

CURRICULUM VITAE
Richard Bellamy

Table of Contents

1. Personal Details	3
2. Career	3
I Education and General Academic Record	3
II Academic Appointments	3
III Visiting Appointments	4
IV Other Positions.....	5
V Prizes and Honours	5
3. Publications	5
I Books.....	5
a) Monographs.....	5
b) Edited Books and Journal Special Issues	6
c) Scholarly Editions of Books.....	8
II Articles, Book Chapters and Working Papers	8
a) Refereed Journal Articles.....	9
b) Review Articles, Short Articles, Replies and Comments, and Introductions to Special Issues.....	15
c) Book Chapters, including Long Encyclopaedia and Handbook Entries	18
d) Working Papers and Reports	27
e) Short Encyclopaedia Entries and Other Occasional Pieces	27
III In Press/Accepted for Publication	29
IV Submitted and Prospective Projects.....	29
a) Papers/Books Submitted or Being Revised.....	29
b) Papers/Books in Draft	30
c) Papers/Books under Contract	30
d) Planned Papers/Books.....	30
4. Research Grants.....	30
I Projects	30
II Other.....	31
5. Administration	32
6. Teaching.....	35
7. Phd Students and Post-doctoral Fellows.....	36
8. External Activities	36
I Professional Service.....	36
II Refereeing: Prize Committees/Journals/Research Grants	38
III Conference Organisation	38
IV Editorships	38
V Reviews	39
VI Invited Conference and Seminar Papers	39

VII External Examining.....	39
VIII External Assessor for Chairs, Academic Promotions, REF	40
IX Knowledge Transfer	40
a) Talks to Non Academic Audiences.....	40
b) Radio and TV.....	42
c) Consultation	42
d) Newspaper Articles.....	42
e) Blogs.....	43
9. Research Plans	44
10. Referees	46
Appendix I Selected Reviews of Monographs, Edited Books and Scholarly Editions	48
I Monographs	48
II Edited Books	52
III Editions of Books	55
Appendix 2 Invited Talks Post January 2013.....	57

I. Personal Details

Name: Richard Paul Bellamy

Address: Department of Political Science
School of Public Policy
University College London
29/30 Tavistock Square
London WC1H 9QU
UK

Email: r.bellamy@ucl.ac.uk

Mobile: +44 (0) 7763 174423

Nationality: British

Date of Birth: 15.6.57

2. Career

I Education and General Academic Record

1976-9 Trinity Hall, Cambridge
History BA Hons 'First'
Charles Crawley Prizeman
College Scholarship

1979-83 Graduate Student, Trinity Hall, Cambridge

1980-82 Researcher, Social and Political Science Department,
European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy.

1982-3 Leverhulme Study Abroad Studentship, Italy.

1983 Cambridge PhD awarded in History for thesis on
"Liberalism and Historicism - History and Politics in the Thought of
Benedetto Croce" (October 1983)
[Supervisor: Prof Quentin Skinner, Examiners: Dr Jonathan Steinberg
(Cambridge) and Prof Maurice Cranston (LSE/EUI)]

II Academic Appointments

1981-82 Lettore, Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica, Pisa
University, Italy.

1983-86	E.S.R.C. Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford (Junior Dean, 1985-6)
1984-86	Lecturer in the House of Politics, Christ Church, Oxford.
1986-8	Fellow and College Lecturer in History, Jesus College, Cambridge and Lector, Trinity College, Cambridge.
1988-92	University Lecturer in Politics, University of Edinburgh.
1992-96	Professor of Politics, University of East Anglia.
1996-2002	Professor of Politics and International Relations, University of Reading. (Head of Department 1996-2000, Director Graduate School of European and International Studies 1999-2001)
2002-05	Professor of Government, University of Essex
2005 -	Professor of Political Science, University College, London (UCL). (Director of the School of Public Policy and founding Head of Political Science Department, 2005-10, founding Director of the European Institute 2010-13), Extended leave 2014-2019
2014-2019	Professor and Director of the Max Weber Programme, European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (on leave from UCL)

III Visiting Appointments

March 1993	British Council sponsored visitor, Department of Public and Social Administration, City Polytechnic Hong Kong
Oct -Jan 1995	Visiting Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford
Sept 2000 – July 2001	Jean Monnet Fellow, Social and Political Science Department, European University Institute (EUI), Florence
Feb-April 2005	Visiting Fellow, National Europe Centre, ANU, Canberra
March-June 2010	Visiting Fellow, Centre for Advanced Study (CAS), University of Oslo
August-Jan 2012, July 2014-June 2017, July 2017- June 2020	Visiting Professor, University of Exeter
September 2013 -May 2014	Fellow, Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg (HWK), Delmenhorst
Jan-April 2014	Part-time Professor, European University Institute (EUI), Florence

May-August 2019 Part-time Professor, European University Institute (EUI), Florence

February 2022 Visiting Professor, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin
– July 2023

IV Other Positions

2002-06 Academic Director, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)

2008- 14 Founding Chair, Britain and Ireland Association for Political Thought

(see External Activities below)

V Prizes and Honours

2002- Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA)

2008- Fellow/Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences (FACSS)

2009 Awarded the David and Elaine Spitz Prize by the International Conference for the Study of Political Thought (CSPT), given 'for the best book published two years previously in liberal and/or democratic theory', for *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). (<http://icspt.org/spitz-prize/previous-winners/>)

2012 Awarded the Serena Medal by the British Academy, given 'for eminent services towards the furtherance of the study of Italian history, philosophy, music, literature, art, or economics'. (http://www.britac.ac.uk/about/medals/Serena_Medal.cfm)

2016 (with Sandra Kröger), awarded the PADEMIA (the Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe) 2016 Research Award (journal article category) for 'Outstanding Research on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe' that has 'contributed substantially to the state of the art of research on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe, and/or has influenced academic and political debates on the topic' for our co-authored article 'Beyond a Constraining Dissensus: The Role of National Parliaments in Domesticating and Normalising the Politicization of European Integration', *Comparative European Politics*, 14.2 (2016), pp. 131-53

3. Publications

I Books

a) Monographs

1. Modern Italian Social Theory - Ideology and Politics from Pareto to the Present, (Polity Press, 1987, Stanford University Press, Ca, 1987, translated into Indonesian)
2. Liberalism and Modern Society: An Historical Argument, (Polity Press and Penn State University Press, 1992, translated into Portuguese and Chinese)
3. (with Darrow Schecter) Gramsci and the Italian State, (Manchester University Press and St Martin's Press, 1993, translated into Japanese)
4. Liberalism and Pluralism: Towards a Politics of Compromise, (Routledge, 1999)
5. Rethinking Liberalism, (Continuum, 2000, reissued 2005, translated into Chinese)
6. Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy, (Cambridge University Press, 2007, translated into Spanish and Chinese)
7. Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction, (Oxford University Press, 2008, translated into Arabic and Japanese).
8. Croce, Gramsci, Bobbio and the Italian Political Tradition, (Rowman and Littlefield/ECPR Press, 2014).
9. A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism and Democracy in the EU, (Cambridge University Press, 2019).
10. (with Dario Castiglione), From Maastricht to Brexit: Democracy, Constitutionalism, and Citizenship in the EU, (Rowman and Littlefield/ECPR Press, 2019).
11. (with Sandra Kröger and Marta Lorimer) Flexible Europe: Fairness, Democracy, and Differentiated Integration, (Bristol University Press/Policy Press , 2022)

b) Edited Books and Journal Special Issues

1. (editor), Liberalism and Recent Legal and Social Philosophy, a Special Issue of the Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft nr. 36, 1989. (also published as a book by Franz Steiner in 1989)
2. (editor), Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth Century Political Thought and Practice, (London: Routledge, 1990)
3. (editor), Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Fifty Years On, a Special Issue of the European Journal of Political Research , 23, n. 2, 117-224 (1993)
4. (editor), Theories and Concepts of Politics: An Introduction (Manchester: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1993)

5. (co-editor, with V. Bufacchi & D. Castiglione), Democracy and Constitutional Culture in the Union of Europe, (London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1995)
6. (editor) Constitutionalism, Democracy and Sovereignty: American and European Perspectives, (Ashgate: Avebury Press, 1996) (First volume of a series sponsored by the UK Association for Social and Legal Philosophy)
7. (co-editor with Angus Ross), A Textual Introduction to Social and Political Thought (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)
8. (co-editor with Dario Castiglione), Constitutionalism in Transformation: European and Theoretical Perspectives, a Special Issue of Political Studies Vol. 44, n. 3 (1996) (also published as a book by Blackwell in 1996)
9. (co-editor, with Martin Hollis), Pluralism and Liberal Neutrality, a Special Issue of Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy Vol. 1, n. 3 1998 (also published as a book by Frank Cass/Routledge in 1999)
10. (co-editor with Alex Warleigh), Citizenship and Governance in the European Union, (London: Continuum, 2001, reissued 2005)
11. (editor), Italian Intellectuals and Politics, a Special Issue of the Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 6, n. 2, 151-270 (2001)
12. (co-editor with Andrew Mason), Political Concepts, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)
13. (co-editor with T. Ball), The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, translated into Persian, Turkish, Chinese and Spanish)
14. (co-editor with Dario Castiglione and Emilio Santoro), Lineages of European Citizenship: Rights, Belonging and Participation in Eleven Nation States, (Palgrave, 2004)
15. (editor), The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, (Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2005)
16. (editor), Constitutionalism and Democracy, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, (Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2006)
17. (co-editor with D. Castiglione and J. Shaw), Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context (Palgrave, 2006)
18. (editor) Citizenship, International Library of Essays in Political Theory and Public Policy, ed. R Bellamy and A Palumbo, (Ashgate, 2010)
19. (editor) Public Ethics, International Library of Essays in Political Theory and Public Policy ed. R Bellamy and A Palumbo, (Ashgate, 2010)

20. (co-editor with M. Kornprobst and C. Reh), 'Politics as Compromise', a Special Issue of Government and Opposition, Vol 47, No. 3 (2012)
21. (co-editor with Sandra Kröger), 'Representation and Democracy in the EU: Does the One Come at the Expense of the Other?', a Special Issue of the Journal of European Integration, Vol. 35, Issue 5, (2013) (also published as a book by Routledge in 2014)
22. (co-editor with Cristina Parau), 'Courts and Representative Democracy', a Special Issue of Representation, Vol 49 Issue 3 (2013), pp. 255-266
23. (co-editor with madeleine kennedy-macfoy), Citizenship: Critical Concepts, 4 volumes, Critical Concepts in Political Science, (Routledge, 2014)
24. (co-editor with Sandra Kröger), 'National Parliaments and the Politicization of European Integration', a Special Issue of Comparative European Politics, Vol. 14 Issue 2 (2016), pp. 125-252
25. (co-editor with Joseph Lacey), Political Theory and the European Union, (Routledge 2017)
26. (co-editor with Joseph Lacey and Kalypso Nicolaidis), 'European Boundaries in Question?', a Special Issue of the Journal of European Integration, Vol 39 Issue 5 (2017), pp. 483-656 (also published as a book by Routledge in 2018).

c) Scholarly Editions of Books

1. Norberto Bobbio, The Future of Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987).
2. Norberto Bobbio, Which Socialism?: Marxism, Socialism and Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987)
3. Antonio Gramsci, Pre-Prison Writings ed. R Bellamy, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, 1994)
4. Cesare Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishment ed. R. Bellamy, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

II Articles, Book Chapters and Working Papers

NB I have listed, without additional numbering, translations or anthologised versions of previously published articles and book chapters after the original piece, regardless of whether they have been revised or not. I also have not bothered separating out small multiple entries to Encyclopaedia or other reference books, but have listed longer entries under the subsection on book chapters. I have not included book notes or reviews or articles for newspapers such as the TLS, Guardian or New York Times Book Review – some of these are listed under Knowledge Transfer below. Finally, unless they aspire to be a

significant substantive contribution in their own right, I have recorded any introductions to collections I edited along with my substantive contribution to the work.

a) Refereed Journal Articles

1. 'Croce, Hegel and Gentile and the Doctrine of the Ethical State', Rivista di Studi Crociani, XX, (1983), pp. 263-81, XXI, (1984), pp. 263-81.
2. 'What is Living and What is Dead in Croce's Interpretation of Hegel', Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, IX, (1984), pp. 5-14.
3. 'William Godwin and the Development of the "New Man of Feeling"', History of Political Thought, VI, (1985) pp. 411-32.
4. 'Hegel's Conception of the State and Political Philosophy in a Post-Hegelian World', Political Science, XXXVIII, (1986) pp. 99-112.
5. 'An Italian "New Liberal" Theorist - Guido de Ruggiero's History of European Liberalism', Historical Journal, 30, (1987), pp. 191- 200.
6. 'Hegel and Liberalism', History of European Ideas, 8, (1987), pp. 693-708.

