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2012

EUROPEAN UNION DEMOCRACY OBSERVATORY
This annual report covers the period from Autumn 2011 to November 2012

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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 2012 has been that of 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 2013, EUDO will streamline its efforts to become a leading research centre 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 2011 to the end of 2012 and provide an overview of the work planned for 2013. The report is structured as follows: section I will present EUDO activities from 2011/2012 and the outlook for 2013 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 2011-2012.
At the end of 2011, EUDO organised its Annual Dissemination Conference in Brussels within the European Parliament, and as such, demonstrated the importance of sharing academic research results with policy makers in Brussels and beyond. In 2012 EUDO has continued to build on this success and has obtained further external funding for research projects. It has also submitted a number of funding applications to continue to expand future planned research projects. The EUDO Data Centre has been consolidated, and research data continue to be included. EUDO’s communication strategy has in 2012 involved the launch of a re-vamped website with interactive forums, the publication of a regular stakeholder newsletter, and extensive in-house publications. In addition, EUDO continues to both organise and attend conferences and seminars throughout Europe and beyond.

I. EUDO GENERAL

I.1 ACTIVITIES 2011/2012

EUDO Data Centre

Relying on “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 2013. Not only do we want to prepare and include all “our” data, but we are also preparing several cooperation agreements with other academic projects to also include their data and research results. In addition, in the fall of 2012, an institutionalised cooperation agreement between the Cologne based GESIS and EUDO was signed.

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 concern the four EUDO Observatories. So far a total of 16 EUDO working papers have been published (available at the EUDO website: http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDOWorkingPaperSeries.aspx) and three are being reviewed for publication.

EUDO Website Platform and Visibility

In November 2012 EUDO launched a new homepage which is more user-friendly and more accessible to the general public (www.eudo.eu). The website continues to include 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 with daily news on democracy in Europe and 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, groundbreaking EUDO research, as well as debates in the media. 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 group and Twitter account, which has now over 1000 followers.
EUROPEAN UNION DEMOCRACY OBSERVATORY - EUDO

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 the 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 start date of the project was 1 May 2011 and the concluding date is 30 October 2013.

The first report was released in Spring 2012, 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, they should focus on identifying European issues that are important for national interests, 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, was 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 is now in preparation. 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 multinational networks in Brussels as well as the organization of policy-making institutions in the national capitals.

Future reports will address both the representation of social, economic and civil-society interests, and the recruitment of personnel by EU institutions.

I.2 EVENTS 2011/2012

EUDO Dissemination Conference: “Inclusive Democracy in Europe”

The 2011 EUDO Dissemination Conference took place on 9 and 10 November 2011 in Brussels.

The first part of the Conference took place at the Silken Berlaymont hotel on the morning of the 9th of November and was entitled ‘Introducing EUDO’. During this part of the Conference the structure of EUDO and its activities were presented. The two Directors of EUDO, Alexander H. Trechsel and Stefano Bartolini, illustrated the main features of our organization. The Co-Director of the EUDO Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media, Professor Mark Franklin, spoke about the initiatives promoted by the Observatory to understand public opinion in stringent economic times, such as EU Profiler PIREDEU and the EUDO Spotlight. The Director of the EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation, Professor Luciano Bardi, spoke about one of the most challenging projects of the Observatory: Parties as Campaign Organisations, whose main purpose is to build an infrastructure for the continuous monitoring of the Europeanisation of European and National Parliamentary elections by exploring the dynamics of political campaigning at both national and European level. Two EUDO researchers (Georgia Mavrodi and Tamara Jonjic) presented the project “Puzzled by Policy”, which aims to inform, consult, and empower citizens in immigration policy-making in the EU by providing high-quality information on policy developments, and by bringing together citizens and key policy actors to exchange ideas and policy proposals. Lorenzo De Sio, a EUDO fellow, and Alexia Katsanidou from GESIS (Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences) described the main features of the EUDO Data Centre. Finally the two Co-Directors of the EUDO Observatory on Citizenship, Professors Rainer Bauböck
and Jo Shaw, spoke about the project ACIT-Access to Electoral Rights in Europe. The project is generating indicators for citizenship laws, their implementation, acquisition rates and their impact on immigrant integration in 33 European states.

The second part of the Conference was held in the headquarters of the European Parliament in the afternoon of 9 November and for the whole of 10 November.

The Conference was entitled: 'Inclusive Democracy in Europe'. The conference aimed to disseminate comparative and updated knowledge about external electoral rights for non-resident citizens (in the EU and in Third countries), internal electoral rights for non-citizen residents, and focussed on how electoral rights influence the evolution and perception of EU citizenship and the political participation in the European Union.

The Conference was hosted by two European Parliament Committees: the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO) and the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE).

The two Committees not only hosted the EUDO Conference but also agreed to involve their members in the programme. In particular, the chairman of the AFCO Committee, Carlo Casini, opened the proceedings of the Conference on the first day and the chairman of the LIBE Committee, Juan-Fernando López-Aguilar opened the second day. The MEPs Zita Gurmai, Diana Wallis, Gerald Häfner, Simon Busuttil, and Tatjana Ždanoka contributed to the two Roundtables ‘How to develop the franchise and promote political participation in the EU?’. Besides the members of the two Committees, Monica Frassoni, President of European Green Party and Luc Vandeputte, Deputy Secretary General of the European People’s Party spoke about the role of European parties in promoting European democracy. Finally Baroness Shirley Williams made an outstanding keynote speech ‘The Democratic Deficit- Can the European Union Bridge the Gap?’; this is now available online: http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Documents/2011EUDODisseminationConference/williams.pdf

Overall, the Conference contributed to the building of a strong dialogue between academics, policymakers, EU officials, and NGOs, on the topic of how to promote European democracy in general, and on political participation of “outsiders” in particular.

All the presentations have been video-recorded and the videos are available online at following page: 

After the Conference, the eBook *Inclusive Democracy in Europe* edited by Kristen Jeffers was also published with contributions from the 2011 EUDO Dissemination Conference and the EUDO Online Forum Debate Online on National Voting Rights for EU Citizens Residing in Other Member States. In this publication, academics, policy-makers, and civil society representatives explore the history and nature of migrant political participation in Europe and consider policy options for remedying the democratic deficit in light of the political realities of modern Europe. Contributors provide a comprehensive discussion of inclusive democracy in the European Union, considering principles of democracy, conceptions of national and EU citizenship, and the political and institutional practicalities of national and European policy change.

The eBook is available online at the following page: 
http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/Publications/eBookonInclusiveDemocracyinEurope.aspx

*Responsive or Responsible? Parties, Democracy and Global Markets. A Conference in Honour of Peter Mair*

A conference to honour Professor Peter Mair, one of the two co-founders of the EUDO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR), was organised by the Co-directors of EUDO, Stefano Bartolini and Alexander H. Trechsel and the Director of OPPR, Luciano Bardi.

The Conference took place at the European University Institute from 26 to 28 September 2012. The participants were a selection of people Peter worked with during his career, from a variety of backgrounds.

