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STUDIES



European  
Union  
Democracy  
Observatory

# EUDO ANNUAL REPORT

EUROPEAN  
UNION  
DEMOCRACY  
OBSERVATORY









European  
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# INTRODUCTION

The European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO) is an independent and interdisciplinary academic organization fully integrated within the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS). Its declared **goals** are:

- To translate scientific and academic research on the key issues of European democracy into policy-relevant and publicly-understandable outputs.
- To produce a periodic evaluation of democratic practices within the EU.
- To develop practical suggestions for improving democratic performance in the EU.
- To offer expertise, information, and policy reports on relevant EU institutions.
- To serve as a forum where research results, experiences, ideas, and good practices can be exchanged between scholars and policy-makers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This annual report was edited by Diego Garzia in collaboration with Jelena Dzankic and Lorenzo Cicchi.

The **primary focus of EUDO in 2015** has been dedicated to further consolidating the work of the four observatories, whilst assuring continuity in the delivery of the main activities of the EUDO platform. Several research projects were conducted, and various conferences, seminars, workshops and other events organized.

In **2016**, EUDO will continue to strive towards becoming one of the leading research centres for EU democracy by reinforcing its interdisciplinary approach as well as by exploring new research areas related to European Democracy.

In this **annual report** we will present the EUDO activities from **the end of 2014 to the end of 2015**. The report is structured as follows: section I will present a detailed account of activities and work in the four EUDO Observatories. In section II an overview of the people involved in EUDO is given. Section III, meanwhile, lists selected publications from 2014/2015.

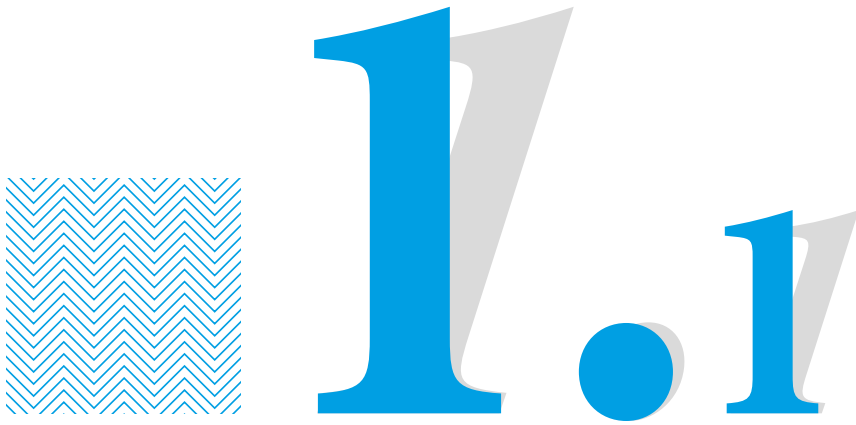






## **EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media**

The Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites, and the Media focuses on the analysis of the attitudes and preferences of publics, the media and the elites, and has the aim of measuring the extent to which these converge or diverge, in which fields and in what directions. During the last year, this Observatory continued to dedicate a large part of its attention to the main research project initiated at the time of the 2009 elections of the European Parliament, the EU Profiler, which was followed in 2014 by a new project on the 2014 EP elections, euandi. In what follows we focus mainly on the follow-up activities concerned.



## Activities and Research 2014/2015

### euandi

In 2009 EUDO produced the voting advice application “EU Profiler” [[www.euprofiler.eu](http://www.euprofiler.eu)] for the European Parliament elections of June 2009. The EU Profiler was the first Europe-wide tool of its kind. For the European Parliamentary elections of May 2014, EUDO produced a new online voting advice application, euandi [[www.euandi.eu](http://www.euandi.eu)] in close collaboration with the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University and in cooperation with LUISS University in Rome. The main goal of euandi was to allow its users to match their policy positions with those of the political parties running for the 2014 EP elections in the 28 Member States. Available in 24 languages, euandi invited users, during the two months prior to the EP elections, to react to 28 policy statements covering a wide range of contemporary policy issues and political values in European politics, as well as to two policy statements specific to the user’s national political context. Not only did the tool help people identify which political parties represent their views, but it also provided an innovative platform for community building, where people from all over Europe could connect with each other based on their political views.

The project involved 121 highly trained and knowledgeable social scientists at the doctoral or post-doctoral level researching and coding the

political parties featured in the tool. The majority of country teams’ members was affiliated with the EUI, but several collaborators were based in other parts of Europe. The euandi country teams identified and contacted the parties running in the 2014 EP elections inviting them to fill in an online questionnaire and motivating their choices by supplying supporting material. In parallel, country teams proceeded to code parties’ positions. When the party self-placement and the expert coding were completed, the two results were compared. Where there were discrepancies, the party was asked to provide more support for its declared position, and a final answer was identified.

The coding of thousands of party positions on 30 issues for over 240 parties resulted in a very large dataset of European party positions. The opinions of 400.000 users complemented the largest data collection on European Parliament elections, party competition and voters’ attitudes and behaviour ever assembled. The datasets, including supporting material and coding documentation, have recently been made freely available to scholars and to the public at large through GESIS at <https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/gdesc2.asp?no=0120>





## Major Scientific Outputs

Garzia, D.; Trechsel, A.; De Sio, L. (2015). **Party placement in supranational elections: An introduction to the euandi 2014 dataset.** *Party Politics*, online first.

The scientific relevance of the euandi endeavour lies primarily in its choice to stick to the iterative method of party positioning employed by the EU Profiler in 2009 as well as in the choice to keep as many policy statements as possible in the 2014 questionnaire in order to allow cross-national, longitudinal research on party competition in Europe across a five-year period. This article provides a brief review of traditional methods of party positioning and contrasts them to the iterative method employed by the euandi team. It then introduces the specifics of the project, facts and figures of the data collection procedure, and the details of the resulting dataset encompassing 242 parties from the whole EU28.