(Reprinted in R. Stern (ed) Hegel: Critical Assessments, 4 vols, (Routledge, 1993), IV, pp. 325-44)

7. 'From Ethical to Economic Liberalism - the Sociology of Pareto's Politics', Economy and Society, 19, (1990), pp. 431-55

(Reprinted in John Cunningham Wood and Michael McLure (eds), Vilfredo Pareto: Critical Assessments of Leading Economists, 3 vols, (Routledge, 1999) III, pp., 253-78 and J. Femia (ed) , Vilfredo Pareto, International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought, Ashgate, 2008)

8. 'Gramsci, Croce and the Italian Political Tradition', History of Political Thought, XI, (1990), pp. 313-37.

(Reprinted in J. Martin (ed), Gramsci: Critical Assessments, 4 vols, Routledge, 2003, I, pp. 127-52)

9. 'Between Economic and Ethical Liberalism: Benedetto Croce and the Dilemmas of Liberal Politics', History of the Human Sciences, 4, (1991), pp. 175-95
10. 'Schumpeter, and the Transformation of Capitalism, Liberalism and Democracy', Government and Opposition, 26, (1991), pp. 500-19.
11. 'Liberalism and Nationalism in the Political Thought of Max Weber', History of European Ideas, 14 (1992), pp. 499-507

12. (with Peter Baehr) 'Carl Schmitt and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy' European Journal of Political Research , 23, (1993), pp. 163-85. (in a special issue edited by R. Bellamy on Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Fifty Years On.)

13. 'The Anti-Poll Tax Non-Payment Campaign and Liberal Concepts of Political Obligation', Government and Opposition, 29, (1994), pp. 22-41.

14. "'Dethroning Politics": Constitutionalism, Liberalism and Democracy in the Political Thought of F. A. Hayek', British Journal of Political Science, 24, (1994), pp. 419-441

(Reprinted in P. J. Boettke (ed), The Legacy of Friederick von Hayek, 3 vols, Edward Elgar, 2001, I, ch. 7).

15. 'Moralising Markets', Critical Review, Summer, 1994, pp. 341-57.

16. (with Martin Hollis) 'Liberal Justice: Political and Metaphysical', Philosophical Quarterly, 45, (1995), pp. 1-19.

17. (with John Zvesper), 'The Liberal Predicament: Historical and Logical', Politics, 15, (1995), pp. 1-7.

(Also appeared in a revised version in S. Groenfeld and M. Wintle (eds), Under The Sign of Liberalism, (Walberg Pers, 1997), pp. 146-54 and was reprinted in G. W. Smith (ed), Liberalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science, 4 vols, Routledge, 2002, IV, pp. 429-37).

18. (with John Greenaway), 'The New Right Conception of Citizenship and the Citizen's Charter', Government and Opposition, 30, (1995), pp. 469-91.

19. (with Dario Castiglione) 'The Reconfiguration of Politics in the New Europe: Constitutionalism, Democracy and Identity', European Journal of Law, Philosophy and Computer Science, 7, 1995, pp. 9-20.

20. 'The Political Form of the Constitution: The Separation of Powers, Rights and Representative Democracy' Political Studies 44, (1996) pp. 436-56

(Part of a special issue also published in book form as R. Bellamy and Dario Castiglione (eds) Constitutionalism in Transformation: European and Theoretical Perspectives, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 25-44).

21. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Costituzionalismo e democrazia in una prospettiva europea', Teoria politica, XII, n. 3 (1996), pp. 47-70.

22. 'Gramsci, Walzer and the Intellectual as Social Critic', The Philosophical Forum 29, (1998), pp. 138-59

(Reprinted in J. Jennings and A. Kemp-Welch (eds.) Intellectuals in Politics, (Routledge, 1997), pp. 25-44 and J. Martin (ed), Gramsci: Critical Assessments, 4 vols, Routledge, 2003, IV, pp. 191-212).

23. (with Dario Castiglione), 'Building the Union: The Nature of Sovereignty in the Political Architecture of Europe', Law and Philosophy, 16.4, (1997), 421-45.

(Reprinted in D Karmis and W Norman (eds), Theories of Federalism: A Reader, Palgrave, 2005, pp. 293-310)

24. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Constitutionalism and Democracy: Political Theory and the American Constitution', British Journal of Political Science, 27, (1997), pp. 595-618.

25. (with Alex Warleigh), 'From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation: Citizenship and the Future of the European Union', Millennium: A Journal of International Studies, 27, (1998), pp. 447-70.

(Reprinted in M. Frost (ed) International Ethics , 3 vols, Sage: 2011, III, ch. 50).

26. (with Martin Hollis) 'Compromise, Consensus and Neutrality' Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, 1, (1998), pp. 54-78

(Part of a special issue also published in book form as R. Bellamy and M. Hollis (eds) Pluralism and Liberal Neutrality, Frank Cass, 1999, pp.54-78, and revised and expanded as ch 4 of my Liberalism and Pluralism)

A revised version (based on ch. 4 of Liberalism and Pluralism) translated into French as 'Du consensus au compromis', in Christian Thuderoz (ed), Politique du compromis, Louvain-la-Neuve: Larcier, 2018, pp. 61-90

27. 'Dealing with Difference: Four Models of Pluralist Politics', Parliamentary Affairs, 53 (2000), pp. 198-217

(Part of a special issue also published in book form as M. O'Neill and D. Austin (eds), Democracy and Cultural Diversity, (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 198-217 and translated into Italian as 'Quattro modelli di pluralismo politico', Ragion pratica 26, June (2006) pp. 81-100).

28. 'A Modernist Interpreter: Benedetto Croce and the Politics of Italian Culture', The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms, 5 (2000), pp. 845-61.

29. 'A Crocean Critique of Gramsci on Historicism, Hegemony and Intellectuals', in Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 6, 2 (2001), pp., 209-229

(Translated into Italian as 'Una critica crociana di Gramsci sullo storicismo, l'egemonia e gli intellettuali', in D. Boothman, F. Giasi e G. Vacca a cura di, Gramsci in Gran Bretagna, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015, pp. 185-213)

30. 'The Rule of Law and the Rule of Persons', Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy (CRISPP) 4:4 (2001), pp. 221-251.

(Part of a special issue also published in book form as P King (ed) Trusting in Reason: Martin Hollis and the Philosophy of Social Action, (London: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. 221-51.)

31. (with Dario Castiglione), 'Legitimising the Euro-polity and its Regime: The Normative Turn in EU Studies', European Journal of Political Theory, 2:1 (2003) pp. 7-34

(An early version also available as a Queen's University, Belfast, Institute of European Studies, On Line Paper on Europeanisation No 13/2001 <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudiesandPhilosophy/Research/PaperSeries/EuropeanisationPapers/PublishedPapers/#2003>) and republished in a revised form as 'Normative Theory and the European Union: Legitimising the Euro-polity and its Regime, in Lars Trägårdh (ed), After National Democracy: Rights, Law and Power in America and the New Europe, Onati International Series in Law and Society, Oxford: Hart, 2004, pp. 9-40. Also translated into Italian as 'La legittimazione della forma di stato e della forma di governo europea: la svolta normative negli studi sull'UE', in Etienne Balibar et al, *Europa, Cittadinanza, Confini: Dialogando con Etienne Balibar*, ed. Salvatore Cingari, Lecce: Pensa Multimedia, 2006, pp. 291-335)

32. (with Justus Schönau), 'The Normality of Constitutional Politics: An Analysis of the Drafting of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights', Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory, 11.3 (2004) pp. 412-33

(Also translated into French as 'La normalité de la politique constitutionnelle. Analyse de la rédaction de la Charte européenne des droits fondamentaux', Archives de philosophie du droit, 49 (2006) pp. 85-108 and reprinted in Claudio Corradetti (ed), Philosophical Dimensions of Human Rights. Some Contemporary Views, Dordrecht: Springer, 2011, Ch. 12, pp. 231-252. A longer version appeared as a Constitutionalism Web-Paper, ConWEB No. 6/2003; <http://les1.man.ac.uk/conweb/>)

33. 'Still in Deficit: Rights, Regulation and Democracy in the EU', European Law Journal, 12:6 (2006), pp. 725-42.

(Reprinted in A Scott, K Nash and A M Smith (eds) Globalisation and Contemporary Challenges to the Nation State, Vol 3, New Critical Writings in Political Sociology Ashgate, 2009, III, pp. 349-67 and in Italian translation as 'Il deficit democratico dell'Unione Europea' in A. Palumbo e S. Vaccaro a cura di, Governance e democrazia: Tecniche del potere e legittimità dei processi di globalizzazione, Milano: Mimesis, 2009, pp. 109-136).

34. 'Evaluating Union Citizenship: Belonging, Rights and Participation within the EU', Citizenship Studies, 12:6 (2008), pp. 597-611

(Reprinted in J. Shaw and I. Štikl (eds), Citizenship Rights, The International Library of Essays on Rights, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 283-97. An early version of this paper was translated into Chinese as 'The Values of Citizenship: Belonging, Rights and Participation' and published in Fu-kien Chang (ed), *Citizenship and Political Action: A*

Dialogue Between Empirical Inquiries and Normative Reflections, Center for Political Thought, Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences Academia Sinica, Book Series (57), Nanking, Taipei, 2008, pp. 215-41)

35. 'Democracy without Democracy?: Can the EU's Democratic 'Outputs' be Separated from the Democratic 'Inputs' Provided by Competitive Parties and Majority Rule?', Journal of European Public Policy, 17 (2010), pp. 2-19
36. 'Dirty Hands and Clean Gloves: Liberal Ideals and Real Politics', European Journal of Political Theory, 9 (2010), pp. 412-430
37. (with Dario Castiglione), 'Democracy by Delegation? Who Represents Whom and How in European Governance', Government and Opposition 46, (2011), pp. 101-125.

(Part of a special section of the journal on 'Democracy and New Modes of Governance' comprising 4 articles ed. R Bellamy, with a brief introduction pp. 56-7)

38. 'Political Constitutionalism and the Human Rights Act', International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-Con), 9 (2011), pp. 86-111
39. 'The Liberty of the Moderns: Civic and Market Freedom in the EU', Global Constitutionalism: Human Rights, Democracy, Rule of Law 1.1 (2012), pp. 141-72
40. 'Democracy, Compromise and the Representation Paradox: On Coalition Government and Political Integrity', Government and Opposition, 47.3 (2012), pp. 441-465.
41. 'Rights as Democracy', Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy (CRISPP), 15:4 (2012), pp. 449-471

(Part of a special issue dedicated to the work of Peter Jones and also published in book form as Ian O'Flynn and Albert Weale (eds), The Value and Limits of Rights, Routledge 2013, ch. 5. A revised version of this paper was reprinted as 'Republicanism, Rights and Democracy' in Andreas Niederberger and Philipp Schink (eds), Republican Democracy: Liberty, Law and Politics, Edinburgh University Press, 2013, Ch. 10, pp. 253-275, and later translated as 'Republikanismus, Rechte und Demokratie' in Thorsten Thiel, Christian Volk (Hrsg.) Die Aktualität des Republikanismus, Nomos, 2016, pp.17 – 44. With additional material, it was also published as 'Democracy as Public Law', in Cormac Mac Hamhleigh, Claudio Michelon and Neil Walker (eds), After Public Law, Oxford University Press, 2013, Ch. 7, pp. 130-150. This latter version also appeared with comments by Will Waluchow and Marco Goldoni in German Law Journal 14. 8 (2013), pp. 1017-1038, Special Issue on 'Constitutional Reasoning' eds. Arthur Dyevre & András Jakab available at <http://www.germanlawjournal.com/index.php?pageID=11&artID=1542>)

42. (with Dario Castiglione), 'Three Models of Democracy, Political Community and Representation in the EU', Journal of European Public Policy, 20.2 (2013), pp. 206-223

43. 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', Journal of European Integration, 35: 5 (2013), pp. 499-516.

(Reprinted in C. Lord (ed), A Different Kind of Democracy? : Debates about Democracy and the European Union, New York, NY: Open Society Foundation, 2015, pp. 225-246.)

44. 'The Democratic Qualities of Courts: a Critical Analysis of Three Arguments', Representation, 49:3 (2013), pp. 333-346.