The three-day Conference examined how political parties manage tensions between their international obligations, and those made to their electors, on the basis of Peter Mair’s most recent work on party politics. The conference began by looking at the way democratic theory has developed, before exploring the empirical implications of this new tension, and, on the final day, looking at how parties respond and adapt.

The programme of the Conference is available at: 
http://www.eui.eu/SeminarsAndEvents/Index.aspx?eventid=76344

The proceedings of the conference will be published in special issues of two prominent scientific journals.

*Debating the Hungarian Constitution*

On 2 March 2012, the SPS Department and EUDO organised a Round table on the new Hungarian Constitution.

The new Hungarian Constitution, the Fundamental Law of Hungary that came into force on 1 January 2012, has attracted a great deal of criticism and debate worldwide. Hailed by its proponents as the act that completed the transition to democracy, it was
criticized by others as an undertaking that ends constitutional democracy in Hungary by removing checks on the power of the government, and putting virtually all power into the hands of the current governing party for the foreseeable future.

The Round table discussion addressed fundamental issues related to the Hungarian Constitution, inviting key participants in, and observers of, the Hungarian constitution making process: Jozsef Szaier, MEP, Vice-Chair of the European People’s Party and Chairman of the group that drafted the New Hungarian Constitution, Zita Gurmai MEP, Vice-Chair of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament, Gabor Halmai Director of the Institute for Political and International Studies (Budapest), and Visiting Professor at the Princeton University, Andras Jakab Schumpeter, Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg, editor of the Commentary of the Hungarian Constitution. 

The video of the Round table is available online at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3Ixobiv9A

**EUDO Dissemination Conference 2012: “The Euro Crisis and the State of European Democracy”**

The EUDO Dissemination Conference 2012 will take place on 22 and 23 November 2012 at the European University Institute in Florence.

The conference will examine the institutional framework and the legal instruments set up by the European Union to deal with its financial woes. It will reflect on the challenges and threats posed by reformed European Economic policy for European democracy.

The programme is available online on the following page: http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO/EUDO-DisseminationConference/2012/Index.aspx

In spring EUDO invited interested academics and academically, oriented practitioners to submit paper proposals related to the overall theme: “The Euro Crisis and the State of European Democracy”. The best papers were selected in summer and they will not only be presented at the 2012 EUDO Dissemination Conference, but will also be published in the EUDO Working Papers Series.

**I.3 OUTLOOK 2013**

In 2013, 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 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. Many of the current projects within the Observatories go beyond the funding of the Research Council and hence will help ensure the sustainability of EUDO beyond 2012.
In concrete terms, the advancement of the EUDO Data Centre will be of central importance in 2013. 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. In addition to this, in 2013 EUDO has the ambitious aim of continuing the work on the first general report on the state of democracy in the EU, for which a first conceptual framework is presented at the EUDO Dissemination Conference 2012.

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

The Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites, and the Media focuses on the analysis of the attitudes and preferences of the public, the media, and the elites, and has the aim of measuring the extent to which these converge or diverge, in which field and in which direction. It is managed by Mark Franklin (former EUI and currently MIT) and Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI). This Observatory dedicated a large part of its attention to the two main research projects linked to the 2009 elections of the European Parliament, namely PIREDEU and EU Profiler. These two projects generated possibly the largest data collection on public opinion among European voters ever gathered. In 2012, the data analysis was further refined and discussed in a continuous dialogue between academia and the policy making community. The final presentation of the EU Profiler data can be explored online with the positions of political parties in all 30 European countries and the interactive 3-D Political Landscape for each country, representing the answers of almost one million users across all Europe.

II.1.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH 2011/2012

PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral democracy in the European Union)

The PIREDEU infrastructure design study was funded by the European Union’s 7th Framework Programme from 2008 to January 2011. The design study assessed the feasibility of an upgrade to the European Election Studies that will provide an infrastructure for research into citizenship, political participation, and electoral democracy in the European Union (EU). The project was a joint effort coordinated by the European University Institute in Florence and involved 14 institutions across Europe.

For the first time, a centrally coordinated research project covering all relevant aspects of the electoral process was conducted for the 27 member-countries at the 2009 European Parliament Elections. By investigating the feasibility of an infrastructure for the study of democracy in the EU, data were gathered on:

- The attitudes and behaviour of over 27,000 citizens in 27 countries.
- Information on campaign strategies and issue agendas for 1,350 candidates from 200 political parties across 27 countries.
- The party manifestos of 200 Political Parties contesting the European Parliament Elections.
- Campaign news coverage in the three weeks prior to the elections from 140 media outlets and almost 50,000 news stories.
- Attributes from 27 different political party, economic, and media systems.

The 2009 EES brings this information together for the first time in an integrated database that is available for use by researchers, policymakers, the media, citizens and anyone interested in electoral democracy in Europe. These data would be lost if not captured at the time of an election.

The final conference of the project held in Brussels, entitled “Auditing Electoral Democracy in the European Union” (18-19 November 2010), engaged the academic and policy user community with a special focus on the 2009 European Elections. In addition to research papers on topics ranging from voting in European Elections to attitudes towards European integration, three special sessions introduced the
integrated PIREDEU database (of voter, candidate, media, manifesto and context data) and provided hands-on training on how to use the database. Revised versions of the papers presented at the conference will be published as an eBook in late 2012.


Looking towards the future, a final task of the PIREDEU project has been to collaborate in founding a Consortium for Electoral Research in Europe (CERES). The ultimate goal of CERES is to create a permanent research infrastructure for electoral research in 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. With this in mind, CERES is being established as the way forward to ensure that high-quality data are available for the benefit of researchers and practitioners from across the world.


For more information on preliminary data, visit: www.piredeu.eu/public/Data_Release.asp.

The final release of data has been made available through GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences.

**ELECDEM**

The ELECDEM is a project financed by the 7th Framework Program within the Marie Curie Initial Training Network (ITN) until 2013. It brings together eleven expert teams from nine European countries to provide substantive and methodological training in elections research to a cohort of early stage and experienced researchers. ELECDEM takes a comprehensive approach to the study of electoral democracy using cross-nationally comparative databases, content analysis, and experiments, in order to examine the impact of globalization, technological developments in communication, and institutional change on representation and accountability.

As partner of the ELECDEM Project the EUI is in charge of the “Work Package 11” on European Elections and Democratic Legitimacy. It will use data from CSES and EES to address research questions related to the role of information and political communication on democratic representation. Its task can be summarized in five macro areas: 1. To develop literature reviews, research questions and design; 2. Analyse available data using advanced quantitative techniques (e.g. multi-level modelling); 3. Issue a final report; 4. Produce a research paper for publication; 5. Undertake training in key methodologies and complementary skills.

