belgium.	ARENA
6-8 September 2010	'Do Expectations Meet Reality? The Influence of the Euro-Parties over the 2009 European Election Manifestoes and Campaigns', Emmanuel Sigalas and Monica Mokre, paper presented at the UACES Conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe: Europe at a Crossroads', Bruges, Belgium.	OEAW
6-8 September 2010	'How Technocratic are the New European Technocrats? An Empirical Assessment of the Political Attitudes of EU Agency Staff', paper presented at the panel 'Accountability: A Key to Legitimate EU Governance?', Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger, UACES Conference 'Exchanging Ideas on Europe: Europe at a Crossroads', Bruges, Belgium.	ARENA (MZES)
9 September 2010	'Comments on the EU's External Action Service', Helene Sjørnsen, presentation at a seminar at the Delegation of the EU to Norway, Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
9-11 September 2010	'The Parliamentary Control of European Security Policy', Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn, paper presented at the 7th Pan-European Conference of ECPR'S Standing Group on International Relations, Stockholm, Sweden.	PRIF
9-11 September 2010	'Finally Flexing its Muscles? The EU's Naval Military Operation Against Piracy', Marianne Riddervold, paper presented at the 7 <sup>th</sup> Pan-European Conference of ECPR'S Standing Group on International Relations, Stockholm, Sweden.	ARENA
15 September 2010	'Education for Democracy in Hungarian Schools', Mihály Csákó, presentation at the IPSA conference RC21 (RC of Political Socialisation and Education), Aalborg, Denmark.	ELTE
16-17 September 2010	RECON WP 3 workshop: <a href="#">Agency Governance in the EU and its Consequences</a> , MZES, University of Mannheim, Germany.	ARENA (MZES)
16-17 September 2010	RECON WP 6 workshop: <a href="#">What Kind of Democracy for What Kind of European Foreign and Security Policy?</a> , ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
16-18 September 2010	'Representation in the EU: The Third Transformation', Sandra Kröger (with Dawid Friedrich), paper presented at the workshop 'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?', Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany.	UniHB
16-18 September 2010	'The Effects of the Commission Consultation Regime on Civil Society Organizations: Democracy Promoter or Interest Defender?', Sandra Kröger, paper presented at the workshop 'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?', Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany.	UniHB
16-18 September 2010	'The Digital Public Sphere as a Representative Order: The 2009 EP Election Campaigns in a Cross-national Perspective', Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the workshop 'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?', Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany.	ARENA
16-18 September 2010	'Representative claims-making in the case of EU budget negotiations', Pieter De Wilde, paper presented at the workshop	ARENA

	'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?', Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany.	
16-18 September 2010	'Parliamentary Representation in a Post-National Europe: Evidence from the 2009 EP Elections', Emmanuel Sigalas and Johannes Pollak, paper presented at the workshop 'Representation in the European Union: Coping with present challenges to democracy?', Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany.	OEAW
18-20 September 2010	'Gendered Construction of Success and Failure in Autobiographical Narratives of Hungarian Speakers', Nóra Schleicher, paper presented at the 6 <sup>th</sup> International Gender and Language Association Biennial Conference, Tokyo, Japan.	ELTE
24-25 September 2010	'Has Richard Bellamy Got it Right? A Discussion of Political Constitutionalism', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the political theory workshop 'Republicanism Today', University of Copenhagen, Denmark.	ARENA
30 September-1 October 2010	RECON WP 1 workshop: <a href="#">The European Political Order: State-less but Democratic and Just?</a> , ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
September 2010	'Is there a Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy? An Addendum to the Literature on EU Candidates', Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy, <i>Turkish Studies</i> , vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 405-27.	SABU
September 2010	'Representation and Accountability: Connecting Tubes?', Christopher Lord and Johannes Pollak, <i>Western European Politics</i> , vol. 33, no. 5, pp. 968-89.	ARENA/ OEAW
September 2010	RECON Online Working Paper 2010/16: <a href="#">'Constitutionalism Beyond the State: Myth or Necessity?'</a> , Jean L. Cohen.	ARENA
September 2010	RECON Online Working Paper 2010/17: <a href="#">'Bringing European Democracy back in. Or how to Read the German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Treaty Ruling'</a> , Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum.	ARENA
September 2010	RECON Online Working Paper 2010/18: <a href="#">'Between an Intergovernmental and a Polycentric European Union. National Parliamentary Discourses on Democracy in the EU Ratification Process'</a> , Aleksandra Maatsch.	UniHB
6-10 Oct 2010	<i>Hva er Feminisme?</i> [What is feminism?], Cathrine Holst's book selected as non-fiction title at the Norwegian stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2010, the biggest book and media fair in the world	ARENA
7 October 2010	'Amartya Sen: Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit', Rainer Forst, <i>Die Zeit</i> , p 54	JWGU
7 October 2010	'The role of the Heads of Missions' Reports (HoMs Reports) in National Foreign Policy Making', Federica Bicchi and Caterina Carta, paper presented at the EuroTrans workshop 'Simply uploading executive power? Democracy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union', Oslo, Norway	LSE
7 October 2010	'(Why) is There a Democratic Problem in the CFSP?', Helene Sjursen, paper presented at the EuroTrans workshop 'Simply uploading executive power? Democracy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union', Oslo, Norway	ARENA
8 October 2010	'European Security Governance: The Problem of Epistocracy', Erik O. Eriksen, paper presented at the EuroTrans workshop 'Simply uploading executive power? Democracy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union', Oslo, Norway	ARENA
13-16 October 2010	'European Public Sphere: East / West Cleavages', Maria Heller, lecture at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) conference: Transcultural Communication – Intercultural Comparisons, Hans Bredow Institute for Media Research at the University of Hamburg, Germany	ELTE

29-31 October 2010	"(...) the Guests Want to Taste the Pasta and See for Themselves': A Critical Discussion of Martha Nussbaum's Outcome-oriented Theory of Justice', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Nordic Network in Political Theory conference, Lysebu, Oslo, Norway	ARENA
October 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/19: 'Social Welfare and Democracy in Europe. What Role for the Private and Voluntary Sectors?'</i> , Tess Altman and Cris Shore	UOA
October 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/20: 'Social models in the enlarged EU'</i> , David G. Mayes and Zaidah Mustaffa	UOA
October 2010	RECON Report No. 12: ' <a href="#">Collective Identity and Democracy: The Impact of EU Enlargement</a> ', Magdalena Góra and Zdzisław Mach (eds), ARENA Report 3/10	JUK
October 2010	'Coherence in Applying European Union Law: A Comparative Assessment of Estonian and Latvian Courts (2004-9)', Tatjana Evas, PhD thesis, University of Bremen	UniHB
4-5 November 2010	'Denouncing European Integration: Euroscepticism as Polity Contestation', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at: ESA Political Sociology Section Mid-Term Conference 'Citizenship and Democracy: Membership, forms of participation, within and across European territories', Lille, France	ARENA
25 November 2010	'The Three Different Models for Turkey's EU Accession', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey	SABU
26 November 2010	'Gender', Cathrine Holst, presentation at the Norwegian Sociology 60 Years conference, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
November 2010	<i>The New Politics of European Civil Society</i> , Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz (eds), London: Routledge	UniHB/ ARENA
November 2010	<i>European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts</i> , Justine Lacroix (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis) (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press With chapters on: 'European Stories: An Introduction, Justine Lacroix (ULB) (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis); 'Contentious European Democracy: National Intellectuals in Transnational Debates', Ulrike Liebert (UniHB); 'Borderline Europe': French Visions of the European Union', Justine Lacroix (ULB); 'Consensus, benign neglect and specialised knowledge: Spanish intellectuals and Europe', Carlos Closa and Antonio Barroso (CSIC); 'Between Old Fears and New Challenges The Polish Debate About Europe', Zdzisław Mach and Magdalena Góra (JUK); 'Progressive Nationalism? Norwegian Intellectuals and Europe', John Erik Fossum and Cathrine Holst (ARENA); 'Convergence and Resistance: the European Dilemma of Turkish Intellectuals' Nora Fisher Onar and Ahmet Evin (SABU); 'Echoes and Polyphony. In Praise of Europe's Narrative Diversity', Janie Pélabay (ULB) (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis and Justine Lacroix)	ULB  with ARENA CSIC JUK SABU UniHB
November 2010	<i>Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe and Beyond: Patterns of Supranational and Transnational Juridification</i> , Rainer Nickel (ed.), Ius Commune Series No. 88, Antwerp: Intersentia	JWGU
November 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/21: 'Data Mining and 'Renegade' Aircrafts. The States as Agents of a Global Militant Security Governance Network — The German Example'</i> , Rainer Nickel	JWGU
November 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/22: 'Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns'</i> , Pieter De Wilde, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Asimina Michailidou	ARENA

November 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/23: 'Gender Equality in the European Union: Lessons for Democracy?', Sara Clavero and Yvonne Galligan</i>	QUB
November 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/24: 'Non-Contractual Liability for Breaches of EU Law. The Tension between Corrective and Distributive justice?', Raúl Letelier</i>	ULEON
November 2010	<i>'Euroscepticism in the European Parliament Elections of June 2009', RECON Country report on Hungary (Mária Heller).</i>	ELTE
November 2010	<i>Half Full not Half Empty: Europe in the Financial Crisis, David Mayes, commentary.</i>	UOA
November 2010	<i>Democratic Surveillance or Bureaucratic Suppression of National Sovereignty in the European Union? Ideas on the Multilateral Surveillance Regulation, Stefan Collignon, policy paper.</i>	LSE
November 2010	<i>'New Parliament, Old Cleavages? Political Conflict Lines on the EU Services Directive in the European Parliament after the Eastern Enlargement', Amandine Crespy, (with Katarzyna Gajewska), Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 48, no. 5, pp. 1185-1208</i>	ULB
November 2010	<i>'When 'Bolkestein' is Trapped by the French Anti-liberal Discourse: A Discursive-institutionalist Account of Preference Formation in the Realm of EU Multi-level Politics', Amandine Crespy, Journal of European Public Policy, vol. 17, no. 8, pp. 1253-1270</i>	ULB
2-3 December 2010	<i>'Civil Society and Non-governmental Non-profit Organisations (NNOs) in the Czech Republic, With Emphasis on Local Development', Zdenka Mansfeldová, paper presented at the Czech-Slovak-Taiwanese Conference held in Taiwan (ROC), Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan</i>	ASCR
2-3 December 2010	<i>'Czech Transformation – "Embedded Democracy" and the Role of Civil Society: Concentrating on Societal Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia', Zdenka Mansfeldová, paper presented at the Czech-Slovak-Taiwanese Conference held in Taiwan (ROC), Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan</i>	ASCR
2-3 December 2010	<i>'Claims-making and Legitimacy Contestations: Conceptual and Methodological Issues', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the workshop 'Public Sphere Theory: Current Challenges', Centre for French-Norwegian Research Cooperation in Social and Human Sciences, Paris, France</i>	ARENA
14 December 2010	<i>'Débat d'idées sur les enjeux de la construction européenne', Justine Lacroix, presentation of the book European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts (co-editor Kalypso Nicolaïdis), CEHEC, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium</i>	ULB
17 December 2010	<i>'Nytte og idealer går ikke hånd i hånd' [Utility and ideals do not go hand-in-hand], Helene Sjørnsen, article in the Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet</i>	ARENA
29 December 2010	<i>'The Three Different Models for Turkey's EU Accession' Meltem Müftüler-Baç, paper presented at Middel East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey</i>	SABU
December 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/25: 'The Theory of Constitutional Synthesis. A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union', John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez</i>	ARENA/ ULEON
December 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/26: 'Consumer Choice, Welfare Reform and Participation in Europe. A Framework for Analysis', Waltraud Schelkle, Joan Costa-i-Font and Christa van Wijnbergen</i>	LSE
December 2010	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2010/27: 'Martha Nussbaum's Outcome-Oriented Theory of Justice: Philosophical Comments', Cathrine Holst</i>	ARENA