45. (with Sandra Kröger), 'Domesticating the Democratic Deficit? The Role of National Parliaments and Parties in the EU's System of Government' Parliamentary Affairs 67.2 (2014), pp. 437-457

46. 'The Democratic Legitimacy of International Human Rights Conventions: Political Constitutionalism and the ECHR', European Journal of International Law 25.4 (2014), pp. 1019-1042

47. (with Albert Weale), 'Political Legitimacy and European Monetary Union: Contracts, Constitutionalism and the Normative Logic of Two-Level Games', Journal of European Public Policy 22.2 (2015), pp. 257-74

48. (with Sandra Kröger), 'Beyond a Constraining Dissensus: The Role of National Parliaments in Domesticating and Normalising the Politicization of European Integration', Comparative European Politics, 14.2 (2016), pp. 131-53

49. 'A European Republic of Sovereign States: Sovereignty, Republicanism and the European Union', European Journal of Political Theory, 16. 2 (2017), pp.188-209

50. (with Sandra Kröger), 'A Democratic Justification of Differentiated Integration in a Heterogeneous EU', Journal of European Integration, 39.5 (2017), pp. 625-639

51. (with Joseph Lacey) 'Balancing the Rights and Duties of Union and National Citizenship: A Democratic Approach', Journal of European Public Policy, 25.10 (2018), pp. 1403-1421

(Translated into French as 'La juste équilibre des droits e devoirs des citoyens nationaux et des citoyens européens: une approche démocratique', in O. Bedaud and F. Saint-Bonnet (eds), La Citoyenneté comme appartenance au corps politique, Paris: Editions Pantheon-Assas, 2020), pp. 103-123

52. 'Was the Brexit Referendum Legitimate, and Would a Second One be So?', European Political Science, 18.1 (2019), 126-133

53. 'Lies, Deception and Democracy', Biblioteca della libertà, (2019) LIV (225-226): 61-82

54. (with Sandra Kröger and Marta Lorimer), 'The Democratic Dilemmas of Differentiated Integration: The Views of Political Party Actors', Swiss Political Science Review, 27.3 (2021), 563-581

55. (with Sandra Kröger), 'Countering Democratic Backsliding by EU Member States: Constitutional Pluralism and 'Value' Differentiated Integration', Swiss Political Science Review, f27.3 (2021), 619-636

56. (with Kröger, S. & Lorimer, M) 'Party Views on Differentiated Integration', Comparative European Politics, 19.4, (2021), 622-641

b) Review Articles, Short Articles, Replies and Comments, and Introductions to Special Issues

1. Review Article: 'A Green Revolution? Idealism, Liberalism and the Welfare State', Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, X, (1984), pp. 34-9.
2. Review Article: 'Raymond Aron: Philosopher and Sociologist', Theory, Culture and Society, 3, (1986), pp. 183-88.
3. Review Article: 'Post-Modernism and the End of History: The Philosophy of Gianni Vattimo', Theory, Culture and Society, 4, (1987), pp. 727-33.
4. Review Article: 'The Peculiarities of the English', History of European Ideas, X, (1989), pp. 227-30.
5. 'Rinascita della filosofia politica anglo-americana?', Teoria politica, V, (1989), pp. 93-102, reprinted in D. Fiorot, (ed), La filosofia politica, oggi, (G. Giappichelli Editore, 1990), pp. 137-50.
6. 'Democrazia liberale: etica e realismo', Iride, 6 (1992), pp. 166-79
7. 'Joseph A Schumpeter and his Contemporaries', European Journal of Political Research 23.2 (1993): 117-20, (editor's introduction to a Special Issue on 'Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Revisited').
8. Review Article: 'Defending the Liberal Community', History of European Ideas, 17, (1993), pp. 325-331.
9. Review Article: 'The Theory and Practice of Liberalism', History of European Ideas, 18, (1994), pp. 753-6.

10. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Constitutions and Politics', Political Studies 44.3, (1996), 413-6 (editors' introduction to a Special Issue on 'Constitutionalism in Transformation').
11. Review Article: 'Liberal Politics and the Judiciary: the Supreme Court and American Democracy', Res Publica: A Journal of Legal and Social Philosophy, 3, (1997), pp. 91-106.
12. 'Toleration, Liberalism and Democracy: A Comment on Leader and Valdes', Ratio Juris, 10 (1997), pp. 177-86.
13. 'Una repubblica europea: plurale and divisibile', Europa Europe, n. 5/99, pp. 82-92.
14. 'From philosophes to pundits: Italian intellectuals and politics from Vico to Eco', Journal of Modern Italian Studies 6 (2) 2001: 151-56 (editor's introduction to a Special Issue on 'Italian Intellectuals and Politics')
15. Review Article 'Two Views of Italy's Failed Revolution', Journal of Modern Italian Studies 6 (2) 2001, pp. 265-69.
16. 'Being Liberal with Republicanism's Radical Heritage: A Comment on Pettit', Res Publica 8: 3 (2002), pp. 269-74 (also published in Italian as 'Essere liberale con l'eredità radicale del repubblicanesimo', Iride XIV, n 33 Agosto 2001, pp.422-7)
17. 'Identity Politics: Introduction to a New Series', Government and Opposition, 37 (2002) pp. 295-300
18. 'Contemporary Reflections on Mazzini's *Thoughts Upon Democracy in Europe*', Il Pensiero Politico, 36 (2003), pp. 122-24.
19. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Debate: Lacroix's European Constitutional Patriotism: A Response', Political Studies, 52 (2004), pp. 187-93
20. 'A Life in Defence of the Rules of the Game', the Introduction to R. Bellamy (ed) 'The Legacy of Norberto Bobbio: Assessments and Recollections', Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy 7.3 (2004) 67-73
21. 'Introduction' to Richard Bellamy (ed), Symposium on 'A United States of Europe?', European Political Science, 4 (2005), pp. 175-78
22. 'Norberto Bobbio: Estado de Derecho y democracia', Doxa: Cuadernos de filosofía del derecho 28 (2005), pp. 73-80

(Republished in English as 'Norberto Bobbio: The Rule of Law and the Rule of Democracy', Iride: European Journal of Philosophy and Public Debate, III 5 April 2011, pp. 53-60; in Portuguese as 'Norberto Bobbio: O Governo da Lei o Governo da Democracia' in G. Tosi (org) Norberto Bobbio: democracia, direitos humanos, paz e Guerra, João Pessoa: Editora da UFPB, 2011; and in Italian as 'Lo Stato di diritto nel pensiero di Bobbio' in M. Bovero a cura di, Il futuro di Norberto Bobbio, Bari: Laterza, 2011, pp. 204-12)

23. 'Introduction' to Richard Bellamy (ed), Symposium on 'The European Origins of American Political Science', European Political Science, 5 (2006), pp. 110-111.
24. 'The European Constitution is Dead, Long Live European Constitutionalism', Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory, 13:2 (2006), pp. 181-89.
25. Review Article: 'An Italian Story? Berlusconi and Contemporary Democratic Politics', Modern Italy, 11.3 (2006), pp. 347-51.
26. 'Introduction' and 'Editing the *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*' in Richard Bellamy (ed), Symposium on 'Editing a Journal', European Political Science, 6 (2007), pp. 4-5, 20-23.
27. 'Introduction: European Political Science and the Law' and 'The Democratic Constitution: Why Europe Should Not Adopt American Style Judicial Review' in Richard Bellamy (ed), Symposium on 'Should Europe Adopt the American Way of Law ... And Has It Done So?', European Political Science, 7 (2008), pp. 4-8, 9-20.

(A revised version of the latter was translated into German as 'Die demokratische Verfassung' in G. Haller, Klaus Günther, Ulfrid Neumann (Hg.), Menschenrechte und Volkssouveränität in Europa: Gerichte als Vormund der Demokratie? Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2011, pp. 103-122 and republished in English in Venice Commission, *Definition and Development of Human Rights and Popular Sovereignty in Europe*, Science and Technique of Democracy 49, Council of Europe Publishing, 2011, pp. 77-89)
28. (with M. Kornprobst and C. Reh), 'Meeting in the Middle', Government and Opposition, 47.3 (2012), pp. 275–295 (editors' introduction to a Special Issue on 'Politics as Compromise')
29. (with Sandra Kröger) 'Representation Surpluses and Deficits in EU Policy-Making', Journal of European Integration, 35: 5 (2013), pp. 477-97 (editors' introduction to a Special Issue on 'Representation and Democracy in the EU: Does the One Come at the Expense of the Other?')
30. (with Cristina E. Parau) 'Introduction: Democracy, Courts and the Dilemmas of Representation', Representation, 49:3 (2013), pp. 255-266 (editors' introduction to a Special Issue on 'Courts and Representative Democracy', Representation, 49:3 (2013), pp. 255-374)
31. 'I dilemmi del processo decisionale europeo', Il Mulino, 2/14, pp. 248-54
32. 'A Duty Free Europe? What's Wrong with Kochenov's Account of EU Citizenship Rights', European Law Journal, 21.4 (2015), pp. 558-65
33. (with Sandra Kröger), 'The Politicization of European Integration: National Parliaments and the Democratic Disconnect', Comparative European Politics, 14.2 (2016), pp. 125-30

(Editors' introduction to a Special Issue on 'The Politicization of European Integration: National Parliaments and the Democratic Disconnect')

34. 'Turtles All The Way Down? Is the Political Constitutionalist Appeal to Disagreement Self-Defeating? A Reply to Cormac Mac Amhlaigh' International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-Con) 14.1 (2016), pp. 204–216
35. 'Which Republicanism, Whose Freedom?', Review Essay on P. Pettit, *The People's Terms*, Political Theory 44. 5, (2016), pp. 669–678
36. (with Joseph Lacey and Kalypso Nicolaïdis), 'European Boundaries in Question?', Journal of European Integration, 39.5 (2017), pp. 483-498

(Editors' introduction to a Special Issue of the Journal of European Integration, Vol 39 Issue 5 (2017), pp. 483-656)

37. 'Majority Rule, Compromise and the Democratic Legitimacy of Referendums', Swiss Political Science Review, 24.3 (2018), pp. 312-319.
38. 'The Republican Core of the Case for Judicial Review: A Reply to Tom Hickey. Why Political Constitutionalism Requires Equality of Power and Weak Review', International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-Con), 17.1 (2019), pp. 317-328.
39. (with Matteo Bonotti, Dario Castiglione, Joseph Lacey, Sofia Näsström, David Owen & Jonathan White, 'The Democratic Production of Political Cohesion: Partisanship, Institutional Design and Life Form', Contemporary Political Theory, 18.2, (2019) pp. 282–310
40. 'Between Utopianism and Realism: The Limits of Partisanship as an Academic Methodology', Political Studies, (2021) 69(3) 481–491

c) Book Chapters, including Long Encyclopaedia and Handbook Entries

1. 'Liberalism and Historicism - Benedetto Croce and the Political Role of Idealism in Italy c.1890-1952', in A. Moulakis (ed), The Promise of History, (Walter de Gruyter, 1985), pp. 69-119.
2. 'From Feudalism to Capitalism - History and Politics in the Scottish Enlightenment', in A. Moulakis (ed), The Promise of History, (Walter de Gruyter, 1985), pp. 69-119.
3. 'Liberty, Morality, Community - A Comment on Shiner's "Non-Speech" Approach to Pornography', in G. Maher (ed), Freedom of Speech: Basis and Limits, Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft nr. 28, (1986), pp. 29-36.

4. 'Introduction' (pp. 1-15) to Norberto Bobbio, The Future of Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987).
5. "'From Metaphysics to Economics" - Antonio Genovesi and the Development of the Language of Commerce in 18th century Naples', in Anthony Pagden (ed), The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe, (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 277-99.
6. 'Introduction' (pp. 1-30), Norberto Bobbio, Which Socialism?: Marxism, Socialism and Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987).
7. 'Fare gli italiani: Croce e Gramsci' in F. Sbarberi (ed), Teoria politica e societa industriale: ripensare Gramsci, (Bollati Boringhieri, 1988), pp. 248-67.
8. 'Introduction', 'Defining Liberalism: Neutralist, Ethical or Political?', in R. Bellamy (ed), Liberalism and Modern Social and Legal Philosophy, Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft nr. 36, (1989), pp. 1-4, 23-43.

