

RECON series in EBSCO databases



The RECON Online Working Paper Series will soon be included in EBSCO Publishing's databases

Read more on p. 2

The European malaise



In a recent speech in Oslo, Jean-Claude Juncker (leader of Ecofin) emphasised the importance of member states taking greater responsibility both individually and collectively. Juncker further predicted a revolution in the steering of the euro area, and stated that he expects a reorganisation of EU's financial system.

Stefan Collignon, Agustín J. Menéndez and Mark N. Franklin examine the financial crisis in Europe and criticise European leaders and governments for lack of political will and leadership. It is suggested that the crisis is caused by European leaders failure to act in the collective interests of European citizens, and that this has negative implications for the European Union's democratic legitimacy.

Read more on pp. 3-5

New RECON Report: What democracy for Europe?

The RECON project has reached halfway in its project period, and the occasion was marked by the RECON midterm conference in October 2009 in Prague. The event set out to discuss the theoretical models underlying the project and provided opportunities for RECON researchers to present ongoing projects. Also preliminary research results within as well as across work packages were presented. The report contains the proceedings from the conference.

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RECON partners:

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Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
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Jagiellonian University, Krakow
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Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Madrid
Université Libre de Bruxelles

University of Auckland
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University of Reading
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Editorial

Two years after the financial crisis struck Europe finds itself in an apparently even deeper crisis. The measures that were taken to deal with the financial crisis – greatly increased public spending and profligacy in some parts of Europe - have revealed how vulnerable the Euro-zone is to speculators and international rating agencies.

The outcome of the crisis for the EU is far from certain. Many call for treaty changes – to equip the Union to deal with the crisis but also to ensure that the measures presently taken actually have a basis in Community law. There are also those that see the crisis as a cathartic opportunity for federalising reforms. However, from many quarters we hear alarmist talk to the effect that the very project of European integration is at stake.

But even now, well before the dust has settled, it is clear that the crisis raises questions with clear democratic implications. This pertains to the democratic quality of the crisis handling; it also pertains to the broader implications of the crisis for democracy in Europe.

The crisis is clearly a matter of relevance to RECON's research agenda and ongoing research undertakings. It is directly relevant to RECON WP 7 on the political economy of the Union. This newsletter then also contains brief assessments of the crisis from two of the central researchers in this WP.

The broader implications of the crisis as the interventions in this newsletter testify to bring up the need to reflect more systematically on the suitability of the RECON framework. What are the implications for the models of European democracy that we currently investigate? Might a new configuration be envisioned, or is there need for seriously rethinking the existing models? There is still one and a half year left of RECON to reflect on these questions. We take this opportunity to encourage in particular contributions that seek to synthesize theory and empirics in such a manner as to respond to these challenges.

RECON is assessed on an annual basis. We have received the evaluation report of the third year and are pleased to inform you that the evaluations were very positive. The evaluators found RECON to be an excellent project both in scholarly and administrative terms. We would like to take the opportunity to thank all the RECON-affiliated scholars, students and administrators that have contributed to this success and look forward to continue this great cooperation for the remainder of the project.

Erik O. Eriksen
scientific coordinator

John Erik Fossum
substitute scientific coordinator

RECON series included in EBSCO databases

RECON has signed an agreement with EBSCO Publishing, and the RECON Online Working Paper Series will soon be included in EBSCO Publishing's databases. EBSCO provides access to its databases in more than 70 countries and offers nearly 300 different databases covering a wide range of research disciplines. This will contribute to increased visibility and potential usage of RECON research.



The databases allow for advanced searches for authors, titles, publication dates and keywords as well as full text research.

Read more at www.ebscohost.com

ESA Political Sociology website launched



The website of the Political Sociology section of the European Sociological Association has been launched. The website is a resource tool to connect political sociologists active within national sociological and political science associations, particularly in Europe. RECON researchers Zdzisław Mach (Jagiellonian University Krakow) and Hans-Jörg Trenz (ARENA) were members of the promotion committee.

Visit the site at www.europeanpoliticalsociology.eu

Excellent review of RECON

A review of RECON's third year of activities praises the project for its significant progress and impressive output. The evaluators state that 'a large quantity of high quality, thought-provoking research has been produced', and that it is 'remarkable to note the feedback effect of empirical research on the conceptual framework and its further clarification'.

According to the evaluators, 'the throughout analysis of different forms, potential, limits and possibilities to 'reconstitute democracy' – at different levels and according to specific sectors/policies – is likely to have a significant use potential for individual and organized citizens, interest groups, local, national, and EU decision-makers, and scholars'. Further, RECON's use potential is considered as two-fold: 'it gives input into the normative debate about Europe by providing clear options/alternatives which will trickle into public debates. And it provides normative perspectives on particular policy issues which will certainly raise the quality of justification of policies and politics on the European level'.

After Greece, the European republic

Stefan Collignon

Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies

Europe's governments have done it: the euro area is in shambles. Not because the euro was a bad idea, but because partial interests by member state governments prevent the design and implementation of good policies. Nation states damage the collective interests of European citizens. The present system of intergovernmental governance without a European government is unsustainable. Only a full political union based on democratic principles can ensure that the interest of all Europeans can be served.

The euro was the necessary complement to the single market, and both have been good for European citizens. More jobs have been created in the last decades than ever before in Europe's history. The euro has protected the European economy against the worst fallout of financial speculation. However, governments' behavior in the Greek crisis has destabilised the euro and shattered trust in the currency.

Conservatives have built monetary union on the 'principle of national responsibility for the euro area'. Only monetary policy was delegated to the European level. National governments claim to be sovereign and conduct policies as they wish, although they should obey certain rules. However, this way of governing the euro does not work. The principle of national responsibility is inconsistent with an integrated market economy, where all regions are strongly interconnected. Especially in monetary union, autonomous actions by one government have consequences for the whole euro area. These external effects require a government that is responsible – and responsive – for all European citizens.

The Greek crisis supplies us three perfect examples. First, driven by electoral concerns, the Karamanlis government had pursued irresponsible policies, hiding its rising debt deliberately. The European Commission and Eurostat were denied the power to audit Greek statistics, because governments (not only in Greece) claimed to be sovereign. Instead of insisting on the application of fiscal policy rules, national governments were accomplices to the crime. They did not want to be constrained by others in their own conduct of policies. Thus, partial interests have prevailed over the common good.