*\*Previous versions of this paper have been presented at various international conferences including the 8<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference (Glasgow, September 2014), the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Italian Society of Political Science (Perugia, September 2014) and the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Las Vegas, April 2015).*



Trechsel, A.; De Sio, L.; Garzia, D. (2015). **Ist die zeit Reif? 2014 as the first (truly) European elections.** Manuscript under preparation.

A major advantage of using VAA-generated data to measure parties' positions in the European Union lies in the large number of policy issues covered, in their emphasis on actual policy statements rather than on a generic classification on dimensions of political conflict, along with their immediate availability in the aftermath of the elections. This paper tackles the traditional "second-orderness" problem of EP elections making use of the party position data made available by both the EU Profiler (2009) and euandi (2014) projects. It argues that, as a consequence of EU policies trying to address the economic and financial crisis, a stronger politicization of Europe has emerged, leading to the end of a "permissive consensus" towards EU institutions and policies. It explores this hypothesis in the context of the 2009 and 2014 EP elections through a twofold strategy. It first attempts to assess the core predictions of the second-order model through tests on aggregate electoral results. It then moves on to investigate specific explanatory mechanisms for the 2014 EP elections, by relating party performance with party stance on political issues.

*\*Previous versions of this paper have been presented at various international conferences including the 8<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference (Glasgow, September 2014), the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Italian*

*Society of Political Science (Perugia, September 2014) and the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Las Vegas, April 2015). The latter version of the paper has been nominated for the "Pi Sigma Alpha Award" for the best paper at presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting.*

Bright, J., Garzia, D., Lacey, J. & Trechsel, A. (2015). **The representative deficit in different European Party Systems.** Manuscript under preparation.

In terms of potential applications, VAA-generated data represents an extremely promising source for conducting research on political representation vis-à-vis traditional election surveys. As a matter of fact, VAAs are able to attract millions of respondents during an election campaign and, even more importantly, they allow comparisons of the issue positions of voters and parties using the same data source. This paper takes advantage of both the party and the user datasets stemming from the euandi project to explore the extent to which different party systems in Europe effectively represent their citizens. It measures the extent to which different countries in the EU suffer from a "representative deficit", and then attempts to explain some of this variation, and thus explore the reasons why some party systems in Europe offer better representation than others.

*\*Previous versions of this paper have been presented at various international conferences including the 9<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference (Montreal, August 2015).*

## EUROPE'S VOTING SPACE AND THE PROBLEM OF SECOND-ORDER ELECTIONS: A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL

The (lack of) legitimacy of the EP as a democratic body is a classic problem in EU studies which has plagued the organisation since its inception. The major reason put forth for this lack of legitimacy is its status as a “second order” election in EU member states, where it is treated as essentially a minor engagement in the ongoing national political battle, rather than a major event in its own right. In a recent article published in *European Union Politics*, Jonathan Bright, Diego Garzia, Joseph Lacey and Alexander H. Trechsel examine a potential solution to this problem: the transnationalisation of European Parliamentary elections, which would involve allowing voters to vote for parties in any European country when they went to the polls (at least for a portion of seats in the parliament itself). This proposal would allow the European elections to break free from the clutches of national politics: in particular, when campaigning, national parties would have to adjust their electoral offer to both take account of the increased competition for their “national” vote and also to potentially address voters in other countries. The article also seeks to collect evidence on the extent to which this change would be welcomed by European citizens. It does so using data gathered from the EU Profiler project during the 2009 European Parliament election.

Full article is available at:

<http://eup.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/06/30/1465116515588965.abstract>

## ECPR RESEARCH NETWORK ON VOTING ADVICE APPLICATIONS

A structured form of cooperation and networking among VAA scholars had already been initiated by a series of initiative including the ECPR Research Sessions held at the EUI in June 2012 and full sections at the ECPR General Conference (Bordeaux 2013, Glasgow 2014, Montreal 2015) co-chaired by Diego Garzia and Stefan Marschall (University of Dusseldorf). Eventually, ECPR granted in 2015 the status of “Research Network” to the growing body of researchers working on Voting Advice Applications across the continent. The role of this Research Network is to address the role of VAAs in European democracies, to coordinate research, to exchange data and instruments and to bridge VAA research to central fields of political science such as electoral studies, party research, and democratic theory. Taking advantage of being co-hosted within the EUDO framework, the VAA Research Network will facilitate the dissemination of findings and best-practices to the growing number of international scholars and practitioners working with and on VAAs.

The kick-off meeting took place during the 9<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference held in Montreal (September 2015), while an inaugural workshop was organized in Lausanne in collaboration with IDHEAP. The latter occasion laid down the foundations for the forthcoming VAA section at the 10<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference to be held in Prague in September 2016.

The Research Network is currently convened by Diego Garzia and Stefan Marschall. Its webpage can be found at:

<https://ecpr.eu/StandingGroups/StandingGroupHome.aspx?ID=56>







## COLLABORATION WITH THE ITALIAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY (ITANES)

As part of its long-standing interest in Voting Advice Applications and their effects on users' political behavior, this Observatory partnered with ITANES on an experimental study held in the context of the Italian parliamentary election of February 2013. The experiment involved the development of a mock VAA platform to be administered to the treatment group in proximity of the election. The experiment was embedded in a multi-wave CAWI panel of the Italian National Election Study. The results of this study provide further evidence for the positive impact of VAAs on electoral participation. The experiment itself contributes to the research on the mobilizing potential of VAAs through an "ideal" design: an experiment on a nationally representative sample of voters in the context of a real election. The scattered diffusion of VAAs in the Italian context provided the conditions to test VAA effects in a sort of nationwide laboratory. The choice of Italy as a case study further substantiated previous findings stemming from those countries where effects could be imputed to the widespread diffusion of VAAs. The results of this experiment have been presented at various national and international conferences including, most recently, the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Las Vegas, April 2015) and the Annual Conference of the Italian Association of Political Communication (Salerno, December 2015).