December 2010	RECON Online Working Paper 2010/28: ' <a href="#">Fiscal Policy Rules and the Sustainability of Public Debt in Europe</a> ', Stefan Collignon.	LSE
December 2010	RECON Online Working Paper 2010/29: ' <a href="#">Policy Choice versus Science in Regulating Animal Cloning under the WTO Law</a> ', Maria Weimer	EUI
December 2010	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 3/2010</a>	ARENA
December 2010	'Unity in diversity as Europe's vocation and conflicts law as Europe's constitutional form', Christian Joerges, LEQS (LSE) Working Paper No. 28/2010	UniHB
December 2010	'Is er een Rol voor Politieke Partijen in de Internationale Politiek?' [Is there a role for political parties in international politics?], Ben Crum, <i>Ethiek en Maatschappij</i> , vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 96-110	VUA
December 2010	RECON WP 9 research report: ' <a href="#">Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared</a> ', John Erik Fossum and Christian Joerges (eds)	ARENA
December 2010	<a href="#">Assemblage of materials on European constitutional law</a> , Agustín José Menéndez, syllabus and materials for an introductory course on European constitutional law	ULEON
2010	'How international law standards pervade discourse on the use of armed force: Insights into European and US newspaper debates between 1990 and 2005', Swantje Renfordt, <i>KFG Working Paper 13/2010</i>	FUB
2010	'Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe: The Ambivalent Legacy of Accession', Amelie Kutter and Vera Trappmann, <i>Acta Politica</i> , Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 41-69	FUB
2010	'Polish National Identity: From Ethnic to Civic Model: The Role of Urban Culture', Marcin Galent and Paweł Kubicki, <i>Colloquia Journal of Central European History</i> , vol. 17, pp. 88-108.	JUK
2010	'Mediati(z)ing EU Politics: Online News Coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections', Hans-Jörg Trenz and Asimina Michailidou, <i>Communications</i> , vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 327-46	ARENA
2010	'The Aggregative Role of Political Parties in EU Decision-Making', Christopher Lord, <i>Connex Living Reviews in European Governance</i> , vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 1-33	ARENA
2010	'In Search of the Popular Subject: Identity Formation, Constitution-making and the Democratic Consolidation of the EU', Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>European Review</i> , vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 93-115	ARENA
2010	'Les résistances à l'Europe: Une Approche Interdisciplinaire des Conflits sur l'Intégration Européenne' Amandine Crespy (with Nicolas Verschueren) in <i>Contre l'Europe? Anti-européisme, Alter-européisme et Euroscepticisme: Les Concepts</i> , edited by Birte Wassenberg, Philippe Hamman and Frédéric Clavert, Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag	ULB
2010	'Manipulasjon, Forhandler eller Argumentasjon' [Manipulation, Negotiation or Argumentation], Erik O. Eriksen, in <i>Elster og sirenens sang</i> [Elster and the Sirens' song] edited by Rune Slagstad, Oslo: Pax Forlag	ARENA
2010	'Durchsetzende Vernunft? Das Korrektiv kritischer Medien in europäischen Integrationsprozess', Hans-Jörg Trenz, in <i>Europäische Öffentlichkeit und journalistische Verantwortung, Journalismus International 6</i> , edited by Horst Pöttker and Christian Schwarzenegger, Köln: Halem	ARENA
2010	'Re-Conceptualising European Law as Conflicts Law. The ECJ's Labour Law Jurisprudence and Germany's Federal Constitutional Court', Christian Joerges, in <i>Interdisciplinary Studies of Comparative and Private International Law (Vol. I)</i> , edited by Bea Verschraegen,	UniHB



	Wien: Jan Sramek Verlag	
2010	'Nancy Fraser: Kritisk Teori uten Filosofi?' [Nancy Fraser: Critical theory without philosophy?], Cathrine Holst, in <i>Moderne politisk teori</i> [Modern political theory] edited by Jørgen Pedersen, Oslo: Pax Forlag	ARENA
2010	'W Poszukiwaniu Nowej Wspólnoty? Feministki o Narodzie, Obywatelstwie i Demokracji' [In search of a new community? Feminists on nation, citizenship and democracy], Katarzyna Zielińska, in <i>Ponad granicami: Kobiety, migracje, obywatelstwo</i> [Beyond borders: Women, migration and citizenship], edited by Marta Warat and Agnieszka Małek, Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press	JUK
2010	'L'identité européenne entre commercium et communio' Cathleen Kantner, in <i>Qu'est-ce qu'un collectif? Du commun à la politique</i> , edited by Laurence Kaufmann and Danny Trom Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)	FUB
2010	'The Rechtsstaat and Social Europe: How a Classical Tension Resurfaces in the European Integration Process', Christian Joerges, in <i>Rule of Law and Democracy: Inquiries into Internal and External Issues</i> , edited by Leonardo Morlino and Gianluigi Palombella, Leiden: Brill	UniHB
2010	'Constitutionalizing Governing and Governance in Europe' Poul F. Kjaer, in <i>Rule of Law and Democracy: Inquiries into Internal and External Issues</i> , edited by Leonardo Morlino and Gianluigi Palombella, Leiden: Brill	EUI
2010	' <a href="#">Differentiated Integration and Flexibility in the EU under the Lisbon Treaty: Challenges for the Trio Presidency</a> ', Carlos Closa, in <i>The Contribution of 14 European Think Tanks to the Spanish, Belgian and Hungarian Trio Presidency of the European Union</i> , directed by Elvire Fabry and Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul, Paris: Notre Europe	CSIC
2010	'First Things First: Redistribution, Recognition and Justification', Rainer Forst, in <i>The Critical Theory of Axel Honneth</i> , edited by Danielle Petherbridge, Leiden: Brill	JWGU
2010	'The Effects of Ratification Procedures on EU Constitutional Politics', Carlos Closa, in <i>The European Community at 50: Assessing the Past, Looking Ahead</i> , edited by Paulo Canelas de Castro, proceedings of the Jean Monnet Conference held in Macau on 27-28 May 2008, University of Macau, China	CSIC
2010	'Die Rechtfertigung der Menschenrechte und das Grundlegende Recht auf Rechtfertigung: Eine Reflexive Argumentation', Rainer Forst, in <i>Universelle Menschenrechte und partikulare Moral</i> , edited by Gerhard Ernst and Stephan Sellmaier, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer	JWGU
2010	' <a href="#">Negotiating the Past: Claims for Recognition and Policies of Memory in the EU</a> ', Carlos Closa, Instituto de Políticas y bienes Públicos (IPP), CCHS-SCIC, Working Papers No. 8	CSIC
2010	'European Political Rituals: A Challenging Tradition in the Making', François Foret, <i>International Political Anthropology</i> , vol. 3, no. 1 pp. 55-68	ULB
2010	'Het "Meerlaags Parlementair Veld" in de Europese Unie: Naar een Reconstructie van Parlementaire Soevereiniteit in Meerlaags Bestuur', Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum, <i>Res Publica</i> , vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 127-9 (summary in Dutch of the journal article 'The EU's Multilevel Parliamentary Field', <i>European Political Science Review</i> , 2009)	ARENA
2010	'La Unión Europea Entre el Constitucionalismo Democrático y la	ULEON