Second, the fiscal problems were aggravated by the deteriorating competitiveness of Greece and

other southern economies. This deterioration was the mirror image of Germany's efforts to improve its own competitive advantage. As GDP shrank and government revenue fell, the Greek deficit more than tripled to over €30 bn. Returning to rapid economic growth necessitates fundamental reforms of the Greek state, economy and society, but the results will not appear over night and are not independent from what other Euro members do.

Austerity by the Greek government is self-defeating unless demand from European neighbours sustains economic activity. If all member states followed the German example and simultaneously cut their public deficits and wages to improve competitiveness, the whole euro area would dive into depression. Thus, sustaining economic stability in the euro area is no longer the responsibility for national governments doing their homework alone. Without exchange rates, restoring economic balances has become a collective responsibility for everyone.

Third, while chauvinism is on the rise in most member states, it has now taken over Germany, which has become the big spoiler in the euro area. Driven by die-hard nationalists in her own coalition, Chancellor Merkel claims that 'German taxpayers come first'. While she has affirmed her verbal commitment to the stability of the euro, her hesitant support of Greece has undermined the trust in Europe's capacity to solve the crisis and has effectively destabilised the euro. By playing hardball, the German government has given all European citizens a bloody nose, including, of course, Europeans with a German passport. The crisis of the euro is not the fault of banks, hedge funds and speculators. It is the inevitable consequence of incompetent policy makers and dysfunctional systems of governance.

Political economists have been aware of these problems for a long time. They call them 'collective action problems' or a 'fallacy of composition', which arises when one infers that something is true of the whole from the fact that it is true of some part of the whole.

This causes collective action problems, because what may be good for some member states is not necessarily good for the Union as a whole. And as all European citizens are affected by the actions of some member states, their collective interests and welfare will suffer.

The proper way to overcome such collective

action problems is to set up a European government, which is responsible for policies that affect all European citizens. It can then design and implement coherent policies in the interest of all. However, this solution encounters two problems: nationalist chauvinists claim that 'belonging' to a country, that feeling of one's national identity, is more important than defending common interests shared by all Europeans. For socialists, such arguments are contrary to their history, which has always been one of internationalism. Instead, they emphasise the democratic deficit of Europe's institutions. They are right. For 200 years, they have struggled to make states democratic in order to implement policies of fairness and greater equality. They have been highly successful in setting up the European social model of the national welfare state. Yet, these are the triumphs of yesterday. Today we need new solutions.

In the modern globalised economy, the large European market is the foundation of material wealth and prosperity. It can no longer be ruled by national governments. Hence, the social democratic answer to Europe's collective action problems must be the enlargement of the democratic

The proper way to overcome collective action problems is to set up a European government

The present system of intergovernmental governance without a European government is unsustainable



The European Central Bank's headquarters in Frankfurt am Main, Germany ©ECB

republic to the European level: a government that is elected and accountable to all European citizens who have common interests. A government with clearly designed and limited competences that emerges from democratic elections, where competing parties submit their alternative programs and candidates to the approval of citizens. With such a government, it would be possible to keep the harmful effects of partial national interests at bay. Europe would be a better place. It is our responsibility to make it happen.

Three fallacies of the European economic crisis

Agustín J. Menéndez
University of León

In RECON Newsletter 2(2) 2008, I claimed that European governments were taking rather lightly the consequences of absorbing the 'bad debts' of the private sector. 'Contingent' liabilities could trigger a problem of long-term debt sustainability, or so I claimed. By now, this seems a rather obvious point. Europe went through its own 'Lehman' moment in the first week of May. The gathering financial storm over Greek debt created a serious risk of a financial meltdown that was widely believed could end up unraveling European monetary integration.

There are three important flaws in the public debate that long-term research on the political economy of the EU renders rather evident.

First, media and a good deal of scholars have constructed the crisis along national lines. Would Greece, or the famous PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) collapse? Was Germany doing enough? Indeed, even the personal construction has been very much mediated by national clichés. Merkel as the self-righteous German, Zapatero as the

Europe went through its own 'Lehman' moment in the first week of May

profligate Spanish. Whatever the substantive merits of these claims, national images hide the actual economic interests at stake. Whether or not the Karamanlis' government in Greece cooked the Exchequer books more than what was the case in other member states (a question which seems to me can only be answered in the affirmative), it is interesting to notice that the mounting public debt was not the result of profligate 'looney'

left public expenditure, but of a total collapse in tax revenues. This pattern is also characteristic of the Spanish, Portuguese and Irish cases. The more or less accentuated breeds of casino capitalism cultivated in the 2000s have left the tax state in ruins. Not social democracy, but unbridled capitalism itself is to blame. And twice for that matter, because the rescue is not so much of the Greek, Portuguese or Spanish state as of the European financial sectors. Who gets what and when? After 9 May the rescued were the creditors to Greek, Spanish and Portuguese banks, who in quantitative terms were foremostly German, French and Dutch investors.

We should overcome the infantile malaise of associating any measure that transfers further powers to the Union as strengthening integration

Second, the policy proposals to put an end to the crisis have been assessed once and again in a short-term perspective. This is rather silly in itself, but has the even more obnoxious effect of hiding the long-term roots of present problems. I am sure that there are speculators in this world, and that I would not be happy to meet a bunch of them in a dark one-side alley on Wall Street. But blaming the



Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank

speculators is a foolish escapade from the structural problems of the imperfect Monetary Union agreed in Maastricht and confirmed in Amsterdam. As Stefan Collignon argues in this Newsletter, what we should learn from this crisis is that the 'governance' approach to Monetary Integration simply does not work. It was dubious from its inception, and now it has proven colossally inefficient.