Until August 2011, Danilo Di Mauro was the beneficiary of the Marie Curie Fellowship within the ELECDEM framework. He was housed within the Public Opinion Observatory of EUDO, where he contributed to the work of the Observatory along with his own research.
The EU Profiler [www.euprofiler.eu](http://www.euprofiler.eu) voting advice application (VAA) for the European Parliament elections of June 2009 was the first Europe-wide tool of its kind. The research project was developed under the auspices of EUDO, in a consortium with the Amsterdam-based company Kieskompas and the NCCR Democracy (University of Zurich/Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau)/Politools network. It also involved the active participation of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR – see below). More than 120 academic collaborators contributed to the project, and currently the large quantity of data that was generated by coding the parties, and by users filling in the questionnaire, is being analysed by the research team. During the period in which the EU Profiler tool was online (from 23 April 2009 until the elections in June) it attracted more than 2.5 million users. It was a huge success in terms of user numbers, press coverage, and the general publicity it attracted. In October 2009 the EU Profiler won the prestigious "World e-Democracy Forum Award" during a ceremony at the French Parliamentary Assembly.

While the EU Profiler 2009 project has now concluded its success lives on, and a number of further developments of the project are in the pipeline. With the European Parliamentary elections coming up in 2014, the idea of involving EUDO in the development of a research-driven effort to bring citizens closer to the elections by means of new technologies is currently under discussion. Furthermore, new forms of cooperation could open up extensive possibilities with regard to Europe-wide public opinion research on many political and social issues and would link up with our aforementioned efforts to institute a continuous monitoring of new public opinion surveys.

**Studies 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. The report was compiled by Kristjan Vassil and Alexander H. Trechsel using results from all five surveys, making it one of the most comprehensible studies on internet voting ever conducted. The most recent research output based on this data is a paper co-authored by Kristjan Vassil, Ane Realu and Alexander H. Trechsel, nominated for the Robert H. Durr award for best paper applying quantitative methods to a substantive problem at the 2012 MPSA conference in Chicago.

**Project Puzzled by Policy**

The project started in October 2010 within the framework of the European Commission’s “Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Programme” ICT Policy Support Programme (Objective Theme 3: ICT for governance). It aims at informing, consulting, and empowering citizens in relation to im-
migration policy-making in the EU by providing high-quality information on policy developments and by bringing together citizens and key policy actors to exchange ideas and policy proposals. The Observatory forms part of a larger consortium that is comprised of 12 partners in 9 EU member-states, including - but not limited to - academic institutions, municipalities, and private partners in software research and development.

Since the launch of “Puzzled by Policy”, EUDO has provided scientific backbone to the project. The experiences gained from the design and implementation of the EU Profiler have been key to the construction of the unique “Puzzled by Policy” Profiler and on-line platform, an EU-wide tool for engaging citizens and policy actors in immigration policy-making at the EU level and in four trial EU member-states (Spain, Italy, Greece and Hungary). Moreover, EUDO draws upon the long-standing, multi-disciplinary expertise in immigration policy issues from the RSCAS, and from the EUI more generally. In particular, the “Puzzled by Policy” team at EUDO has been responsible for the conceptualization of immigration policy issues, the mapping of policy developments at the EU and national levels, the detailed documentation of policy positions and proposals of key policy stakeholders and the design of the “Puzzled by Policy” Profiler. The last includes a questionnaire on current issues that cover a whole range of immigration policy agendas in the EU and its member-states, including the movement of highly-skilled workers and students, family reunification, immigrant integration, temporary and seasonal migration, and irregular and return migration.

EUDO has provided the consortium with four high-quality internal reports. The first two, “Immigration in the EU: policies and politics”, and, “Data analysis on political positions & public opinion in Europe”, were submitted in January 2011, the third, “Conceptualisation of Policy Profiler dimensions and debate content”, was completed in June 2011, whereas the fourth and most recent, “Legislative Review Report”, was finalized in May 2012.

The “Puzzled by Policy” platform was launched on February 8, 2012. The platform allows users to graphically compare their views on immigration with national and EU immigration policies, as well as with the opinions of relevant stakeholders. Users are then encouraged to join discussions on particular aspects of immigration policy they feel strongly about. The platform is customized for Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Spain, as the trial countries. However the platform is also available in English and discussions can be automatically translated into any language. To ensure accessibility to all users, the Puzzled by Policy widget can be embedded on any website. The platform can be accessed on http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/.

Since the launch of the platform, the “Puzzled by Policy” team at EUDO has directed most of its efforts to the U-debate part of the platform, feeding this online discussion tool with relevant information on immigration policy developments and providing the relevant links to legislation and other references. The EUDO team will continue keeping the consortium up-to-date about ongoing changes in immigration policies in the EU and its member-states until the conclusion of the project.

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 attitudes 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. Until the autumn of 2012 EUDO published four editions of the Spotlight on..,
mainly focused on the political implications of the current economic and financial crisis. They concern the effects of the crisis on support for EU integration, European identity, European citizenship, attitudes towards enlargement, as well as the Europeanization of political attitudes about 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 demonstrated to address highly debated political issues of actuality by using sophisticated analytical tools explained in a clear and non-technical format. The current editorial team is formed by professors from the Robert Shuman Centre for Advanced Studies, the EUI, external researchers, and the RSCAS publications unit.

The future outlooks of the Spotlight on … series includes a wider focus on the most salient issues for European public opinion, the intensification of publication frequency, and the implementation of the editorial board. Spotlight on… reports are available at the web-page http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO-PublicOpinion/EUDOSpotlight.aspx.

Media Profiler

Media Profiler is an initiative carried out by the Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, that aims to develop a theoretical framework for assessing the positioning of individual European Media in terms of a series of legal, political, social, geographical, cultural and economic dimensions. EUDO, within the framework of the CMPF, will be responsible for the conceptualization and definition of a group of variables and indicators. The EU-wide media profiler conceptualization will define a set of propositions (between 15 and 30 statements), referring to public policies and media-related issues. These statements will be derived from a careful in-depth analysis of the public debates at EU level as well as in the 27 EU member states. The Media Profiler team, in close cooperation with European institutions, will collect the relevant information to conceptualize and formulate the propositions, with the involvement of a group of European top-level journalists together with other relevant stakeholders in the Media complex. This set of fundamental stylized concepts, once fully agreed and tested, could constitute, in the future, a benchmark for assessing the position of individual European media entities. This activity will therefore represent a prerequisite for more possible operational developments of the media profiler in following years.

II.1.2 EVENTS

Democracy and Dissent Conference

From Madrid to Cairo, Tel Aviv, Rome and New York, protests have erupted across the globe against economic instability, political unaccountability and corruption, characterized by a prevailing sense of disillusionment. What are the defining characteristics of these movements? Where are the ideas coming from and how are they being expressed? How influential is social media in their structure and philosophy? In what direction are they going?

Alexander H. Trechsel was invited to address these questions together with a distinguished group of experts including - Alessandro Pizzorno, Donatella Della Porta, Nadia Urbinati, Daniela Coli, Daniel Ritter, Augusto Valeriani, Claudia Vago, Camilo Cristancho, William Klein, Claudius Wagemann and Cristian Vaccari.
The Conference, organised by the New York Univer-
sity, was held in Villa Sassetti in Florence on 17 April
2012.