Later in 2013, this Observatory partnered again with the Italian National Election Study on a

research project on the attitudinal drivers of partisanship in Italy. The study involved a CAWI panel survey conducted by SWG in collaboration with the University of Siena and ITANES (N=808). Respondents were interviewed before the exit of PdL from government in mid-November and again a few days after the 8<sup>th</sup> of December, the day in which Silvio Berlusconi dissolved PdL and re-created Forza Italia while both PD and Lega Nord were holding their primary elections. The time frame of the survey allowed for an unprecedented causal assessment of the effect exerted by leadership change (PD, Lega Nord) as well as party denomination change (from PdL to Forza Italia) on patterns of closeness to parties at the individual level. The empirical findings of this study shed new light on the changing relationship between voters and political parties in Italy, ever more centered around the persona of the party leader. The flagship paper of this research project has been presented at various national and international conferences including the "Personalization of Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" Conference (Lisbon, April 2015), the 9<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference (Montreal, August 2015), and the 29<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Italian Society of Political Science (Cosenza, September 2015). It will be featured in a special issue of *Contemporary Italian Politics* to be guest-edited by Paolo Bellucci, Diego Garzia and Michael S. Lewis-Beck.



#### Consequences

- voters get increasingly lost
- disaffection from (electoral) politics
- particularly acute at European level





## INTERNET VOTING IN ESTONIA

In October 2005 Estonia became the first country in the world to conduct nationwide legally binding Internet elections. A EUDO team of international scholars (including collaborators from Caltech, the University of Utah and the Ifo Munich) led by Alexander H. Trechsel has closely observed these events and conducted five consecutive surveys in order to explore the patterns of Internet voting and its effects on political behaviour. The project was co-financed by the Council of Europe and the Estonian Electoral Committee. EUDO's enduring cooperation with the latter has resulted, most recently, in the participation of Alexander H. Trechsel and Diego Garzia in the latest *Estonia's Friends International Meeting*, held in Tallin in July 2015. The meeting is a joint initiative launched by President of Estonia Mr. Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Enterprise Estonia and the entrepreneur Mr Margus Reinsalu to thank and recognize business, political and cultural figures whose actions and advice have helped Estonia to become a truly European country with a dynamic economy and thriving culture. Every year about 100 Friends of Estonia attend the event.

## AWARDS AND NOMINATIONS

During the biennium 2014/15, members of EUDO joined the boards of prestigious academic journals. Alexander H. Trechsel was invited to take part in the International Advisory Board of the brand-new *Italian Political Science Review*. Diego Garzia joined the editorial board of the journal of the Italian Association of Political Communication (*ComPol*). Marta Fraile joined the editorial boards of *European Journal of Political Research* and *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*.

During the 29<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Italian Society of Political Science held in Cosenza, September 2015, Diego Garzia has been awarded the 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition of the "Giacomo Sani Award" for the best article in political and electoral communication appeared in *Italian Political Science Review* and *ComPol*. The article, titled "Tra Facebook e i TG: esposizione mediale e percezione dei leader nella campagna elettorale del 2013", was co-authored with Mauro Barisione and Patrizia Catellani.

In November 2015, Diego Garzia has been elected member of the Scientific Council of the Italian National Election Study (ITANES).





# 1.2

## **EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation**

The Observatory was jointly founded by Prof. Peter Mair (Professor of Comparative Politics at the EUI and former Head of the Department of Political and Social Sciences) and Prof. Luciano Bardi (Professor of Political Science at the University of Pisa and Part-time Professor at the RSCAS-EUI). Since 2012 the observatory has been jointly directed by Luciano Bardi and Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi (EUI).

The aim of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR) is to study European parties in all their dimensions, analysing their evolving organisations and patterns of competition at EU level, as well as their changing role and their representative capacity at national and sub-national levels.

The creation of Europarties, and the development of a full-blown EU party system, has been widely regarded as a necessary step toward the creation of a fully democratic and accountable EU political system.

The importance of European parties has been sanctioned by the Statute for Political Parties at the European Level (approved by the European Parliament in November 2003), a document that defines their role as well as the requirements needed for their EU financing, and has been confirmed by Regulation (EC) No 1524/2007. This importance is likely to be confirmed also by new proposals still in discussion amongst EU legislative bodies.



Europarties could provide a much stronger link between European civil society and supranational EU institutions, allowing a more effective transfer of preferences and policy priorities from citizens to the EU legislative system. Political Foundations at the European Level have been designed in 2007 to help Europarties in performing this role.

The creation of effective mechanisms for multi-level coordination between national parties and their Europarty counterparts is all the more important in view of the great potential of party groups in the European Parliament, as demonstrated by their growing voting cohesiveness and their increasing inclusiveness.

As several empirical analyses have shown, plenary votes in the European Parliament occur along party lines on a left-right axis, while national party delegations have aggregated into fewer and progressively larger groups, significantly reducing parliamentary fragmentation. In addition, the new powers attributed to the European Parliament with the Lisbon Treaty should further increase the incentives for national parties to develop even greater voting cohesion and stronger organisational structures at European level. For the first time, the informal role played by Europarties in the appointment of the President of the European Council and of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy has the potential to establish a strong partisan link between the EU's supranational legislature and its inter-governmental

institutions. Even more important has been the designation by 5 Europarties of candidates to the Presidency of the EU Commission. This political development has characterised the 2014 European Elections and has represented a prominent stimulus to strengthening the link between citizens and institutions.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines (political science, law and history) have produced a large amount of research and empirical data on political parties and representation in Europe, both at the national and at the supra-national level. Thanks to a number of insightful works in this area, and to the wealth of empirical evidence they have produced, we now have a substantive understanding of the internal organization of European political parties, of their patterns of interaction at the national and EU level, and of their changing representative capacity in contemporary democracies.