Third, outcomes of the crisis tend to be classified in two categories: those weakening integration and those strengthening it. Doom doctors predict the end of the European Union (including the prescient regulatory agencies that gave triple A plus to tranches of subprime investing vehicles) while the eternal optimist Habermas sees elements of a reinforced

European project even in the rescue package. This obscures the more complex and explicitly political nature of the choices ahead. We should overcome the infantile malaise of associating any measure that transfers further powers to the Union as strengthening

integration. Schäuble's sponsored transformation of the Euro into a revamped gold standard, with constitutional bans on public deficits all across the Euro-area will indeed move the Union into a federal direction. But certainly into one where finance would have been rescued at the price of a brutal unraveling of the Sozialer Rechtsstaat. The apparent triumph of this approach would mark the end of the European political project. We need concepts to make these distinctions clear. This is why I have proposed in WP 7 a clear-cut distinction of variants of the RECON models. We should clearly distinguish a 'liberist' federal Europe, where legitimacy is tied to the realisation of economic freedoms as fundamental rights, and a 'social-democratic' federal Europe, for which genuine federal taxing and expenditure powers, not debt ceilings, are a priority.



Demonstrations in Greece

The European malaise and the failure of leadership

Mark N. Franklin

Stein Rokkan Professor of Comparative Politics
European University Institute

Many worry about the legitimacy of the European Union. At a recent RECON conference in Vienna it was a principal topic. But why this concern for legitimacy? Presumably at the back of people's minds lie questions such as 'can we avoid riots and civil commotion?' and 'can we avoid the disintegration of the EU?'

With recent Greek events in mind, it seems that, to the first of these questions, we need to answer 'no'. Greece is a huge failure that should be seen as such in order to avoid worse failures. Why were there riots and loss of life in Greece in May 2010? One reason is because successive Greek governments had been allowed to use EU money to buy off political opposition. For years all that has been needed to see this policy in action has been to visit as a tourist and observe all the projects begun with EU money that were never finished because Greek matching funds were not spent. This was clear evidence of maladministration even if it were not possible to discover that Greek accounts were being cooked. The EU should not be permitting maladministration of EU funds any more than it should be allowing the misreporting of national accounts. The events in Greece point to a failure of administration in the wider EU.

Greek governments buying off political opposition through misuse of structural funds is only one aspect of a phenomenon that is all too common in the EU. Another is the sight of governments lying to their citizens about unpopular decisions made in Brussels and their role in these decisions. Claiming to have protected national interests (a favourite description of national actions in Brussels) quite misrepresents the role of national governments in EU decision-making where, even today, unanimity is a norm if no longer a rule. And the inconsistency of governments spinning around to defend the EU when anyone asks why their country should remain a member of such a union is evident to voters and con-

tributes to lack of trust in both EU and national institutions – raising the specter of a negative answer to the second of the questions I raised above: can we avoid the disintegration of the EU?

What maladministration by national governments has in common with blaming the EU for unpopular developments is the lack of any figure or figures in Brussels with sufficient stature to be able to blow the whistle on lies and

Why were there riots and loss of life in Greece in May 2010?

to report such as can be found in national capitals where governments fight to survive in a battle for electoral support. For Europe to become interesting enough to be reported in national capitals we again require leadership: European leaders contesting over policy in the light of the television cameras, rather than making deals behind closed doors. Only transparency can bring publicity to European affairs and only publicity for the utterances of European leaders can contradict misleading statements in national capitals or reign in maladministration



Jean-Claude Juncker, Angela Merkel, Silvio Berlusconi, Nicolas Sarkozy, Gordon Brown, José Manuel Barroso and Jean-Claude Trichet (from left to right) © European Commission

maladministration in certain member states. There is no one who can speak for Europe and be widely heard in Athens or London. Moreover, there is no press corps in Brussels to report the whistle even if it were blown. European citizens learn whatever little they know about the EU from national media reporting national news. If the EU appears in this news it is generally through the lens of reports made by national figures that of course have their own axes to grind.

The reason why there is no press corps in Brussels is because most of the news that comes from Brussels is complicated and technical. There is no simple drama

of European funds and misreporting of national accounts.

The EU's member countries are democracies even if the EU itself is not. But citizens in these democracies cannot hold their governments to account when their doings regarding Europe are a closed book. It will take democracy in the EU to restore democracy in the EU's member countries. Yet, ironically, the primary reason why we do not

The primary reason why we do not have a democratic EU is because national governments do not want that

have a democratic EU is because national governments do not want that. The riots in Athens thus signal something far bigger than just a time of reckoning for Greece. They also warn of a time of reckoning for the EU as a whole.

RECON Events

Computer-aided methods of textual analysis

RECON WP 6 Workshop Berlin, 27-28 May 2010

Amelie Kutter, Free University Berlin

With the availability of digital text archives and computer-aided tools for textual analysis, social scientists are able to boost empirical investigation on political communication.

The project 'The EU's security and defence policies in media debates on war and military intervention', directed by Thomas Risse and Cathleen Kantner at Free University Berlin (FUB), used these new possibilities to extend research across a time-span of sixteen years, seven country cases, and four languages (cf. RECON Online Working Paper 2008/19). However, the blessings of the digital era may well turn out a curse if methodological challenges arising from new computer-aided approaches are not tackled. Challenges relate, for instance, to the retrieval of digital texts from existing web archives: how to as-



From left: Fabienne Fritzingler (University of Stuttgart), Peter Kolb and Andreas Hildebrandt (University of Potsdam), Ulli Waltinger (Bielefeld University), Amelie Kutter (FUB)

sure that the corpus of texts is balanced and relevant with regard to the research question, and not specific to the idiosyncrasy of the selected web-archive? How to make use of automatic information retrieval as provided by existing computational tools without losing out on validity? How to mix quantitative and qualitative methods? What innovations in computational-linguistic tools are desirable for social science purposes?

The objective of the workshop 'Computer-Aided Methods of Textual Analysis' was to bring together researchers from computational linguistics and political science, who systematically dealt with these issues in recent years. The workshop was organised by Cathleen Kantner and Amelie Kutter and financed by RECON and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at FUB. It bundled

knowledge on computer-aided methods of textual analysis and explored possibilities of interdisciplinary collaboration and joint publication of 'manual-like' texts.