**Advancing Electoral Research - ELECDEM Closing
Conference**

The ELECDEM closing conference “Advancing Elec-
toral Research” took place from 28 to 30 June 2012
at the European University Institute. The conference
saw the participation of over 70 people between pro-
fessors and researchers. It helped to disseminate the
research findings from the 18 project work-packages
and enabled invited researchers to present papers in
the area of elections, political behaviour and political
communication. The papers are available at: http://
www.elecdem.eu/events/title_84741_en.html. Fur-
ther information on http://www.elecdem.eu/..

**Workshop on Digital Populism in Europe**

Over the last decade, populist parties and move-
ments have grown in strength across Europe, and
an increasing amount of their activity takes place
online. The UK think tank Demos conducted a sur-
vey of over 15,000 Facebook supporters of populist
parties in 12 European countries in order to better
understand who these people are, what they think,
and how their online behaviour maps onto what they
do in the real world. The main findings of this study
were published in *The New Face of Digital Populism*,
released in November 2011.

This workshop presented individual reports for three
very different movements in Italy: the Lega Nord,
CasaPound, and the Movimento Cinque Stelle. These
have been co-authored by Jamie Bartlett (Demos)
and Jonathan Birdwell (Demos) with Caterina Froio
(EUI) and Duncan McDonnell (EUI). The reports
were followed by a roundtable debate on populist
mobilization and success in Italy.

The workshop, organised by Demos UK in collabo-
ration with the Department of Political and Social
Sciences (SPS) and the Observatory, was held at the
European University Institute on 4 October 2012.

**II.1.3 OUTLOOK 2013**

In 2013 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 will mainly
concern the enormous amount of data gathered by
PIREDEU and EU Profiler. In addition to ongoing
activities, several additional research activities will
be undertaken in order to further analyse the ob-
tained 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 will play a crucial role and
will offer academics and citizens alike access and the
possibility of using data in an innovative way. Be-
sides, consultations and cooperation projects with
official EU bodies focusing on public opinion will be
taken further in 2013. Under his EUDO hat as co-
chair of the Observatory, Mark Franklin gave an ad-
dress to the annual Eurobarometer meeting in Brus-
sels about the resilience of public support for Eu-
rope over time - an address that forms the basis of a
forthcoming EUDO Spotlight. The two conferences
about the internet and politics organized by the Ob-
servatory in collaboration with the Centre for the
Study of Democracy at the University of California,
Irvine (one in Florence in 2010 and one in California
in 2011) has led to a publisher’s contract for a book
on the subject that will include as chapters a number
of papers presented at the two conferences. Finally,
steps have been taken by EUDO and the European
Election Studies (EES/PIREDEU) for getting fund-
ing to study the European Parliament (EP) elections
of 2014. At the same time, efforts have been made
to establish a Consortium for European Research on
Elections (CERES) which should include the EES
and national election studies in Europe. This con-
sortium, formally brought to life at the 2011 ECPR
General Conference in Reykjavik in August 2011,
is intended, amongst other things, as a springboard
from which to apply for EU infrastructure funding.
It might also provide a clearing house for ideas and
an inventory of “best practices”. It would offer help
and expertise to those who do not yet have function-
al national election studies. And, finally, it is possible
that such a consortium might serve as a venue for
discussing strategies for investigating the quality of
democracy in Europe, and for providing the means
to implement these. A workshop is in preparation for
the end of February 2013 at the Netherlands Institute
for Advanced Studies (NIAS) that will advance the
goals of the consortium by planning a joint research
project that involves collaboration of national and
EP election studies. The initiative is funded by NIAS with co-funding from the RSCAS.

With the arrival of Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi at the EUI an important research agenda concerning the measurement of citizens’ attitudes towards democracy in Europe will become a key asset to EUDO in general and to its Observatory on Public Opinion, Political Elites and the Media as well as to the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation. An initial coordination meeting, bringing together the experts engaged in the European Social Survey battery of questions on democracy, fielded in 2012, took place in Florence in December 2010.

Finally, within the overall theme of internet and European democracy, dear to EUDO in general, 2012 saw an intensified cooperation with the EUI’s Global Governance Programme and the EUI’s Working Group on the Information Society, resulting in the joint organisation of a major conference on the topic of “Policing the Internet”, to take place at the EUI in December 2012. The conference is jointly organised by Giovanni Sartor (EUI, LAW), David Levine (EUI, ECO), Alexander H. Trechsel (EUI, SPS), Eric Brousseau (EUI, GGP) and Ben Wagner (EUI, SPS).
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). Following the tragic and untimely death of Peter Mair, Luciano Bardi is currently the only director of the Observatory.

The aim of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation (OPPR) is to study European parties in all their dimensions, analysing their evolving organisation and patterns of competition at an EU level, as well as their changing role and 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 achievement of this objective would require some profound changes in the organisation of European parties, with a shift from the current condition of independent national parties organised on different levels (national parties, party groups in the European Parliament, and transnational federations) to a system where nearly-homogenous supranational organisations start to compete at the supranational level for control of the EU political offices and agenda. Europarties could provide a much stronger link between European civil society and the EU supranational institutions, allowing a more effective transfer of preferences and policy priorities from the citizens to the EU legislative 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.

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 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.

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 largely 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.

OPPR activities are coordinated by a research assistant (Enrico Calossi) and several academic collaborators have been involved in the research activities of the OPPR, both internal and external to the EUI, and other scholars work together with the observatory. In 2012 Wojciech Gagatek (University of Warsaw) and Eugenio Pizzimenti (University of Pisa) have been involved officially in such activities.

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. To achieve this goal, the website needs to be improved. 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 Euro Foundations.

II.2.1 ACTIVITIES AND RESEARCH

This year has been mainly devoted to the dissemination of results through the participation in and the organisation of seminars and conferences and through the publication of several articles and books. Mainly the OPPR contributed to the organization of the conference “Responsive or Responsible? Parties, Democracy and Global Markets”, held at the EUI between the 26th and the 28th of September in honor of Peter Mair. This conference focused on party and
party system change as the unifying concern of his intellectual contribution. In particular more than 20 papers were presented on topics pertaining to the relationship between the normative definition of democratic government and the actual operation of parties, a question Peter Mair progressively began to concentrate on in the last part of his career. The tension between 'responsiveness' and 'responsibility' is a well-known problem in the classic studies on political representation, and is not a new problem for parties. Nor does it affect all parties everywhere to the same extent, but the current extent of the problem is undeniable, and parties will have to work hard to retain their crucial role as the single most important and flexible institution harmonising different political sub-systems and ironing out potential tensions among them. Consistently with Peter Mair’s intellectual legacy, the goal of the conference was to assess the changing roles of political parties in the attempt to manage the tension between responsiveness and responsibility. The proceedings of the conference will be published in two special issues of two prominent scientific journals.