All of these research efforts, however, have been, generally speaking, uncoordinated, resulting in a dispersal of datasets and electronic repositories across a number of different research institutions, which are sometimes difficult to access (e.g. non-digitalized data, or data whose access is restricted due to copyright issues or to specific access policies of the hosting institution). This has made the work of comparative researchers difficult to say the least.

Apart from the production and dissemination of data on European parties, the Observatory promotes the development of research projects in new and





emerging dimensions of political representation in Europe, such as the Europeanisation of party organisations and the challenge of multi-level politics, the use of new media in electoral campaigns and the declining importance of party membership; the legalisation and constitutionalisation of political parties in European democracies, the weakening ties between parties and civil society, and the status and standing of party government, including the importance of party patronage and public appointments.

Between 2011 and 2014 OPPR's activities were coordinated by Enrico Calossi. In 2015 Lorenzo Cicchi replaced him as OPPR coordinator. Several academic collaborators, both internal and external to the EUI, have been involved in the research activities of the OPPR. In the last years Edoardo Bressanelli (King's College London), Wojciech Gagatsek (University of Warsaw), Eugenio Pizzimenti (University of Pisa), Jocelyn Evans (University of Leeds), Martin Bull (Salford University) have taken part in such activities. In particular, a follow-up of the study that in 2010 led to the publication "How to create a transnational party system in Europe?" has been funded and assigned by the AFCO Committee of the European Parliament to OPPR in 2014. Themes that have been researched were: the role of Eurofoundations, the funding of Europarties at the light of new proposed regulations, programmatic coherence of Europarties and voting behaviour of EP party groups during the current financial and economic crisis. The publication "Political Parties

and Political Foundations at European Level. Challenges and Opportunities" (written by Luciano Bardi, Edoardo Bressanelli, Lorenzo Cicchi, Enrico Calossi, Wojciech Gagatsek, Eugenio Pizzimenti) has represented the principal outcome.

OPPR also has an Advisory Committee composed by international experts on European party politics: Ingrid van Biezen (Leiden University), Zsolt Enyedi (Central European University), David Farrell (University College Dublin), Simon Hix (London School of Economics), Laura Morales (University of Leicester), Thomas Poguntke (University of Düsseldorf), Tapio Raunio (Tampere University), and Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex).

The Observatory aims to become the principal online repository for key datasets and primary sources on the development of Europarties and party groups in the European Parliament, as well as large cross-national research projects on party organization and party-related surveys. OPPR will also continue its regular engagement with EU policy-makers, through a series of Guest Lectures by practitioners at the EUI.





## Activities and Research 2014/2015

In 2015 the Observatory has continued its collaboration with the Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament, a relationship that in the year has produced a series of studies and in-depth analysis. The study **“Electoral Rules And Electoral Participation In The European Elections: The Ballot Format And Structure”**, by **Luciano Bardi and Lorenzo Cicchi**, was published in November 2015 by the Publications office of the European Parliament (ISBN). The research was commissioned by the policy department for Citizen’s rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO committee. The work aims at assessing the feasibility of a harmonisation and “Europeanisation” of the ballots used in the 28 Member States for the election of the European Parliament. This is done by comparing the actual structure of ballots used in all Member States according to some key variables, by analysing which information can be currently provided on the ballots, by describing the provisions that regulate at the national level all aspects related to the ballots’ format and appearance, and by investigating the legal and political constraints that impact on amending such legislation. Finally an assessment of whether the presence of Euro-specific information such as the name of the affiliated European party, its logo, and a reference to the lead candidate for the EC could enhance the European and transnational character of the European elections.

Members of OPPr participate the project **“Political Parties Database”**, funded by the **F. Thyssen Stiftung** and directed by **Susan Scarrow, Paul Webb and Thomas Poguntke**. The Political Party Database Project is a cross-national collaborative

initiative that is currently working to establish an online, public, database as a central source for key information about political party organization, party resources, leadership selection, and political participation within political parties in many representative democracies. Team members are currently working to finalize the first round of data collection for this project, which will encompass 19 countries and over 140 political parties. Project members initially met at the European University Institute in May 2011 in a working group session sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research. Participants have subsequently met at Leiden University in Fall 2011, at the University of Dusseldorf in Summer 2012 and Fall 2013, and in Sussex in the UK in Fall 2014. In Spring 2015 team members are completing first round data collection and are beginning work on the first analyses based on this data, presented at international conferences in summer and fall 2015.

OPPr co-director Hanspeter Kriesi is the project leader of the **ERC research program POLCON (Political Conflict in Europe in the Shadow of the Great Recession)**. This project assesses the contemporary development of European democracies and the politicization of the European integration process in the shadow of the Great Recession, which started with the breakdown of Lehman Brothers in Autumn 2008 and is still ongoing. To grasp the political consequences of the economic crisis, the project proposes a combination of a comparative-static analysis of thirty European countries and a dynamic analysis of political conflict in a selected number of cases. It intends to link the



study of elections to the study of political protest, covering Western, Southern, as well as Central and Eastern European countries. This project proposes to study the structuration of political conflict in Europe, based on the analysis of political contestation in the electoral arena, the protest arena, and in issue specific public interactions. Since few studies worked on the interactions between elections and political protest, the project focuses on the interactions between these two political arenas and the actors respectively involved in each. The key question is whether the Great Recession and its consequences are changing the long-term trends in the development of political conflict in Europe as they have been previously assessed. In order to answer this overarching research question, the project is based on survey data and on an original content analysis of protest events, election campaigns, and issue-specific public contestation across territorial levels and political arenas.

OPPR members participated in a series of conferences, giving speeches or lectures on topics that are relevant to the core research themes of the Observatory. A selected list of them can be found below:

Luciano Bardi illustrated the PartAdapt project, submitted to the Economic and Social Research Council in 2015, at the conference “Partiti E Democrazie In Movimento: La fine dei partiti tradizionali e le sue conseguenze”, held at the University of Cagliari, 21-22 May 2015.