(The latter was published in Italian translation as 'Definire il liberalismo: neutralista, etico o politico?', Teoria politica, VI, (1990), pp. 71-99.)
9. 'Introduction', 'T. H. Green and the Morality of Victorian Liberalism', in R. Bellamy (ed), Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth Century Political Thought and Practice, (Routledge, 1990), pp. 1-14, 131-51

(The latter reprinted in J. Morrow (ed), T. H. Green, International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought, Ashgate, 2007).
10. 'Liberal Rights and Socialist Goals', W. Maihofer and G. Sprenger (eds), Revolution and Human Rights, Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft Nr. 41, (1990), pp. 249-64.

(Reprinted in a revised form as 'Liberal Rights, Socialist Goals and the Duties of Citizenship' in David Milligan and W. Watts Miller (eds), Liberalism, Citizenship and Autonomy, (Gower Press, 1992) pp. 88-107 and partially translated into Italian in V. Mura et. al. (eds), I dilemmi del liberalsocialismo, (La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1994), pp. 359-73.)
11. 'Liberalism' in R. Eatwell and A. Wright (eds), Modern Political Ideologies (Francis Pinter, 1993) pp. 23-49. (Revised and updated for 3rd edition, Cassell, 2000).
12. Isaiah Berlin, 'T. H. Green and J. S. Mill on the Nature of Liberty and Liberalism', in R. Harrison and H. Gross (eds), Jurisprudence: Cambridge Essays, (Oxford U P, 1992), pp. 257-85.

(Reprinted in G. W. Smith (ed), Liberalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science, Routledge, 2002, Vol. 1).

13. 'Introduction' and 'Citizenship and Rights' in R Bellamy (ed) Theories and Concepts of Politics (Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 1-15, 43-76.
- (A revised version of the latter reprinted in Italian translation as 'Tre modelli di cittadinanza', in D. Zolo (ed), Cittadinanza: Appartenenza, Identità, Diritti, (Laterza, 1994), pp. 223-62.)
14. 'From Liberal Democracy to Democratic Liberalism', in Bob Brecher and Otakar Fleischmann (eds), Liberalism and the New Europe, (Gower Press, 1993), pp. 37-48.,
- (Republished in Italian translation as 'Dalla democrazia liberale al liberalismo democratico' in Iride, 7, (1994), pp. 628-39).
15. 'Introduction' to A Gramsci, Pre-Prison Writings ed. R Bellamy, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, 1994), pp. ix-xxviii.
16. 'Liberalism' in M. Foley (ed), Ideas that Shape Politics, (MUP, 1994), pp. 3-17.
17. 'Introduction' to C Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishment ed. R. Bellamy, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, 1995), pp. viii-xlvi
18. 'Introduction' and 'The Constitution of Europe: Rights or Democracy', in R. Bellamy, V. Bufacchi and D. Castiglione (eds), Democracy and Constitutional Culture in the Union of Europe, (Lothian Foundation, 1995), pp. ix-xvi, 153-75.
19. 'Pluralism, Liberal Constitutionalism and Democracy: A Critique of Rawls's (Meta)political Liberalism', in J. Meadowcroft (ed), The Liberal Political Tradition: Contemporary Reappraisals, (Edward Elgar, 1995), pp. 77-100.
20. 'Introduction' (pp.1-8), and (with Dario Castiglione) 'The Communitarian Ghost in the Cosmopolitan Machine: Constitutionalism, Democracy and the Reconfiguration of Politics in the New Europe' (pp. 111-29), in R. Bellamy (ed.) Constitutionalism, Democracy and Sovereignty: American and European Perspectives, (Avebury Press, 1996)
21. 'Introduction' (p. vii) and 'Plato and Locke on Political Obligation' (pp. 1-33), in R. Bellamy and Angus Ross (eds.), A Textual Introduction to Social and Political Thought (MUP, 1996)
22. 'Liberalism and the Challenge of Pluralism', in S. O'Neill and I. MacKenzie (eds), Reconstituting Social Criticism: Political Morality in an Age of Scepticism, Macmillan, 1999, pp.153-70
- (Also translated in Italian as 'Liberalismo e la sfida del pluralismo', Iride, 10, (1997), pp. 494-511) and reprinted in G. W. Smith (ed), Liberalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science, Routledge, 2002, Vol IV, pp. 82-96).

23. 'Justice in the Community: Walzer on Pluralism, Equality and Democracy', in D. Boucher and P Kelly (eds.) Social Justice from Hume to Hayek, (Routledge, 1998), pp. 157-80.
24. (with Dario Castiglione) 'The Normative Challenge of a European Polity: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism Compared, Criticised and Combined' in A. Follesdal and P. Koslowski (eds.) Democracy and the EU, (Springer, 1998), pp. 254-80.
- (A revised version was republished as 'Between Cosmopolis and Community: Three Models of Rights and Democracy within the European Union', in D. Archibugi, D. Held and M. Kohler (eds) Transnational Democracy, (Polity, 1998), pp. 152-78 and translated into Czech as 'Mezi kosmopolis a pospolitostì – tri modely práv a demokracie v Evropské unii', Filosoficky – Casopis, 47, (1999), pp. 621-54.)
25. 'Four Models of European Citizenship', in E. Bort and R. Keat (eds), The Boundaries of Understanding: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Anderson. University of Edinburgh: International Social Sciences Institute, 1999, pp. 229–40.
26. (with Dario Castiglione) 'La forma politica del costituzionalismo' in G. Valera (ed) La forma della libertà: categorie della razionalizzazione e storiografia, (London: Lothian Foundation Press, 2000), pp. 45-54.
27. 'Citizenship Beyond the Nation State: The Case of Europe' in N O'Sullivan (ed), Political Theory in Transition, (Routledge, 2000), pp. 91-112.
28. (with Barry Jones), 'Afterword: The Prospects and Problems of Global Democracy' in Barry Holden ed., Global Governance: A Debate (Routledge, 2000), pp.202-16
29. (with Dario Castiglione), 'The Uses of Democracy: Reflections on the EU's Democratic Deficit', in E. Eriksen and J. Fossum (eds), Democracy in Europe: Integration and Deliberation (Routledge, 2000), pp.65-84
- (Translated into Italian as 'Il ruolo della democrazia nell'Unione Europea', Ragion pratica, 30, June (2008), pp. 131-50).
30. (with Dario Castiglione), 'Democracy, Sovereignty and the Constitution of the European Union: The Republican Alternative to Liberalism', in Z. Bankowski and A. Scott (eds), The European Union and its Order, (Blackwell, 2000), pp. 170-90.
- (Also published in Portuguese as 'A constituição da União Europeia: alternativa republicana ao liberalismo', Análise Social, XXXIV, ns. 151-2 (2000) pp. 425-456, in Greek as 'Η Ευφώπη ως δημοχφτία' in K. A. Lavdas and D. N. Chrysochoou (eds.) Ευρωπαϊή Ενοποίηση και Πολιτική Φεωρία , (Ι. ΣΙΛΕΡΗΣ, 2004), pp. 151-202, and, in a much revised version, in Italian as 'Il deficit democratico dell'Europa e il problema costituzionale' in P. Costa and D. Zolo, a cura di Lo stato di diritto: storia, teoria, critica, (Feltrinelli, 2002), pp. 506-34)

31. 'Developments in Pluralist and Elite Approaches', in K. Nash and A. Scott (eds), The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology, (Blackwell, 2000), pp. 17-28.
32. (with Alex Warleigh) 'Introduction: The Paradox and Context of European Citizenship' and (sole author) 'The "Right to have Rights": Citizenship Practice and the Political Constitution of the EU' in R. Bellamy and A. Warleigh (eds) Citizenship and Governance in the European Union, (Continuum, 2001), pp. 3-18, 41-70.
- (The latter also appeared as an ESRC 'One Europe or Several?' Working Paper 25/01)
33. 'Back to the Future?: The Republican Alternative to Liberalism', in M. Evans (ed), The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Liberalism, (EUP, 2001), pp. 175-187.
34. 'La tradizione repubblicana nella dimensione europea' in A Loretoni (ed), Interviste sull'Europa: Integrazione e identità nella globalizzazione, (Rome: Carocci, 2001), pp. 81-96.
35. (with Alex Warleigh) 'Cementing the Union: The Role of European Citizenship' in Furio Cerutti and Enno Rudolph (eds), A Soul for Europe: Vol I A Reader, Leuvan: Peeters, 2001, pp. 55-71.
- (Also translated into Italian as 'Un cemento per l'Unione: il ruolo della cittadinanza europea' in Furio Cerutti and Enno Rudolph a. c. Un'anima per l'Europa. Lessico dell'identità politica degli europei (Pisa: ETS, 2002), pp. 85-106)
36. 'Liberalism', in N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes (eds), International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, (Pergamon/Elsevier, 2001), pp. 8797-8801, revised as Liberalism: Political Doctrine and Impact on Social Science for 2nd edition James D. Wright (editor-in-chief), International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2nd edition, Vol 14, (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 26–31.
37. 'Constitutive Citizenship vs. Constitutional Rights: Republican Reflections on the EU Charter and the Human Rights Act', in T. Campbell, K. D. Ewing and A. Tomkins (eds), Sceptical Essays on Human Rights, (OUP, 2001), pp. 15-39
38. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Tra retorica e simbolismo: la Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'Unione europea', in 'La Carta dei diritti fondamentali. Verso una Costituzione europea?', a cura di Barbara Henry e Anna Loretoni, Quaderni Forum, XV, (2001), 2, pp. 67-74
39. 'Social and Political Thought 1890-1945', in A. Lyttleton (ed), Liberal and Fascist Italy, Short Oxford History of Italy Vol 6, (Oxford: OUP, 2002), Ch. 10, pp. 233-48.
40. (with Dario Castiglione) 'Beyond Community and Rights: European Citizenship and the Virtues of Participation', Quaderni Fiorentini: Per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno, 31 (2002) Vol I, pp. 349-80.

(Translated into Czech as 'Za hranice pospolitosti a práv. Evropské občanství a ctnosti participace', in Marek Hrubec (ed.) Spor o Evropu: postdemokracie, nebo

predemocracie?, (Praha: Filosofia, 2005), pp. 141-78. A revised and shortened version also appeared in Per Mouritsen and Knud Erik Jørgensen (eds) Constituting Communities: Political Solutions to Cultural Conflict (Palgrave, 2008), pp. 162-86.)

41. 'Introduction' and 'The Rule of Law' in R Bellamy and A Mason (eds), Political Concepts, (Manchester: MUP, 2003), pp.1-3, 118-30.
42. 'Introduction' (with Terence Ball) (pp.1-4) and 'The Advent of the Masses and the Making of the Modern Theory of Democracy' in T Ball and R Bellamy (eds) The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp 70-103.
43. 'Liberal Democracy 1914-45: Defences and Developments' in T. Baldwin (ed), The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Philosophy, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), Ch. 63, pp. 742-53.
44. 'Sovereignty, Post-Sovereignty and Pre-Sovereignty: Reconceptualising the State, Rights and Democracy in the EU', in N Walker (ed), Sovereignty in Transition, (Oxford: Hart, 2003), pp. 167-90

(Also translated into Italian as 'Sovranità, post-sovranià e pre-sovranià: tre modelli di Stato, democrazia e diritti nell'Unione Europea', in S Chignola and G Duso a cura di, Sui concetti giuridici e politici della costituzione dell'Europa, Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005, pp. 279-302)
45. 'Introduction: The Making of Modern Citizenship' pp. 1-21 in Richard Bellamy, Dario Castiglione and Emilio Santoro (eds) Lineages of European Citizenship: Rights, Membership and Participation in Eleven Nation States, (Palgrave, 2004)
46. (with Justus Schönlau), 'The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: The Need for Constitutional Compromise and the Drafting of the EU Constitution', in Lynn Dobson and Andreas Føllesdal, eds, Political Theory and the European Constitution, Routledge, 2004, pp. 57-71 (

(Also a Federal Trust Constitutional On- Line Paper 33/03
http://www.fedtrust.co.uk/uploads/constitution/33_03.pdf)
47. 'Introduction: The Rule of Law as the Rule of Persons' in Richard Bellamy (ed) The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2005, pp. xi-xli
48. 'Which Constitution for What Kind of Europe? Three Models of European Constitutionalism', in F. Cheneval (ed.) Legitimationsgrundlagen der Europäischen Union, (Münster, Hamburg and London: LIT, 2006), pp. 117-132.