	Gobernanza', Agustín José Menéndez, <i>Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional</i> , no. 140, pp. 47-85. Also published as 'Governance and Constitutionalism in the European Order', in <i>The European Union Legal Order after Lisbon</i> , edited by Patrick Birkinshaw and Mike Varney, Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International	
2010	'The Future of the European Order', John Erik Fossum, in <i>The European Union Legal Order after Lisbon</i> , edited by Patrick Birkinshaw and Mike Varney, Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International.	ARENA
2010	'La Ciudadanía Europea tras Martínez Sala y Baumbast: ¿La Consecución de un Derecho Europeo más Humano pero Menos Social?', Agustín José Menéndez, <i>Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional</i> , vol. 30, no. 89, pp. 289-336.	ULEON
2010	Special Issue on Euroscepticism, edited by Petra Rakušanová Guasti and Zdenka Mansfeldová, <i>Socioweb</i> 10.	ASCR
2010	'Much Ado about Little: Continuity and Change in the European Union Policy of the Spanish Socialist Government (2004-8)', Carlos Closa, <i>South European Society and Politics</i> , vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 503-18.	CSIC
2010	'A Rejoinder to Smiles and Selck: What Small-N Studies on EU Politics May Tell Us about the Questions they Actually Address' Eric Miklin, <i>West European Politics</i> , vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 1370-77.	VUA
2010	' <a href="#">The Metamorphosis of the Functional Synthesis: A Continental European Perspective on Governance, Law and the Political in the Transnational Space</a> ', Poul F. Kjaer, <i>Wisconsin Law Review</i> , no. 2, pp. 101-47.	EUI
2010	<a href="#">Between Governing and Governance: On the Emergence, Function and Form of Europe's Post-National Constellation</a> , Poul F. Kjaer, Oxford: Hart Publishing.	EUI
2010	<a href="#">Migracje i tożsamość: Od teorii do analizy przypadku</a> [Migration and Identity. From theory to case study], Dariusz Niedźwiedzki, Krakow: Nomos.	JUK
2010	<a href="#">L'Europe sous Tensions: Appropriation et Contestation de l'Intégration Européenne</a> , Amandine Crespy (with Mathieu Petithomme) (eds), Paris: L'Harmattan.	ULB
2010	<a href="#">Perspektiven einer europäischen Erinnerungsgemeinschaft. Nationale Narrative und transnationale Dynamiken seit 1989</a> , Ulrike Liebert (with Wolfgang Kissel) (eds), Münster: LIT Verlag.	UniHB
2010	<a href="#">Constrained Balancing: The EU's Security Policy</a> , Dirk Peters, Basingstoke: Palgrave.	PRIF
2010	<a href="#">A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres</a> , Thomas Risse, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.	FUB
2010	<i>La Argumentación y los Derechos Fundamentales</i> , edited by Agustín José Menéndez and Erik O. Eriksen, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales (Translation of the English language edition <i>Arguing Fundamental Rights</i> , Springer, 2006).	ULEON/ ARENA
2010	'Derecho Democrático o Gobierno de los Jueces' [Democratic or Jurist-Made Law?], Erik O. Eriksen, in <i>La Argumentación y los Derechos Fundamentales</i> , edited by Agustín José Menéndez and Erik O. Eriksen, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.	ARENA
2010	'Algunos elementos para una Teoría de los Derechos Fundamentales Europeos' [Some Elements of a Theory of European Constitutional Rights], Agustín José Menéndez, in <i>La Argumentación y los Derechos Fundamentales</i> , edited by Agustín José Menéndez	ULEON

	and Erik O. Eriksen, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.	
2010	'The Justification of Justice. Rawls and Habermas in Dialogue', Rainer Forst, in Habermas and Rawls: Disputing the Political, edited by James Gordon Finlayson and Fabian Freyenhagen, London: Routledge.	JWGU
2010	'Parlamentsvorbehalt oder Exekutivprivileg? Ursachen unterschiedlicher Entscheidungsverfahren beim Einsatz von Streitkräften', Dirk Peters and Wolfgang Wagner, Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 203-234.	PRIF
13-14 January 2011	RECON WP 2 workshop: <a href="#">A Multitude of Constitutions? The European Constitutional Pluralism in Question</a> , ARENA and the Research Programme on Democracy, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
17 January 2011	'EU - en hybrid uten forblide' [The EU - a hybrid without a precedent], Erik O. Eriksen and Helene Sjørnsen, article on RECON in <i>Apollon</i> (research magazine at the University of Oslo).	ARENA
17-19 January 2011	'Mediat(zi)ng EU politics: Online news coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at German-Swiss-Austrian European Studies Association Conference, Basel, Switzerland.	ARENA
19 January 2011	Roundtable participation, Wolfgang Wagner, 'Parliaments and Defense after the WEU' at the Dutch Parliament, with the participation of Wim van Eekelen, former Secretary General of the Western European Union and Member of Parliament Henk Jan Ormel, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.	PRIF
25 January 2011	'Forsker på demokrati i Europa med EU-midler' [EU-funded research on democracy in Europe], article on RECON, weekly newsletter of the Mission of Norway to the European Union, Brussels, Belgium. English translation ' <a href="#">Large-scale European research project led by the University of Oslo</a> ' published 10 February 2011.	ARENA
28-30 January 2011	'Equal Pay and Dilemmas of Justice', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Winter Seminar of The Norwegian Sociological Association, Skeikampen, Norway.	ARENA
January 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/01: ' <a href="#">Enhancing the Democratic Legitimacy of EU Governance? The Impact of Online Public Consultations in Energy Policy-Making</a> ', Radostina Primova.	UniHB
January 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/02: ' <a href="#">From Constitutional Pluralism to a Pluralistic Constitution? Constitutional Synthesis as a MacCormickian Constitutional Theory of European Integration</a> ', Agustín José Menéndez.	ULEON
January 2011	<a href="#">The Constitution's Gift</a> , John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.	ARENA/ ULEON
January 2011	<a href="#">Die demokratische Kontrolle internationalisierter Sicherheitspolitik. Demokratiedefizite bei Militäreinsätzen und in der europäischen Politik innerer Sicherheit</a> , Wolfgang Wagner, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	PRIF
January 2011	'Between Military Efficiency and Democratic Legitimacy: Mapping Parliamentary War Powers in Contemporary Democracies, 1989-2004', Dirk Peters and Wolfgang Wagner, <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i> , vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 175-192.	PRIF
January 2011	' <a href="#">Social regimes and gender equality: childcare in the EU</a> ', Mark Thomson, framework paper prepared for the WP 7 workshop 'The Costs of Children', Lillestrøm, Norway, 24-25 February	UOA
January 2011	'A State-Less Vanguard for a Rightful World Order', Erik O. Eriksen, in <a href="#">Political Theory of the European Union</a> , edited by Antje Wiener and Jürgen Neyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	ARENA

January 2011	'Europe's Justice Deficit: Justification and Legitimacy in the European Union', Jürgen Neyer, in <a href="#">Political Theory of the European Union</a> , edited by Antje Wiener and Jürgen Neyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	EUI/Viadrina
January 2011	'Surface and Depth: The EU's Resilient Sovereignty Question', Neil Walker, in <a href="#">Political Theory of the European Union</a> , edited by Antje Wiener and Jürgen Neyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	EUI
January 2011	'Conclusion: Through Uncharted Waters of Constitutional Quality: Navigating Between Modern Statehood and International Organisation' Antje Wiener, in <a href="#">Political Theory of the European Union</a> , edited by Antje Wiener and Jürgen Neyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	UHAM
1 February 2011	'The EU and European State-formation', Crispin Shore, presentation at the Institute Colloquium 'Decentering Europe', Institut für Europäische Ethnologie Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, Germany.	UOA
3 February 2011	'Governance or Governmentality? The EU and Democratic Government', Crispin Shore, presentation at the Research Seminar at the Cluster of Excellence 'The Formation of Normative Orders' Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany.	UOA
4 February 2011	'European Union Foreign Policy Practices: Enacting Normative Meaning-in-Use Internationally', Antje Wiener, and Uwe Puetter, paper presented at the workshop 'Security Governance', University of Hamburg, Germany.	UHAM
4 February 2011	'Normalizing Difference? Exploring the Civil-Military Interface within CSDP', Maren Hofius, paper presented at the workshop 'Security Governance', University of Hamburg, Germany.	UHAM
9 February 2011	'Bridges to be Built. The Analysis of Legitimacy Between Political Theory and Empirical Research', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
17 February 2011	'The Potential and Limits of Proportionality Analysis as a Conflicts Law Methodology in the EU: Two Exemplary Illustrations', Christian Joerges, paper presented at the conference 'Proportionality and Post-National Constitutionalism', Centre for Law and Cosmopolitan Values, University of Antwerp, Belgium.	UniHB
17 February 2011	'Proportionality and Justice', Tommi Ralli, presentation at the conference 'Proportionality and Post-National Constitutionalism', Centre for Law and Cosmopolitan Values, University of Antwerp, Belgium.	UniHB
24-25 February 2011	RECON WP 7 workshop: <a href="#">The Costs of Children</a> , Lillestrøm, Norway.	UOA/ARENA
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/03: 'Applying the "Discourse Quality Index" to the study of the European Parliament'</i> , Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvaki.	ARENA/UOR
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/04: 'Education for Democracy in Hungarian Schools'</i> , Mihály Csákó.	ELTE
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/05: 'Re-constructing Polish Identity: Searching for a New Language'</i> , Olga Brzezińska, Beata Czajkowska and David Skully.	JUK
February 2011	'Legitimate and Democratic? The EU's International Role', Christopher Lord, in <a href="#">International Relations and the European Union</a> , edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	ARENA
February 2011	<a href="#">Die Herausbildung normativer Ordnungen</a> , Rainer Forst (with Klaus Günther) (eds), Frankfurt am Main: Campus.	JWGU

February 2011	<a href="#">‘Polecats, lions and foxes: Coasian bargaining theory and attempts to legitimate the Union as a constrained form of political power’</a> , Christopher Lord, <i>European Political Science Review</i> , vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 82-102.	ARENA
February 2011	<a href="#">‘No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing Politicization of European Integration’</a> , Pieter de Wilde, <i>Journal of European Integration</i> , vol. 33, no. 5, pp. 559-575.	ARENA
February 2011	‘The Power of Critique’, Rainer Forst, <i>Political Theory</i> , vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 118-123.	JWGU
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/03</i> : <a href="#">‘The Politics of Justification? Applying the ‘Discourse Quality Index’ to the Study of the European Parliament’</a> , Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvaki.	ARENA/UoR
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/04</i> : <a href="#">‘Education for Democracy in Hungarian Schools’</a> , Mihály Csákó.	ELTE
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/05</i> : <a href="#">‘Re-constructing Polish Identity. Searching for a New Language’</a> , Olga Brzezińska, Beata Czajkowska and David Skully.	JUK
February 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/06</i> : <a href="#">‘United they Diverge? From Conflict of Laws to Constitutional Theory? On Christian Joerges’ Theory’</a> , Agustín José Menéndez.	ULEON
February 2011	‘Hva er likestilling’ [What is gender equality], Cathrine Holst, invited lecture at Forskerforum, Agder University, Norway.	ARENA
3 March 2011	‘Representation in Media and National Parliaments’, Pieter de Wilde, paper presented at the 12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Boston, USA.	ARENA
3 March 2011	‘How Technocratic are the New European Technocrats? An Empirical Assessment of the Political Attitudes of EU Agency Staff’, Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger, paper presented at the EUSA12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference, Boston, USA.	MZES
4 March 2011	‘Representation, Deliberation and the Legitimacy of the EU’, John Erik Fossum (co-author Erik Oddvar Eriksen), paper presented at the EUSA12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference, Boston, USA.	ARENA
4 March 2011	‘Political Parties at the European Level: One Political Platform or Many?’, Emmanuel Sigalas and Monika Mokre, paper presented at the EUSA12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference, Boston, USA.	OEAW
5 March 2011	‘EU External Relations as a Community of Practice?’, Federica Bicchì, paper presented at the EUSA12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference, Boston, USA.	LSE
5 March 2011	‘Does Performance Matter? MEP Activity Levels and Re-Election’, Emmanuel Sigalas, paper presented at the EUSA12 <sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference, Boston, USA.	OEAW
14 March 2011	<a href="#">Et løfte om likeverd</a> [A promise of equality], Erik O. Eriksen, op-ed, <i>Dagbladet</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> largest Norwegian newspaper)	ARENA
15-16 March 2011	‘Martha Nussbaum: Feminisme og rettferdighet’ [Martha Nussbaum: Feminism and justice], Cathrine Holst, invited lecture at the Conference ‘Feministisk filosofi’ [Feminist philosophy], University of Bergen, Norway.	ARENA
16 March 2011	‘Ensuring the Democratic Control of EU Military Missions? The Role of Parliaments and Inter-parliamentary Cooperation’, Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn, paper presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (ISA) ‘Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition’, Montréal, Canada.	PRIF