Luciano Bardi, Enrico Calossi and Eugenio Pizzimenti presented the paper “Party organizational

change: an analytical framework” at the 111th APSA Annual Meeting (San Francisco, CA, September 3rd-6th 2015). Panel Title: How Party Organizations Shape Democratic Outcomes.

Luciano Bardi, Enrico Calossi and Eugenio Pizzimenti presented the paper “Party Modelling and Changes in Party Organisation” on 26-29 August 2015, Montreal (Canada), at the Conference of the European Consortium of Political Research. Luciano Bardi participated to the final roudtable of the conference “Leader senza base? Partiti ed elettori in Italia” orgnized by the Italian SISP (Società Italiana di Scienza Poltica), 22 January 2015.

Prof. Luciano Bardi gave a speech in the final roundtable of the conference “The Presidentialization and the Personalization of Parties” organized by La Sapienza University of Rome, on November 9 2015. Luciano Bardi was also discussant in the conference “The People and the Experts in European Party Politics”, a Politics & Labour Network Special Seminar with Prof. Richard S. Katz (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) as keynote speaker, organized by the University of Milan.

Wojciech Gagatsek chaired the panel “Electoral Politics in the EU”, where he presented a paper entitled “Party Competition in the EU (2004-2014): Conflict and Collusion Between Political Parties at the European Level”, ECPR General Conference, Université de Montréal, 26-29 August 2015.

# Outlook

OPPR will go on with its activity and being a hub for research on Political Parties, it will host working papers by the most prominent, but also by younger, researchers. The Observatory will continue its series of guest lectures by European policy-makers in 2016, inviting leading representatives from Europarties and political groups in the European Parliament. The Observatory intends to exploit its unique capabilities to make further funding applications, in full collaboration with its fellow EUDO Observatories and the Robert Schuman Centre.

In 2015 some research projects have already been or will be soon submitted to certain institutions and research centres. In particular, a substantive project called **“Parties as multi-level campaign organizations (PartAdapt)”** has been submitted to the Economic and Social Research Council, together with the University of Leeds (Principal investigator: Prof. Jocelyn Evans) and Salford University (Principal investigator: Prof. Martin Bull). A network of 28 prominent scholars, that would be responsible for data collection of each of the EU Member States, has already been identified. At the time of writing the project is in the process of final evaluation by the competent ESRC panel.

This project might be described as the infrastructural project of the OPPR. For many years European Elections have been considered in the literature as second order elections but this hypothesis has never been tested. The project promises to generate the data for such a test, by building an infrastructure for the continuous monitoring of the degree of Europeanisation of the elections to the European Parliament and national parliaments across a complete five-year cycle. Through a set of specific indicators, this study will explore the dynamics of political campaigning at both national and European levels in order to better understand the degree to which distinctly European themes are advanced by political parties as they enter the two sets (European and national) of electoral contests. As the first step, the OPPR will prepare a detailed report on electoral campaigns at an EU level. This will form the background for the work of an international research team, comprising of national experts in the field, who will then observe and report on the parties' campaigns in elections across a five year period (2013-2017). We think the best way to achieve our research interests would be to cover all 28 EU member states and current applicants.

# R016 for

However, concentrating only on some two-thirds of the EU member states could also be profitable.

Specifically this work of research will seek to answer several questions: i) What are the themes developed by the parties in national and European campaigns, and to what extent are these Europeanised?

ii) Do parties develop different styles of campaign in European and national elections, and, if so, what is the impact of these differences? iii) How do parties organize the different campaigns? What kind of means and techniques do they employ in national contests and in European contests, and how does this impact the status of the European elections in particular? iv) How are the candidates selected in both contests? v) Who and what is being targeted by the different campaigns? vi) What is the role of European political parties in the elections to the EP, and what, if any, role is given to European party affiliations in elections to the national parliaments?

A second project is still in the process of being submitted to the relevant research institution. This project, called **“Sociodemographic characteristics of Italian MEP”**, looks at the impact of the electoral system - and changes in the electoral system - on

how political parties recruit candidates and how they allocate their successful candidates the seats in the legislative and executive branches. To what extent and in what ways, the electoral systems affect the political parties in their capacity as recruitment, assignment of responsibilities and liaison with constituencies? These are matters of great importance for the understanding of the dynamics inherent in democratic representation. With a research (concluded in 2012), the Italian case has been included as part of an international comparative research coordinated by Ellis Krauss and Matthew Shugart which aimed to study the same issue in eight countries: the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Portugal, Bolivia, Ukraine, Lithuania and New Zealand. The research concluded its data collection in the 2006 elections and OPPr is proposed to extend the data collection by including the Italian elections of 2008 and 2013.

Naturally the OPPr is interested in any research project that focuses on its institutional aims, and it will be opened to any research centre or individual researcher who may consider the partnership of the OPPr as relevant, and wish to submit his research proposal to the observatory.





#### Democracy in the Union

- Representative democracy – political equality, public control, right to justification – is not exhausted by the expression of will
- Identifying democracy with the presence of watching chairs of delegation and accountability running in opposite directions (Storén et al 2002, Gauthier 2002) is a limited and ultimately distorted view of democracy (Pettit 2007)
- Representation is as much about notice and about surveillance as it is about will
- Voice, will and surveillance, moreover, are not exclusive functions of parliaments, but take place also in consultative and decision-making settings, as well as in civil society





# 1.3

## EUDO Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms

The Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms is devoted to the analysis of institutional reforms and adaptations in the current institutional design of the EU and aims at assessing whether and to what extent these institutional reforms and adaptations are likely to foster the prospects for an increased popular acceptance and legitimacy within the Union. The Observatory is co-directed by Adrienne Héritier (Joint Chair of Comparative and European Public Policy at the EUI/RSCAS) and Bruno de Witte (Professor of European Law at Maastricht University and part-time Professor at the EUI/RSCAS). The main aim of the Observatory is to systematically describe institutional democratic reforms below the Treaty level. Given that, since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, there have been and there will be no Treaty amendments for the foreseeable future, it is all the more important to observe the reforms and changes in decision-making rules that have, in part, been designed at the sub-treaty level. But it is also important to track changes in institutional democratic rules that have emerged in the course of the application of existing treaty

rules, and which constitute a change in institutional democratic rules.