Political scientists presented different applications of semi-automated content analysis to issues of political communication which had been realised in collaboration with computational linguists. For instance, **Bruno Wüest**, **Simon Clematide**, and **Daniel Laupper** (University of Zurich) showed how core sentence analysis, which is suited for the exploration of party positioning, can be supported by automatically identifying relations between actors and issues. **Jacek Kołodziej** and **Michał Buchowski** (Jagiellonian University Krakow) discussed possibilities and limits of exploring cultural symbols such as 'democracy' in publicly available collections of texts, using tools like WordStat and Poliqarp. **Amelie Kutter** and **Cathleen Kantner** (FUB) revealed how inductive semantic field analysis can be used for internally valid automated content analysis that reveals issue salience of 'military intervention' and the distribution of frames such as 'foreign policy actorness' in press coverage.

A second cluster of presentations centred on the automatic retrieval of genre- and language-specific information from texts that give a clue about the social context and in which these texts were generated. **Fabienne Fritzingler** and **Ulrich Heid** (University of Stuttgart) presented a paper on the extraction of morphological and syntactical information which allows distinguishing domain-specific terminology such as that of intellectual property rights from general language use. **Manfred Stede** (University of Potsdam) introduced the theory and methods guiding the automatic identification of structures of pro / contra commentaries. Drawing on the example of a century-spanning corpus of Latin texts, **Alexander Mehler**, **Ulli Waltinger** (both Bielefeld University), and **Rüdiger Gleim** (Goethe University Frankfurt) showed how change in language use can be detected by inducing linguistic networks at the level of words, lemmas, and sentences.

A third group of presentations dealt with the performance of particular tools that suggest themselves to language-sensitive exploration of social science



Ulli Waltinger (University Bielefeld), Cathleen Kantner (FUB) and Jacek Kołodziej (Jagiellonian University Krakow)

questions. **Manuel Burghardt** and **Christian Wolff** (University of Regensburg) presented their usability assessment of web-based tools designed for the annotation of specific text corpora; **Brit Helle Aarskog** (University of Bergen) introduced to textUrgy as a platform for computer-aided inductive analysis; **Ulli Waltinger** and **Rüdiger Gleim** explicated uses of eHumanities Desktop, such as the topic-categorisation of documents; and **Peter Kolb** showed how DISCO helps building semantic clusters from a specific corpus, e.g. the lexical field of 'missile'.

Across these thematic clusters ran issues of methodological discussion that had been touched upon in Thomas Risse's introductory remarks. The first related to the performance of automatic procedures concerning both standards of internal validity and relevance for social science research questions. The general conclusion was that the mining of dependency relations between words, rather than only their morphological characteristics, provides important information to the social scientist, which can be used for sorting and analysing the text material according to particular content-related questions. The second strand expounded problems of disciplinary terminology and research focus that need to be bridged in truly interdisciplinary effort. Finally, the necessity and difficulty of contextual interpretation of automatically generated information of texts was discussed.

Conference papers are available at <http://www.jmc-berlin.org/new/index.php>



Simon Clematide, Daniel Laupper and Bruno Wüest (all University of Zurich)

Directions of change
RECON WP 3 Workshop
Vienna, 28-29 May 2010

Emmanuel Sigalas, Austrian Academy of Sciences

The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences hosted a two days conference as part of WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-Up. The aim was to examine the ‘directions of change’ in the realm of political representation.

Guests from Europe and beyond were invited to present theoretical or empirical papers on the concept of representation and its electoral dimension in the EU context. **Johannes Pollak** (EIF/Webster University) opened the conference on Friday and chaired the first panel on ‘Normative aspects of representation’. **Mark Warren** (University of British Columbia) presented the paper



Hussein Kassim, Monika Mokre, Jürgen Neyer, Sonja Puntcher-Riekmann and Johannes Pollak

‘Rethinking democratic representation: eight theoretical issues’ where he developed his views on authorisation and accountability (within and beyond elections), representation as trusteeship, input and output representation, representation as a democratic practice, representation and political processes, subjects and objects of representation. **Christopher Lord** (ARENA, University of Oslo) continued with his paper on ‘The intrinsic value of representation’ in which he argued that the fundamental criteria of a representative democratic order are public control, political equality and public justification. According to his novel approach, unlike forms of direct and participatory democracy, parliamentary representation is uniquely placed to serve democratic politics in modern mass societies. The second panel was devoted to ‘Representation and electoral politics’. **Emmanuel Sigalas** (EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences) presented a paper (co-authored by Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak,

Jozef Batora and Peter Slominski) that tested empirically the EU party politics related dimensions of the three RECON models. In particular, the paper examines if the 2009 European election party manifestoes converge or diverge with the Euro-party manifestoes in terms of structure and content. The empirical findings showed that there is greater diversity among the socialist and conservative party families, while the green parties are more likely to adopt the positions of the European Green Party. Contrary to perceived knowledge, the manifestoes proved primarily European in their outlook. **Mark Franklin** (European University Institute) presented a paper where he elaborated on the persevering ‘puzzle of representation’. He examined the impact of different electoral systems and of public opinion on the electoral cycle and their implications for representation. The second panel ended with a presentation by **Erik O. Eriksen** (ARENA, University of Oslo) of the paper ‘on EU democratisation: the representation-deliberation interface’ (co-authored by John Erik Fossum). In his presentation, Eriksen underlined the need to draw on deliberative theory, in order to better understand representation at the EU level, and he proposed a variant of deliberative theory that perceives democracy as an organisational form and as a combination of the principle of justification

refers to the spatial mobility defined by the migrant retaining links to both the country of origin and the host society. It is argued that the concept of pendulum migration is an indispensable instrument for describing and understanding phenomena occurring in contemporary developed societies. These phenomena include dynamic forms of socialisation often described by numerous metaphors like, ‘network society’, ‘the society of encounters’ or ‘liquid modernity’. These types of socialisation signify the cohabitation of different peoples and cultures, their intermingling and encounters that occur in a multifaceted social space.

The second day of the conference concentrated on ‘The practice of representation’ at the EU level. **Hussein Kassim** (University of East Anglia) presented the paper ‘What does the European Commission represent?’, which integrates the normative literature on new definitions of representation with the findings of a survey on Commission officials. Kassim’s data showed that European Commission officials do not view themselves as representing the interests of particular political parties or nation-states but of the general public or of the EU as a whole. Finally, **Sonja Puntcher-Riekmann** (University of Salzburg) presented her paper on ‘The rise of agencies and consequences for democratic governance’. Puntcher-Riekmann highlighted that the growing (and unclear) number of EU agencies perplexes the EU representation question. Considering the ad hoc nature of emergence and operation of these agencies, it is not easy to answer whether semi-independent EU agencies help enhancing the democratic representation credentials of the EU or not.