(This piece revises and extends the earlier versions that appeared in Jurist EU, 'Thinking Outside the Box Editorial Series' [Paper 4/2003](http://www.fedtrust.co.uk/eu_constitution.htm),
http://www.fedtrust.co.uk/eu_constitution.htm and as a Federal Trust EU Constitution Project Constitutional Online Essays No. 03
http://www.fedtrust.co.uk/eu_constitution.htm)

49. 'Introduction: Constitutionalism and Democracy' in Richard Bellamy (ed), Constitutionalism and Democracy, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, (Dartmouth, 2006), pp. xi-xlvi.
- (A much abridged version of this introduction appeared in Chinese in the *Journal for the Philosophical Study of Public Affairs* (No.24) 24 March 2008.)
50. (with D. Castiglione and J. Shaw) 'Introduction: From National to Transnational Citizenship' and (sole author) 'Between Past and Future: The Democratic Limits of EU Citizenship' in R. Bellamy, D. Castiglione and J. Shaw (eds) Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context (Palgrave, 2006), pp. 1-28, 238-65.
51. 'The Challenge of European Union', in John Dryzek, Anne Phillips and Bonnie Honig (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory, (OUP, 2006), pp. 245-61.
52. 'Interview' in Morten Ebbe Juul Nielsen (ed), Political Questions: 5 Questions on Political Philosophy, (Automatic Press, 2006), pp. 13-28.
53. 'Republicanism, Democracy and Constitutionalism' in C. Laborde and J. Maynor (eds), Republicanism and Political Theory, (Blackwell, 2008), pp. 159-189
54. 'The Republic of Reasons: Public Reasoning, Depoliticisation and Non-Domination', in S Besson and J-L Marti (eds), Legal Republicanism: National and International Perspectives, (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 102-20.
55. (with Claudia Attucci) 'Normative Theory and the EU: Between Contract and Community', in Thomas Dietz and A Wiener (eds) European Integration Theory, 2nd ed., (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 198-220.
56. 'Introduction: The Importance and Nature of Citizenship', in R. Bellamy and A. Palumbo (eds), Citizenship, International Library of Essays in Political Theory and Public Policy, (Ashgate, 2010), pp. vii-xxv
57. 'Introduction: The Subject, Approach and Distinctiveness of Public Ethics', Public Ethics, International Library of Essays in Political Theory and Public Policy ed. R Bellamy and A Palumbo, (Ashgate, 2010), pp. ix-xx
58. 'Citizenship' in G. Klosko (ed) The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Philosophy, (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 586-598
59. (with Dario Castiglione, Andreas Follesdal and Albert Weale), 'Evaluating Trustworthiness, Representation and Political Accountability in New Modes of Governance', in A. Heritier and M. Rhodes (eds), New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy, (Palgrave, 2011), pp. 135-62
60. 'Republicanism: Non-Domination and the Free State', G. Delanty and S. P. Turner (eds), Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory (Routledge, 2011) pp. 130-38.

61. 'Constitutionalism', in International Encyclopedia of Political Science, Vol. 2. eds B. Badie, D. Berg-Schlosser and L. Morlino, (Sage, 2011), pp. 416–21.
62. (with Sandra Kröger) 'Europe Hits home – The Domestic Deficits of Representative Democracy in EU Affairs', in T. Evas, U. Liebert and C. Lord (eds), Multilayered Representation in the European Union: Parliaments, Courts and the Public Sphere, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2012, pp. 41-58.
63. 'The Inevitability of the Democratic Deficit', in Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (eds), Key Controversies in European Integration, Palgrave, 2012, pp.64-70 (2nd revised ed 2016, pp. 65-72)
64. 'The Democratic Legitimacy of International Human Rights Conventions: Political Constitutionalism and the Hirst Case', in Andreas Føllesdal, Johan Karlsson Schaffer and Geir Ulfstein (eds), The Legitimacy of International Human Rights Regimes: Legal, Political and Philosophical Perspectives, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 243-271.
65. 'Introduction: The Theories and Practices of Citizenship' in R. Bellamy and m. Kennedy-macfoy (eds), Citizenship: Critical Concepts, 4 vols, Critical Concepts in Political Science, (Routledge, 2014), Vol 1, pp. 1-19.
66. 'Constitutional Democracy', in Michael Gibbons et al (eds), Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), pp. 713–728
67. 'Citizenship, Historical Development of', in James D. Wright (editor-in-chief), International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2nd edition, Vol 3. (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 643–649.
68. 'Norberto Bobbio', in James Wright (ed), International Encyclopaedia of Social and Behavioural Sciences, 2nd ed., 2nd edition, Vol 2, (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 714-718
69. 'Between Cosmopolis and Community: Justice and Legitimacy in A European Union of Peoples' in S. Tierney (ed), Nationalism and Globalisation: New Settings, New Challenges, (Hart, 2015), Ch 10, pp. 207-232
70. 'The Limits of Lord Sumption: Limited Legal Constitutionalism and the Political Form of the ECHR' in N. Barber, R. Ekins and P. Yowell (eds), Lord Sumption and Human Rights, (Hart, 2016), Ch. 11, pp. 193-212.
71. (with Joseph Lacey), 'Introduction: Political Theory and the EU: A Survey of the State of the Art' in Richard Bellamy and Joseph Lacey (eds), Political Theory and the European Union, (Routledge 2017), pp. 1-18.
72. (with Joseph Lacey), 'The Nature of European Solidarity: How National Citizenship is Supplemented by and Constrains European Citizenship', in Fausto de Quadros and Disan Sidjanski (eds), The Future of Europe: The Reform of the Eurozone and the Deepening of Political Union, (Lisboa: AA FDL Editora, 2017), pp. 517-22

73. 'Losing Control: Brexit and the Demoicratic Disconnect', in Uta Staiger & Benjamin Martill (eds), Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe, UCL Press, 2018, pp. 222-28.
74. 'The Paradox of the Democratic Prince: Machiavelli and the Neo-Machiavellians on Ideal Theory, Realism, and Democratic Leadership', in M. Sleat (ed), Politics Recovered: Essays on Realist Political Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), pp. 166-193.
75. Co-ordinating Lead Author (with Wolfgang Merkel), 'Challenges of Inequality to Democracy', IPSP (*International Panel on Social Progress*) (ed) Rethinking Society for the 21st Century, Report of the International Panel on Social Progress, Vol. 2 Political Regulation, Governance and Societal Transformations, (Cambridge University Press, 2018) ch. 14, pp. 563-96
76. (with Joseph Lacey) 'Normative Political Theory', in T. Börzel, T. Risse and A Wiener (eds) European Integration Theory, 3rd ed., (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 216-236
77. 'A Republican Europe of States: Sovereignty, Republicanism and Democracy in the European Union' in Y Elazar and G. Rousselière (eds) Republicanism and the Future of Democracy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), ch. 12, pp. 215-234.
78. 'The Demoicratic Reconnection of the EU' in N. Urbinati (ed), Thinking Democracy Now: Between Innovation and Regression, ANNALE LIII, (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2019), pp. 201-219
79. 'Globalisation and Representation: The Normative Challenges' in Robert Rohrschneider and Jacques Thomassen (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 655-72
80. "'Riprendere il controllo": "demoi-crazia", differenziazione e ruolo dei parlamenti nazionali', in Cristina Fasone, Nicola Lupo e Antoine Vauchez (acd), Parlamenti e democrazia in Europa. Federalismi asimmetrici e integrazione differenziata, (Bologna: Il Mulino), cap. 4, pp. 127-152
81. 'A European Association of Democratic States: Republican Intergovernmentalism, the Role of National Parliaments and the Demoicratic Constitution of the EU', in Leonard F.M. Besselink (ed), The Economic Constitution Principles of Constitutional Democracy Between Globalisation and Europeanisation (De Economische Constitutie Beginselen van de Democratische Rechtsstaat tussen Globalisering en Europeanisering - Staatsrechtconferentie 2019), (Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2019), pp. 11-27
82. 'A Genealogy of Political Constitutionalism in the UK, and Why Canadians Might be Interested (and What the British Might Learn from Canada)', in N. Karazivan and J. Leclair (eds), The Political and Constitutional Legacy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau,

(Toronto: LexisNexis, 2020), pp. 539-567. (also in Supreme Court Law Review, 99: 539-67 – (2020) 99 S.C.L.R (2d) 539)

d) Working Papers and Reports

1. (with Dario Castiglione), 'The Normative Turn in European Studies: Legitimacy, Identity and Democracy'. SHIPSS, University of Exeter: RUSEL Working Paper 38/2000, <http://www.ex.ac.uk/shipss/politics/research/rusel.htm>
2. (with Alex Warleigh), European Citizenship and the Social and Political Integration of the European Union, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004
3. 'Political Constitutionalism; An Inaugural Lecture' School of Public Policy Working Paper Series, WP 26, May 2007.
4. 'The Liberty of the Post-Moderns? Civic and Market Freedom in the EU', LSE 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series, LEQS 01/2009
5. (With Anthony Costello and other members of the *Lancet* and UCL Institute of Global Health Commission), 'Managing the Health Effects of Climate Change', Lancet 373 (2009), pp. 1693–733
6. (with Sandra Kröger), Europe Hits Home – The Domestic Deficits of Representative Democracy in EU Affairs, UCL European Institute Working Papers, 2/2011 November 2011
7. 'Introduction: The Rights and Identities of European Citizens' (pp. 2-5) in R. Bellamy and U Staiger (eds), EU Citizenship and the Market, UCL European Institute Working Papers, 3/2011 November 2011
8. 'The Eurozone Crisis, Social Justice and the Democratic Deficit' (pp. 3-4) in R. Bellamy and U Staiger (eds), The Eurozone Crisis and the Democratic Deficit, UCL European Institute Working Papers, 1/2014 January 2014
9. (with Sandra Kröger), 'Is Differentiated Integration Just? Three Normative Models', *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. RSCAS 2019/27*

e) Short Encyclopaedia Entries and Other Occasional Pieces

1. 'Beccaria', 'Bosanquet', 'Collingwood', 'Croce' and 'Labriola', in David Miller (ed) Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, (Blackwell, 1987).
2. 'Cattaneo', 'Croce', 'Hegelianism' in John Eatwell et al. (eds) The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economic Theory and Doctrine, (Macmillan, 1988).

3. 'Croce', in John Cannon et al. (eds) The Dictionary of Historians, (Blackwell, 1988).
4. 'Italy', 'Utopianism', in John Yolton (ed) The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment, (Blackwell, 1991).
5. 'Croce', 'Gentile', 'Labriola', 'Mosca', 'Pareto', in R. Benewick and P. Green (eds), Routledge Dictionary of Twentieth Century Political Thinkers, (Routledge, 1992).
6. 'Historians and Their Work: Benedetto Croce', History Review, 18, March 1994, pp. 17-20.
7. 'Labriola' in A. Thomas Lane (ed), Biographical Dictionary of European Labour Leaders, (Greenwood Press, 1995)
8. 'Italy', 'Bobbio', 'Constant', 'Constitutionalism', 'Colletti', 'Gentile', 'Gramsci', 'Legitimacy', 'Politics and the Philosophers', 'Vattimo', 'Vico', in Ted Honderich (ed) Oxford Companion to Philosophy, (OUP, 1995)
9. 'Croce', 'Gentile', 'Green', and 'Gramsci', in The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, ed. Edward Craig, (Routledge, 1998)
10. 'Constitutionalism', in P. B. Clarke and J. Foweraker (eds), Encyclopaedia of Democratic Thought, (Routledge, 2001)
11. 'Political Individualism' in R. J. B. Jones (ed), The Routledge Encyclopaedia of International Political Economy, (Routledge, 2001)
12. 'Beccaria' in E. Craig (ed), The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy On Line, (London: Routledge, 2001) <http://www.rep.routledge.com/article/T063>
13. 'Mazzini' in E. Craig (ed), The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy On Line, (London: Routledge 2003), <http://www.rep.routledge.com/article/DC112>
14. 'Croce', 'Political Theory', in P. Hainsworth and D. Robey (eds.), Oxford Companion to Italian Literature, (Oxford: OUP, 2003)
15. 'Gramsci', in J. Mokyr (ed), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History, (OUP, 2003)
16. (with J Jennings and P Lassman) 'Political Thought in Continental Europe During the 20th Century' in G Gauss and C Kukathas (eds), Handbook of Political Theory, Sage, 2004, pp. 395-409
17. 'Mosca' pp. 121-24, 'Pareto' pp. 128-31 in J Scott (ed), Fifty Key Sociologists: The Formative Years, (Routledge, 2006) (also published in Portuguese in 50 Sociólogos Fundamentais, São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2009, pp. 130-33, 137-40)