The Observatory intends to describe such changes between and among the European Parliament, the national Parliaments, the Commission, and the Council of Ministers. The Observatory also intends to describe reform and changes in the institutional procedural rules of the above mentioned European Institutions and national Parliaments with respect to European legislation.

Moreover, this Observatory will assess changes in democratic decision-making procedures from individual policy areas in order to discover whether changes occur and whether they are of importance for other policy areas.

The Observatory aims at systematically documenting and describing such changes in order to get a complete picture of on-going reforms and changes in democratic decision-making rules at the sub-treaty level. The documentation will then be made available on the website.

# 1.3.1

## Activities and Research 2014/2015

In October 2015, a report commissioned by the policy department for Citizen's Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCD Committee was produced by Adrienne Héritier (Project leader) together with Catherine Moury, Magnus G. Schoeller, Katharina L. Meissner and Isabel Mota. The report analyses the increasing role played by the European Parliament (EP) in the EU decision-making process. In the first part,

it describes how the EP acquired more power in legislation, comitology, in the appointment of the European Commission and in the budgetary field. In the second part, the report illustrates the EP's role in two relevant policy fields: economic governance and external trade agreements. The report demonstrates that EP's formal and informal powers in legislation, comitology, commission investiture, the budgetary process, economic governance and international





agreements have increased strikingly since the Treaty of Rome. This empowerment is partially explained by the concern for democratic legitimacy on the part of some member states' (and the Commission). To another important part the empowerment may be explained by the fact that treaties frequently contain ambiguous provisions and thus allow room for informal rules to emerge through bargaining specifying the details of treaty provisions.

Bruno de Witte produced a research note for the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, which was discussed at its hearing of September 2015 devoted to the question of British renegotiation of its EU membership. The title of his note is **"Inventing a Status of Partial EU Membership for the United Kingdom?"**, which is forthcoming in the study series of the European Parliament.







# 17.4

## EUDO Observatory on Citizenship

The EUDO Observatory on Citizenship provides the most comprehensive source of information on the acquisition and loss of citizenship in Europe for policy makers, NGOs and academic researchers. It identifies major trends and problems in citizenship policies as a basis for informed action at EU level. Its website hosts a number of databases on domestic and international legal norms, naturalisation statistics, citizenship indicators, a comprehensive bibliography and glossary, a forum with scholarly debates on current citizenship trends, media news on matters of citizenship policy and various other resources for research and policy-making.



EUDO CITIZENSHIP is built on a network of academic experts for each of the countries covered (currently 65 countries), and is co-directed by Rainer Bauböck (EUI, Department of Political and Social Sciences), Jo Shaw (University of Edinburgh Law School) and Maarten Peter Vink (Maastricht University). The Observatory's research projects have been coordinated by consortia involving five partner institutions: the European University Institute (Florence, Italy), University College Dublin (Ireland), the University of Edinburgh (Scotland, UK), Maastricht University (Netherlands) and the Migration Policy Group (Brussels, Belgium).

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP mission is to contribute to the understanding of current trends in citizenship policies across the globe, expanding on the Observatory's earlier focus on Europe and its neighbourhood. Although EUDO CITIZENSHIP

does not promote specific policy reforms, it intends to stimulate debates about shared principles and minimum standards among countries whose citizenship laws and policies are linked to each other through the common citizenship of the European Union or through migration flows. The Observatory aims to collect documentation and data, to provide basic and applied research reports for EU institutions, and to foster dialogue between policy-makers, academics, NGOs and citizens.

For the period 2014-2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been funded through the EUI's Global Governance Programme (GGP), which allowed the expansion of the Observatory's geographic coverage to an additional 19 countries outside Europe. In 2012 and 2013, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has received funding from a variety of institutions, including the European Commission and the European Parliament. The ACIT project on Access to citizenship and its impact on





immigrant integration, co-financed by the European Fund for the Integration of Non-EU Immigrants, started in October 2011 and ended in June 2013. The FRACIT project on Access to Electoral Rights in the EU and Beyond, co-financed by the European Parliament Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO), was successfully conducted between June 2012 and June 2013. In 2014, EUDO CITIZENSHIP was partly funded through its participation in the ILEC project on Involuntary Loss of European Citizenship, directed by the Centre for European Public Policy and co-financed by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Justice.

Apart from the EUI Research Council's funding for the larger EUDO project, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has also mobilized various other sources of funding that have been used for a gradual geographic expansion of the Observatory to cover countries in the EU

neighbourhood and in the Americas. These funds come from the British Academy project CITMODES (Citizenship in modern European states), which is co-directed by Jo Shaw and Rainer Bauböck, the CITSEE project on the Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia, funded by an Advanced Researchers Grant of the European Research Council for Jo Shaw, and the 2006 Latsis Prize of the European Science Foundation awarded to Rainer Bauböck. The Observatory has also been supported by the IMISCOE Research Network on International Migration, Integration and Cohesion in Europe, and has been involved in several meetings of the network.





## Activities and Research 2014/2015

EUDO CITIZENSHIP incorporates and updates the analyses of earlier comparative projects on citizenship in the 15 pre-2004 EU member states (the NATAC project) and in 12 new and accession countries (the CPNEU project), both coordinated by Rainer Bauböck. EUDO CITIZENSHIP Country Reports are published in the Robert Schuman Centre/EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory Working Papers Series, both in printed and electronic form. In 2013, our country profiles and reports on citizenship laws were revised and updated by our ever-expanding network of experts in order to account for the latest legislative developments in a field of public policy that is subject to ongoing changes. The geographic scope of the observatory has been expanded through the addition of new country profiles for Georgia, Lebanon Morocco and Russia. Policy analysis at EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been enriched through two country reports series on Naturalisation Procedures (CITIMP) and Access to Electoral Rights (FRACIT) as well as handbooks on Access to Citizenship and its Impact on Immigrant Integration for 10 selected countries.