19 March 2011	'International Crisis as Engine of Institutionalization? Media Debates on Armed Conflicts and the Development of the European Security and Defence Policy (1990- 2005)', Cathleen Kantner and Amelie Kutter, paper presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (ISA) 'Global Governance: Political Authority in Transition', Montréal, Canada.	FUB
24 March 2011	'A Theory of Constitutional Synthesis: A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union', John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez, presentation at the Centre for Legal Philosophy, University of Alicante, Spain.	ARENA
31 March-1 April 2011	RECON WP 1 workshop: <a href="#">Political Legitimacy beyond the State</a> , Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.	JWGU
March 2011	<a href="#">'Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity - Conceptualising the National Dimension in Neil MacCormick's Post-sovereign Constellation'</a> , John Erik Fossum, <i>Library Philosophy and Practice</i> , vol. 93, pp. 261-286.	ARENA
March 2011	Lecture on politics of equal rights, Cathrine Holst, University of Bergen, Norway.	ARENA
March 2011	'Reflexive Integration: a Perspective on the Transformation of Europe', Erik Oddvar Eriksen, in <a href="#">Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory</a> , edited by Gerard Delanty and Stephen Turner, Abingdon: Routledge.	ARENA
March 2011	<a href="#">'No Effect, Weapon of the Weak, or Reinforcing Executive Dominance? How Media Coverage Affects National Parliaments' Involvement in EU Policy-formulation'</a> , Pieter de Wilde, <i>Comparative European Politics</i> , vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 123-144.	ARENA
March 2011	<a href="#">'Bringing European Democracy Back In — Or How to Read the German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Treaty Ruling'</a> , Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, <i>European Law Journal</i> , vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 153-171.	ARENA
March 2011	RECON Report No. 13: <a href="#">'Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective'</a> , Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds), ARENA Report 2/11	JWGU
March 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/10: <a href="#">'European Citizenship With a Nation-State, Federal, or Cosmopolitan Twist?'</a> , Espen D. H. Olsen.	ARENA
March 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/07: <a href="#">'Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity Conceptualising the National Dimension in Neil MacCormick's Post-sovereign Constellation'</a> , John Erik Fossum.	ARENA
March 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/09: <a href="#">'Cosmopolitanism and Democratic Freedom'</a> , Hauke Brunkhorst.	ARENA
March 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/08: <a href="#">'Inter-Parliamentary Contacts of Members of the European Parliament Report of a Survey'</a> , Eric Miklin and Ben Crum.	VUA
7 April 2011	'Communicating Europe in National Parliaments and the Media: Patterns and Causes in Politicizing the EU Budget', Pieter de Wilde, paper presented at the workshop 'National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs', Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Berlin, Germany.	ARENA
7-8 April 2011	'Politicising EU Decision-making and National Parliaments: Visibility of Choices and Better Aligned Ministers?', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the workshop 'National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs', Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Berlin, Germany.	VUA

8 April 2011	'The Silence of the Shepherds: the Austrian Parliament's Modest Attempts to Communicate Europe', Johannes Pollak and Peter Slominski, paper presented at the workshop 'National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs', Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Berlin, Germany.	OEAW
8 April 2011	'European Democracy: National Intellectuals in Transnational Debates', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the Max Weber Conference, Deutsches Haus at the New York University, USA.	UniHB
15 April 2011	'The Politicization of European Integration', Pieter de Wilde, guest lecture at the Center for European Studies, Jagiellonian University Krakow, Poland.	ARENA
12-17 April 2011	'Designing, Adopting and Using the Common Transnational Party Manifesto: Evidence from the 2009 European Elections', Emmanuel Sigalas paper presented at the 39 <sup>th</sup> European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Session Workshops, at workshop 5 'Why and How of Party Manifestos in Established Democracies', St. Gallen, Switzerland.	OEAW
19 April 2011	'Media as Discourse Arenas and Reality Constructors', Cathleen Kantner, presentation at the Authors' Workshop 'European Public Spheres: Bringing Politics Back In', Research College 'Transformative Power of Europe', Berlin, Germany.	FUB
April 2011	<a href="#">Law and Democracy in Neil MacCormick's Legal and Political Theory. The Post-Sovereign Constellation</a> , Agustín José Menéndez and John Erik Fossum, Dordrecht: Springer.	ULEON/ ARENA
April 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/11: 'The Europeanisation of Parliaments in Central and Eastern Europe'</i> , Petra Guasti.	ASCR
April 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/12: 'Transnational Justice and Democracy'</i> , Rainer Forst.	JWGU
April 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/13: "Europe", "Womanhood" and "Islam" Re-aligning Contested Concepts via the Headscarf Debate'</i> , Nora Fisher Onar.	SABU
April 2011	RECON Research Report: ' <a href="#">Lessons from Europe's and Canada's Constitutional Experiences</a> ', edited by John Erik Fossum.	ARENA
3 May 2011	'Reconciling Social and Market Europe under the Lisbon Treaty?', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the workshop 'Europe's New Social Question: Socio-economic reforms in a changing global context', The Jean Monnet Centre for Europeanisation and Transnational Regulations Oldenburg, Bremen, Germany.	UniHB
3 May 2011	'The saga of Europeanization - Affirmations of Ordinary Life in the Process of European Integration', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation at the European Research at the University of Copenhagen (EURECO) Distinguished Lecture Series '7 Tales of Europe', University of Copenhagen, Denmark.	ARENA
4 May 2011	'Militärische Interventionen als Gegenstand transnationalen politischer Kommunikation', Cathleen Kantner, presentation at the University of Tübingen, Germany.	FUB
5 May 2011	<a href="#">Reconstituting democracy in Europe - snapshots of findings</a> (first version)	ARENA
6-7 May 2011	RECON WP 8 workshop: <a href="#">The Nexus between Democracy, Collective Identity Formation and Enlargement</a> , Prague, Czech Republic.	ASCR/JUK
12 May 2011	'Parliaments and Interest Representation: The Case of the Czech Republic', Zdenka Mansfeldová and Petra Guasti, paper presented at the CRCEES (Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies) IV Annual Research Forum, Glasgow, UK.	ASCR

13 May 2011	'On the Value of Parliamentary Representation as a Means of Securing Justification during the Course of Legislation', Christopher Lord, paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	ARENA
14 May 2011	'The Representation-Deliberation Interface', John Erik Fossum (co-author Erik Oddvar Eriksen), paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	ARENA
14 May 2011	'Representative Democracy in the EU and Canada Compared', John Erik Fossum (with David Laycock), paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	ARENA
14 May 2011	'Representation and the Media', Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	ARENA
14 May 2011	'Representation and Accountability in the EU', Johannes Pollak, paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	OEA
14 May 2011	'Is there a Role for Political Parties in International Politics?', Ben Crum, paper presented at the MatchPoints seminar, Workshop 1 and 2 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical Perspectives', Aarhus, Denmark.	VUA
19 May 2011	RECON Outreach Conference: <a href="#">Where is European Democracy Heading?</a> , Brussels, Belgium.	ULB/ARENA
20 May 2011	Keynote, Hans-Jörg Trenz, International Conference 'Public Sphere Reconsidered', Covilhã, Portugal.	ARENA
20 May 2011	<a href="#">Storstilt forskningsprosjekt: - EU er ikke demokratisk</a> [Large-scale research project: - The EU is not democratic], comment on RECON's findings and the outreach conference in Brussels in Norwegian online newspaper <i>ABC Nyheter</i> .	ARENA
24 May 2011	<a href="#">Europeisk demokrati under lupen</a> [European democracy closely examined], <i>article in the weekly newsletter of the Mission of Norway to the EU</i> .	ARENA
26-27 May 2011	RECON WP1 workshop: <a href="#">The Methodological Relevance of Reconstruction in Democratic Theory</a> , ARENA, Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
May 2011	<a href="#">Karl Polanyi, Globalisation and the Potential of Law in Transnational Markets</a> , Christian Joerges (with Josef Falke) (eds), Oxford: Hart Publishing.	UniHB
May 2011	' <a href="#">Review Essay: A Cosmopolitan Constellation?</a> ', John Erik Fossum, <i>European Journal of Social Theory</i> , vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 235-248.	ARENA
May 2011	'Central European Parliaments over Two Decades – Diminishing Stability? Parliaments in Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia', Zdenka Mansfeldová, <i>Journal of Legislative Studies</i> , vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 128-146.	ASCR
May 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/14: ' <a href="#">Representation Through Deliberation: The European Case</a> ', Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum.	ARENA