Moreover OPPR members participated in the following other conferences: Luciano Bardi participated in the XXII World Conference of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), Madrid, 8-12 July. He coordinated as chair the following panels: Electoral Systems and Political Personnel Recruitment and Electoral Systems, and Political Personnel Selection in Multi-Level Polities. In the same occasion Eugenio Pizzimenti presented the paper “Electoral Systems and Candidate Selection Processes: the Italian Case”, co-authored also by Enrico Calossi. On 13 September Enrico Calossi presented the paper “Alla sinistra dei Socialisti. Attori politici in cerca di definizione” (On the Left of the Socialists: Political Actors Searching for Definition) co-authored also by Fabio Sozzi, at the conference of the “Società Italiana di Scienza Politica”. On 1-4 April the paper “Europarties and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union”, by Enrico Calossi and Fabrizio Coticchia was presented by Fabrizio Coticchia at the “International Studies Association” (ISA) Annual Conference, in San Diego (USA). Enrico Calossi on 23 November 2011 presented the paper “Models of Affiliation and Disaffiliation of European National Parties to the Europarties” at the conference “The People, the Parties and Europe”, organised by Duncan McDonnell and Isabelle Guinaudeau, and chaired by Stefano Bartolini in Florence. Wojciech Gagatek (University of Warsaw, OPPR) and Steven Van Hecke (University of Antwerp) presented their EUDO Working Paper “Towards Policy-Seeking Europarties? The Development of European Political Foundations” at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels on 23 November 2011.

Moreover OPPR members released the following speeches or held the following lectures: Luciano Bardi attended the roundtable “Democratic Europe” in the framework of the Conference “A Renaissance for Europe. Towards a Common Progressive Vision”, organised by the Foundation of European Progressive Studies in Paris on 16 March 2012; again he participated in the seminar “European citizenship and Democracy: reform of the law on elections and European political parties”, held by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona on 3 May 2012; Enrico Calossi held a tutorial, entitled “Europeanisation of Political Parties. The Emergence of Europarties”, at the Metropolitní Univerzita of Prague on 9 May 2012.

Publications have been another way to disseminate the results of the observatory. Amongst the most prominent of these we would like to highlight the articles: “Verso una politica europea” (Towards a European Politics) by Luciano Bardi, Richard Katz, and Peter Mair in “Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica”, and “National Parties and Group Membership in the European Parliament: Ideology or pragmatism?” by Edoardo Bressanelli in the “Journal of European Public Policy”.

OPPR also hosts a working paper series jointly with EUDO. For 2011-2012 we remind the papers: “Institutional Change in Advanced European Democracies: an Exploratory Assessment” by Camille Bedock, Peter Mair and Alex Wilson; “Political Charisma Revisited, and Reclaimed for Political Science” by Takis S. Pappas; “Towards Policy-Seeking Europarties? The Development of European Political Foundations”, by Wojciech Gagatek and Steven Van Hecke; “Four Funerals and a Party? The Politi-
cal Repertoire of the Italian Radicals” by Claudio M. Radaelli and Samuele Dossi.

Moreover it is possible to find listed below a selection of publications of 2011-2012 by the members of the OPPR Scientific Board which are relevant to the topic of the Observatory.


By Professor Zsolt Enyedi (Central European University, Budapest): “Structures and Futures of Europe” (with Krisztina Arató and Ágnes Lux), Budapest, Ad Librum; “The New Formula. Elections in Hungary in 2010” (with Robert Tardos and Andrea Szabó), Budapest, DKMKA; “Patterns of party competition (1990–2009)” (with Fernando Casal-Bertoa), and: “The quality of social, partisan and governmental representation” (with Radoslaw Markowski), in: Paul G. Lewis and Radoslaw Markowski (eds), Europeanising party politics? Comparative perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe after Enlargement, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

II.2.2 OUTLOOK FOR 2013

OPPR will go on with its activity and being a hub for research of Political Parties, hosting working papers by the most prominent, but also younger, researchers.

The Observatory will continue its series of guest lectures by European policy-makers in 2013, 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 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.

Moreover the OPPR is organizing, with the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO) of the European Parliament, a conference on the role of Euro-foundations to be held in Brussels in the first months of 2013.

The conference will see the participation of exponents of all major European political foundations.

In 2012 some research projects have already been or will be submitted to certain institutions and research centres; in particular:

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

This can be considered 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 be also profitable.

Specifically this 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 on 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 concrete 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 Transnational Party System” we devoted an entire chapter to European elections candidate selection 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.

Naturally the OPPR is interested in any research project that focusses 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 of 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 after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, there may be no major 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

Adrienne Héritier published two co-authored articles on co-decision-making with a specific focus on “early agreements”, or conclusion at first reading, together with Christine Reh, Edoardo Bressanelli and Christel Koop in Comparative Political Studies. The electronic version was published in March 2012. A second article, co-authored with Christine Reh, on the internal repercussions of the application of “early agreements” under co-decision within the European Parliament was accepted for publication by West European Politics (forthcoming). Moreover, Adrienne Héritier wrote a review article on co-decision research edited by Anne Rasmussen and Christine Reh, which is forthcoming with the Journal of European Public Policy 2013.

In October 2012 Adrienne Héritier participated in a workshop organized by legal scholars under the direction of Carl Fredrik Bergstrom and Dominique Ritleng at the University of Uppsala. The group consists of legal scholars, practitioners from the Council, the Commission and European Parliament (J.P.Jacqué, P. Ponzano and K. Bradley), with political scientists. It is preparing an edited volume on the application of delegated and implementing acts un-
der the Lisbon Treaty to be submitted to Oxford University Press.

Bruno De Witte participated in a workshop entitled: *Governance for the Eurozone: Integration or Disintegration?*, organised on 26 April 2012 by F. Allen, E. Carletti and S. Simonelli at the EUI. He gave a paper there on the use of international treaties between member states of the European Union in the context of the Euro crisis. This paper, entitled ‘Treaty Games: Law as Instrument and as Constraint in the Euro Crisis’ was published, later in 2012, in an edited volume. He later presented the paper at a research seminar of the European Law Institute of Uppsala University, on 29 May 2012. An updated and revised version, entitled 'Using the Toolbox of Public International law: Causes and Consequences', was presented on 2 November 2012 at a workshop organised by Maastricht University, entitled: ‘The Economic Crisis and the Law’. He was also one of the authors (with Miguel Maduro and Mattias Kumm) of a report on “The Democratic Governance of the Euro”, which was prepared in the context of the EUI’s Global Governance programme, and presented to and discussed with the Commission president, Durão Barroso, in a high-level policy seminar held at the EUI on 10 May 2012. He participated in a workshop organised by the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the European Parliament on 4 October, in which he presented a research note on the compatibility with EU law of the Fiscal Compact and the Treaty establishing a European Stability Mechanism.

Apart from these activities connected with the institutional dimension of the euro crisis, Bruno De Witte participated in a number of other activities related to EU institutional reform. At the FIDE congress 2012 (the biennial conference of European law academics and practitioners), which took place in Tallinn on 31 May-2 June, he gave a keynote speech on “The Lisbon Treaty and the EU’s Constitutional Framework: How Have the Laeken Declaration’s Questions Been Answered?”. He convened a workshop at the EUI on 10 February 2012, together with Claire Kilpatrick (professor in the Law department of the EUI) on the protection of fundamental social rights in the European Union. He gave a paper on the tensions between protection of fundamental rights in the EU Charter of Rights and in national constitutional law, at a conference in Braga on 10-11 May 2012.