18. “‘An Ever-Closer Union Among the Peoples of Europe’’: Union Citizenship, Democracy, Rights and the Enfranchisement of Second Country Nationals’, in Bauböck R. (eds) Debating European Citizenship. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham, 2019, pp. 47-50
19. ‘State Citizenship, EU Citizenship and Freedom of Movement’ in Bauböck R. (eds) Debating European Citizenship. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham, 2019, pp. 107-112
20. ‘Balancing the Rights of European Citizenship with Duties Towards National Citizens: An Inter-National Perspective’, in Bauböck R. (eds) Debating European Citizenship. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham, 2019, pp. 239-244
21. ‘L’Oscillazione Liberale di Croce: Dialogo con Richard Bellamy’ in F. Postorino, L’altro Croce: Un dialogo con i suoi interpreti, Milano: Mimesis, 2018, pp. 233-36.
22. ‘National parliaments should have a greater role in EU decision-making’, Twelve Stars Initiative and Bertelsmann Stiftung (eds), Twelve stars : philosophers chart a course for Europe, Gütersloh : Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2019, pp. 203-210

Also appeared in German as ‘Nationale Parlamente sollten mehr Einfluss auf die Entscheidungen der EU haben’, Twelve Stars Initiative and Bertelsmann Stiftung (eds), Twelve stars : Philosophen schlagen einen Kurs für Europa vor, Gütersloh : Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2019, pp. 221-230

III In Press/Accepted for Publication

‘Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*’, forthcoming in J. Levy (ed), The Oxford Handbook of Classics of Twentieth Century Political Thought, Oxford: OUP (now available via OUP on line ahead of the book version)

‘Lies and Deception’, in Edward Hall and Andrew Sabl (eds), Political Ethics, New Haven: Princeton University Press

(with Sandra Kröger), ‘Differentiated Integration as a Fair Scheme of Cooperation’, Review of Social Economy, on line early

‘Political Constitutionalism: A Genealogy’, in P. Cane and Harshan Kumarasingham (eds), The Cambridge Constitutional History of the United Kingdom, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

IV Submitted and Prospective Projects

a) Papers/Books Submitted or Being Revised

Political Constitutionalism and Referendums: The Case of Brexit, submitted to Social & Legal Studies.

b) Papers/Books in Draft

(with Albert Weale), 'The Republican Contract', in draft

'Neither Populist nor Popular: Two Challenges to Political Constitutionalism', being drafted

(with Sandra Kröger), 'Lies, Deception and the Crisis of Representation', in draft

c) Papers/Books under Contract

The Democratic Constitution, under contract with Oxford University Press

(with Jeff King) ed, The Cambridge Companion to Constitutional Theory, under contract with Cambridge University Press (to which I am contributing chapters on Constitutionalism and Bills of Rights)

co-ed. (with Terry Ball) The Cambridge Dictionary of Political Thought, under contract with Cambridge University Press

d) Planned Papers/Books

Democratic Duties: The Moral Demands of Democracy

'The Liberal Critique of Enlightenment: Constant's Commentary on Filangeri'

'Rights and Relational Equality'

'The Judicial Qualities of Parliaments: Bicameralism and Rights Review'

4. Research Grants

I Projects

1. (with Dario Castiglione) ESRC Grant R000221170 on 'Languages and Principles for the Constitution of Europe', £24,140 (RBs share £11,798.00) (January 1994-January 1997)

2. (co-applicants with J. Jennings U of Birmingham and others) grant of £33,099 from the ESRC for project on 'Intellectuals and Political Culture' (RB's share £8,075.50) (October 1997-October 2000).
3. Leverhulme Trust (Principal Researcher) £62,270 for 2 year project on European Citizenship (January 1998- January 2000)
4. (co-applicant with Dario Castiglione, U of Exeter) grant of £39,981 from the ESRC for project on 'Sovereignty and Citizenship in a Mixed Polity' (RB's share £11,762) (January 1998-January 2000).
5. (Principal Researcher) grant of 314,613 ecu from the TSER FP IV Programme of European Commission, for a Thematic Network on European Citizenship (RB's share 89,865) (Contract SOE2-CT97-3056) (January 1998-January 2001).
6. (with D. Castiglione, U of Exeter and J. Shaw, U of Leeds), grant of £160,829 from the ESRC 'One Europe or Several' Programme for a project on 'Strategies of Civic Inclusion in Pan-European Civil Society', (RB's share £60,092) (October 2000-March 2002)
7. (with A Follesdal U of Oslo, D. Castiglione, U of Exeter and A Weale U of Essex) 'Democracy Task Force' FP6 NEWGOV project (FP6506392), 72,287 euros (RBs share 27,287 euros) (October 2004-September 2007)
8. Partner within ALFA network II-0464- FA-FCD-FC on Human Rights Facing Security (RBs share 5,150 euros)
9. Leverhulme Research Fellowship (from 1 October 2012- 30 June 2014) £44,989
10. Fellow, Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg (HWK) (from 1 September 2013 – April 2014) £27,548 (paid to department for teaching replacement) + accommodation and travel expenses.
11. Co-Lead (with Sandra Kröger) WPI H2020 InDivEU, 2019-21, (RB/SK share 97,000 euros)

II Other

1. British Academy Conference Grant £750 (September 1995)
2. Political Studies Association Conference Grant £2,000 (September 1995)
3. British Council Academic Exchange Grant £400, for lecture tour to Universities of Laval, Western Ontario and Victoria in Canada. (February 1997)
4. Jean Monnet Module, University of Reading, 'Democracy and Reform in Europe', 12,000 Euros over 4 years 1999-2004

5. Jean Monnet Fellowship, EUI Florence, 1 September 2000- 31 July 2001, 13,200 Euros.
6. Visiting Fellowship, National Europe Centre, ANU Canberra, February – April 2004, \$2,700 AUD plus 8 weeks accommodation.
7. Jean Monnet Module, University of Essex, 'Democracy Beyond the Nation State: The Case of Europe', 15,000 Euros over 3 years 2005-8
8. Marie Curie Intra European Fellowship 041068-EU (for Dr Claudia Attucci) 151,108.24 Euros over 2 years 2006-08
9. Jean Monnet Module, University College London, 'Theorizing Citizenship and Democracy in the EU', 15,000 Euros over 3 years 2006-9
10. ESRC Post-doctoral Fellowship (for Dr Nidhi Trehan) £95,100 1 year, 2008-9
11. British Academy Post-doctoral Fellowship (for Dr Avia Pasternak) 2009-13 (left for a permanent position after 10/11) £272,764
12. Visiting Fellowship Centre for Advanced Studies, University of Oslo – visit funded by Norwegian Research Council for my contribution to a NRC/CAS project 'Should Democratic States Ratify International Human Rights Agreements?', paying UCL Department £13,391 to cover teaching replacement, and providing travel expenses and accommodation and a monthly allowance of NOK 18,000
13. (with Uta Staiger) 'EU Citizenship and the Market: Rights and Identity in London's European Communities', DG COMM/LON/2010/02 Funding for debate on key European Commission Communication themes by Universities and Think Tanks, 10,000 euros.
14. (with Uta Staiger) Jean Monnet Life Long Learning Programme (Proposal n° 530056-LLP-1-2012-1-UK-AJM-IC), funding for European Institute EU events Programme 2012-2013, 23,340 euros
15. (with Uta Staiger) 'Reconnect: citizens, institutions and democracy after the Eurozone crisis', DG COMM/LON/2012/04, 02 Grant Programme for initiatives to promote debate on themes set by the Commission, 18,000 euros
16. Senior Research Fellow in 'Pluricourts: The Legitimate Roles of the Judiciary in the Global Order' – a Norwegian Research Council Project based at the University of Oslo
17. Partner in Erasmus Academic Network on 'Parliamentary Democracy in Europe (PADEMIA)'

5. Administration

My most recent major role was as the Director of the Max Weber post-doctoral programme at the EUI in Florence from 1 January 2014 – 31 August 2019. The Max Weber Programme is the largest post-doctoral programme in the humanities and social sciences in Europe. Each year 50-60 Fellows are appointed for one or two years from more than 1200 applicants from all over the world. The programme is committed to gender equality, national diversity and multidisciplinary, and usually has a ratio near to 50:50 men to women among the Fellows, with the participation of at least 20 different nationalities from around the world and involving all five of the EUI's core disciplines. As Director I was also a member of the EUI's Executive Committee as well as the Academic Council. Over my period as Director the applications to the Programme increased and the number of Fellows we appointed went up by almost 50%, in part as a result of new arrangements with external funders. I also introduced a maternity leave policy and increased the amounts available to Fellows for research and job market missions from 500-1500 euros. I added a number of modules on publishing articles and books to the academic practice activities, as well as extending the number of partner institutions involved in our teaching practice programme and establishing an annual conference of European research funders. I organised the Fellows into multidisciplinary thematic research groups as a way of enhancing their academic interaction and the discussion of their on-going work, as well as helping them to gain insights from other disciplines. Fellows were also encouraged to organise mini multidisciplinary workshops together, usually involving outside speakers. I added master classes and a videoed interview by Fellows to the duties of the distinguished Max Weber Lecturers, who we invited each month to address all the Fellows, so as to increase the possibilities for Fellows to learn from leading scholars in the various disciplines. We also developed a growing alumni network and an academic career observatory that offers advice on job opportunities and applications around the world. The programme has been remarkably successful in placing Fellows, with between 96-98% of Fellows obtaining an academic position by the time they left.

From 2010-2013 I was the founding Director of UCL's European Institute, which I set up in 2009-10 at the initiative of the Vice-Provost Research's office and with the support of the Provost's strategic research fund. The European Institute formed part of UCL's Grand Challenge programme to promote research in the broad area of Intercultural Interactions. It aimed to raise the profile and impact of the wide and diverse range of Europe related research at UCL being undertaken by some 250 academics in fields going from Law, Political Science and Economics, through the Arts and Humanities, including History, History of Art, and Modern Languages, to Biomedicine, Architecture, Geography and Environmental Science, and to stimulate collaboration between them. During this period we organised over 30 events a year with bodies ranging from Tate Modern and the British Library, to the European Commission and Parliament, the House of Lords, and the Belgian, Italian, Hungarian, Polish, French and German Embassies and the German, Finnish, Italian and French cultural institutes. In addition, we produced working papers and briefing papers on various issues from Prisoners Rights and the Eurocrisis to the London Riots and the Future of Multiculturalism. By 2013 we had achieved our goal of covering our operating costs from grant income and matching funds from partners within three years.

From 2005-10 I was the founding Head of the Department of Political Science and Director of the School of Public Policy at UCL. When I arrived in 2005 the School was running an annual deficit of c. £600,000. We went into the black in 2009/10 and the surplus for 2010/11, the first for which we had received Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) (QR) funding, was £2,291,000. Those members of the School entered under Politics in the 2001

RAE received a 3A (out of a maximum of 5). In 2008 we improved significantly and came 6th on GPA out of the 59 UK Politics Departments submitted, 3rd on the basis of the percentage of research graded at the 3* or 4*. During my period as Head I made 10 lectureship and two Chair appointments, increasing the academic staff to 20 and the administrative team to 6. We expanded our teaching to include two new MSc programmes and an affiliate undergraduate degree programme of some 11 courses, which from 2009/10 has formed the basis of a Politics Pathway in the existing cross departmental (History, Philosophy, Modern Languages, Law and Economics) BA programme in European Social and Political Studies. Planning also began on a joint MPA with New York University, which started recruiting in 2013/14. I prepared our successful ESRC and AHRC recognition bids for all the MSc, MA and PhD programmes, obtaining an ESRC quota award and 5 AHRC block grant awards, and oversaw a five-fold increase in research students, a doubling of Masters students, a four-fold increase of affiliate undergraduate students and a rise of research grant income to almost £4m from 2005-10.

Within UCL I sat on the advisory committee for the Research Grand Challenge on Intercultural Interactions and, as noted above, played a lead role in the establishment of a cross UCL European Institute to coordinate interdisciplinary research with a European focus, of which I became the first Director as of 1 August 2010. I was a member of the UCL-Lancet Commission on Climate Change and helped establish the UCL-Commonwealth Secretariat Global Citizenship Lectures. I delivered numerous Public Lectures for the college on different topics related to UCL's research programme – from the Human Rights Act to Global Governance and Citizenship.

At Essex I was a member of the Department's Research Committee and PhD review panel, but was largely spared administrative duties due to my position as Academic Director of the ECPR (European Consortium for Political Research), for which the department received some compensation from the ECPR. My role in the ECPR is detailed below under External Activities.