May 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/15: ' <a href="#">The Dynamics of Legitimation: Why the Study of Political Legitimacy Needs More Realism</a> ', Daniel Gaus.	ARENA
May 2011	'EU research', Ulrike Liebert, two-day intensive teaching module as part of the MA program in EU studies, Universidad de Celaya, Mexico.	UniHB
3 June 2011	Book launch: <i>European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts</i> , Justine Lacroix (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis), Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, United Kingdom.	ULB
3 June 2011	'The European Public Sphere and European Collective Identity', Hans-Jörg Trenz, presentation, seminar series on 'European Societies', University of Florence, Italy.	ARENA
10-11 June 2011	RECON WP 9 workshop: <a href="#">Transnational social justice in the European Union and its implications for global justice</a> , Amsterdam, The Netherlands.	VUA
15 June 2011	'European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in national Contexts', Justine Lacroix (with Kalypso Nicolaïdis), Spinelli debate, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium.	ULB
19 June 2011	<a href="#">Kriselitteratur</a> [Literature in the time of crisis], comment on the book <i>European Stories</i> (eds Lacroix/Nicolaïdis) and the Spinelli Debate in the European Parliament, <i>Dagbladet</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> largest Norwegian newspaper)	ULB/ARENA
21 June 2011	'A Media Perspective on Political Representation: Online Claims Making and Audience Formation in 2009 EP Election Campaigns', Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde (co-author Asimina Michailidou), paper presented at the Council for European Studies' Eighteenth Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain.	ARENA
21 June 2011	'When Quantity Matters: Performance and Re-election in the European Parliament', Emmanuel Sigalas, paper presented at the Council for European Studies' 18 <sup>th</sup> Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain.	OEAW
21 June 2011	'Unequal Democratic Representation?', Johannes Pollak, paper presented at the Council for European Studies' 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain.	OEAW
21 June 2011	'Assessing Democratic Representation in EU Decision-making: Methodological Issues and a New Framework for Empirical Analysis', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the Council for European Studies' 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain.	UniHB
21 June 2011	'The EU's Three Channels of Representation – Realizing Political Equality with Public Control?', Sandra Kröger (with Dawid Friedrich), paper presented at the Council for European Studies' 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain.	UniHB
21-23 June 2011	Book launch, François Forêt, presentation of <i>Politics of Religion in Western Europe: Modernities in Conflict?</i> (co-editor Xabier Itcaina), book panel at the Council for European Studies' 18 <sup>th</sup> Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, Spain	ULB
23-24 June 2011	'Bureaucratic Autonomy in a Multi-level Institutional System: The Case of EU Agencies', Arndt Wonka, paper presented at the Workshop 'Public Administration in the Multilevel System', Humboldt University Berlin, Germany.	MZES
23-25 June 2011	'Tony Judt and Europe: Introduction', Cathrine Holst, presentation at the conference 'Tony Judt: A Distinctive Presence Among Us', organised by the New York Review of Books, Paris, France.	ARENA

29 June 2011	'The timeliness of direct democracy in the EU and the contest over atomic energy in conflicts-law perspectives', Christian Joerges, speech at the conference 'The European Citizens' Initiative: How to get it started', organized by The Green/European Free Alliance, European Parliament, Brussels.	UniHB
June 2011	'Turkish Foreign Policy Change, its Domestic Determinants and the Role of the European Union', Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <i>South European Society and Politics</i> , vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 279-291.	SABU
June 2011	<i>RECON Report No. 14: 'European Constitutionalism without Private Law - Private Law without Democracy'</i> , Christian Joerges and Tommi Ralli (eds), ARENA Report 3/11.	UniHB
June 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/16: 'The State's Existence between Facts and Norms: A Reflection on Some Problems to the Analysis of the State'</i> , Daniel Gaus.	ARENA
June 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/17: 'When Quantity Matters: Activity Levels and Re-Election Prospects of Members of the European Parliament'</i> , Emmanuel Sigalas.	OEAW
June 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/18: 'Democratic Boundaries in the US and Europe: Inequality, Localisation and Voluntarism in Social Welfare Provision'</i> , Tess Altman and David Mayes.	UOA
June 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/19: 'A Divided Union? Public Opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy'</i> , Dirk Peters.	PRIF
June 2011	<i>Constitutionalism, Multilevel Trade Governance and Social Regulation</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, Christian Joerges (with Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann) (eds), Oxford: Hart Publishing.	UniHB
11 July 2011	Seminar 'The Role of Civil Society in Democratic Transformation; Local and Regional Democracy', organised by Zdenka Mansfeldová, Prague, the Czech Republic.	ASCR
14-15 July 2011	Joint RECON WP 2, WP 3 and WP 5 workshop: <a href="#">Strengthening Democracy in the EU: Alternative Forms of Representation</a> , University of Bremen, Germany.	UniHB
July 2011	' <a href="#">Die Zukunft der europäischen Integration: Stagnation, Atemholen oder Aufbruch?</a> ', Ulrike Liebert, <i>Neue Gesellschaft Frankfurter Hefte</i> , no. 7/8.	UniHB
July 2011	' <a href="#">The European Public Sphere. Media and Transnational Communication in European Integration 1969-1991- by J.H. Meyer</a> ', Asimina Michailidou, <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 1145-1146.	ARENA
July 2011	<i>European Economic and Social Constitutionalism after the Treaty of Lisbon</i> , Ulrike Liebert (with Dagmar Schiek and Hildegard Schneider) (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	UniHB
July 2011	'Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form in the Postnational Constellation', Christian Joerges, Poul F. Kjaer, and Tommi Ralli (eds), <i>Transnational Legal Theory</i> , Special Issue, vol. 2, no. 2.	UniHB
July 2011	' <a href="#">Ex Ante vs Ex Post: The Trade-off Between Partisan Conflict and Visibility in Debating EU Policy-formulation in National Parliaments</a> ', Pieter de Wilde, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , vol. 18, no. 5, pp. 672-689.	ARENA
July 2011	'The Political Foundations of Conflicts Law', Poul F. Kjaer, <i>Transnational Legal Theory</i> , Special Issue, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 226-241.	EUI
July 2011	'United They Diverge? From Conflicts of Law to Constitutional Theory', Agustín José Menéndez, <i>Transnational Legal Theory</i> , Special Issue, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 167-192.	ULEON



July 2011	'Democratic Juridification Without Statisation: Law of Conflict of Laws Instead of a World State', Florian Rödl, <i>Transnational Legal Theory</i> , Special Issue, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 193-213.	UniHB
July 2011	'A New Type of Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form in the Postnational Constellation', Christian Joerges, Poul F. Kjaer, and Tommi Ralli, <i>Transnational Legal Theory</i> , Special Issue, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 153-165.	UniHB
July 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/20: 'The European Union and Turkey: Democracy, Multiculturalism and European Identity'</i> , Meltem Müftüler-Baç.	SABU
July 2011	'How to get rid of the Noise in the Corpus: Cleaning Large Samples of Digital Newspaper Texts', Cathleen Kantner and Amelie Kutter (in collaboration with Andreas Hildebrandt and Mark Püttcher), International Relations Online Working Paper 2011/2, Stuttgart University, Germany.	FUB
July 2011	<a href="#">The Triple Democratic Crisis of the European Union</a> , Agustín José Menéndez, RECON Policy Paper, Oslo: ARENA.	ULEON
August 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/21: 'Human Rights in the European Union's Foreign Policy: Universal in Discourse, Flexible in Practice'</i> , Selin Merzuka Türkes.	SABU
July/August 2011	<a href="#">The Euro area after another crisis summit: ignore the elephant in the room at your peril</a> , Waltraud Schelkle, <i>Intereconomics</i> Editorial, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 178-179.	LSE
16 August 2011	<a href="#">Democracies may turn on the euro</a> , Waltraud Schelkle, <i>Financial Times</i> .	LSE
17 August 2011	'European Identity in Formation, Emerging Eurosceptic Discourses', Maria Heller, presentation at the European Communication Research and Education Association's (ECREA) European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, Ljubljana, Slovenia.	ELTE
25 August 2011	'Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism During 2009 EP Election Campaigns', Pieter de Wilde and Hans-Jörg Trenz (co-author Asimina Michailidou), paper presented at the panel 'Reconstituting Democracy in the EU: The Role of Civil Society, Identity and the Public Sphere', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ARENA
25 August 2011	"Democritical" Masses and Contemporary "Democrature" (Democratic Dictatorship)', Maria Heller, paper presented at the panel 'Reconstituting Democracy in the EU: The Role of Civil Society, Identity and the Public Sphere', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ELTE
25 August 2011	'Missing Women: Female Political Representation and Quality of Democracy in Hungary', Borbála Kriza, paper presented at the panel 'Gender Justice and Democracy', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ELTE
25 August 2011	'Assessing Gender Democracy in Poland', Katarzyna Zielińska, paper presented at the panel 'Gender Justice and Democracy', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	JUK
25 August 2011	'Transformation of Collective Identities in Europe and Democracy', Magdalena Góra and Zdzisław Mach, paper presented at the panel 'Reconstituting Democracy in the EU: The Role of Civil Society, Identity and the Public Sphere', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	JUK

25 August 2011	'Communicating the EU - How the Austrian Parliament Informs its Citizens on European Issues', Johannes Pollak and Peter Slominski, paper presented at the panel 'National Parliaments in the EU: Between Exercising Control and Distributing Information?', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	OEAW
25 August 2011	'Assessing Gender Democracy in the Context of EU Governance: The Case of Spain', Sara Clavero, paper presented at the panel 'Gender Justice and Democracy', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	QUB
25 August 2011	'End of 'Permissive Consensus': New Patterns of EU Contestation by the Mainstream and Radical Political Parties', Aleksandra Maatsch, paper presented at the panel 'Reconstituting Democracy in the EU: The Role of Civil Society, Identity and the Public Sphere', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	UniHB
25 August 2011	'The Would-Be Democratic European Polity: Competing Discursive Representations in National Public Spheres', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the panel 'What are the Main Constitutional Lessons II', section 'Comparative Perspectives on the Management and Organisation of the Public Sector', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	UniHB
25 August 2011	'The Effect of Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation on Power-Relations in EU Decision-Making. The Case of the Austrian Parliament', Eric Miklin, paper presented at the panel 'National Parliaments in the EU: Between Exercising Control and Distributing Information?', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	VUA
26 August 2011	'Lessons from Ratification: Comparing Lisbon and the EU Constitution', Carlos Closa Montero, paper presented at the panel 'What are the Main Democratic Lessons from the EU's Constitutional Experience?', section 'Comparative Perspectives on the Management and Organisation of the Public Sector', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	CSIC
26 August 2011	'Bureaucratic Autonomy in a Multi-level Institutional System: The Case of EU agencies', Arndt Wonka, paper presented at the panel 'Bureaucratic Autonomy Revisited', section 'Comparative Perspectives on the Management and Organisation of the Public Sector', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	MZES
26 August 2011	'The Religious Dimension in Electoral Manifestos. Between Secularisation and Strategic Uses?', François Forêt (with Régis Dandoy), paper presented at the panel 'Religion at the European Parliament: A Religious/Secular Divide ?', section 'Religious/Secular Politics: Local, National and Global', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ULB
26 August 2011	'Synthetic Constitutionalism at Midnight: The Constitutional State of the Union after Lisbon', Agustín José Menéndez, paper presented at the panel 'What are the Main Democratic Lessons from the EU's Constitutional Experience?', section 'Comparative Perspectives on the Management and Organisation of the Public Sector', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ULEON
26 August 2011	'From post-Communist to EU Courts: Comparative Assessment of Estonian and Latvian Courts 2004-2009', Tatjana Evas, paper presented at the panel 'Rule of Law, Informal Institutions and Democracy in Latin America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective', section 'Latin American Democracies in Comparative Perspective', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	UniHB