### II.3.2 EVENTS

**Changing Rules of Delegation: a Contest for Power in Comitology**

The Observatory organised a discussion on Changing Rules of Delegation: a Contest for Power in Comitology, a book co-authored by Adrienne Héritier,
Catherine Moury, Carina Bischoff and Carl-Fredrik Bergström that will be published in January 2013 with Oxford University Press. The authors met with the practitioners Antoine Buchet from the European Commission, and Katrin Huber from the European Parliament secretariat, in order to get their feedback on the content of the book.

In the book the authors analyse the conditions and processes of change of the rules that delegate decision-making power to the Commission's implementing powers under comitology. The book focuses on the role of the European Parliament in this process of delegation and use a rational institutionalist approach to account for why the Commission, the Council, and increasingly the Parliament, did or did not choose to delegate decision-making to the Commission. If they chose delegation, they still have to determine under which institutional rule comitology should operate. A qualitative longitudinal study was conducted tracing how the Parliament became a co-equal partner with the Council under delegated acts. In the quantitative empirical part a statistical overview of the number and areas of legislation and delegation respectively is given, and it is shown how comitology decisions developed over time and according to policy areas. A quantitative test of the research hypotheses was carried out in environmental policy, taxation, and agricultural policy.

The book discussion took place in Florence at the European University Institute on 20 January 2012. The event was video-recorded and the video is available online: http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO-Institutions/Home.aspx.

**Joint workshop: “The Constitutional Architecture of the Economic Governance in the EU”**

The aim of this workshop, convened by Bruno de Witte and Giuseppe Martinico, was to offer a multidisciplinary reflection upon the current crises faced by the EU and the solutions proposed by the European leaders. The term “crises” was used instead of “crisis” because it is evident that the EU is experiencing a legitimacy crisis which goes beyond the more general economic and financial difficulties affecting the global system.

The workshop was divided into three panels devoted to the impact of the crises on the “domestic” and supranational levels.

The workshop took place at the European University Institute on 23 March 2012 and was organized jointly by the Observatory, the Centre for Studies on Federalism of Turin, STALS (Sant'Anna Legal Studies) of Pisa and the Centro Studi sul Parlamento, Luiss Guido Carli. Several papers presented at this workshop were subsequently published as EUI Working Papers.

Almost from the inception of the European Communities, later the European Union, political and legal scholars have been aiming at providing various and frequently competing theories regarding the problem of determinants that influence the manner national judges behave in the process of integration within the EU. This interdisciplinary stream of scholarship has paid attention to, inter alia, the problem of judicial co-operation between the Court of Justice of the European Union and national judiciaries, and the role national judges play in this process. Individual writers focused on, for instance, the cooperation between the CJEU and national constitutional courts, the role national litigants play in the preliminary reference procedure, the reasons of accepting the principles of supremacy, and direct effect of EU law by national judges, etc.

The workshop will follow and develop a new research agenda and review some old aspects on how and why courts are involved in the process of EU legal integration by raising new questions and discussing different empirical aspects concerning the relevance of national judges' knowledge, experiences, and judicial networks for the application of EU law or the impact of national courts on the implementation of EU rights, policies and treaty ratification, among others.

The general purpose of the workshop is to bring together scholars who work in the area of judicial behaviour in the process of legal integration within the Union and who employ a new methodological and theoretical approach to the problem. This would allow for cross-fertilization, exchange of opinions and knowledge between the academics but also for the critical assessment of new tools that scholars use to scrutinize the problem of judicial behaviour in the context of EU law.
The workshop will bring together specialists, including PhD researchers and junior and senior professors, focussed on the courts' behaviour and EU law from several disciplines (law, political science, history, sociology, etc.). The seminar will try to encourage the development of new links among diverse generations of scholars under the auspices of the Observatory and the EUI Centre for Judicial Cooperation. The workshop, organised by Bruno de Witte, Marlene Wind, Juan Antonio Mayoral Diaz-Asensio, and Urszula Jaremba, will be held at the European University Institute on 29-30 November 2012.

**II.3.3 OUTLOOK FOR 2013**

In 2013, Bruno De Witte intends to conduct further research activities on the legal dimension of the institutional evolution of the EU, in particular: the constitutional questions raised by the economic governance reforms of the EU, the protection of fundamental rights after the coming into force of the EU Charter of Rights, and the division of competencies between the EU and its member states.

Adrienne Héritier is planning to investigate the role of inter-institutional agreements in the specification of formal changes of decision-making rules in the European Union.

Inter-institutional agreements reflect the way that the Commission, Council and Parliament plan to interact in areas of joint decision-making in all areas. They are important indicators of how the Treaty rules are substantiated and implemented. Based on the results of the research project, the publication of various working papers and articles is planned. In addition, the organisation of a number of seminars and workshops is underway.
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, a comprehensive bibliography, 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 experts for each of the countries covered, 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 consortium charged with coordinating the Observatory development involves 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 the European Union and neighbouring countries. 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.

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. EUCITAC funding covered comprehensive analyses of citizenship in 33 countries. These are the 27 member states of the EU and 6 accession states or EEA countries (Croatia, Turkey, Moldova, Switzerland, Norway and Iceland). 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 come from the British Academy project known as 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 network of excellence on International Migration, Integration and Cohesion in Europe, and has been involved in several meetings of the network.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP has been selected by the European Fund for the Integration of non-EU immigrants for financing of our new research project.
Access to citizenship and its impact on immigrant integration (ACIT), which started in October 2011 and will end in March 2013.

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. The results of this project were published with Amsterdam University Press (‘The Acquisition and Loss of Nationality in 15 European States’, published in 2 volumes in 2006, and ‘Citizenship Policies in the New Europe’, published in a second enlarged edition in 2009).

EUDO CITIZENSHIP aims at stimulating new independent research projects on citizenship. A call for papers was launched in June 2009 and four papers were selected for presentation at the second plenary network conference in January 2010. New PhD projects were started based on the data that EUDO CITIZENSHIP made available. EUDO CITIZENSHIP and its precursor projects have also provided essential input and advice for efforts to construct indices that measure the accessibility of citizenship in Europe and trends of liberalisation and convergence in various aspects of citizenship laws. The monograph by Marc Morjè Howard (‘The Politics of Citizenship in Europe’, Cambridge University Press, 2009), and the MIPEX platform (index on Migrant Integration Policy in Europe), coordinated by the Migration Policy Group, make extensive use of these data and other findings of our research.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP also commissioned specific comparative research carried out by experts within the network and published on the Observatory’s website. The projects currently published on the website address the following topics: the comparative analysis of citizenship loss, the theory and politics of ius soli, practices and patterns of naturalisation in Europe, and reports on citizenship policy-making in Portugal, Italy, Spain and Greece, which constitute the backbone for a forthcoming comparative report on the Mediterranean region. Published reports include the politics of external kin-state citizenship in East Central Europe, trends and regulations in Europe on birthright citizenship, and the impact of EU citizenship and international law on member state citizenship laws.