I was Head of Department at the University of Reading 1996-2000, Acting Director of the Graduate School of European and International Studies (GSEIS) 1999-2000, and sat on the Faculty's Policy and Resource, Promotions and Research Steering Committees 1996-2002. The Department was rebuilt over this period, and I was able to make some 8 appointments and replace roughly half the department. I coordinated the 2001 RAE submission, when it went from a '3A' to the then top grade of '5' (having been a '2' in 1992). It also achieved an 'excellent' score for teaching (23) from the QAA. At Reading I obtained ESRC RT recognition for the majority of the Masters (and S for the remainder) and Mode A and CASE recognition for the Doctoral programmes of the Graduate School of European and International Studies – a cross-faculty centre that became part of the Politics Department in 1997. In the 2002 recognition exercise I coordinated the successful application for 1 + 3 FT/PT and CASE recognition for all 9 of the School's programmes.

At UEA I was Head of the Politics sector within the School of Social and Economic Sciences (SOC). At both Edinburgh and UEA I convened the Faculty wide (at UEA School) Graduate programme for the Social Sciences, both of which I was instrumental in setting up and getting Mode A ESRC recognition for. I also established MAs in Political Theory in both institutions.

At Edinburgh, UEA, Reading, UCL and elsewhere I have sat on more appointment committees for all levels from Lecturer to Chair than I can recall.

6. Teaching

At UCL, I currently teach at the Master's level 'Public Ethics', which I have restructured to focus on the political ethics of democratic politicians, and 'Global Ethics', which covers issues such as tackling global poverty, climate change, immigration and fair trade, and is a core course for the MSc in Global Governance and Ethics - a programme I set up in 2006, for which I now act as its Director. I also teach a BA course on Democracy, Citizenship and Constitutionalism in the new PPE and Politics and International Relations BA programmes – although for 2020/21 I am instead teaching the First-Year introductory course 'Justice: Moral Foundations of Politics' to cover for a colleague.

At the EUI I co-led two Thematic Research Groups of Post doctoral Fellows within the Max Weber Programme on 'Legal, Political and Social Thought and Intellectual History', and 'Governance, Democracy and Constitutionalism'. I have also taught seminars for PhD students on the History of Political Thought: Politics, Religion and Morality (with Ann Thomson in HEC), Political Ethics (with Guy Aitchinson – a MW Fellow - in SPS), Political Theory and the EU (with Lior Erez – a MW Fellow - in SPS) and Constitutionalism and Democracy (with Gabor Halmai in LAW).

Prior to going to the EUI, at UCL I established and taught two MA options on 'Democracy, Citizenship and Constitutions' and 'Theorizing Citizenship and Democracy in the EU' (which I got funded as a Jean Monnet Module), and also co-designed and co-taught (with Jo Wolff in Philosophy) a third MA option on 'Public Ethics'. I organised (with Cecile Laborde and Albert Weale) an external speaker series in Legal and Political Theory and the related research training course in Legal and Political Theory (PAL). The Department did not then teach undergraduates other than affiliate JYA students, but as of 2009/10 it provided a 'Politics Pathway' within the European Social and Political Studies (ESPS) programme run by the Philosophy and Modern Language departments, and I established and convened (2010-2012) a core unit on 'Theories and Concepts of Politics' that was taught by a Teaching Fellow. With Laborde, Valentini and Weale, I also co-ran the PhD Theory Workshop.

At Essex I taught two BA courses on 'Democratic Theory' and 'Political Theory Beyond the Nation State' (a Jean Monnet Module).

At Reading, I co-taught and convened (in different years) the following BA options: 'Contemporary Political Thought' (at various times with Andrew Mason, Andrew Williams and Philip Stratton-Lake in the Philosophy Department, for which it was a joint course), 'Democracy' (with Barry Holden), and 'Continental Political Philosophy' (with Jeremy Lester) and contributed to the compulsory second year 'History of Political Thought' unit. I also co-taught an MA unit on 'Democracy and Reform in the EU' (with Alex Warleigh, and a Jean Monnet Module), contributed to the MA core units on the 'Nature of Governance' and the 'Philosophy of Social Science', and convened the Research Methods programme for Politics MA and PhD students. I was also convenor of the MA in Political Theory and Public Ethics, which I established.

At UEA I designed and co-taught with colleagues in Politics, Philosophy and Sociology a first year course 'An Introduction to Social and Political Thought', contributed to the core

course of the then European Studies programme run by Edward Acton, and co-taught optional courses (with Colin Davis in History) on 'Western Political Thought' and (with Martin Hollis in Philosophy and Bob Sugden in Economics) on 'Public Choice' and 'Social Explanation' and (with Tim O'Hagan in Philosophy) on 'Contemporary Political Philosophy'. I also contributed to courses on 'Democratic Theory and Practice' (co-taught with John Street) and 'British Politics' (co-taught with John Greenaway) and an MA unit on 'The Philosophy of Social Science'. I helped establish MA programmes in Political Theory and PPE, the latter of which received ESRC quota awards.

At Edinburgh I lectured on the compulsory first year course on 'Political Theory', co-taught (with Richard Gunn) the compulsory third year course 'Social Contract Theory and its Critics: From Hobbes to Sandel' and, co-taught (with John Orr in Sociology) a course on 'Social Theories of Democracy and Revolt' and with Peter France (in French) a course on 'French Political Thought'. With John Holmwood in Sociology I co-taught the Master's and Doctoral research-training course on 'The Philosophy of Social Science'.

At Cambridge I taught the two history of political thought papers, roughly 'Plato to Hobbes' and 'Hume to Marx', and the modern European History paper – roughly 1750-1950, for which I also gave a series of lectures.

7. Phd Students and Post-doctoral Fellows

I have supervised 21 PhD students, with 5 on ESRC studentships. All but three (for whom there were extenuating circumstances) have successfully completed within 4 years. I have also acted as a temporary supervisor for a number of visiting PhD students from Italy (x3), Denmark (x2), Israel, Belgium, Spain and Germany (x2). I am currently first supervisor for 4, PhD students at UCL.

At the EUI, I was second supervisor for 2 PhD students (in History, working on Hegel and Algernon Sydney).

I have had four externally funded post-doctoral fellows, one (Alex Warleigh 1998-2000) funded by a Leverhulme Trust project on European Citizenship, a second (Dr Claudia Attucci 2007-09) by the EU Commission's Marie-Curie programme, a third under the ESRC post-doctoral fellowship scheme (Dr Nidhi Trehan 2008-09), and a fourth British Academy post-doctoral fellow (Dr Avia Pasternak (2009-10)). At the EUI, I personally mentored 8 post-doctoral Max Weber Fellows (2 in HEC, 4 in SPS and 2 in LAW) from 2015-2019, in addition to overseeing the entire Programme.

8. External Activities

I Professional Service

Academic Director European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) 2002-06

The ECPR is the second largest professional organisation of political scientists in the world, and by far the largest in Europe. At the time of my involvement, it had over 300 institutional members (of which 40 are outside Europe – the majority in North America but with significant numbers in the Asia-Pacific region) and the active participation of 8000 academics

and 3000 graduate students. Its annual budget was around £600,000 and the Central Services employed four full time and three part time staff. The organisation's activities extended from running annual academic meetings across Europe, to the publication of a professional and a scientific journal (which includes the European Political Data Yearbook), book publishing in collaboration with OUP and Routledge and via its own imprint ECPR Press, academic prizes, methods training – both generic and in various substantive areas – through its 10 summer schools, a European wide directory of academics and departments of political science and a web based job market. During my period of office, I initiated ECPR Press, established a Graduate Network, PhD Prize and Conference, successfully put the journal *European Political Science* out to tender, planned the new journal *European Political Science Review* and began the eventually successful negotiations with Cambridge University Press to publish it, instituted and organised annual panels on behalf of the ECPR at the American Political Science Association (APSA) conference 2003-06, oversaw the academic programme for the Joint Sessions at Uppsala, Grenada and Nicosia and the General Conference at Budapest, and undertook numerous other tasks related to the running of the ECPR's academic programme. I also coordinated and wrote submissions on behalf of the ECPR regarding the creation of a European Research Area and Council and doctoral training under the Bologna process. Finally, I initiated a more active cooperation with the American Political Science Association (APSA), the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and the recently created Asian Consortium for Political Research (ACPR).

External expert in political theory 2005 for the Social and Political Science panel of the Italian CIVR (their version of the RAE). I was also asked to be a member of the subsequent Italian exercise and of the Politics panel of the Swedish assessment, both of which I declined due to other commitments.

Member of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR) steering committee for the International Benchmarking of Politics and International Relations 2006-7.

Elected the founding Chair of the Britain and Ireland Association of Political Thought (which I and other colleagues established), 2008-14.

International member of the Comitato nazionale per le celebrazioni del Centenario della nascita di Norberto Bobbio

Member of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Peer Review College. 2008-12 (Strategic Reviewer 2011-12)

Member of the Evaluation Committee in Social Sciences, ICREA Academia, Barcelona, 2009/10, 2010/11, 2011/12

Member of the Politics and International Relations Panel, UK Research Evaluation Framework (REF) 2014. I declined a request to join the 2021 Panel due to other commitments.

Advisory Board member of the *Centre for Ethics, Politics and Society* (CEPS), University of Minho.

Member of the Macro-area SH Sub-committee, in the competitive funding programme "Supporting TAleNTs in ReSeARch@University of Padua 2021" STARS@UNIPD (member of

the Social Science and Humanities panel with particular responsibility for applications that fall within the area of ERC Panel **SH2 Institutions, Governance and Legal Systems:** Political science, international relations, law)

II Refereeing: Prize Committees/Journals/Research Grants

I was on the Jury for the UK Political Studies WJM MacKenzie Book Prize in 2003 and for the Harrison Prize for the best paper in *Political Studies* in 2005.

I regularly referee for the main British, European and North American journals in my fields, such as *British Journal of Political Science*, *History of Political Thought*, *Legal Studies*, *EJPR*, *EPSR*, *JEPP*, *JCMS*, the *European Journal of Philosophy*, *APSR*, *Political Theory*, *Philosophical Quarterly*, *Law and Philosophy*, *I-Con*, *Global Constitutionalism* and *Journal of Politics*, amongst many others.

I have acted as a referee for research proposals for the ESRC, the AHRC – for which I was a member of the Peer Review College, the Italian CNR and MUIR, for which I am a member of the peer review college, the Nuffield Foundation and the Leverhulme Trust and the main publishing houses. I have also refereed proposals for the French, German, Norwegian, Luxembourg and European research councils.

III Conference Organisation

I organised the annual conferences of the UK Association for Legal and Social Philosophy in 1988 and 1996; co-convened the annual Oxford Political Thought Conference in 1993; and convened the Association for the Study of Modern Italy annual conference in 2000. On behalf of the ECPR, I organised panels at APSA in 2004, 2005 and 2006, the ECPR General Conference in Budapest in 2005 and IPSA in 2006. I was also a workshop director at the ECPR joint sessions in 1991, and a co-director in 2012, and a co-convenor of a section for the Standing Group on Representation at the ECPR General Conference 2019.

IV Editorships

I am on the editorial boards of the British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Modern Italy, Res Publica: A Journal of Legal and Social Philosophy, Jus Cogens: A Critical Journal of Philosophy of Law and Politics, The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms, Diacritica: Philosophy, the Journal of Institutional Studies/ Revista Estudos Institucionais and Global Constitutionalism: Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law, and on the International Advisory Boards of the European Journal of Political Theory, Jura Gentium Rivista di filosofia del diritto internazionale e della politica global, Iris: European Journal of Philosophy and Public Debate, Serendipities - Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences, Symposium: Theoretical and Applied Inquiries in Philosophy and Social Sciences, and Quaderni di scienza politica. I was on the boards of the Journal of Modern Italian Studies from 1998-2003, European Political Science from 2001-10, Modern Intellectual History from 2004-07, and Government and Opposition from 2008-17.

I was an associate editor of the European Journal of Political Theory from 2002-2014, and of the ECPR journal European Political Science Review (EPSR) from 2008-2014.

I have been the principal co-editor of the Critical Review of International and Social Political Philosophy (CRISPP) since Vol 5.1 2002.

I was co-editor of the Pinter/Continuum series 'Political Theory and Contemporary Politics' (1997-2003), overseeing all five books published in this period, an Associate Editor of The Handbook of Political Theory published by Sage and series editor for a number of articles on 'Identity Politics' for the journal Government and Opposition. I was on the founding editorial board of ECPR Press, which I helped establish, from 2002-2008, and am on the board of the CUP series Cambridge Studies in European Law and Policy.

