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EUROPEAN UNION
DEMOCRACY OBSERVATORY





EUDO - EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY OBSERVATORY
ANNUAL REPORT 2014

This annual report covers the period from the end of the last Annual Report (Autumn 2013) to November 2014



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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.

The **primary focus of EUDO in 2014** 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. EUDO played an important role regarding the European Parliamentary elections of May. Several research projects, as well as a new voting advice application platform, called “euandi”, were successfully implemented.

In **2015**, 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 2013 to the end of 2014** and provide an overview of the work planned for 2015. The report is structured as follows: section I will present EUDO activities from 2013/2014 and the outlook for 2015 at the general EUDO level. Section II contains a more detailed account of activities and work in the four EUDO Observatories. In section III an overview of the people involved in EUDO is given. Section IV, meanwhile, lists selected publications from 2013-2014.

At the end of 2013, EUDO organised its Dissemination Conference on the topic of “Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis” with over 140 participants coming from academia, politics, EU offices, NGOs and think tanks, and as such, demonstrated the importance of sharing academic research results with policy-makers. In 2014 EUDO has continued to build on this success and has obtained further external funding for research projects. The observatory has also submitted a number of funding applications to continue to expand future research projects. The EUDO Data Centre has been consolidated, and an important dataset on the EP 2014 elections collected through the euandi project (see EUDO Public Opinion section) will be included. In addition, EUDO puts a large effort into the organisation of conferences and its presence in events all across Europe and beyond.



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I. EUDO GENERAL



I.1 ACTIVITIES 2013/2014

EUDO Data Centre

Relying on the “Dataverse” software developed at Harvard, the EUDO Data Centre consists of a web-based repository for the distribution and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data and research results produced or acquired by EUDO projects. The centre, organized within observatory and project-level collections, makes studies available by providing data access and downloads – complete with accurate citation information – as well as detailed information about all the institutional subjects involved in each study. Access and use of the studies is regulated, but public access and use – upon specific and sensible terms – is possible for a significant portion of the collections: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDODataCentre.aspx>

The advancement of the EUDO Data Centre will be of central importance throughout 2014/2015. EUDO is planning to make a fundamental upgrade of the software in order to include the newly collected large and extensive dataset regarding the 2014 EP elections.

EUDO Working Paper Series

The EUDO working paper series is a core element of EUDO’s efforts in disseminating high-quality research. The working papers cover a broad range of issues that preoccupy the four EUDO Observatories. So far a total of 22 EUDO working papers have been published (available at the EUDO website: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Publications/EUDOWorkingPaperSeries.aspx>)

EUDO Website Platform and Visibility

The website includes the latest news and events, EUDO publications with other relevant publications, links to the EUDO Data Centre, abstract videos, pictures and audio files of the EUDO Dissemination Conferences, and the EUDO Café including daily news on democracy in Europe with an interactive section on “Debating Democracy”. The EUDO Café has proven to be very popular as a place for discussing the challenges facing democracy in today’s Europe. It hosts periodical, invited posts inspired by current events in worldwide and European politics, ground breaking EUDO research, as well as debates in the media. Posts are open for discussion to everyone, including scholars, politicians, journalists and citizens. As its name suggests, the EUDO Café is supposed to be a place for free-flowing, open discussion on the general issues and challenges facing democracy in Europe. Its aim is to attract academic experts, practitioners and “regular citizens” alike. EUDO has continued to publish on its website and to circulate its *EUDO Newsletter* among academics and practitioners worldwide, presenting the main activities carried out by EUDO and its Observatories. EUDO continues to update its Facebook page and Twitter account which has now more than 3500 followers.

EUDO General Research Project: Smaller States in EU Decision-Making: Portugal in a Comparative Perspective

Although all EU member states are equal before the law, they are unequal in population and resources. In fact, more than two-thirds of the member states are small countries. Since, co-decision processes of the EU usually operate



by consensus, the ability of countries to make their voice heard is of paramount importance. In order to influence the policy-making process, small countries need to be informed, in a timely and realistic way.

Funded by the Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos (FFMS), Lisbon, this project systematically examines the role of representatives of small countries in the European Union policy-making process, with a special focus on Portugal. This project is led by Richard Rose and Alexander H. Trechsel. Moreover, the FFMS appointed a distinguished advisory committee from the Portuguese public policy community to follow and comment on the reports produced by the research team. The first report was released in Spring 2012, this focusing on the difference a country's size makes in a negotiating context. This report argues that in order to fulfil their goals in an EU setting, small states must rely on "smart power". In other words, such countries should focus on identifying European issues that are important for the national interest, formulating national positions on an issue at an early stage of discussions while building alliances with countries with similar policy positions.

The second report, looking at how Portugal's 22 MEPs can influence policy-making in a Parliament with 751 members, has been finalized in October 2012. This report includes an analysis of the votes cast by Portuguese MEPs vis-à-vis other national delegations or the European Parliament as a whole, and interviews with former and current Portuguese MEPs.

The third report has been submitted and successfully discussed in a meeting with the Steering Committee in Lisbon in February 2013. It investigates how a national government can effectively participate in EU policy-making; in particular, it analyses the role of national representatives in the EU multi-national networks in Brussels as well as the organization of policy-making institutions in the national capitals.

The fourth report has been finalized in November 2013. It examines the role of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) and the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and, more in general, at how interests representatives are capable to influence the decision-making in Brussels.

The fifth report has been finalized in Spring 2014 and looks at the recruitment process of personnel by the EU Institutions and, in particular, it investigates which senior posts have been held by Portuguese over the years.

Finally, the sixth report draws together themes from the previous reports with a view of looking, in a comparative perspective, at the role of Portugal among small Countries in the EU.

A final dissemination conference of the project's results was held in early May 2014 in Braga (Portugal): <https://www.ffms.pt/en/conference-after/763/portugal-participation-in-the-eu-decision-making>

The Conference was very successful and the reports had a major impact in the national news.

I.2 EVENTS 2013/2014

EUDO Dissemination Conference: "Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis"

The European Union Democracy Observatory, EUDO organized the Conference on "European Elections in Times of Crisis" on 28 and 29 November at the European University Institute in Florence. Over 140 participants attended the event. The scientific organisers were Luciano Bardi, Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel.

The Conference brought together some of the best experts to assess democracy in Europe and the current world crisis' impact on the elections of 2013 and 2014. On the first day, a systematic and accurate analysis of the 2013 National Elections was offered in two parts that dealt respectively with the electoral campaigns and the outcomes of the elections. Some contributions addressed general aspects of national elections (for instance: the role of the parties in national election campaigns today; or voting advice applications and their role in modern election campaigns) while others concentrated on the specific national elections that occurred in 2013 (particular attention was paid to German, Italian and Austrian elections). The second day's theme was the elections of the European Parliament (contributions on European political parties as campaign coordinators, incumbency in effects in the elections for the European Parliament, voter attitudes and EP elections in times of crisis were presented) as well as the relations between European and national context (Nationalisation of European Elections vs. Europeanisation of National Elections and Transnationalising European Election Campaigns in the Internet Age).