New Book:
Migration and Identity.
From theory to case study

Dariusz Niedźwiedzki

Nomos 2010 (in Polish)

Migration as a key category of sociology has gained importance in the 21st century. In this book, Dariusz Niedźwiedzki shows the significance of migration in the analysis of contemporary forms of human spatial mobility.



The main theme of this book is analysis of horizontal mobility and its effect on individual identity. Niedźwiedzki focuses on ‘unfinished migration’, and especially ‘pendulum migration’, which

refers to the spatial mobility defined by the migrant retaining links to both the country of origin and the host society. It is argued that the concept of pendulum migration is an indispensable instrument for describing and understanding phenomena occurring in contemporary developed societies. These phenomena include dynamic forms of socialisation often described by numerous metaphors like, ‘network society’, ‘the society of encounters’ or ‘liquid modernity’. These types of socialisation signify the cohabitation of different peoples and cultures, their intermingling and encounters that occur in a multifaceted social space.

What kind of identity changes that occur during pendulum migration? Migration has an effect on the self-identification of those moving, as well as on how they identify others. The key questions in this regard pertain to the conditions under which identities are reconstructed as well as the forms they adopt. This problematic is new, important and difficult to grasp because of its distinctness as compared to traditional forms of societal mobility, and particularly due to its entanglement in three distinct socio-cultural orders, namely the world of the society of origin, that of the hosts, as well as the socio-cultural space created by migrants themselves. The latter often takes on the character of a ‘transnational social space’, formed in the process of migrant movement and possessing unique cultural traits referring to various axionormative orders.

Euroscepticism and the future of European democracy

RECON WP 5 Workshop
Krakow, 28-29 May 2010

Within the framework of WP 5 – Civil Society and the Public Sphere, the Jagiellonian University of Krakow hosted the workshop 'Euroscepticism and the Future of European Democracy' in May. RECON researchers and invited guest scholars discussed findings from the sub-project on Euroscepticism in the 2009 European Parliament (EP) online election campaign.



Amandine Crespy and François Forêt, Université Libre de Bruxelles

With existing scholarly attention predominantly focused on party politics and public opinion, the question of how Euroscepticism is advanced in public and media discourse appears relatively uncharted. The focus of the workshop was on how Eurosceptic discourse is made salient by political actors and journalists through online media. Particular attention has been on the internet as a platform of political contestation and campaigning in the context of EP elections. This includes an assessment of the performance of professional journalism websites as well as citizens' journalism through commenting, online fora and political blogs. The results were used in order to (a) evaluate the online European public sphere in light of existing knowledge on its 'offline' counterpart, and

(b) assess the nature of Eurosceptic discourse, compare manifestations of Euroscepticism across countries and websites and study the extent to which Euroscepticism features in the

election campaign and results.

WP 5 partners have taken stock of the scholarly literature on Euroscepticism in a variety of member states and have identified themes, actors and forums for Eurosceptic discursive practices in the context of campaigns surrounding the European Parliament elections of June 2009. The RECON researchers presented individual country chapters covering a representative sample of 12 EU member states including Austria, Germany, the UK, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and Greece. All RECON WP 5 partners delivered two inputs for the workshop: one paper on the shape of the EU online public sphere and its democratic assessment, and one paper on the manifestations of Euroscepticism and the dynamics of EP election campaigning in their country of analysis. Paper presentations were followed by commentaries provided by distinguished scholars in the fields of media and European studies. The invited scholars gave critical feedback and thus brought an external perspective to the project's conceptual and empirical aspects and will set the framework for further discussion and evaluation of our findings.

The workshop was opened with a presentation of the research framework and the conceptualisation by the Euroscepticism project coordinators **Hans-Jörg Trenz**, **Asimina Michailidou** and **Pieter de Wilde** (ARENA, University of Oslo). Their papers were commented on by **Nick Jankowski** (University of Nijmegen) and **Paul Statham** (University of Bristol). The second session discussed two comparative projects: the comparative European new media election project, presented by **Carlos Cunha** (Dowling College), and findings of the Euroscepticism comparative project presented by Pieter de Wilde and Asimina Michailidou. The following parts of the workshop were devoted to the discussion of country case studies.



Petra Guasti, Zdenka Mansfeldova (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), Kathrin Packham (University of Bremen) and Pieter de Wilde (ARENA, University of Oslo)

Comments were provided by **Barbara Jabłońska** (Jagiellonian University Krakow), **Dora Husz** (European Commission), **Ann Zimmermann** (University of Århus) and **Florence Haegel** (Sciences Po).

Routledge Studies on Democratising Europe

Edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum

The series focuses on the prospects for a citizens' Europe by analysing the kind of order that is emerging in Europe. The books in the series take stock of the EU as an entity that has progressed beyond intergovernmentalism and consider how to account for this process and what makes it democratic. The emphasis is on citizenship, constitution-making, public sphere, enlargement, common foreign and security policy, and European society.



The New Politics of European Civil Society
Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz
2010

Political Communication, Media and Constitution-building in Europe: The Search for a Public Sphere
Paul Statham and Hans-Jörg Trenz
2010

Law, Democracy and Solidarity in a Post-national Union: The unsettled political order of Europe
Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Christian Joerges and Florian Rödl
2008

The European Union and the Public Sphere: A Communicative Space in the Making?
John Erik Fossum and Philip R. Schlesinger
2008

Questioning EU Enlargement: Europe in Search of Identity
Helene Sjrursen
2007

Making The European Polity: Reflexive integration in the EU
Erik Oddvar Eriksen
2006

Developing a Constitution for Europe
Erik Oddvar Eriksen, John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez
2005

Read more at www.routledge.com

RECON related activities

RECON research in Polish media

The RECON team at the Jagiellonian University Krakow (JUK) has recently experienced a great interest for their research on the changing identity of the so called 'New urban middle class' ('Nowe mieszczaństwo') in Poland. So far, the research and its major findings have attracted attention not only from academia, but also from the Polish newspapers *Gazeta Krakow*, *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Gazeta Wroclawska*, as well as the radio station *Polskie Radio*



Pawel Kubicki and Marcin Galent
© *Gazeta Krakow*

Wroclaw and Internet fora.