26 August 2011	'Synthetic Constitutionalism at Midnight: The Constitutional State of the Union after Lisbon', Agustín José Menéndez, paper presented at the panel 'What are the Main Democratic Lessons from the EU's Constitutional Experience?', section 'Reconstituting Democracy in Europe', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ULEON
27 August 2011	'Nationalism, Federalism and Diversity in the Post-Sovereign Constellation', John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the panel 'Federalism and Global Democracy', section 'International Political Theory', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	ARENA
27 August 2011	'Do European Parliament Election Campaigns Further EU Democracy?', Emmanuel Sigalas and Monika Mokre, paper presented at the panel 'Democratisation and Parliamentarisation', section 'Open Section ', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	OEAW
27 August 2011	'Better off Without Members? Analysis and Implications of Professionalization Trends of Civil Society Organisations Involved in EU Policy-Making', Sandra Kröger, paper presented at the panel 'Rule of Law, Informal Institutions and Democracy in Latin America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective', section 'Latin American Democracies in Comparative Perspective', ECPR 6 <sup>th</sup> General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.	UniHB
August 2011	<a href="#">Jürgen Habermas, Volumes I and II</a> , Christian Joerges (with Camil Ungureanu, Klaus Günther) (eds), Aldershot: Ashgate.	UniHB
August 2011	<a href="#">RECON Report 15: 'After Globalisation: New Patterns of Conflict and their Sociological and Legal Re-constructions'</a> , Christian Joerges (ed.) in co-operation with Tommi Ralli, ARENA Report 4/11.	UniHB
August 2011	'Agency Governance in the European Union', Berthold Rittberger and Arndt Wonka (eds), <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 780-789	MZES
August 2011	'The European Parliament and the Legitimation of Agencification', Christopher Lord, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 909-925.	ARENA
August 2011	'Perspectives on EU Governance: an Empirical Assessment of the Political Attitudes of EU Agency Professionals', Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 888-908	MZES
August 2011	<a href="#">Politics of Religion in Western Europe: Modernities in Conflict?</a> , François Forêt (with Xabier Itcaina) (eds), Abingdon: Routledge.	ULB
August 2011	'Social Insurance Mechanisms in the European Union', Christine Cheyne and Katherine Lyons, in 'New Zealand and the EU: Social Models in the EU', Europe-New Zealand Research Series, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1-50, Europe Institute, University of Auckland.	UOA
August 2011	'Social Models in the Enlarged EU', David Mayes and Zaidah Mustafa, in 'New Zealand and the EU: Social Models in the EU', Europe -New Zealand Research Series, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 53-96, Europe Institute, University of Auckland.	UOA
August 2011	'The European Social Model: Heterogeneity, Cohesion and Democracy', Anna Michalski, in 'New Zealand and the EU: Social Models in the EU', Europe -New Zealand Research Series, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 99-138, Europe Institute, University of Auckland.	UOA
August 2011	'Privatising Welfare: Changing the Face of Social Protection and Democracy in Europe', Tess Altman and Crispin Shore, in 'New Zealand and the EU: Social Models in the EU', Europe -New Zealand Research Series, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 141-188, Europe Institute, University of Auckland.	UOA

August 2011	'Kjønn, Feminisme og Vitenskap' [Gender, feminism and science], Cathrine Holst, in <a href="#">Introduksjon til samfunnsvitenskapene. Bind I og II</a> , edited by Susanna M. Solli and Eivind Balsvik, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.	ARENA
7-8 September 2011	'Er verden slik den bør være? Forholdet mellom er og bør i kjønnsforskningen' [Is the world as it should be? The relationship between is and should in gender research] and 'Feministisk vitenskapskritikk og positivismestridens rekkevidde' [Feminist science criticism and the scope of the positivist struggle], Cathrine Holst, invited lectures, PhD course in the Philosophy of Science, University of Tromsø, Norway.	ARENA
9-10 September 2011	RECON WP 7 workshop: <a href="#">The European Rescue of the European Union: The Socio-Economic Malaise of Integration</a> , University of León, Spain.	ULEON
9 September 2011	<a href="#">¿De la crisis financiera a la crisis constitucional?</a> [From financial crisis to constitutional crisis?], comment on the RECON WP 7 workshop in León, <i>El Mundo</i> .	ULEON
10 September 2011	<a href="#">La crisis económica ha evolucionado hasta llegar a una crisis constitucional</a> [The economic crisis has developed into a constitutional crisis], comment on the RECON WP 7 workshop in León, <i>Diario de León</i> .	ULEON
13 September 2011	<a href="#">Ny vår for føderalismen</a> [A new spring for federalism], Erik O. Eriksen, interview with <i>Nationen</i> .	ARENA
15-16 September 2011	RECON WP 6 workshop: <a href="#">Democratizing the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy</a> , Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
19-20 September 2011	WP 4 workshop 'Gender and Democracy in the European Union', Rethymno, Crete	QUB
22 September 2011	'Reconciling Market with Social Europe: The EU under the Lisbon Treaty', Ulrike Liebert, paper presented at the International Seminar on European Identity after Lisbon Treaty, Centre for European Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.	UniHB
23 September 2011	'Which Representation in the EU?', Sandra Kröger, paper presented at the conference 'The European Union: What Institutional Model for Which Type of Democracy? Federalism, Compound Democracy, Multi-Level Governance and Directly Deliberative Polyarchy Compared', University of Innsbruck, Austria.	UniHB
26 September 2011	Keynote, Hans-Jörg Trenz, International Conference 'Identity and Intercultural Communication', Bucharest, Romania.	ARENA
27 September 2011	'Parliaments and Interest Representation: The Case of Czech Republic', Petra Guasti, lecture at the Institute for the Research of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia, Bulgaria.	ASCR
28 September 2011	'Anmerkungen zu einer, hermeneutischen wende' in der Politischen Theorie: Gegenstand und Methoden der politischen Theorie', Daniel Gaus, paper presented at the German Political Theory Association of the German Political Science Association, Bremen, Germany.	ARENA
29 September 2011	Erik O. Eriksen, participation at breakfast meeting ('Frokost med Bernt') on 'the anatomy of the Euro crisis', University of Oslo. The debate on was commented upon in <i>Nationen</i> (19 September 2011): <a href="#">EU-ekspert: - Eurokrisa fører til eit tettare EU</a> [EU expert: - The Euro crisis will lead to a more integrated EU] and broadcasted by the University of Oslo student radio, <i>Radio Nova</i> : <a href="#">Eurokrisens anatomi</a> (4 October 2011).	ARENA

September 2011	<a href="#">‘Responding to crisis in Europe: A Communication Approach of the Transformation of Political Order’</a> (in Greek), Asimina Michailidou, Pieter de Wilde and Hans-Jörg Trenz, <i>Communication Issues</i> , vol. 7, no. 12-13, pp. 107-118.	ARENA
September 2011	<a href="#">Kritik der Rechtfertigungsverhältnisse. Perspektiven einer kritischen Theorie der Politik</a> , Rainer Forst, Berlin: Suhrkamp.	JWGU
September 2011	<i>The Nexus between Democracy, Collective Identity Formation and EU Enlargement</i> , Petra Guasti, Jessie Hronešová and Zdenka Mansfeldová (eds), Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.	ASCR
September 2011	‘The Adultery and the Headscarf Debates in Turkey: Fusing “EU-niversal” and “Alternative” Modernities?’, Nora Fisher Onar and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, <i>Women’s Studies International Forum</i> , vol. 34, no. 5, pp. 378-389.	SABU
September 2011	‘The Intergovernmental Dimension of EU Foreign and Security Policy: Enacting Normative Meaning-in-Use in Policy Deliberation’, Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener, CEUR (Center for European Union Research) Working Paper No 2.	UHAM
September 2011	<a href="#">The European crises in 10 points (and one mystical vision)</a> , Agustín José Menéndez, RECON Policy Paper, Oslo: ARENA.	ULEON
6 October 2011,	‘Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns’, Pieter de Wilde, co-authors Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the conference of German Political Science Association General Conference, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany.	ARENA
11 October 2011	‘The Europeanization of Norwegian Equal Pay Legislation: Dilemmas of Justice’, Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Tuesday Seminar, ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway	ARENA
14 October 2011	‘Representation and Democratic Legitimacy in Multilevel Systems: Comparing the European Union and Canada’, John Erik Fossum (co-author David Laycock), paper presented (via Skype) at the workshop ‘Comparing Modes of Governance in Canada and the European Union: Social Policy Engagement across Complex Multilevel Systems’, University of Victoria, Canada.	ARENA
14-15 October 2011	Joint RECON WP 3/IPSA workshop: <a href="#">Changing Modes of Parliamentary Representation</a> , Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and International Political Science Association’s Research Committee on Legislative Specialists, Prague, Czech Republic.	ASCR
17-19 October 2011	RECON WP 9 workshop: <a href="#">The Conflicts-Law Approach on Trial</a> , Loccum, Germany.	UniHB
21 October 2011	‘Reflections on Experimental Governance’, John Erik Fossum, paper presented at the ‘Symposium on Experimental Governance in the European Union’, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.	ARENA
20-22 October 2011	‘Epistocracy: Conceptual Clarifications’, Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Yale-Oslo workshop ‘Epistemic Democracy in Practice’, Yale University, USA	ARENA
20-22 October 2011	‘The Role of Deliberation in Collective Decision-Making – On Explanatory Mechanisms and the Epistemics of Rational Reason’, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, paper presented at the Yale-Oslo workshop ‘Epistemic Democracy in Practice’, Yale University, USA	ARENA
25 October 2011	<a href="#">Krisen kan tvinge frem 'Europas forente stater'</a> [The crisis could force through the ‘United States of Europe’], Erik O. Eriksen, interview with Norwegian online economic journal <i>e24.no</i> .	ARENA