The afternoon sessions of the first day and one morning session of the second day were dedicated to the presentation of the papers selected through the call for papers. A particular attention was reserved to topics such as economic

voting (Economic Voting in Latvia and Lithuania 2010-2012, Economic voting in Western Balkan Countries), the impact of the economic crisis on national elections (Election in Iceland in Times of Economic Recession, The Effect of the Crises on the Success of the Flemish Nationalist Party N-VA, Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation in Times of Political, and Financial Crisis in the Netherlands) and populism (Embattled Democracy: Legitimation Crisis, Party System Change, and the Rise of Political Extremism in Greece, Pushing towards Exit: Euro-Rejection as a 'Populist Common Denominator?').

Overall, the Conference offered an opportunity to analyse the results of the national elections held in Europe in 2013 and to provide prospective insights on the 2014 European elections, by focusing on links between actors, strategies, and themes that characterize the elections at both levels.

All the presentations have been video-recorded and the videos are available online on the following page: <http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLzwUEGG2dTx5HiOYufDS-S-zIOyYtF8JK>

In order to collect different views from different stakeholders on the topic of the Conference, EUDO organised 21 short interviews with some of the participants and produced a video on "Democratic participation and accountability in the EU": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=812W87FpCcc&list=PLLclPZHocZuFG3Bw_iR7csHDN6YTZAQ9s

Finally, after the Conference, EUDO collected the papers presented at the Conference and published the freely available e.Book: "Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis. Contributions from the 2013 EUDO Dissemination Conference, edited by Luciano Bardi, Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel, EUI/RSCAS/EUDO, Florence, May 2014: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Publications/eBookonElectionsinEuropeinTimesofCrisis.aspx>



EUDO Dissemination Conference 2014: “The Future of the European Union”

On 20 and 21 November 2014, the European Union Democracy Observatory, together with the SPS Department of the European University Institute, will organize a Dissemination Confer-

ence on “The Future of the European Union”. The Conference will take place in Florence at the European University Institute and will be held in honour of EUDO director and Professor Adrienne Héritier, who has just retired in the summer of 2014. The conference is organised in

three panels: 'Politics and Policies', 'Institutions' and, 'Economic Integration'. In the afternoon of day 1, a roundtable on the topic of 'Beyond Europe' will be held. The Conference will bring together high-level academics speakers in order to: stimulate interdisciplinary dialogue; foster the exchange of ideas and good practices; translate scientific results into policy deliverables; and develop practical suggestions on the future of the EU.

Lecture by Morris Fiorina on The Breakdown of Representation in the United States

On 9 April 2014, EUDO together with the SPS Department organised at the EUI a Lecture by Stanford professor Morris Fiorina on The Breakdown of Representation in the United States. In the past half century representative democracy in the United States has broken down, as argues Fiorina, resulting in an increasingly dysfunctional government. The lecture described and explained the breakdown, noting that the American media often present an erroneous picture of what actually is occurring.

I.3 OUTLOOK 2015

In 2015, EUDO will continue to concentrate and streamline its efforts in becoming a prominent and well-known hub in EU democracy research. EUDO is becoming one of the leading sources for academics, policy-makers, and citizens for information and research on democracy in the EU, and it is our goal to make sure that this trend continues. The secretariat will, therefore, on the basis of the research output produced by the Observatories, continue to develop and enlarge the three main permanent activities of EUDO, namely communication and dissemination, training and debate, and publication and the Data Centre of EUDO.



The four EUDO Observatories benefit from having a common platform where inter-disciplinary cooperation between the Observatories and the wider EUI community is possible whilst also allowing for new synergies to develop, and for common research projects to come to fruition. This common platform additionally strengthens the value of the Observatories in obtaining external funding for research projects and helps disseminate their research output.

Further publications are in the pipeline, and EUDO will continue to make maximal use of new media and technologies. Audio files and videos and other technological means to advertise and present EUDO events and research will be used increasingly as EUDO intends to become a forerunner in using new technologies for academic output.

Finally, EUDO will set as one of its goals to further expand its institutional ties to research groups and organizations in the field of democracy, in Europe and beyond.



II.1 EUDO OBSERVATORY ON PUBLIC OPINION, POLITICAL ELITES AND THE MEDIA



PUBLIC OPINION



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. It is managed by Mark Franklin (former EUI and currently MIT) and Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI). This Observatory continued to dedicate a large part of its attention to the two main research projects initiated at the time of the 2009 elections of the European Parliament, namely the PIREDEU (which has morphed into a new entity, CERES – see below) and EU Profiler which was followed in 2014 by a new project on the 2014 EP elections, euandi. The highlight of the year, from the viewpoint of the Observatory, were the 2014 elections to the European Parliament. The Observatory was deeply engaged in preparations for studying these elections when they occurred and, in their aftermath, has been deeply engaged in preparing the resulting collected data for analysis and eventual dissemination. In what follows we focus mainly on the preparatory and research activities concerned.

II.1.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH 2013/2014

CERES – Consortium for European Research with Election Studies (formerly PIREDEU - Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral democracy in the European Union)

At the end of its grant-supported life, the PIREDEU infrastructure design study (funded by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme from 2008 to January 2011) took steps to secure the prospects for future funding of the infrastructure it had designed by organising the creation of a new entity – the Consortium for European Research with Election Studies (CERES). The design study had established the feasibility of an upgrade to the manner in which elections to the European Parliament are studied, so as to provide an infrastructure for research into citizenship, political participation, and electoral democracy in the European Union (EU), in a joint effort coordinated by the European University Institute in Florence and involving 14 institutions across Europe. The PIREDEU feasibility study has clearly established that an infrastructure to study electoral democracy in Europe cannot focus on European Parliament elections alone, but needs to address the electoral process in Europe at all its different levels and facets. Just as importantly, there is no route to EU funding of any of these election studies except in the context of a European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ERIC) which would need to be involved in the study of elections throughout the EU (and perhaps also in European countries beyond the EU).