The debated research is part of JUK's studies on constructing and reconstructing collective identity including

qualitative analyses of collective identity formation in Poland. Paweł Kubicki and Marcin Galent studied the young urban population, by conducting qualitative empirical research on the newly emerging urban class in Kraków and Wrocław. The research revealed that European identification could enforce local identification.

RECON public lecture series at ELTE

The RECON public lecture series at ELTE regularly presents ongoing RECON research to researchers, staff and students. In April, Erika Kurucz and Róza Vajda held lectures. Kurucz presented her paper entitled 'Q method analysis of patterns of collective identity among Hungarian university students', which is the result of a joint WP 5 and WP 8 sub-project in collaboration with JUK and UniHB. Vajda presented the paper 'Squaring the circle. Gender democracy in Hungary as reflected by the implementation of the Goods and Services Directive'.



Public lecture at ELTE by Erika Kurucz

The paper analyses the political process of the implementation of the Goods and Services Directive (2004/113/EC) in Hungary and is the result of a WP

4 project conducted parallelly in several EU member states and accession countries (including Spain, Croatia, Poland, Austria, Greece).

Lecture at the Australian parliament

The discussion of gender and democracy was brought to the Australian parliament recently when WP 4 leader Yvonne Galligan (QUB) presented a paper on 'Gender and Democracy in Europe' in the series of occasional lectures hosted by the Australian Senate. To an audience of 110 people, she discussed the importance of gender for democratic politics worldwide. She drew on her work with Sara Clavero in WP4, Gender Justice and Democracy, as a basis for this public lecture.

New project - FISHEU

WP 6 participant Antje Wiener (University of Hamburg) and her co-applicant Antje Vetterlein (Copenhagen Business School) were awarded a seed-funding grant by the Volkswagen Foundation (Germany), Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy) and Riksbankens Jubileumsfonds (Sweden) for their project on 'FISHEU - Contested Norms of Fisheries Governance'. The project addresses the European Union's role as a key player in policy-making to counter the global challenge of fish-stock extinction. Case studies are organised by the four distinctive yet related strands of Governance, Geopolitics, Development and Environment.

Scientific synergies at JWGU

Heike List (JWGU) has written a report on how RECON and the Cluster of Excellence 'The Formation of Normative Orders' are currently exhibiting scientific synergies and bringing together partners from different countries and professional backgrounds at the Goethe University in Frankfurt. Europe today faces a number of complex challenges. The future and mainstay of democratic institutions in the European Union and questions about the EU's normative validity and democratic legitimacy are examples of some of the issues with which we must come to terms. They demand significant resources and intelligent synergies in political and philosophical research in order to test traditional conceptions of the role of the state for democratic governance.

Read the report and more on RECON related activities at www.reconproject.eu

New project launched: RECODE

The European Science Foundation funds a new research networking programme: Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe and Canada (RECODE)

This interdisciplinary, comparative research programme is intended



to explore to what extent the processes of transnationalisation, migration, religious mobilisation and cultural differentiation entail a new configuration of social conflict in post-industrial societies. Such a possible new constellation we here label complex diversity. The leading idea is that such diversity is developing at a global level, but particularly in European-style societies, where social entitlements, supranational policies and cultural diversity enjoy a considerable, but often contradictory degree of legitimacy. In this perspective, Canada offers some interesting similarities and contrasts with Europe. Our project tries therefore to identify the cleavages and normative issues that this new constellation raises on both sides of the Atlantic, and to develop expertise in the institutions, public policies and cultural resources that can respond to them. The thematic focus of the programme covers the areas of linguistic diversity and political communication, religious pluralism, transnationalism and, finally, multiculturalism and welfare state policies.

RECODE was initiated by the European Network for Canadian Studies, and carries forward the themes of the book *The Ties that Bind: Accommodating Diversity in Canada and the European Union*, edited by John Erik Fossum, Johanne Poirier and Paul Magonette (Peter Lang, 2009).

The kick-off meeting of RECODE was held in Strasbourg on 10-11 June 2010, and the project will have a duration of four years. 13 partner institutions take part in the project, with Peter A. Kraus from the University of Helsinki as acting chair. Several of the RECON partners are participating in RECODE, including the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Université Libre de Bruxelles, the Goethe University of Frankfurt, ARENA and the Spanish National Research Council. RECON researchers Rainer Forst (JWGU) and John Erik Fossum (ARENA) are members of the RECODE Steering Committee.

RECON Online Working Papers

The RECON Online Working Paper Series publishes pre-print manuscripts on democracy and the democratisation of the political order in Europe. The topics of the series correspond to the research focus of RECON's work packages. Recent publications in the series include:

2010/09

Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz
2009 European Parliamentary Elections on the Web: A Mediatization perspective

2010/08

Kolja Möller
European Governmentality or Decentralised Network Governance? The Case of the European Employment Strategy

2010/07

Kjartan Koch Mikalsen
In Defence of Kant's League of States

2010/06

Nora Schleicher
Gender Identity in a Democratic Europe

2010/05

Christian Joerges
The Idea of a Three-Dimensional Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form

2010/04

Meltem Müftüleri-Baç and Nora Fisher Onar
Women's Rights in Turkey as Gauge of its European Vocation: The Impact of 'EU-niversal Values'

2010/03

Neil Walker
Constitutionalism and Pluralism in a Global Context

2010/02

Dominika Biegoń
European Identity Constructions in Public Debates on Wars and Military Interventions

2010/01

Federica Bicchì and Caterina Carta
The COREU/CORTESY Network and the Circulation of Information within EU Foreign Policy

The papers are available in electronic format only, and can be downloaded from RECON's website:

www.reconproject.eu

Upcoming events

The role of elites in EU foreign policy Hamburg, 9 July 2010

The workshop will be organised by the Institute for Political Science at the University of Hamburg and take place within the framework of WP 6 – The foreign and Security Dimension. The workshop will discuss findings on the role of CFSP elites in processes of contestation of fundamental norms.