In 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP collaborators published four comparative analyses as RSCAS Working Papers covering the following topics: symbolic boundaries of membership, discrimination among citizens, extraterritorial citizenship, and investment-based citizenship. EUDO CITIZENSHIP

organised three forum debates, gathering the views of the most prominent citizenship scholars on key societal questions, such as who has the right to vote in independence referendums; does denationalisation weaken citizenship; and should states abandon *ius sanguinis* as the key mode of attributing citizenship at birth. These debates have been published as co-edited RSCAS Working Paper series.

Furthermore, in 2015, the Observatory has developed the ELECLAW indicators on access to electoral rights. The ELECLAW indicators measure the degree of inclusion of the electoral franchise for three categories of potential voters and candidates in elections (resident citizens, non-resident citizens and non-citizen residents). They cover the right to vote (VOTLAW) and the right to stand as candidate (CANLAW) in three types of elections (presidential, legislative and referendum) at four levels (European, national, regional and local) in all the European Union member states. The ELECLAW indicators were first published in July 2015 and have been thoroughly revised. The new version of ELECLAW has been released on 23 November 2015. In 2016, in line with the expansion of the project's geographical coverage, EUDO CITIZENSHIP is expanding its ELECLAW indicators to countries in the Americas.



## EUDO CITIZENSHIP GOES WEST

In 2014 and 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has expanded geographically to cover access to citizenship and electoral rights in 19 countries in the Americas, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela. The Country Reports for the Americas, as well as the national citizenship and electoral laws databases are available at the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website.

## EXPANSION OF CITLAW INDICATORS

In 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP expanded the geographical coverage of its four sets of indicators on citizenship laws (CITLAW), their implementation (CITIMP), and their impact on acquisition rates (CITACQ) and integration outcomes (CITINT) originally developed through the Access to Citizenship and its Impact on Immigrant Integration (ACIT) project financed by the European Fund for the Integration of Non-EU Immigrants (administered by DG Home Affairs). The main goals of ACIT were to explore the links between acquisition of nationality and the integration processes and to encourage effective measures for facilitating immigrants' access to citizenship in the EU. The original indicators covered the 28 EU Member States and accession candidate and EEA countries (Iceland, FYR of Macedonia, Norway, Switzerland, and Turkey). This year, six new countries were included in the CITLAW indicators: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Liechtenstein, Russia and Ukraine, covering a total of 48 countries in the EU and its neighbourhood.

Academic researchers, government and civil society now have access to comprehensive data, comparative analyses and practical guidelines on how to evaluate policy outcomes, set targets and good governance standards, and assess the prospective impact of policy changes. Our CITLAW indicators contributes to more effective policies and practices for citizenship acquisition by creating authoritative, comprehensive and easy-to-use databases which foster European information exchange and cooperation.

## EXPANSION OF THE PROTECTION AGAINST STATELESSNESS DATABASE

In 2013, in cooperation with the UNHCR, EUDO CITIZENSHIP, represented by Maastricht University, developed Statelessness Unit - a database which assesses the extent to which citizenship laws in 36 European states provide sufficient protection against statelessness, in light of the most important international standards. The database is organised around a comprehensive typology of modes of protection against statelessness, which systematically outlines 17 categories of persons that are at risk of being or becoming stateless.

In 2015, the database has been expanded to cover 41 European states and will continue to expand its geographical scope. In a first phase, the Global Database adds information on 35 states in the Americas and the Caribbean. The database now includes information on laws in force in 76 European and American states on 1 January 2015 (in a future expansion we will also aim to provide information about citizenship laws in force in the past).

The Protection against statelessness database was officially launched on 13 December 2012. It is developed and maintained by Maastricht University as core partner of EUDO CITIZENSHIP. The comparative report 'Protection Against Statelessness: Trends and Regulations in Europe', by project team members Olivier Vonk, Maarten Vink and Gérard-René de Groot, is available on our website.





## ELECTORAL RIGHTS IN EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS

In 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has focused on a geographical expansion of its analysis of electoral rights, thus building on the results of the earlier FRACIT project, financed by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament. Through collaboration between the European University Institute, University of Edinburgh, University College Dublin, University of Sussex and our network of Country Experts, the FRACIT project examined the franchise and electoral participation of third country citizens residing in the European Union, and of European citizens in third countries. By broadening the thematic coverage of the observatory from citizenship status to voting rights, the FRACIT project has provided an exceptional opportunity to broaden the scope and policy relevance of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory.

Between June 2012 and June 2013 its one-year project, FRACIT collected and compared electoral laws and legislations, levels of registration and turnout in each of the selected countries for third country nationals resident in EU member states and EU citizens resident outside the EU. It covered electoral rights and participation in three types of elections (legislative, presidential, referendum) and at four levels (European, national, regional, and local). Original legal documents are presented in an online legal database on national electoral laws,

similar to our database on national citizenship laws. This initial National Electoral Laws Database, allowed us to continue to expand the project geographically. In 2015, 19 American countries have been added to the database.

In 2015, the Observatory covered the access to the franchise in 16 countries in the Americas adding to the existing analyses of all EU Member States. By doing so, EUDO CITIZENSHIP expanded the coverage of its series of country reports on “Access to Electoral rights” started in 2013 and 2014.

All reports and databases can be consulted online in the Electoral Rights section of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website. On grounds of a comparative analysis of legal regulations, the project has also built an interactive typology with summary information on electoral rights for each country, category of voters and type of election, which complements the existing databases on modes of loss and acquisition of citizenship.