An ERIC would be a consortium of national funding agencies, but in order to lobby for the creation of such a consortium, and to provide expertise from the academic community in founding and running such a consortium, a democratically constituted organization is needed to represent the interests of those who study elections in Europe. It was in order to serve this function that CERES was founded, on the fringes of a meeting of the European Consortium for



Political Research held in Reykjavik, Iceland, in August 2011. The foundational meeting was attended by some fifty academic researchers engaged in the study of elections in Europe. Details of the consortium, whose administrative home is at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the EUI under the auspices of EUDO can be found on its interim web site, hosted for the moment as part of the personal website of the chair of the founding CERES Board, at www.eui.eu/Personal/Franklin/CERES.html

Vindication for the objectives underlying the creation of a consortium of scholars who study elections in Europe came only the following year when the EU's European Strategy Forum on Research Infrastructures (ESFRI) – the body that advises the EU's DG Research on the formation of future infrastructures – put out a Call for consultation on future infrastructure formation, to which CERES was able to respond, making a case for the foundation of an ERIC to study electoral democracy in Europe. See the Response to

ESFRI call for proposals on the CERES interim website.

For more information on PIREDEU visit: www.piredeu.eu, and see the final results brochure at: http://www.piredeu.eu/Database/DOCS/176DP_PIREDEU-Flyer_201011.pdf

The data collected by PIREDEU have been deposited at the GESIS archive in Cologne, Germany at <http://www.gesis.org/en/services/data-analysis/survey-data/international-election-studies/european-election-studies/>

The primary objective of CERES is to found the infrastructure designed by PIREDEU that could incorporate these data into a larger database of election studies throughout Europe over time, linking the PIREDEU data to past and future data on European Parliament elections and to past and future studies of national elections in Europe.

Other CERES activities

In order to serve as a basis for the eventual foundation of an ERIC, it is necessary for CERES to be a functioning association whose members are used to working together. With this in mind, funds were acquired for a meeting held at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS) in February 2013 of the Principal Investigators of as many as possible of Europe's national election studies, along with the Pis of the European (Parliament) Election Studies. Funding was obtained mainly from NIAS but with some co-funding from the RSCAS and from national election studies whose Pis attended the workshop. The purpose was to hold wide-ranging discussions about ways in which these election studies might collaborate with each other to mutual advantage in coming years. On the sidelines of this event a CERES Board meeting was also held over from 2012 in order to take advantage of the opportunity for a meeting in conjunction with the NIAS workshop. That Board Meeting built on the successes of the workshop by creating a number of task forces to move forward on the various initiatives identified during the Workshop (see Workshop held at NIAS), especially a group tasked with organizing a follow-up workshop to design a module of questions, intended for inclusion in all national and European election studies in coming years, that would study what at the workshop was seen as a "critical juncture" in representative democracy in Europe following the financial and associated Eurozone crises of recent years. Funding was obtained from the Swedish Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for such a conference, with co-funding from national election studies whose Pis attended the workshop, which was held in Gothenburg 5-6 December, 2013. – a smaller group of Election Study Pis than came to NIAS, along with scholars deemed particularly expert on contemporary problems of democratic governance. Over the months since the Gothenburg



meeting, a sub-group of Pis has worked on creating a module of questions for inclusion in future national election studies.

Between the NIAS meeting and the meeting in Gothenburg, a meeting of the CERES membership was held, as required by its statutes, on the fringe of the ECPR General Conference held in 2013 at Bordeaux in France. At that meeting, Board Members who had completed their first term in office were replaced or re-elected and a report was made of CERES activities. See Report from the Chair, 2013.

European Election Studies-Association

Apart from establishing a path to future funding for European (Parliament) Election Studies as part of a Europe-wide ERIC, the end of the PIREDEU project also gave rise to the need to create an association uniquely dedicated to planning, funding and conducting studies of elections to the European Parliament, the next of which was held in May 2014. Such an association, the European Election Studies Association (EES-A) was founded at the fringes of the same ECPR meeting as saw the founding of CERES. The EES-A is now chaired by Hermann Schmitt,



who holds joint appointments at the University of Mannheim and University of Manchester and received funding to field questions in a voter survey conducted following the 2014 EP elections. Unfortunately this funding is not adequate to also cover a candidate study and media study, so PIs involved in those studies sought other funding to replicate the studies conducted in 2009 under the auspices of PIREDEU. A meeting of the EES-A Board took place in conjunction with the EUDO dissemination conference to be held at the EUI in November 2013 and another in conjunction with the ECPR General Conference in Glasgow in September 2014.

The EUDO observatory on Public Opinion Political Elites and the Media is deeply involved in the conduct of this study and will use its findings as a basis for future EUDO dissemination activities.

Data resulting from the European Election Study 2014 will be made available in due course through the GESIS archive. See <http://eeshomepage.net/ees-2014-study> for details.

euandi

In 2009 EUDO produced the voting advice application “EU Profiler” 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*. The main goal of the tool 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. The main target group were European citizens, though the device was open to any Internet user.

Available in 24 languages, *euandi* invites 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. It provides voters with a clear view of the European electoral campaign and their individual positions within it. Not only does the tool help people identify which political parties represent their views, but it also provides an innovative platform for community building, where people from all over Europe can 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. Over 55 percent of all the parties contacted by the euandi team engaged in this cooperative endeavour.

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 thousands of users complemented the largest data collection on European Parliament elections, party competition and voters' attitudes and behaviour ever assembled. The dataset, including supporting material and coding documentation, will soon be made freely available to scholars and to the public at large.

Research on Internet voting in Estonia

In October 2005 Estonia became the first country in the world to conduct nationwide legally binding Internet elections. This world premiere was successfully followed by three additional elections, one in 2007 and two in 2009, where the number of Internet voters rapidly increased to nearly 10% of the electorate in the 2009 local

elections and to 15% in the 2011 national 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. Following the 2011 national elections in Estonia, in which almost a quarter of all voters voted over the internet, a survey was fielded by the Observatory, financed by the Estonian Electoral Committee. In October 2013, Estonia held its local elections and thanks to the ongoing cooperation with Kristjan Vassil at the University of Tartu and the support by the Estonian Electoral Committee, a new survey could be fielded, resulting in several reports and research papers currently under review with major journals.

EUDO Spotlight on ...

Spotlight on ... is a periodic publication of the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites, and the Media. It focuses on public at-



itudes towards the most recent issues at stake in the European political agenda, showing how they affect European democracy. Political issues such as the economic crisis, migration, or climate change – just to quote some well-known and current issues – represent new challenges for the European institutions both in terms of policy making and public opinion demands. How are these issues perceived by European citizens? To what extent do they influence their attitudes towards the European Union, its decision-making capacity and its legitimacy? These questions are at the core of the Spotlight on ... publications. They target two main audiences: 1) a wide category of people interested in politics, including stakeholders, journalists, politicians, public officials, students and, in general, all citizens interested in public opinion; 2) social scientists who study public opinion and European democracy. A succinct (usually 4-5 pages) and clear writing style is preferred to technical language, using immediately understandable graphical tools and tables to illustrate results. By the autumn of 2014 EUDO had published six editions of the Spotlight on..., mainly focused on the political implications of the current economic and financial crisis (though Spotlight #6 focuses on effects of European Parliament elections). They concern effects on support for EU integration, European identity, European citizenship, attitudes towards enlargement, as well as the Europeanization of political attitudes about the wider economy. The collaboration with TNS Public Opinion has been crucial in order to provide reports on the most up-to-date Eurobarometer survey. In this brief experience the Spotlight on ... series has proved able to address highly debated current political issues by using sophisticated analytical tools explained in a clear and non-technical format.