After globalization – new patterns of conflict Loccum, 5-7 September 2010

The Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP) at the University of Bremen will host a workshop as part of WP 9 – Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared. This is the fourth joint workshop of RECON and the Collaborative Research Centre Transformations of the State



Mannheim Center for European Social Research

(CRC 597). The workshop will stage panels on the conflicts-law approach, social theory, theorising social embeddedness, transnational governance, the legitimacy problematics of transnational administrative governance, transnational constitutionalism, social rights and private governance, and poverty.

Agency governance in the EU and its consequences

Mannheim, 16-17 September 2010

The workshop is organised by Mannheim Center for European Social Research (MZES) within the framework of WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up. The rapid proliferation of EU agencies in the past decades marks a strikingly new institutional development in the EU's executive order. The creation of EU agencies is considered part and parcel of the formation and reform of 'executive satellites' in the EU, which have been created in the orbits of the Commission and the Council Secretariat. The purpose of this workshop is to flag three important themes in the nascent literature on EU agency governance and explore their linkages: (1) The creation and design of EU agencies; (2) the workings of EU 'agency governance' and how it is affected by agency design; (3) the implications of agency governance for questions about accountability and democratic legitimacy.

What kind of democracy for what kind of European foreign and security policy?

Oslo, 16-17 September 2010

The Institute for European Integration at the AustThis workshop is part of WP 6 – the Foreign and Security Dimension – and will be hosted by ARENA, University of Oslo. Research in WP 6 aim to assess the status as well as the prospects for democracy within this crucial field in Europe. Whether and what kind of democracy is required for the CFSP depends on the nature and institu-

tional structures of the European polity. Therefore we address this question with reference to three different conceptions of a democratic European foreign policy. We ask: firstly, to what extent has the CFSP moved beyond intergovernmentalism? And, secondly, to the extent that a move beyond intergovernmentalism has taken place, what conception of democracy would be required?



Oslo Opera House

Workshop on the state, democracy and justice

Oslo, 30 September-1 October 2010

ARENA will host a workshop on the relationship of the state, democracy and justice as part of WP 1 – Theoretical Framework. The aim is to critically discuss new theoretical developments in political theory regarding the transnationalisation of the democratic state and to refer them to the three RECON models. The workshop includes contributions from Jean Cohen (Columbia University), Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA), Rainer Forst (Goethe University Frankfurt), Daniel Gaus (ARENA) and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (University of Hannover). For more information, please contact Daniel Gaus: daniel.gaus@arena.uio.no

New RECON Report



What democracy for what Europe?
Proceedings from the RECON Midterm Conference
Edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
RECON Report 11 (June 2010)

The RECON project has reached halfway in its project period, and on this occasion the RECON midterm conference was held in October 2009 in Prague. The event gathered some 100 researchers as well as policy makers, civil society actors and representatives from the general public to discuss the project's focus on the future of democracy in Europe.

The event successfully accommodated for constructive discussions on the theoretical models underlying the project and taking stock of RECON's research halfway through the project. Moreover, it provided an opportunity for all RECON researchers to present ongoing projects and preliminary research results within as well as across work packages. The report contains the proceedings from RECON's Midterm Conference on 9-10 October 2009 in Prague. The first conference day was dedicated to three keynote speeches and prepared comments on each of the three RECON models. This was followed up by three roundtable panel debates, which allowed for more in-depth discussions on the models and on preliminary findings from the project. In this report we have collected the papers and comments from the first day of the conference. The report contains contributions from Vladimir Spidla, Giandomenico Majone, Deirdre Curtin, Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, Ulrike Liebert, Hauke Brunkhorst and Agustín José Menéndez in addition to the editors.

The RECON Report Series is part of the ARENA Report Series. Download reports in electronic format at RECON's website: www.reconproject.eu or order a hard copy by e-mail to admin@reconproject.eu.

Publications by RECON partners

Bodor, Péter: 'Discursive construction of identity', *Pszichológia*, no. 4, pp. 327 – 357, 2009.

Crum, Ben and Fossum, John Erik: 'Het "Meerlaags Parlementair Veld" in de Europese Unie: naar een reconstructie van parlementaire soevereiniteit in meerlaags bestuur', *Res Publica*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 127-9, 2010.

Crum, Ben (with P. Bursens): 'The Benelux Countries: How Politicisation Upset a Pro-Integration Coalition' in M. Carbone (ed.) *National Politics and European Integration: From the Constitution to the Lisbon Treaty*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010.

Joerges, Christian (with M. Blecher, G. Bronzini, J. Hendry and R. Ciccarelli): *Governance, Società Civile e Movimenti Sociali. Rivendicare il comune*, Rome: Ediesse, 2009.

Joerges, Christian (with C. Schmid): 'Towards Proceduralisation of Private Law in the European Multi-Level System', ZERP Working Paper No. 3, Bremen, 2010.

Joerges, Christian and Wonka, Arndt (with A. Fischer-Lescano) (eds): *The German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Ruling: Legal and Political Science Perspectives*, Bremen: ZERP DP 1/2010.

Joerges, Christian: 'The Rechtsstaat and Social Europe: How a Classical Tension Resurfaces in the European Integration Process', *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 9, no. 1, Boston, Brill, pp. 65-85, 2010.

European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 38th Joint Sessions Münster, 22-27 March 2010

Members of RECON's WP 3 and WP 4 organised panels in Münster at the 38th ECPR Joint Sessions in March. **Yvonne Galligan** (Queen's University Belfast) in cooperation with Johanna Kantola (University of Helsinki) convened a workshop on 'Gender perspectives on democratic governance in multi-level Europe'. Papers covered the European Parliament, European security and defence policy, gender violence, and policy networks in the EU, along with country studies on gender and democracy (Greece, Austria, Turkey, Slovenia, Finland). Other papers focused on civil society in a European transnational context, Euroscepticism among the women of Europe, and devolved governance in an EU context. Another group of papers considered social movements, networks and deliberations in the EU transnational setting. Participants came from across Europe, and included doctoral students, early career researchers and established scholars. Many papers spoke, directly and indirectly, to the subject of reconstituting democracy in Europe.