European citizenship is the fundamental status of EU Member State nationals. What, then, are the implications when a state deprives a European citizen of his or her nationality? This project funded by the European Commission's DG Justice and coordinated by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in collaboration with the University of Maastricht and EUDO CITIZENSHIP investigated this under-researched field. ILEC (Involuntary Loss of European Citizenship: Exchanging Knowledge and Identifying Guidelines for Europe) carried out a comparative study of the law and practices governing loss of nationality across the 28 Member States. A key question it answered is what impact the development of European citizenship is having on national competences covering the acquisition and loss of nationality in light of increasing jurisprudence from the Court of Justice and European Court of Human Rights. The project held its kick-off meeting,

11 March 2013, at CEPS, bringing together the ILEC project partners, including in addition to CEPS and the University of Maastricht, the European University Institute (Florence), the University of Liege, the Danish Institute of Human Rights, the University of Leon and the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (Budapest). In 2014, six comparative studies on citizenship deprivation and loss of nationality, and European cooperation on acquisition and loss of nationality were published on the website in 2014 and 2015. Six comparative studies on citizenship deprivation and loss of nationality, and European cooperation on acquisition and loss of nationality were published on the website in 2014 and 2015. EUDO CITIZENSHIP contributed also a report on Citizenship Deprivation: A Normative Analysis by Rainer Bauböck and Vesco Paskalev published in March 2015.





## Events, dissemination activities and outlook for 2016

In 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has engaged in extensive dissemination to both academic audiences and policy-makers from Europe, North and South America and Australia. Research carried out at the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory has been presented at several international expert meetings and conferences through plenary lectures, papers or special panels, including the American Political Science Association (APSA) in San Francisco (5-6 September 2015) and the Annual IMISCOE Conference in Geneva 25-27 July 2015,. In addition to the conferences where the work of EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been presented externally, the Observatory organised three major dissemination events.

On 29 and 30 January 2015, the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory was engaged in the organisation of the Annual IMISCOE Conference ‘Mobility in crisis: Is Europe becoming more mobile during the economic crisis or is European mobility in crisis?’, held at the EUI. At the conference, organised jointly with the EUI’s Global Governance Programme (GGP) and the IMISCOE Network, EUDO CITIZENSHIP

collaborators presented the comparative research of the Observatory, on topics such as access to political and social rights, naturalisation on grounds of wealth, emigration from Europe. The co-directors of the observatory took an active role at the conference, discussing plenary sessions on the micro and macro perspectives of migration in Europe and the role of citizenship within broader migratory processes.

On 18 and 19 June 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP hosted the conference ‘Exploring Challenges To Political Participation Of Migrants In the OSCE Region’, co-organised with the OSCE. The conference provided for an excellent forum for dialogue between national policymakers from Austria, Canada, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia and Switzerland, scholars from six European academic institutions, as well as the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). It has also resulted in fruitful cooperation between the academic and policy communities, and has provided EUDO

CITIZENSHIP with a strengthened platform for developing its activities related to further expansion of the Observatory's geographical coverage.

Importantly, on 26 and 27 November 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has hosted the annual EUDO conference at the EUI, gathering representatives of the academic community, policymakers, and media. The event has been widely advertised, through the EUI's mailing lists, as well as through the Newsletter of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory, reaching an audience of 4,000 persons. In line with EUDO CITIZENSHIP's geographical expansion, the topic of this year's conference was 'Spreading Citizenship: Regional Dynamics of Norm Diffusion in Europe and the Americas'. Scholars of citizenship from all over the world had the opportunity to present their research that draws on the work of EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory. The outreach of the project has also been mirrored in the keynote speeches of Prof. Audrey Macklin (University of

Toronto) and Prof. Jeremy Webber (University of Victoria). A total of 71 participants took part in EUDO CITIZENSHIP's major event of 2015.

For the period 2016-2017 EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been awarded seed funding by the EUI Research Council. In 2016, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will continue to update as well as to expand its databases and country reports and publish news and working papers. In addition, the comparative aspect will be strengthened, as more comparative analyses and forum debates will be made available online.

In January 2016, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will start developing the first global database of citizenship laws, and a separate global database on birthright citizenship. This will not only strengthen the comparative work of the Observatory, but it will also expand its geographical scope to include every country in the world. EUDO CITIZENSHIP will also enlarge its pool of country, regional, and





thematic experts. On grounds of the expert's input to these databases, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will produce comparative regional reports for citizenship policies in Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle-East and North Africa (MENA), and Latin America, country reports on citizenship and access to the franchise in Australia and New Zealand, and thematic comparisons of birthright citizenship, franchise, global markets for citizenship, topics emerging from the Observatory's geographic and thematic expansion.

Furthermore, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will host The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship: Authors' Conference at the European University Institute on 2 and 3 June 2016, with the final objective of producing an authoritative edited volume for the study of citizenship in contemporary democracies. The Observatory will also continue its practice of gathering prominent academics and experts to participate in its forum debates on trends,

questions, and developments in citizenship-related issues. Currently envisaged forum debates include the questions surrounding the status and rights of e-residents, and the normative issues raised by the effects of digital technologies on the regulation of national, supranational, or transnational membership; as well as the intricate relationship between citizenship and sports, a topic expected to gain salience ahead of the 2016 Summer Olympics in Brazil. Contributions to these forums will be made available online on our website and published as RSCAS working papers.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP dissemination activities will be a major task for the coming months. Keep visiting our website at [www.eudo-citizenship.eu](http://www.eudo-citizenship.eu) for more information on past and current research activities conducted by the observatory, follow us on social networks and sign up to our EUDO CITIZENSHIP Newsletter.







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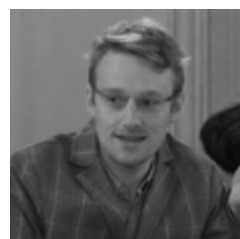
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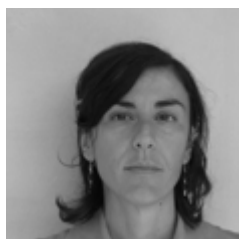
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With the support of the  
Erasmus + Programme  
of the European union

The European Commission supports the EUI through the European Union budget.  
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be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.