27 October 2011	'The European Representation-deliberation Interface', John Erik Fossum, lecture at the Ringvorlesung Komplexität Demokratie, University of Darmstadt, Germany.	ARENA
28 October 2011	'Multilevel Judicial Governance in the EU: German, Latvian and Czech Constitutional Courts in comparative perspective', Tatjana Evas, paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Central European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria.	UniHB
28 October 2011	<a href="#">Mer demokrati?</a> [More Democracy?], 28 October 2011, Cathrine Holst, article in Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	ARENA
28 October 2011	<a href="#">Satt under administrasjon</a> [Greece under administration], Erik O. Eriksen, interview, <i>Dagbladet</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> largest Norwegian newspaper)	ARENA
October 2011	Launch of <a href="#">European Union Democratic Audit Website</a>	ARENA
October 2011	' <a href="#">Finally Flexing Its Muscles? Atalanta - The EU's Naval Military Operation Against Piracy</a> ', Marianne Riddervold, <i>European Security</i> , vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 385-404.	ARENA
October 2011	Special Issue on Euroscepticism, edited by Petra Guasti, <a href="#">Socioweb 10/2011</a> .	ASCR
October 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/22: '<a href="#">Can You Keep a Secret? How the European Parliament Got Access to Sensitive Documents in the Area of Security and Defence</a>', Guri Rosén.</i>	ARENA
October 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/23: '<a href="#">The European Union's Foreign Policy: The Perceptions of the Turkish Parliamentarians</a>', Meltem Müftüler-Baç (with Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm).</i>	SABU
October 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/24: '<a href="#">Parliamentary Control of Military Missions: The Case of the EU NAVFOR Atalanta</a>', Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn.</i>	PRIF
October 2011	<i><a href="#">Democracy, State and Society: European Integration in Central and Eastern Europe</a>, Magdalena Góra and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds), Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press.</i>	JUK
2 November 2011	<a href="#">RECON Newsletter 1/2011</a> .	ARENA
3 November 2011	<a href="#">Europa lei av gresk vingling</a> [Europe tired of Greek discontent], Erik O. Eriksen, interview with Norwegian tabloid VG.	ARENA
5 November 2011	<a href="#">- Må ha mindre sjølvstyre</a> [Needs less self-rule], Erik O. Eriksen, interview with Norwegian leftist daily <i>Klassekampen</i> .	ARENA
5 November 2011	<a href="#">Sannhetens øyeblikk for Europa</a> [The moment of truth for Europe], commentary by Erik O. Eriksen in Norway's largest business paper <i>Dagens Næringsliv</i> .	ARENA
7 November 2011	<a href="#">Demokrati på billigsalg</a> [Bargain price for democracy], Erik O. Eriksen's blog.	ARENA
8 November 2011	'Die Aufgabe Politischer Theorie – eine "realistische" Neuvermessung?', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, paper presented at the Political Theory Colloquium, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany.	JWGU
10-11 November 2011	RECON WP 2 workshop: <a href="#">European Constitutional Pluralism and the Constitution of the Union</a> , Madrid, Spain.	CSIC
11 November 2011	<i>A Humanitarian Common Policy through Deliberation? On the Characteristics of EU Foreign Policy</i> , Marianne Riddervold, PhD thesis defence, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oslo.	ARENA
11 November 2011	<a href="#">Euro-exit på ryktebørsen</a> [Rumoured Euro exit], Erik O. Eriksen, interview with Norwegian leftist daily <i>Klassekampen</i> .	ARENA

11-12 November 2011	'Are Health Care 'Choice – and Competition' Reforms Really Efficiency Driven?', Valentina Zigante (co-author Joan Costa-i-Font), paper presented at a PhD session at the Workshop 'Healthcare systems: change and outcomes', Amsterdam.	LSE
13 November 2011	<a href="#">Η Δημοκρατία σε έκπτωση</a> [Democracy at a discount], Erik Oddvar Eriksen, article in Greek newspaper <i>Eleftherotypia</i> .	ARENA
14 November 2011	<a href="#">The end of democracy as we know it? Some thoughts on the coalition government in Greece</a> , Asimina Michailidou, commentary published on ARENA's website.	ARENA
18 November 2011	'Transcendence from Within? The Dynamics of Normative Orders as a Conceptual and Methodological Challenge for Political Theory', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, paper presented at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> Annual Graduate Conference 'The Dynamics of Normative Orders – Persistence, Motion, Rupture', of the Cluster of Excellence The Formation of Normative Orders, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany.	JWGU
18 November 2011	<a href="#">Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Snapshots of findings.</a>	ARENA
18 November 2011	<a href="#">Democracy at a discount</a> , Erik Oddvar Eriksen, opinion in <i>euobserver.com</i> .	ARENA
20 November 2011	<a href="#">EU-landene står eller faller sammen</a> [The EU member states will fall or survive together], article by Nina Kraft relating RECON's research to the current situation in Europe in <i>Forskning.no</i> , online newspaper devoted to Norwegian and international research. <a href="#">Full version of the article</a> available on ARENA's website.	ARENA
22 November 2011	<a href="#">Presses av eurokrisa</a> [Under pressure by the Euro crisis], Erik Oddvar Eriksen, comment in Norwegian daily <i>Dagsavisen</i> .	ARENA
24 November 2011	RECON Outreach Conference: <a href="#">Europe's democratic challenge</a> , Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
24 November 2011	<a href="#">Støre slår et slag for sterke medlemsstater i EU</a> [Støre calls for strong member states in the EU], comment on RECON's outreach conference in Oslo in Norwegian online newspaper <i>ABC Nyheter</i> .	ARENA
24 November 2011	<a href="#">Tyskland og Frankrike har skylden for krisen</a> [Germany and France are to be blamed for the crisis], David Mayes, commentary in Norwegian online economic journal <i>e24.no</i> .	UOA
25 November 2011	<a href="#">Støre ikke skremt av teknokratstyre</a> [Støre is not worried of technocratic rule], comment on RECON's outreach conference in Oslo, <i>Nationen</i> .	ARENA
25 November 2011	<a href="#">Krisa kan vare i 20 år</a> [The crisis could last for 20 years], interview with David Mayes, Norwegian daily <i>Dagsavisen</i> .	UOA
25-26 November 2011	RECON Concluding Conference: <a href="#">What is Left of European democracy?</a> , Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
29-30 November 2011	'Liberalisme, sosialdemokrati og norsk familiepolitikk' [Liberalism, social democracy and Norwegian family policy], Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the workshop on gender equality in the Scandinavian model "Likestilling og familiepolitikk", University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
November 2011	<a href="#">Learning from the EU Constitutional Treaty: Democratic Constitutionalization beyond the Nation-State</a> , Ben Crum, Abingdon: Routledge.	VUA
November 2011	'Civil Society and the Legitimacy of the EU Polity: Using Network Analysis to Analyse Linkages Among Actors', Petra Guasti, in <i>Informal Relations from Democratic Representation to Corruption: Case studies from Central and Eastern Europe</i> , edited by Zdenka Mansfeldová and Heiko Pleines, Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag.	ASCR

November 2011	'The Accession Games: a Comparison of Three Limited-information Negotiation Designs', Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Arzu Kibris, <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> , vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 399-427.	SABU
November 2011	<i>RECON Online Working Paper 2011/25: 'Dimensions of a European Constitutional Patriotism'</i> , Mattias Iser.	JWGU
1 December 2011	<a href="#">Mer demokratisk kontroll</a> [More democratic control], Christopher Lord, article in Norway's largest business paper <i>Dagens Næringsliv</i>	ARENA
1 December 2011	<a href="#">Democratic rebalancing needed</a> , Christopher Lord, article in <i>European Voice</i> .	ARENA
2 December 2011	'The COREU Network: a Venue for 'Uncertainty Absorption' in EU Foreign Policy?', Federica Bicchi, paper presented at the conference 'The Politics of Informing the EU', Maastricht University, Netherlands.	LSE
2 December 2011	<a href="#">Den siste europeer?</a> [The Last European?], Cathrine Holst, commentary on Giandomenico Majone's keynote speech at RECON's Concluding Conference, in Norwegian newspaper <i>Morgenbladet</i> .	ARENA
2 December 2011	'Civil Society in the Czech Republic - institutional framework, actors, role and new challenges', Zdenka Mansfeldová, lecture on for the students and staff of Department of Sociology and Center for Central and Eastern Europe at the Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C..	ASCR
4 December 2011	<a href="#">Ikke så deilig i EU</a> [Not so enjoyable in the EU], Erik Oddvar Eriksen, comment on Euroscepticism in Europe in Norwegian online economic journal <i>e24.no</i> .	ARENA
5 December 2011	Book launch, <i>Learning from the EU Constitutional Treaty</i> by Ben Crum (discussant Richard Corbett), Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, Belgium.	VUA
7 December 2011	'Democracy, Inclusion and the Governance of Active Social Policies in the EU: Recent Lessons from Denmark, the UK and France', Mark Thomson, paper presented at the New Zealand European Union Centres Network's (EUCN) 2011 Conference 'European dilemmas: Internal & external issues facing the European Union', University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.	UOA
8 December 2011	'Monetary Policy Announcements and Stock Reactions', David Mayes, paper presented at the New Zealand European Union Centres Network's (EUCN) 2011 Conference 'European dilemmas: Internal & external issues facing the European Union', University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand	UOA
8 December 2011	'False Prophets or the Other Side of the Coin? The Euro and European Citizenship', Crispin Shore paper presented at the New Zealand European Union Centres Network's (EUCN) 2011 Conference 'European dilemmas: Internal & external issues facing the European Union', University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.	UOA
9 December 2011	'The Politics of Inclusion: Comparing the Contribution of Civil Society Actors to EU Legitimacy', Petra Guasti, paper presented at the Centre of European Law and Legal Studies conference 'The European Union's economic and social model – still viable in a global crisis?', Leeds University, UK	ASCR
13 December 2011	Book launch, <i>Learning from the EU Constitutional Treaty</i> by Ben Crum, organized by the Europe-fund of the Wiardi Beckman Stichting, The Hague, The Netherlands.	VUA
14 December 2011	'Fra demokrati til ekspertstyre. Hva er problemet? [From Democracy to Expert Rule: What Is the Problem?]', Cathrine Holst, paper presented at the Research Seminar of the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, Univeristy os Oslo, Norway.	ARENA