The current editorial team is formed by professors from the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, the EUI, external researchers, and the RSCAS publications unit.

The future plans of the Spotlight on ... series include a wider focus on the most salient issues for European public opinion, an increase in publication frequency, and the implementation of an editorial board. Spotlight on... reports are available at the web-page <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO-PublicOpinion/EUDOSpotlight.aspx>. In particular, a Spotlight is planned that will highlight the ideas contained in the recent publication “Why vote in an election with no apparent purpose” (see section on Selected Publications).

II.1.2 OUTLOOK 2015

In 2015 the Observatory will continue to focus on the refinement and discussion of data analysis in a continuous dialogue between academia and the policy-making community. The output mainly will concern the enormous amount of data gathered by the PIREDEU, EU Profiler and euandi projects. In addition to ongoing activities, several additional research activities will be undertaken in order to further analyse the obtained data in concrete terms, to compare it to other existing data sets and to work together with similar projects focusing on European public opinion. Here, the EUDO Data Centre plays a crucial role by offering academics and citizens alike access and the possibility of using data in an innovative way. Besides, consultations and cooperation projects with official EU bodies focusing on public opinion will be taken further in 2015.



II.2 EUDO OBSERVATORY ON POLITICAL PARTIES & 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.

Since 2011 OPPR activities have been coordinated by a Enrico Calossi and several academic collaborators, both internal and external to the EUI, have been involved in the research activities of the OPPR. In 2014 Edoardo Bressanelli (King's College London), Lorenzo Cicchi (IMT Lucca), Wojciech Gagatsek (University of Warsaw), Eugenio Pizzimenti (University of Pisa) have been taken part in such activities.

OPPR has also an Advisory Committee. Its members are all 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 politics. OPPR will also continue its regular engagement with EU policy-makers, through a series of Guest Lectures by practitioners at the EUI, as well as the organisation of a conference with the representatives of the Eurofoundations.

II.2.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH 2014

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. 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 while a presentation of the report will soon occur in the EP.

Members of OPPr participate the project “Political Parties Database”, funded by the F. Thyssen Stiftung and directed by Susan Scarrow and Paul Webb.

OPPr codirector Hanspeter Kriesi is the project leader of project POLCON. The **ERC research program POLCON** 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 po-

litical 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, we focus 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 will be 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.

The organisation of conferences/seminars and the participation in similar events is a way to spread around OPPr’s activities. OPPr organised the workshop “**Parties and democracy in post-communist Europe**”, in collaboration with the European Union Centre of Excellence - *University of Alberta* (Canada), that was held in the EUI premises, Florence on 18-19 September 2014.

Moreover OPPr members participated in the following other conferences:

Luciano Bardi talked about the process of selection of European political parties top candidates for next European elections, in a workshop organised by the “**Catalunya-Europa Foundation**” in Barcelona (Spain), 8 May 2014; Luciano Bardi presented the paper about “Selective Euroscepticism” at the conference of the Australian Political Science Association, in Sydney (Australia), 30 September 2014; Enrico Calossi gave a radio interview about European Elections at “**ControRadio**”, 7 April 2014; Luciano Bardi and Enrico Calossi talked about Europarties in



the Conference “**I Partiti Europei**”, organised by the University of Genova (Italy), 30-31 January 2014; Eugenio Pizzimenti and Enrico Calossi presented the Paper **Hierarchy, stratarchy and party denationalisation. The Italian parties (1991-2012)** at the 28th Conference of the Italian Political Science Association (**SISP**), in Perugia (Italy), 11-13 September 2014.

OPPR members released the following speeches or lectured in the following institutions:

Luciano Bardi gave a plenary lecture on “**Political parties, responsibility and responsiveness in multi-level democracy**” at the **ECPR Join Sessions**, in Salamanca (Spain), 11 April 2014; Enrico Calossi lectured on the “**Electoral Process and the next European Elections**” at **LU-ISS-Rome** (Italy), 2 April 2014

Publications have been another way to disseminate the results of the observatory. Amongst the most prominent publications we would like to highlight the followings.

Two special issues edited by Luciano Bardi, Hanspeter Kriesi and Alexander H. Trechsel: In “**West European Politics**”, Volume 37, Issue 2, 2014, “**Responsive and Responsible? The Role of Parties in Twenty-First Century Politics**”:

in “**Party Politics**” March 2014; 20 (2). “**Party adaptation and change and the crisis of democracy: Essays in honour of Peter Mair**”. The same authors edited “**Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis: contributions from the 2013 EUDO dissemination conference**”, Florence: EUI/RSCAS/EUDO.

In addition we can mention by Luciano Bardi: “**Political parties, responsiveness, and responsibility in multi-level democracy: the challenge of horizontal euroscepticism**” in “**European Political Science**”, by Luciano Bardi and Enrico Calossi (2014) “**Verso uno spazio politico europeo? La questione democratica a livello di Unione europea**” in Bonvicini, Gianni (ed) “*Il Parlamento europeo per la nuova Unione*”, Roma: Quaderni IAI, pp. 73-92.

By Hanspeter Kriesi “**The political consequences of the economic crisis in Europe: electoral punishment and popular protest**” (2014), in *Mass politics in tough times. Opinions, votes, and protest in the Great Recession*, edited by Nancy Bermeo and Larry M. Bartels. Oxford University Press; (with Laurent Bernhard) (2014) “**Die Referendumsdemokratie**“, *Abstimmungskampagnen - Politikvermittlung in*

der Referendumsdemokratie, edited by Scholten, Heike and Klaus Kamps. Wiesbaden: Springer VS; **“The populist challenge”** (2014), *West European Politics* 37, 3: 361-378; (with Marc Helbling) (2014), **“Why citizens prefer high- over low-skilled immigrants. Labour market competition, welfare state and deservingness”**, *European Sociological Review* 30, 5: 595-614; (2013) **“Democratic legitimacy: Is there a legitimacy crisis in contemporary politics?”** *PVS* 54: 609-638; (with Lars Müller) (eds.) 2013. **“Herausforderung Demokratie”**. Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers.

By Edoardo Bressanelli (with Daniela R. Piccio) (2014) **“Fit or Misfit? Italian Parties in Europe”**, in *Representation*, volume 50, Issue 2.