Thematic Comparative Reports have also been condensed into EUDO CITIZENSHIP policy briefs that address a non-academic audience and present our findings in an easily digestable and visually attractive format. These also contain policy recommendations. Alongside a general summary of our research in the
EUDO CITIZENSHIP brochure, policy briefs on *ius soli*, loss of citizenship, naturalisation and the European Convention on Nationality have been published.

Apart from the comparative reports, there are two other main research outputs of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory: Country Reports and Working Papers. EUDO CITIZENSHIP Country Reports are published in the Robert Schuman Centre/EUDO Citizenship Observatory Working Papers Series, both in printed and electronic form. At the time of printing this brochure, 45 country profiles are available on the website. Most country reports published in 2009 were revised and updated in spring 2010. All reports are currently being updated and most of the updated versions will be available by the end of 2012.

In 2011-2012 the geographic scope of the observatory was enlarged to include full country profiles for Georgia, Lebanon, Morocco and Russia. New country profiles for Azerbaijan and Egypt are currently being completed.

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Working Papers series is generally open for unsolicited submissions. However, we also publish the edited collections of contributions to the EUDO CITIZENSHIP Forum, which is dedicated to debating controversial issues in the field of citizenship policy. Since May 2010, EUDO CITIZENSHIP published 18 Working Papers in a special series of the EUI’s Robert Schuman Centre. Six Working Papers result from Forum debates: *Should EU citizens living in other member states vote there in national elections?*, edited by Rainer Bauböck, Philippe Cayla and Catriona Seth; *Has the European Court of Justice Challenged Member State Sovereignty in Nationality Law?*, edited by Jo Shaw; *Which indicators are most useful for comparing citizenship policies?*, edited by Rainer Bauböck and Marc Helbling; *How liberal are citizenship tests?*, edited by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke; *Dual citizenship for transborder minorities? How to respond to the Hungarian-Slovak tit-for-tat*, edited by Rainer Bauböck; and *Is there (still) an East-West divide in the conception of citizenship in Europe?*, edited by André Liebich and Rainer Bauböck. Other titles include: *The pros and cons of ius pecuniae: investor citizenship in comparative perspective*, by Jelena Dzankic; *Citizenship acquisition, employment prospects and earnings: comparing two cool countries*, by Pieter Bevelander and Ravi Pendakur; *The Family Rights of European Children: Expulsion of non-European parents*, by Gareth T. Davies; *Do legal regulations hinder naturalisation? Citizenship policies and naturalisation rates in Europe* by David Reichel; *Immigration and Citizenship Law in the Maghreb: Turning Aliens into Citizens* by Delphine Perrin; *Pre-Accession Changes to Residence-based Naturalisation Requirements in Ten New EU Member States* by Katja Swider; *Mevrouw de Jong Gaat Eten: EU Citizenship and the Culture of Prejudice* by Dimitry Kochenov.

Access to Citizenship and Its Impact on Immigrant Integration (ACIT)

The project Access to citizenship and its impact on immigrant integration (ACIT) started in October 2011. The researchers of the EUDO CITIZENSHIP consortium developed four sets of citizenship indicators on citizenship laws, their implementation, rates of citizenship acquisition and its impact on integration in all 27 EU Member States, accession candidates and EEA countries (Croatia, Iceland, FYROM Macedonia, Montenegro, Norway, Serbia, Switzerland and Turkey). They will shortly be available on the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website through dynamic visualisations. 10 EU Member States (Austria, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom) were selected for in-depth case-studies because of their large immigrant

ACIT collects and compares available national and international evidence on how acquiring citizenship enhances immigrants’ participation in society and the democratic process. It analyses indicators to reveal the hidden links between citizenship and integration policies within EU competence, including anti-discrimination, family reunion and long-term residence. ACIT also highlights changes in citizenship laws and implementation that have improved integration in practice and it will provide policy recommendations to reinforce EU indicators on active citizenship and to develop an EU module on “Citizenship and Integration”.

**The Protection against Statelessness Database**

EUDO CITIZENSHIP, represented by Maastricht University, has developed in cooperation with the UNHCR Statelessness Unit a database which assesses the extent to which citizenship laws in 35 European states provide sufficient protection against statelessness, in light of the most important international standards. The database is organized around a comprehensive typology of modes of protection against statelessness which outlines, in a systematic way, 17 categories of persons that are at risk of being or becoming stateless.

The Protection against statelessness database will be officially launched on 13 December 2012 at the symposium ‘International developments in the field of statelessness and the situation in the Netherlands’, jointly organized by Tilburg University, Leiden University, Maastricht University and UNHCR Netherlands.

The Protection against statelessness database is developed and maintained by Maastricht University as core partner of EUDO CITIZENSHIP. The project team at Maastricht University consists of Gerard-René de Groot, Maarten Vink (coordinator) and Olivier Vonk.

**FRACIT**

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP observatory has been selected by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament (AFCO) to conduct research and write a report on “electoral rights and participation of third country nationals in European Union member states, and of EU citizens in third countries” (hereafter referred to as FRACIT). The project is jointly carried out by the European University Institute, University of Edinburgh, University College Dublin, University of Sussex and a network of national experts. The project runs for an overall period of 9 months, from 1 June 2012 to 28 February 2013.

At the time of the 2009 European Parliament elections it was estimated that 11.6% of the electorate were EU citizens living in another EU member state, while 4% of the total EU population in 2010 were non-EU citizens. Moreover, significant numbers of EU citizens live outside the EU altogether. The FRACIT project examines and compares the electoral rights and participation of these latter two categories in the current 27 Member States, plus Croatia (which is expected to become the 28th Member State as of July 2013), and in 10 selected non-EU states (Brazil, Canada, India, New Zealand, Morocco, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and USA).

While local voting rights for third country nationals in Europe have been studied extensively since the 1980s, external voting has only recently been discovered as a global trend and topic for academic research. By broadening the thematic coverage of the observatory from citizenship status to voting rights, FRACIT will provide a systematic comparison in both areas that is still missing.

**EUDO Citizenship Website**

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Website was fully redesigned in January 2012 and re-organised into the following sections.

The COUNTRY PROFILES pages present comprehensive expert reports on the history and current citizenship legislation in the countries covered by the project, as well as the text of citizenship laws and international legal documents to which a given country adheres. Moreover, relevant court decisions, academic publications and links to organisations con-
cerned with citizenship matters have been collected. The page on **European Union Citizenship** collects and analyses original documents on legal norms, court decisions and policy documents concerning the status and rights of citizenship in the EU, focusing on the impact of EU citizenship on national citizenship.

The section **Databases** collects seven different databases on citizenship:

The **National Citizenship Laws** page collects not only current and past nationality laws, but also decrees, constitutional provisions and other relevant legal texts.

The **Citizenship Case Law** page provides English summaries and full texts in original language of important national, European or international court decisions concerning matters of citizenship and can be searched by country, year, institution or keyword.

On the **International Legal Norms** page it is possible to search either for specific international legal documents to see which countries have signed or ratified these, or to find out which international norms a particular country has subscribed to.