Ben Crum (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA, University of Oslo) convened a workshop on 'Inter-parliamentary relations in Europe'. The workshop revolved around how inter-parliamentary relations seem to be of increasing relevance in a world in which ever more political processes take place across traditional jurisdictions. While parliaments have generally lagged behind executives and experts in developing cross-jurisdictional links, there would seem to be clear benefits for them to do so. These benefits relate first of all to increasing the efficacy with which parliaments can fulfil their roles in a transnational world, in particular vis-à-vis their traditional counterparts, executives. Furthermore, given the distinctive political role traditionally attributed to parliaments, representative democracy emerges as an additional perspective to evaluate the benefits (or, more generally, the effects) of inter-parliamentary relations. The latter perspective highlights that the effects of inter-parliamentary relations should not only be assessed at the level of individual parliaments in isolation but also in the aggregate, at the level of the system of (international, transnational, multilevel) decision-making of which they are part. Ten papers were presented which shared a focus on the actual engagement of parliamentary actors in inter-parliamentary relations, rather than on the formal institutions that are meant to facilitate such relations.

Read more about the joint panels at www.reconproject.eu



Appointments



Beata Czajkowska has joined the RECON team at the Jagiellonian University Krakow as a research fellow. Czajkowska holds a PhD in comparative politics from University of Maryland, and has a background

from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Development Program and BRAC University in Bangladesh. Czajkowska will participate in WP 8, and her research will focus on the comparative studies of elites and their European identity(ies).



Eric Miklin has been appointed Assistant Professor at the University of Salzburg as of 1 October 2010. Miklin has been post-doc researcher at the Department of Political Science at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam since March 2008 and participated in RECON's WP 2, 3 and 9.



Mark Thomson has joined the RECON team at the University of Auckland as a research assistant. Thomson holds a Master's degree in Migration Studies from the University of Sussex and has studied the relationship between immigration, integration and social cohesion in Europe. Thomson brings important experience in research on the contribution of migration to the complexities of social welfare and its interaction with democracy. He will contribute to RECON's WP 7 on The Political Economy of the European Union.



Tommi Ralli joined the RECON team at the Centre for European Law and Politics (ZERP) in April 2010. He is research assistant at the Collaborative Research Center 'Transformations of the State' at the University of Bremen. He obtained his PhD at the European University Institute (Florence) on a thesis titled 'Justice through Legal Dispute' (2009). He has written on Aristotle and law, the ethics of legal dispute resolution, and law and social justice. Ralli will participate in RECON's WP 9.



David Mayes has been appointed BNZ Professor of Finance at the University of Auckland. The focus of this endowed chair is on improving financial literacy. Mayes is Director of the Europe Institute and leads the WP 7 team at the University of Auckland.



Petra Guasti has been elected Co-chair of the Standing Group on Central and East European Politics, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) for 2009-2011. Her responsibilities include coordination of SG activities at ECPR events. Guasti is a research fellow at the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Science of the Czech Republic, and participates in RECON's WP3, WP5 and WP8.



Zdenka Mansfeldová has been appointed Member of Executive board (Programme chair) of the IPSA Research Committee 08-Legislative Specialists for 2009-2012. Her responsibilities will include the organization of RCLS activities between the IPSA congresses and all RC sessions at the IPSA World Congress in Madrid in 2012. Mansfeldová is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Science of the Czech Republic, and participates in RECON's WP3, WP5 and WP8.



Tomas Adell has recently completed his PhD thesis at Queen's University Belfast. The thesis is entitled 'International Organisations and Norm Convergence: Human Rights in the European Union'. Adell participates in RECON's WP 6 and has assisted the field-work of the RECON team at the University of Hamburg.



Geir Ove Kværk, RECON Project Manager, is on paternity leave from 21 June to 7 November 2010. Marit Eldholm acts as his substitute during his leave.



Marit Eldholm, advisor at ARENA, University of Oslo, will act as RECON Project Manager from 23 August to 7 November 2010. Eldholm has been on leave since 1 October 2009.

Publications by RECON partners

Forst, Rainer: 'Toleranz, Glaube und Vernunft. Bayle und Kant im Vergleich', in H. Klemme (ed.) *Kant und die Zukunft der europäischen Aufklärung*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 183-209.

Forst, Rainer: 'Eine politische Theorie der Freiheit: Das Werk von James Tully', in J. Tully, *Politische Philosophie als kritische Praxis*, Frankfurt, Campus, 2009.

Forst, Rainer: 'Die hohe Kunst der Toleranz', in P. Kemper, A. Mentzer and U. Sonnenschein (eds) *Wozu Gott? Religion zwischen Fundamentalismus und Fortschritt*, Frankfurt, Insel, 2009.

Forst, Rainer: (with M. Hartmann, R. Jaeggi and M. Saar) (eds): *Sozialphilosophie und Kritik*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 2009.

Forst, Rainer: 'Diskursethik und Diskurstheorie der Moral', in H. Brunkhorst, R. Kreide and C. Lafont (eds) *Habermas-Handbuch*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 2009.

Hansen-Magnusson, Hannes: 'Governance in the European Union: The European Blood Directive as an evolving Practice', *Clinics in Laboratory Medicine*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 489-497, 2010.

Illés, Anikó: 'Hová néz a műértő? Mit lát a laikus?', in Z. Csörgő and L. Szabados (eds) *Szubjektív tudás – Objektív tudomány*, Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009.

Kjaer, Poul: 'Constitutionalizing Governing and Governance in Europe', in G. Palombella and L. Morlino (eds) *Rule of Law and Democracy: Inquiries into Internal and External Issues*, Leiden, Brill Publishing, 2010.

Kjaer, Poul: 'The Metamorphosis of the Functional Synthesis: A Continental European Perspective on Governance, Law and the Political in the Transnational Space', *Wisconsin Law Review*, no. 2, pp. 101-147, 2010.

Wonka, Arndt and Rittberger, Berthold: 'Credibility, Complexity and Uncertainty: Explaining the Institutional Independence of 29 EU Agencies', *West European Politics*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 730-751, 2010.

Vajda, Júlia: 'Szegény ellenzéki gyermek panaszai', *Ex-Symposion*, vol. 70, 2010.

RECON publication database

RECON's publications database includes working papers and reports, working articles, books and other publications by researchers in the project, as well as working paper and report series.

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