By Enrico Calossi (2014) **“L’Altra Europa con Tsipras: tutti per uno, uno per tutti?”** in Marco Valbruzzi e Rinaldo Vignati (eds) *“Lelection day del 25 maggio. Elezioni europee, regionali e amministrative”*, Bologna: il Mulino.

By Enrico Calossi and Eugenio Pizzimenti (2014), **“Os partidos políticos ao nível europeu: evolução, institucionalização e possíveis desenvolvimentos”**, *“Relações Internacionais”*, Março 2014, n. 41, pp. 027-043.

Moreover, it is possible to find listed below a selection of publications of 2013-2014 by members of the OPPER Scientific Board which are relevant to the topic of the Observatory.

By professor Ingrid van Biezen (2014) **“On Parties, Party Systems and Democracy: Selected Writings of Peter Mair”**, Colchester: ECPR Press; (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa) (eds.) (2014), **“Party Regulation and Party Politics in Post-Communist Europe”**, special issue of *East European Politics* vol. 30, no. 3; (with Ekaterina R. Rashkova) (eds.) (2014) **“Contested Legitimacy: Paradoxes in the Legal Regulation of Political Parties”**, special issue of the *International Political Science Review* vol. 35, no. 3; (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa) (eds.) (2014), **“The Regulation**

of Party Politics: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective”, special issue of *South European Society and Politics* vol. 19, no. 1; (with Ekaterina R. Rashkova) (eds.) (2013), **“Gender Politics and Party Regulation: Quotas and Beyond”**, special issue of *Representation* vol. 49, no. 4; (with Helen Wallace) (eds.) (2013), **“Old and New Oppositions in Contemporary Europe”**, special issue of *Government and Opposition* to commemorate the centenary of the birth of founding editor Ghiță Ionescu, vol. 48, no. 3; (with Petr Kopecký) (2014), **“The Cartel Party and the State: Party-State Linkage in European Democracies”**, *Party Politics* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 170-182.

By Ingrid van Biezen and Thomas Poguntke (2014), **“The Decline of Membership-based Politics”**, *Party Politics* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 205-216.

By professor Zsolt Enyedi (with Fernando Casal-Bértoa) 2014, **“Party System Closure: Conceptualization, Operationalization, and Validation”**, *Party Politics*, Online First; *“The Discreet Charm of Political Parties”*, *Party Politics*, 2014, vol. 20, no. 2, 194-204.

By professor Thomas Poguntke (with Benjamin von dem Berge) (2013), **“The Influence of Europarties on Central and Eastern European Partner Parties: A Theoretical and Analytical Model”**, in: *European Political Science Review*, Bd. 5, H. 3, S. 311 – 334; With Benjamin von dem Berge, Peter Obert & Diana Tipei) (2013), **“Measuring Intra-Party Democracy. A Guide for the Content Analysis of Party Statutes with Examples from Hungary, Romania and Slovakia”**, Heidelberg: Springer; (with Martin Morlok & Heike Merten) (eds.) (2013), **“Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Parteiendemokratie?”**, Baden-Baden: Nomos; (2013), **“Electing the President of the European Commission?”**, in Fondazione Italianeuropei, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Foundation for

European Progressive Studies (Hrsg.), *Democratic Legitimacy and Political Leadership in the European Union. Towards the 2014 European Elections*, Rom: Fondazione Italianeuropei, S. 16 – 27; (2013), **“Politik in der Europäischen Union: Parteienherrschaft ohne Parteienregierung”**, in: Thomas Poguntke, Martin Morlok & Heike Merten (Hrsg.), *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Parteiendemokratie*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, S. 9 - 21.

By Professor Tapio Raunio (with Katrin Auel) (eds) (2014) **“Connecting with the Electorate? Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs”**, *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20:1; (with Katrin Auel) (2014), **“Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom”**, *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20:1, 13-28. (with Tuomas Forsberg) (eds) (2014) **“Politiikan muutos”**, Vastapaino, Tampere; (with Anna Hyvärinen) (2014), **“Who Decides What EU Issues Ministers Talk About? Explaining Governmental EU Policy Co-Ordination in Finland”**, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52:5, 1019-1034; (2014), **“Euroopan unionin poliittinen järjestelmä, instituutit ja mobilisaation haasteet”**, In Juri Mykkänen & Kari Paakkunainen (eds) *Johdatus Euroopan unionin politiikkaan. Poliitiikan ja talouden tutkimuksen laitoksen julkaisuja* 2014:16, Helsingin yliopisto, 27-53; (2014) **“Legislatures and Foreign Policy”**, in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld & Kaare W. Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 543-566; (with Matti Wiberg) (eds) (2014) **“Eduskunta: Kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla”**, Gaudemus, Helsinki.

By professor Aleks Szczerbiak, **“Poland (mainly) chooses stability and continuity: The October 2011 Polish parliamentary election”**, *Perspectives on European Politics and Societies*, December 2013.



OPPR also hosts a working paper series jointly with EUDO.

II.2.2 OUTLOOK FOR 2015

OPPR will go on with its activity and being a hub for research of 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 2015, 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.

OPPR is actively seeking ways to make the archives of Europarties and their parliamentary groups more easily accessible to the academic and policy community, and it is contacting European policy-makers to envisage ways in which this goal could be realised and connected to the on-going work of the Historical Archives of the EU, also situated in the EUI. The Observatory will continue its efforts to negotiate with the European Political Parties about the possibility of



transferring (or even copying) their archives to the EUI.

In 2014 some research projects have already been or will be soon submitted to certain institutions and research centres; in particular:

1. PartAdapt. “Parties as multi-level campaign organizations”.

This 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.

This project aims to build 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. 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?

2. “Trans-nationalisation of EU politics”.

This research project will be launched with the aim of receiving some preliminary feedback during the EU Foundations conference. In particular the project will be divided into two parts. The first one will be devoted to the plausibility of Duff’s draft on the possible standardization of the national electoral systems for the European elections; this can be considered as a first step towards the con-

crete trans-nationalization of EU politics. The second part of the project will be devoted to identifying the current relevant social and political cleavages for each member state. The rationale for this is that only common and shared cleavages can make trans-nationalisation really possible.

3. “Relations between Political Parties at the European Level and National Parties of Associate Countries”.

Associate countries have always received particular attention from European national governments and also from non-governmental organizations. In particular, as happened in the past, European national parties have helped, with resources and legitimization, sister parties in neighbouring countries. Nowadays, taking into consideration the increasing institutionalization and resources of PELs, such a role is also played by Europarties. This project targets the exploration of the current relations between PELs and sister parties in the associate countries.

4. “Relations between Political Parties at the European Level and Turkish Parties”.