20 December 2011	'Political Equality', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, paper presented at the Political Theory Colloquium, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany.	JWGU
21 December 2011	'Governance als Politische Theorie?', Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, paper presented at the Colloquium of the Urban Research Studies Group, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany.	JWGU
December 2011	<a href="#">'The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Quest for Democracy'</a> , Helene Sjursen (ed.), <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Quest for Democracy'</a> , Helene Sjursen, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1069-1077.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'Not so Intergovernmental After All? On Democracy and Integration in European Foreign and Security Policy'</a> , Helene Sjursen, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1078-1095.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'The Political Theory and Practice of Parliamentary Participation in the Common Security and Defence Policy'</a> , Christopher Lord, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1133-1150.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'Governance Between Expertise and Democracy: the Case of European Security'</a> , Erik Oddvar Eriksen, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1169-1189.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'From Reason-Giving To Collective Action: Argument-Based Learning And European Integration'</a> , Marianne Riddervold, <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i> , vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 563-580.	ARENA
December 2011	<a href="#">'The EU as a Community of Practice: Foreign Policy Communications in the COREU Network'</a> , Federica Bicchi, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , Special Issue, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1115-1132.	LSE
December 2011	<a href="#">'Raging Streets: Waking up to Reality: Global Street Protest or a Sign of Democracy Crisis?'</a> , Petra Guasti, RECON Policy Paper, Oslo: ARENA.	ASCR
December 2011	<a href="#">'Retreating from Europe: Rise and Fall of Political Ideologies in the 2009 European Election Campaign in Hungary'</a> , Maria Heller and Borbála Kriza, RECON Policy Paper Oslo: ARENA.	ELTE
December 2011	RECON Report No. 16: <a href="#">'Extending the Boundaries of Civic Membership: Polish NGOs as Change Agents'</a> , Beata Czajkowska (ed.), ARENA Report 9/11.	JUK
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/26: <a href="#">'Social Insurance Mechanisms in the European Union'</a> , Katherine Lyons and Christine Cheyne.	UOA
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/27: <a href="#">'Democracy, Inclusion and the Governance of Active Social Policies in the EU: Recent Lessons from Denmark, the UK and France'</a> , Mark Thomson.	UOA
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/28: <a href="#">'Coming to Terms with the "Legitimacy Crisis" of European Foreign Politics: The European Parliament Pushing the Frontiers of Consultation'</a> , Elisabeth Wisniewski.	ARENA
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/29: <a href="#">'Choice in European Reforms of Social Policies: The Case of Public Employment Services'</a> , Waltraud Schelkle.	LSE
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/30: <a href="#">'Debating Humanitarian Military Interventions in the European Public Sphere'</a> , Cathleen Kantner.	FUB

December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/31: ' <a href="#">Reconfiguring the Politics-Law Relationship in the Integration Project through Conflicts-Law Constitutionalism</a> ', Christian Joerges (with Michelle Everson).	UniHB
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/32: ' <a href="#">Equal Pay and Dilemmas of Justice</a> ', Cathrine Holst.	ARENA
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/33: ' <a href="#">Regional, Ethnic, European? Complex Identity: Construction of Silesians in the Context of Cultural Borderland</a> ', Dariusz Niedzwiedzki.	JUK
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/34: ' <a href="#">The Role of Information and Knowledge in the EU Foreign Policy System: Evidence from Heads of Mission's Reports</a> ', Federica Bicchì.	LSE
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/35: ' <a href="#">What Do We Owe the Poles (or the Greeks)? Three Emerging Duties of Transnational Social Justice in the European Union</a> ', Ben Crum.	VUA
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/36: ' <a href="#">RECON: A Feminist View</a> ', Sara Clavero, Yvonne Galligan, Cathrine Holst, Róza Vajda and Katarzyna Zielińska.	QUB/ ARENA/ ELTE/ JUK
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/37: ' <a href="#">European Identity as Commercium and Communio in Transnational Debates on Wars and Humanitarian Military Interventions</a> ', Cathleen Kantner.	FUB
December 2011	RECON Online Working Paper 2011/38: ' <a href="#">Moving Away from Unanimity: Ratification of the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union</a> ', Carlos Closa Montero.	CSIC
December 2011	RECON Research Report: ' <a href="#">European Integration from the Baltic Perspective: Constitutional Challenges, Conflicting Interests and Eastern Neighbours of the EU</a> ', edited by Tatjana Evas.	UniHB
2011	<a href="#">Framing the Use of Force: An International Rule of Law in Media Reporting. A Comparative Analysis of Western Debates about Military Interventions, 1990-2005</a> , Swantje Renfordt, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	FUB
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2011	<i>The Right to Justification: Elements of a Constructivist Theory of Justice</i> , Rainer Forst, English translation of <i>Das Recht auf Rechtfertigung - Elemente einer konstruktivistischen Theorie der Gerechtigkeit</i> , 2007, New York: Columbia University Press.	JWGU
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2011	'Europe and Euroscepticism: "Non-issues" in Belgian Politics', Amandine Crespy, in <i>Debating Europe: The 2009 European Parliament Elections and Beyond</i> , edited by Robert Harmsen and Joachim Schild, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	ULB
2011	'Die Geltung der Menschenrechte', Rainer Forst, in <i>Auf dem Weg zu Just Peace Governance: Beiträge zum Auftakt des neuen Forschungsprogramms der HSKF</i> , edited by Claudia Baumgart-Ochse, Niklas Schörnig, Simone Wisotzki and Jonas Wolff, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	JWGU
2011	'A Supranational Political Sphere in the Making? European Election Manifestos and Campaigns in Austria', Emmanuel Sigalas and Monika Mokre, in <i>Parliament and Europe</i> , edited by Claudia Wiesner, Tapani Turkka, Kari Palonen, Baden-Baden: Nomos.	OEAW



2011	'Reconstructing the significant other in an enlarged EU. Essentialistic vs. civic construction of collective identity', Grzegorz Pożarlik, in <i>Identités, citoyennetés et démocratie: 20 ans après / Identities, Citizenship and Democracy: 20 years after</i> , edited by Fabienne Maron and Grzegorz Pożarlik, Brussels: Editions Bruylant.	JUK
2011	'Belonging and Engagement: Benefits of Difference on EU Issues in Europe's Public Spheres', Pieter de Wilde, in <i>Difference and Democracy</i> , edited by Kolja Raube and Annika Settler, Frankfurt: Campus.	ARENA
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2011	'Moving above and below the state: Actors and issues', John Erik Fossum (with Stephane Roussel), <i>International Journal</i> , vol. 66, no. 4, 781-791.	ARENA
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January 2012	'The European External Action Service: A Pivotal Actor in EU Foreign Policy Communications?', Federica Bicchì, <i>The Hague Journal of Diplomacy</i> , vol. 7, no 1, pp. 81-94.	LSE
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January 2012	<a href="#">Rethinking Democracy and the European Union</a> , Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (eds), Abingdon: Routledge.	ARENA

12 January 2012	'Online Media, Crisis Communication and Political Innovation: The Case of Indignant Greeks', Asimina Michailidou, paper presented at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
12 January 2012	'Norway in the EUs security and defence policy: democratic dilemmas', Helene Sjursen, paper presented at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
12 January 2012	'The Politicization of the European Union: From Constitutional Dreams to Euro-Zone crisis Nightmare', Hans Jörg Trenz, paper presented at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, University of Oslo, Norway.	ARENA
February 2012	<i>¿Una Unión Europea En Mutación? De La Crisis Económica A La Constitucional De La Unión Europea</i> , Agustín José Menéndez, EOLAS Ediciones, Librería Universitaria León	ULEON
February 2012	<a href="#"><i>Collective Identity and Democracy in the Enlarging Europe</i></a> , Magdalena Góra, Zdzisław Mach and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.	JUK
February 2012	RECON Report No. 17: ' <a href="#">Deliberative Processes and Gender: Democracy: Case Studies from Europe</a> ', Yvonne Galligan (ed.), ARENA Report 1/12.	QUB
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February 2012	RECON Report No. 19: ' <a href="#">The European Rescue of the European Union? The Existential Crisis of the European Political Project</a> ', Edoardo Chiti, Agustín José Menéndez and Pedro Teixeira (eds), ARENA Report 3/12.	ULEON
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March 2012	'European Citizenship: Toward Renationalization or Cosmopolitan Europe?', Espen D. H. Olsen, ARENA working paper.	ARENA
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April 2012	<a href="#">The Changing Role of Law in the Age of Supra- and Transnational Governance</a> , Rainer Nickel (with Andrea Greppi), Baden Baden: Nomos	JWGU
April 2012	'Politicising EU Decision-making and National Parliaments: Visibility of Choices and Better Aligned Ministers?', Eric Miklin, working paper series, European University Viadrina, Berlin, Germany.	VUA
April 2012	'Just cheap talk? Rethinking the "no European demos" thesis in light of discursive representation practices', Ulrike Liebert, CEuS working paper, Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (CEuS), University of Bremen.	UniHB
April 2012	'The COREU Network and the Circulation of Information Within EU Foreign Policy', Federica Bicchi, <i>Journal of European Integration</i>	LSE
May 2012	'Second-order' elections and online journalism: Comparison of the 2009 EP elections coverage in Greece, Sweden and the UK', Asimina Michailidou, <i>Journalism Practice</i> , special issue "Online reporting of elections", vol. 6, no. 3.	ARENA

June 2012	'Representation Through Deliberation: The European Case', Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, <i>Constellations</i> , Vol 19, No. 2.	ARENA
June 2012	'Social Welfare and the Levels of Democratic Government in the EU', Anna Michalski, <i>Journal of European Integration</i>	UOA
8-12 July 2012	'Online Euroscepticism: Mobilising EU Resistance through the Internet', Asimina Michailidou, paper to be presented at the IPSA 22 <sup>nd</sup> World Congress of Political Science, Madrid, Spain.	ARENA
August 2012	<i>Domestic Courts and Application of EU Law in the Post-Communist MS: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Sovereign?</i> , Tatjana Evas, Aldershot: Ashgate.	UniHB
2012	<i>Practices of Inter-Parliamentary Coordination in International Politics – The European Union and beyond</i> , Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum (eds), Colchester: ECPR Press.	ARENA/VUA
2012	'Representative Claims Making in the European Union Arena', Christopher Lord, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> .	ARENA
2012	'The Perception of the EU as an Emerging Security Actor in Media Debates on Humanitarian and Military Interventions', Cathleen Kantner, Amelie Kutter and Swantje Renfordt, <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> .	FUB
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