The databases on **Modes of Acquisition** and **Modes of Loss of Citizenship** have been created from answers by the EUDO Citizenship network experts to questionnaires about specific provisions in their countries’ citizenship laws. A primary goal of the observatory is to make legal rules for acquiring or losing citizenship comparable across countries. For this purpose a typology of 27 modes of acquisition and 15 modes of loss that captures most of the broad variety of legal regulations found in different countries has been created. This feature of EUDO CITIZENSHIP allows website users to create their own comparative overviews for specific ways of acquiring or losing citizenship status.

Most countries collect statistics only on naturalisation, not on acquisition of citizenship at birth or on loss of citizenship. The **Citizenship Statistics** page provides information on the quality of national statistical data and allows users to create their own statistical tables by choosing countries, years, or specific modes of acquisition.

**Citizenship Links** gives access to the websites of national, European and international organisations (both governmental and non-governmental), leading academic research centres, networks, projects and journals dealing with citizenship.

The **Citizenship Bibliography** collects academic publications on citizenship, with a focus on the nationality laws of the states covered in the observatory. It includes hyperlinks to full texts available online. It is possible to do a bibliographic search according to various criteria and also import specific items or the whole bibliography to users’ computer.

For the purpose of comparing citizenship laws that often use very different terms for similar legal rules, the Observatory has created its own **Citizenship Glossary**. Apart from offering its own definitions the Observatory also provides on this page translations of the words “citizenship” and “nationality” into the official languages of the countries observed with brief explanations by the Observatory network experts on how these concepts are used in national laws and political debates.

The **Protection Against Statelessness** page provides information about the extent to which national citizenship laws provide sufficient protection against statelessness, based on the relevant international legal standards, such as those of the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness.

The **Citizenship Indicators** page presents separate sets of indicators that EUDO CITIZENSHIP is currently constructing. Systematic comparison of citizenship across a large number of countries requires condensing qualitative information into indicators that can be used for quantitative analysis. The wealth of data collected by EUDO CITIZENSHIP allows a much more fine-grained analysis of legal provisions (**Citizenship Law Indicators**), administrative procedures (**Implementation Indicators**), statistical developments and integration effects of citizenship acquisition than previously possible (**Acquisition Indicators** and **Integration Indicators**).

The **Publications** pages provide access to significant publications related to citizenship:
COUNTRY REPORTS leads users to COUNTRY PROFILES with expert reports on the history and current citizenship legislation in the countries covered in the project.

COMPARATIVE CITIZENSHIP ANALYSES displays legal and social science experts’ analyses of European trends. Several reports focus on specific modes of acquisition, such as ius soli, naturalisation or extraterritorial acquisition of citizenship.

The WORKING PAPER series collects original academic analyses on citizenship in Europe that have not been specifically commissioned by the project and have not yet been published elsewhere.

In the POLICY BRIEFS major findings of the comparative research and policy recommendations are summarised in a non-technical language.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS displays a selection of recent major publications on the Observatory research topics.

In the NEWS section, the CITIZENSHIP NEWS page offers a selection of media reports and news summaries on significant legislative changes, court decisions, policy developments, political campaigns or other events concerning citizenship in Europe and beyond. Information on important events or publications related to citizenship can be found in the ANNOUNCEMENTS section.

Finally, the COMMENTARIES page gives access to two online platforms where researchers, policy-makers and NGOs can submit comments: the CITIZENSHIP FORUM invites comments written specifically for the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website on a specific question of general and long-term interest. The VIDEO COMMENTS page collects short video statements on current citizenship news and documents presentations at EUDO CITIZENSHIP events.

Another major overhaul of the website is planned for November 2012, when ACIT indicators will be made available online and when the general design will be adapted to that of the other EUI Robert Schuman Centre Websites.

II.4.2 EVENTS AND DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES

The EUDO CITIZENSHIP Observatory has been presented at several international expert meetings and conferences through plenary lectures, papers or special panels, including the conferences “Questioning Citizenship: Political Discourse, Norms and History in Comparative Perspectives” (Athens, 15-16 October 2010), The 2010 annual conference of the Swiss Federal Commission on Migration Issues (4 November 2010), the Fourth Conference on Nationality of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg 17 December 2010), the Council for European Studies Conference in Barcelona (20-22 June 2011), the
ECPR general conference in Reykjavik (25-27 August 2011), the ESA conference in Geneva (7-10 September 2011); the Migration, Citizenship and Political Participation (MIGCITPOL) workshop (9 September 2011) and several other academic conferences and meetings.

The activities of the observatory were presented at the EUDO Dissemination Conference on Inclusive Democracy in Europe on 9 and 10 November 2011 at the headquarters of the European Parliament in Brussels.

The kick-off conference of the ACIT project organised by Maastricht University and University of Edinburgh took place at the Scotland House Conference Centre in Brussels on Thursday 12 January 2012. The aim of this conference was to bring together experts to discuss the research strategy of the ACIT project and to foster the exchange of ideas on analysing the importance of access to citizenship for immigrants.

The Second ACIT Conference organised by EUDO CITIZENSHIP took place at Villa Malafrasca, EUI on 21-22 June 2012. The aim of the conference was to present the results for the four indicator series created in the framework of the ACIT project. These results were discussed with the 10 partners of the national dialogues.

II.4.3 OUTLOOK FOR 2013

EUDO CITIZENSHIP dissemination activities will be a major task for the coming months. From November 2012, EUDO CITIZENSHIP will actively participate in the 10 national dialogues of the ACIT project. A EUDO CITIZENSHIP consortium member and a representative of the MPG will be present at each national event in order to present the Citizenship Indicators and to discuss their results with national stakeholders.

On 22 February 2013, the final conference of the ACIT project will take place in Brussels, at Science 14 Atrium. The ACIT project results will be presented and discussed with a high-level panel (including among others the Director General of the DG Home Affairs and the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights), the national dialogues partners and representatives of various NGOs.

ACIT Research results will also be disseminated in 10 national handbooks and 4 comparative reports based on the indicators and a final European-level report.

Until the end of February 2013, the FRACIT project will collect and compare electoral laws and regulations, levels of registration and turnout in each of the 38 selected countries for third country nationals resident in EU member states and EU citizens resident outside the EU. It will cover electoral rights and participation in three types of election (legislative, presidential, referendum) and at four levels (European, national, regional, and local). Original legal documents will be presented in an online legal database. Based on a comparative analysis of legal regulations, the project will also build an interactive typology with summary information on electoral rights for each country, category of voters and type of election. Finally, the project will collect available statistical data about voter registration and electoral turnout among EU citizens in third countries and third country nationals in EU member states.

In addition, separate chapters of the report will deal with the eligibility of non-resident nationals and non-national residents to high public office and with the diplomatic protection of EU citizens in countries where their states of origin do not have representations.

EUDO CITIZENSHIP will continue to update its databases and country reports, as well as the statistic sections. It will continue to regularly publish news and working papers. In addition, the comparative aspect will be strengthened, as more comparative analyses will be published.
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