This can be considered as an extension of the previous project. We have already established links with the Ege University (Turkey), with the aim of preparing a joint project for submission to the Turkish Education Minister.

5. “Party leadership selection in national parties”.

In our 2010 report “How to Create a Trans-national Party System” we devoted an entire chapter to European elections candidate se-

lection procedures. We discovered huge variations amongst national parties even of the same spiritual and political family. We assume that for the party leadership selection procedures it will be possible to find the same differences and similarities.

6. “Sociodemographic characteristics of Italian Deputies”.

What is 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.





II.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 (Emeritus Professor at the EUI) 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.

II.3.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH

One of the most important developments in the history of the EU's codecision procedure has been the steep rise in "early agreements" since 1999, and the shift of legislative decision-making from public inclusive to informal secluded arenas. As part of a wider research project on "The Informal Politics of Codecision", the Observatory on Institutional Change and Reforms launched a new data set on all 797 legislative files concluded under codecision between 1999 and 2009: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO->



[Institutions/DatasetonTheInformalPoliticsof-Codecision.aspx](#)

The process of data collection and coding is described in the EUDO Working Paper “The Informal Politics of Codecision: Introducing a New Data Set on Early Agreements in the European Union” by Edoardo Bressanelli, Adrienne Héritier, Christel Koop and Christine Reh. The paper explains and justifies the operationalisation and measurement of key variables; and elaborates on the methodological challenges of capturing informal political processes. The paper also offers rich descriptive statistics on the scale and scope of early agreements across time, and explores how key characteristics of the legislative file (legal nature, policy area, complexity, salience, policy type, duration) and of the main negotiators (priorities of the Council Presidency, ideological distance between Parliament’s rapporteur and national minister, Presidency’s workload) co-vary with decision-makers’ choice to “go informal”. Demonstrating that early agreements are not restricted to technical, urgent or uncontested files but occur across the breadth of EU legislation, and increasingly so with time in use, the data strongly underline the relevance of informal decision-making for scholars and pol-



icy-makers alike. Data collection was funded by the Research Council of the European University Institute (EUI) and the Economic and Social Research Council.

Bruno De Witte presented a research paper on ‘The agenda of the European Court of Justice in shaping the constitutional balance in the EU’ at the workshop on Checking and Balancing Law-Making beyond the State, University of Amsterdam, 20-21 March 2014. Bruno De Witte also contributed to the ongoing EUI Law department’s research project Constitutional Change through Euro Crisis Law. The impact of ‘Euro crisis law’, adopted at the European level, on the legal and constitutional structures of the Eurozone states is documented, in this project, by means of country reports which operate as open access research tools. See <http://eurocrisislaw.eui.eu>

Finally Bruno De Witte will present a research paper on ‘Transformation of the EU’s institutional balance through fundamental rights’ at the SPS-EUDO Joint Conference The Future of the EU - In Honour of Adrienne Héritier, 20 November 2014 (see EUDO General section).



II.3.2 EVENTS

In September 2014 Adrienne Héritier presented her research on “the parliamentarization of the EU political system” at the 3d Annual Greek Public Policy Forum in Chania in Crete on Europe in Flux:

Secessionism, Ideological Polarisation, and the Emerging Institutional Design of the EU: <http://www.greekpublicpolicyforum.org/2014/09/3rd-annual-chania-forum-europe-in-flux.html#more>

In September 2014 Adrienne Héritier presented her work on interstitial institutional change at the Bremen International Graduate Studies in Social Sciences Doctoral Programme.

II.3.3 OUTLOOK FOR 2015

Adrienne Héritier in cooperation with Catherine Moury, University of Lisbon and Paolo Ponzano, senior fellow at the RSCAS just won the tender for a report for the European Parliament on the topic of “The European Parliament as a driving force of European Constitutionalisation”.

The European Parliament has been extremely skilful in the past decades in pushing forward its

institutional agenda heading into the direction of a parliamentarisation of the European political system. Parliamentarisation is an important component of the constitutionalisation of the European Union (EU). We point out the European Parliament’s (EP) institutional role in crucial aspects of this process of parliamentarisation. We elaborate through which institutional channels and which strategies the EP has wielded influence. We describe under which conditions in the political, social and economic environment these strategies were successfully employed, which processes they triggered and what their impact was in shaping the political architecture of the EU over time.

The analysis will focus more specifically on the role of the EP in legislation, from consultation to codecision;

- the role of the EP in the budgetary process;
- the role of the EP in the investiture of the Commission;
- the role of the EP in delegated legislation/ comitology;
- the role of the EP in economic governance;
- the role of the EP in external relations.



II.4. EUDO OBSERVATORY ON CITIZENSHIP



The EUDO Observatory on Citizenship provides the most comprehensive source of information on the acquisition and loss of citizenship for policy makers, NGOs and academic researchers. The geographic scope of the Observatory has gradually been expanded from the European Union to neighbouring countries. In 2015, the Observatory will reach out to North and South American countries in an effort to stimulate transatlantic comparative research on citizenship-related matters. EUDO-CITIZENSHIP identifies major trends and problems in citizenship policies as a basis for informed action at EU, national and local levels. Its website hosts a number of databases on domestic and international legal norms, naturalisation statistics, citizenship indicators, a comprehensive bibliography and glossary, a forum and a blog with scholarly debates on current citizenship trends, media news on matters of citizenship policy and various other resources for research and policy-making. Since 2012, the thematic scope of the Observatory has been broadened from citizenship status to voting rights, through the addition of online databases, comparative and country specific reports on access to the electoral franchise in a context of protracted international migrations.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP is built on a network of academic experts for each of the countries covered (currently 49 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), 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 in Europe and increasingly in the rest of the world. Although the Observatory 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. EUDO CITIZENSHIP 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 2013-2014, EUDO-CITIZENSHIP received funding from several institutions, including the European Commission and the Global Governance Programme (GGP) of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. The ILEC Project on Involuntary Loss of European Citizenship, co-financed under the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of

the European Union and directed by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in collaboration with EUDO-CITIZENSHIP and a network of university partners, started in January 2012 and will come to an end in December 2014. Between 2011 and 2013, the Observatory received core funding from the European Fund for the Integration of Non-EU Immigrants through the ACIT project on Access to Citizenship and its Impact on Immigrant Integration. 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.

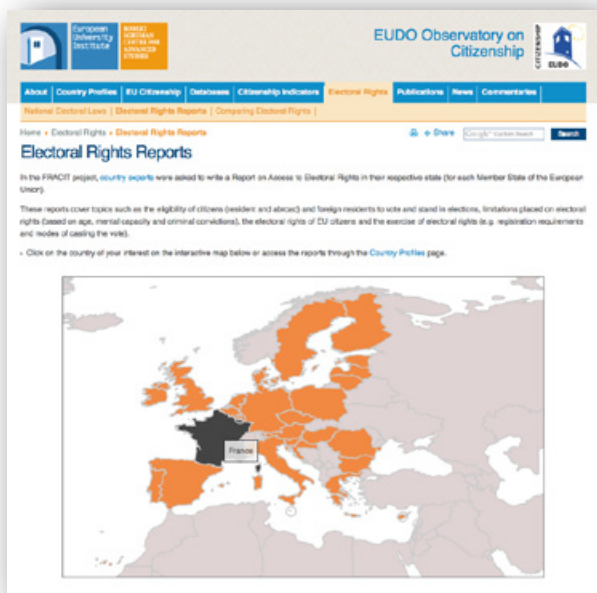
Until June 2010 core financing for EUDO CITIZENSHIP was provided by the European Commission's European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals through the Access to Citizenship in Europe (EUCITAC) project. Apart from the EUI Research Council's funding for the larger EUDO project, EUDO CITIZENSHIP has also mobilised various other sources of funding that have been used for a gradual geographic expansion of the observatory to cover other countries in the EU neighbourhood. These funds have 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 Lassis 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.

II.4.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH

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 and are widely disseminated online through our website and through CADMUS, the EUI research repository. Over the years, the geographic coverage of the Observatory has been expanded to neighbouring countries and now includes 49 countries in Europe and beyond.

In 2014, our country profiles and selected 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 Liechtenstein, Morocco and Georgia, which will be followed in 2015 by 20 countries in North and South America.

In 2014, EUDO CITIZENSHIP also commissioned case-specific and comparative research carried out by experts within the network and published as part of the EUI/RSCAS Working Papers Series. The Working Papers which were published on the website over the 2013-2014 academic year cover a wide range of topics including naturalisation intentions among Turkish residents in Germany, the independence referendum in Scotland, or the relationship between citizenship acquisition and integration policies in Europe.



The FRACIT project: Access to Electoral Rights in Europe and Beyond

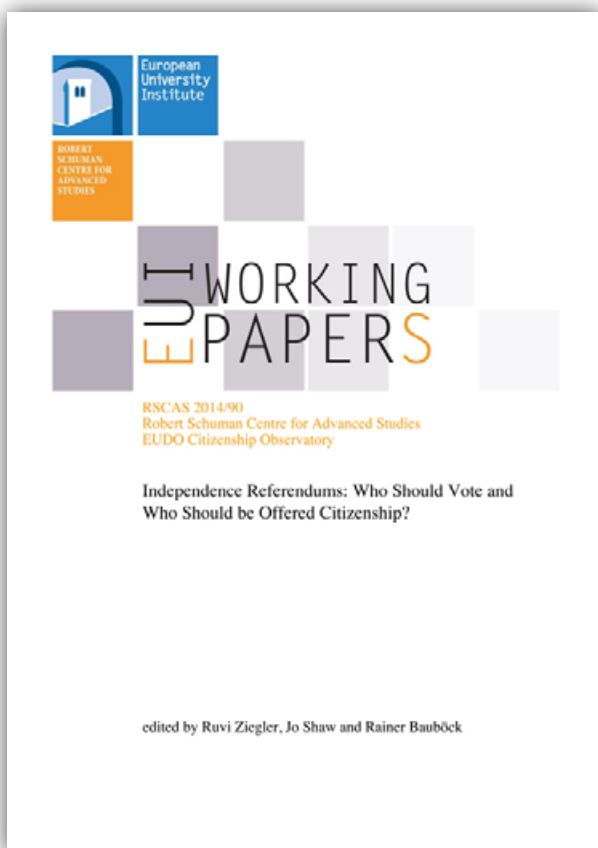
Since 2012, the FRACIT project, co-financed by the European Parliament Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO) has aimed to broaden the thematic scope of the Observatory from citizenship status to voting rights. In 2014, EUDO-CITIZENSHIP issued a new series of **country reports on Access to Electoral Rights**, which now include all 28 Member States of the European Union. The reports cover topics such as the eligibility of citizens (resident and abroad) and foreign residents to vote and stand in elections, limitations placed on electoral rights (based on age, mental capacity and criminal convictions), the electoral rights of EU citizens and the exercise of electoral rights (e.g. registration requirements and modes of casting the vote). Besides, in March 2014 EUDO-CITIZENSHIP launched two new online databases. First, the **National Database on Electoral Laws** comprises a sample of key electoral laws from each EU member state and ten non-EU states (Brazil, Canada, India, Morocco, New Zealand, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and the United States of America). Second, the **Database on Electoral Rights** includes information on the conditions

and procedures of access to the franchise in the 28 EU Member States, in ten types of elections and for three categories of persons: citizen residents, non-citizen residents, and non-resident citizens. The database is organised around a comprehensive typology of electoral laws which outlines, in a systematic way, the conditions and procedure of eligibility for voting and standing as candidate, in each type of elections and for each category of persons.

All reports and databases can be consulted online in the newly created **Electoral Rights** section of our website. In the coming months, the Observatory's research strand on electoral rights will be enriched in two ways. First, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will make available online a new set of indicators measuring the scope of the electoral franchise for non-resident and non-citizens in EU Member States, complementing existing **Citizenship** indicators. Second, the geographic scope of our series of reports and databases on electoral rights will be expanded to 20 countries in North and South America.

ILEC: Involuntary Loss of European 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? A new 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 aims to investigate this under-researched field. Since 2012, **ILEC** (Involuntary Loss of European Citizenship: Exchanging Knowledge and Identifying Guidelines for Europe) has carried out a comparative study of the law and practices governing loss of nationality across the 28 Member States. A key question it seeks to answer 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. In 2014, EUDO CITIZENSHIP participated to the ILEC Mid-Term Conference (29 April, Brussels) and to the ILEC Focus Group Meeting (13 October 2014, Brussels), in which EUDO CITIZENSHIP co-director Rainer Bauböck and Vesco Paskalev presented their forthcoming publication, 'Citizenship Deprivation: A Normative Analysis'. The findings of the ILEC project will be presented to EU level policy makers and stakeholders at a final conference which will be held in Brussels on 12-13 December 2014.

CITIZENSHIP Debates

In 2014, EUDO CITIZENSHIP hosted two Forum Debates in which prominent academics were invited to critically discuss an issue of general interest from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. The first forum entitled '**Should Citizenship be for Sale**' came in the wake of the decision of the Maltese government to offer Maltese (and therefore European) citizenship to foreign investors, while other European



governments were adopting similar 'Cash-for-Passports' programmes. Ayelet Shachar of the University of Toronto Law School was invited to open a debate on these controversial policies. Twelve authors have contributed short commentaries, most of which refer to the initial law adopted by the Maltese Parliament.

The second forum on '**Independence Referendums: Who Should Vote and Who Should be offered Citizenship**', was conducted during the weeks which preceded the 18 September referendum in Scotland. Contributors to this debate came from divergent disciplines (law, political science, sociology, philosophy) and reflected upon what ought to be the boundaries of the electoral franchise in independence referendums in a variety of regional settings including (in addition to Scotland) Catalonia/Spain, Flanders/Belgium, Quebec/Canada, Post-Yugoslavia and Puerto-Rico/USA.

Both debates were subsequently published as EUI/RSCAS Working Papers and widely disseminated through our website.

As citizenship-related issues have increasingly moved from the administrative to the political realm and become an important aspect of



competitive politics, the Observatory recently launched a **CITIZENSHIP BLOG**. Our aim is to provide a forum in which current issues related to nationality and the electoral franchise can be disseminated and discussed in a spirit of critical intellectual inquiry.

The Blog was inaugurated with a contribution by EUDO CITIZENSHIP expert Costica Dumbrava on **The Facebook Test of Romanian Citizenship**, published online in October 2014.

II.4.2 EVENTS AND DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES

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 seminar “Political Rights in the Age of Globalisation” in St. Gallen (17 September 2013), the 10th Meeting of the European Integration Forum in Brussels (26 November 2013), the conference “Causes and Consequences of Immigration and Citizenship Policies” in Berlin (26-27 June 2014) and the IMISCOE Annual conference in Madrid (27-30 August 2014). In December 2013, EUDO CITIZENSHIP co-



director Jo Shaw gave the Annual James Muiruri International Law Lecture at the University of Sheffield on ‘Citizenship in an Independent Scotland’, based on a paper that was subsequently published on our website. Rainer Bauböck was invited to give two lectures on Territorial and Cultural Inclusion: Comparing Citizenship Policies in Europe, based on EUDO-CITIZENSHIP datasets, at UCSD (San Diego, 25 May 2014) and UCLA (30 May 2014). In April 2014, EUDO CITIZENSHIP organised a workshop in collaboration with the Social and Political Sciences Department of the European University Institute on ‘Contemporary Issues in Migration, Voting, and Citizenship: Legal and Political Theory Perspectives (EUI, 29 April 2014).

II.4.3 OUTLOOK FOR 2015

In 2015, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will pursue the twofold aim of expanding its geographical coverage beyond Europe to the Americas and of consolidating its research stream on access to electoral rights. Both objectives stem from the fact that citizenship and electoral laws in countries of origin and countries of destination are increasingly interlinked through migration

flows, a phenomenon that, far from being confined to the European Union, can be observed on a global scale.

In order to fulfil its first objective, the Observatory is currently constituting a network of country experts in North and South America, who are charged with the task of collecting legislations, filling in questionnaires and writing reports on citizenship laws and access to electoral rights in each country. By the end of 2015, the number of countries that are systematically covered in the [Country Profile](#) section of our website will increase sharply, through the addition of 20 countries spanning the Americas from Canada to Chile. Furthermore, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will launch two global databases on [Modes of Acquisition](#) and [Modes of Loss](#) of Citizenship, thus offering the first systematic and up-to-date comparative overview of citizenship provisions throughout the world.

As for the expansion of the thematic scope from citizenship status to voting rights, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will make available a new set of indicators measuring the scope of the electoral franchise in relation to two categories of voters: non-resident citizens and non-citizen residents. The FRANCHISE indicators will initially include all types of elections held in the 28 Member States of the European Union and will be gradually broadened to North and South American countries. The results will be made accessible on our website through interactive graphic tools including maps and charts, similar to our existing indicators on [Citizenship Laws](#) (CITLAW), [Citizenship Acquisition](#) (CITACQ), [Integration outcomes](#) (CITINT) and [Implementation Procedures](#) (CITIMP). Our Citizenship indicators will be further enriched through the addition of 6 new countries (Russia, Ukraine, Liechtenstein, Kosovo and Albania and Bosnia), thus bringing the total number of states included in our datasets to 42 countries. Finally, depending on available resources, we plan to expand the CITLAW

indicators for Europe, which currently cover the situation in 2011, into time series in order to cover also past and the most recent legislative provisions

In light of the success of the 2014 Citizenship Forum Debates on 'Independence referendums' and 'Citizenship for Sale' described above, the 2015 academic year will be marked by a series of debates on current trends and issues with the aim of promoting lively controversies about research hypotheses and findings as well as about proposals for policy reform.

In October 2014, EUDO-CITIZENSHIP launched a new forum debate on '[The Return on Banishment](#)' and invited academics to discuss the growing trend throughout Europe and beyond of enacting citizenship stripping laws for terror suspects. In 2015, the Observatory will host a debate on 'The Future of Ius Sanguinis' in a context of profound transformations of family filiation resulting from the twin forces of legal changes (for instance, through acceptance of same-sex marriage in a growing number of countries) and technological innovations (such as the development of Artificial Reproduction Technologies). Both debates will be published as part of the RSCAS Working Paper series in the course of 2015.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP will continue to report on ongoing policy reforms, court judgments or public debates related to nationality and the electoral franchise through our [NEWS section](#) and to critically discuss current issues through our newly-created [CITIZENSHIP BLOG](#). Besides, our dissemination activities will be a major task for the coming months. Keep visiting our website at www.eudo-citizenship.eu for more information on past and current research activities conducted by the Observatory.





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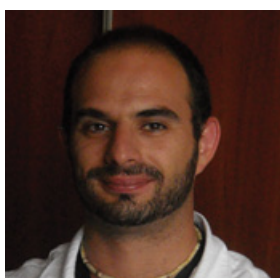
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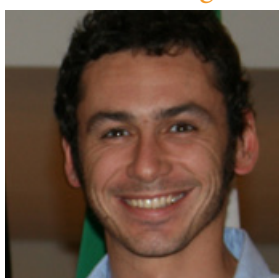
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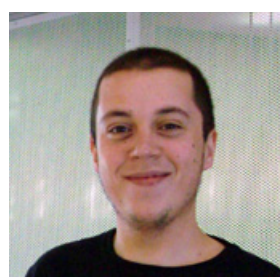
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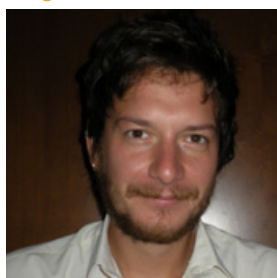
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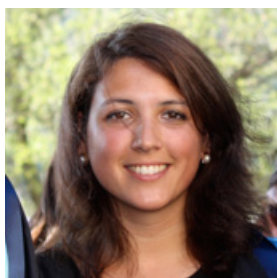
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