V Reviews

Reviews too numerous to list, but I average around three book reviews a year and have written several review articles for the TLS, the American Political Science Review, when it carried them (and Perspectives on Politics since), Political Studies, Journal of Modern Italian Studies, European Legacy, Res Publica, and History of Political Thought, among other places.

VI Invited Conference and Seminar Papers

On average I give around 15 or more invited public lectures, conference keynotes and seminar papers a year at different locations around the world (see Appendix 2 for talks post Jan 2013). Recent seminars have included papers at the Universities of Syracuse, Cornell and Princeton in the USA; Victoria and Montreal in Canada; ARENA, Oslo, the Universities of Hamburg, LUISS in Rome, Palermo, Florence, Frankfurt, Helsinki, Reykjavik, Madrid and Milan in Europe, and at Edinburgh, Nuffield College, Oxford, the LSE, Newcastle and Kent in the UK. In this period I have also given Conference Key Notes and Public Lectures at St Andrews, Bremen, Frankfurt, UEA (the Martin Hollis Memorial Lecture), Helsinki, Copenhagen, Bello Horizonte and Oxford. In 2012 I gave the Plenary Lecture of the Portuguese Political Science Association, the Statute Law Society Lecture, was one of two key note speakers at the Association of Legal and Social Philosophy annual conference in Belfast, and in 2013 gave a Public Lecture at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin as part of their lecture series on 'Moral Challenges in a Globalizing World: Ethics and Public Policy' and in 2014 gave the Royal Irish Academy Discourse before the President of Ireland at the University of Limerick. Even more recently, I have given the key notes for the Launch Conference of the Centre for Global Law, Koç University, Istanbul in 2015, for the Final Conference of the FP7 sponsored research network beucitizen.eu, in Brussels and the conference on *Elites and Democracy in Modern Political Thought*, CRASSH, University of Cambridge, and The Brian Ketterer Lecture for the Alexander von Humboldt Annual UK Meeting, German Embassy, London, all in 2017, and for the Conference on Pierre Trudeau at 100: The Legacy of P.E. Trudeau 1919-2019, Faculty of Law, University of Montreal and the Staatsrechtconferentie 2019 [Annual Conference of Dutch Association of Public Law] in 2019, and in 2020 was the guest speaker for the Victoria Colloquium on Social, Political and Legal Theory, University of Victoria, Canada.

VII External Examining

I have been an external examiner at Kent (BAs Politics and International Relations), Birkbeck (MAs in Politics), Newcastle (BAs in Politics and International Relations), Essex (MAs in Politics) and UCL (BA in European Studies), Trinity College, Dublin (BA in European Studies) and for Political Theory at Southampton ((BAs and MAs in Politics and International Relations). I am currently an external examiner for the Cambridge HSPS Part I POL1 and POL2 (2020-)

I have been an external examiner for PhDs at the LSE (x4), Bristol (x1 Politics, x1 Law), Southampton, Newcastle (x2), Cambridge, Oxford (x8), Sheffield (Philosophy), Swansea, the EUI in Florence (x11 Politics, x2 History, x3 Law), UEA, Université Libres de Bruxelles, Sydney, La Trobe, Essex (x2), York (x2), Queen Mary U of London (x2, Law), and Copenhagen.

VIII External Assessor for Chairs, Academic Promotions, REF

I have acted as an external assessor for appointments to Chairs and Readerships or their equivalents at the following universities (or colleges of London University): Brunel, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Essex, Goldsmith's, Kent, Liverpool, LSE (x3), Oxford, Queen Mary University of London, Queen's University Belfast, Strathclyde, Swansea, UEA, and, outside the UK, at the EUI, McGill, Northwestern, Princeton, Syracuse, University of British Columbia, City University of Hong Kong, Scuola Superiore di Sant'Anna Pisa, Turin, Victoria University New Zealand, and Panteion University, Athens. I have been an External Expert on promotions in the field of Political Theory in the Government Department at the LSE since 2002 and in the LSE European Institute for European Political Thought since 2010.

I have acted as an external assessor for prospective REF submissions by Politics departments at Royal Holloway (in 2012), Canterbury Christ Church University, the LSE, Manchester, UEA and Warwick (in 2019). I also acted in a similar capacity for The Education University of Hong Kong for Hong Kong's parallel exercise (2018).

IX Knowledge Transfer

a) Talks to Non Academic Audiences

28.5.01 'The Development of a New Political and Constitutional Order in the European Union', Plenary talk to Portuguese military at Conference on 'The Transformation of Europe after Nice', Instituto da Defesa Nacional, Lisbon

31.10.02 Presentation to Ottawa Deputy Ministers, special training seminar on the Future of Democracy

10.11.06 'The White Paper on the EU Communication Policy', Plenary Address to 'Empower: The European Civil Society Forum', Bergamo

15.09.08 Presentation of the book *Dialogo su Dio: Carteggio 1941-1952*, edited by Giovanni Russo (Archinto 2007) – the correspondence between Benedetto Croce and Maria Curtopassi, Italian Cultural Institute, London

12.10.08 Presentation of *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*, The Thomas Hobbes Festival of Ideas, Malmesbury

13.11.08 UCL Lunchtime Lecture 'Does Britain Need a Bill of Rights?'

24.11.08 UCL Lancet Report Launch – ‘Managing the Health Effects of Global Warming’

24.03.09 Public Talk on ‘Citizenship’, Toynbee Hall

5.04.09 Presentation of *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford Literary Festival

29/01/10 (with Lord Roper, Ian Cooper and Annemie Neyts, MEP) Roundtable on ‘The Role of National Parliaments under the Lisbon Treaty’, Belgian Ambassador’s Residence, London

1.11.10 ‘European Questions: Turkish Angles: Europe’s Citizens’ – Debate at LSE with Thomas Diez and Maurice Frazer

(<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/newsAndMedia/videoAndAudio/channels/publicLecturesAndEvents/player.aspx?id=777>)

11/12/10 Public Debate (with Charles Clarke, Tony Wright, Philip Sales, Lord Justice Jacob and Joshua Rozenburg) ‘The Role of Courts in a Democracy, Centre of Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford, <http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/role-courts-democracy-debate-video>)

7/03/11 Public Debate (with Sir Stephen Wall, Professors Bo Stråth and Sverker Gustavsson and Dr Piers Ludlow and Dr Brendan Donnelly (Director, Federal Trust) of ‘Still the Europe of Milward?’, Europe House, London.

29/03/11 Roundtable (with Justine Lacroix, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Simon Glendinning) ‘The Idea of Europe’, Belgian Ambassador’s Residence, London

9/05/11 Public Discussion of ‘Global Citizenship’ with Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams and Professor Simon Caney, University of Reading

20/05/11 Public Discussion (with Prof. Brun-Otto Bryde, former judge at the FCC, Universität Gießen, Prof. Angelika Nußberger, Judge, European Court of Human Rights, Sir Konrad Schiemann, Judge European Court of Justice and The Hon. Mr Justice Sales, High Court) of ‘Who Should Have the Last Say on Human Rights in Europe?’, German Ambassador’s Residence, London

8/12/12 Public Discussion (with Shami Chakrabarti (Director of Liberty), Charles Tannock (Member of the European Parliament), Robert Buckland (Member of Parliament for South Swindon) and Joshua Rozenburg) of ‘The European Court of Human Rights – What’s at Stake?’, Europe House, London

17/04/12 (with Murray Hunt, Legal Advisor JCHR, David Dyzenhaus and Sandra Fredman) ‘A Democratic Culture of Justification’, AHRC event ‘Redressing the Democratic Deficit in Human Rights’, Westminster, London

09/10/2014 Public Lecture ‘Cittadinanza Europea: Miti e Realtà’, as part of Reset Dialogues on Civilisation. Per una cittadinanza inclusiva, Milan.

30 /03/17 Public Lecture (in Italian) on ‘EU Citizenship as International Citizenship’, as part of the Biennale Democrazia organised by Turin city council along with various NGOs

19/10/17 'Which Future for the EU?', Italian Cultural Institute, London

29/10/18 Public Lecture/discussion (in Italian), 'Democrazia è: il potere di decidere', Part of the Ripensare Partecipazione e Diritti/People have the Power cycle of talks organised by the Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli e Fondazione Matera-Basilicata, at the Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milan.

30/11/18 Presentation of IPSP Report Ch. 14 on 'Democracy and Inequality', House of Lords UK

11/11/2020 Discussion with Sir Stephen Sedley, Helen Mountfield QC, and Geraldine van Bueren QC as Debate 3 of the Oxford Putney Debates 2020: The Sovereignty of Parliament: Courts, Rights, and the International Order (<https://www.oxfordputneydebates.com/panellist-propositions>)

b) Radio and TV

21/06/05 'Left wing/right wing', 'Making History', Radio 4

9/11/09 Interview on BBC News 24 on candidates for President of the EU Council

13/12/11 Participant in 'Power and the Judges' BBC World Service (I also acted as a consultant for this programme)

10/04/12 Interview on BBC R4 PM Programme on the European Court of Human Rights

c) Consultation

18/04/12 Consultative Meeting of Experts on European Citizenship, D-G Justice Directorate C: Fundamental Rights and Union Citizenship

17/06/2013 Evidence to the Labour Party's 'Britain's Global Role Policy Commission' on 'Britain and the EU'.

20-21/04/17, Invited member of a 'High Level Expert Consultation' on Denmark's upcoming Chairmanship of the Council of Europe on reform of the ECHR, coordinated by the Danish Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

d) Newspaper Articles

(with Peter Baehr) 'Personality and Passion – On Max Weber's "Politics as a Vocation"', THES 23/3/90, p. 18

'Keeping Fascism out of Philosophy', Review of *Opere Filosofiche* by Gentile, Giovanni (author); Garin, Eugenio (ed.), TLS Nov 8 1991, p. 6

'Gramsci for Italians', Review of *Prison Notebooks, Vol. I* by Gramsci, Antonio (author); Buttigieg, Joseph A. (ed.); Callari, Antonio (trans.), TLS, August 14, 1992; p. 5;

'Writing for the Cause', Review of D. M. Smith, *Mazzini*, Yale University Press, TLS Aug 5 1994, p. 3 (Cover article).

'How Not to Make Italians', Review of *Ideological Profile of Twentieth-Century Italy* by Bobbio, Norberto, TLS, December 22, 1995; p. 12

'For Patrons Only', Review of D. M. Smith, *Modern Italy*, TLS, Nov 28 1997, p. 14

'A Gadfly Looks Back', Review of N. Bobbio, *De Senectute and Autobiografia*, TLS, March 13, 1998, p. 6

'Imagining Gramsci in Power', Review of C. Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists*, TLS, March 16 2001, p. 25

'An Armani World', Review of P. Ginsborg, *Italy and its Discontents*, TLS, May 2 2003

'Obituary: Norberto Bobbio', The Guardian 13/01/2004

'Tainted Heroes', Review of F. F. Rizi, *Benedetto Croce and Italian Fascism* and E. Leake, *The Reinvention of Ignazio Silone*, TLS, 28 January 2005

'Christian at Heart', Review of Benedetto Croce and Maria Curtopassi, *Dialogo sul Dio, Carteggio 1941-1952* Edited by Giovanni Russo, TLS, 4 February 2009

'Giving MPs more independence could reduce citizen's power', The Guardian, 2/12/2009

'Passports for Sale', Review of Atossa Araxia Abrahamian, *The Cosmopolites: The Coming of the Global Citizen*, New York Times Sunday Book Review 17 January 2016

e) Blogs

[Bringing Home the Facts about the ECHR and Parliamentary Democracy](#) Comment February 2011, UCL European Institute

[A Liberal Crisis in Europe?](#) Comment August 2011, UCL European Institute

['An ever closer union among the peoples of Europe': Union citizenship, democracy, rights and the enfranchisement of Second Country Nationals](#), EUDO Citizenship Forum on 'Should EU citizens living in other member states vote there in national elections?', May 2012

[The Dilemmas of European Decision-making and the Illegitimacy of the Fiscal Compact](#), Comment February 2014, UCL European Institute

[State Citizenship, EU Citizenship and Freedom of Movement](#), EUDO Citizenship Forum on 'Freedom of movement under attack: Is it worth defending as the core of EU citizenship?', May 2016

[The End of the Eurocrats' Dream?](#) Verfassungsblog.de (*VerfBlog*), 22 November 2016

[Should EU citizenship be duty-free? - Balancing the rights of European citizenship with duties towards national citizens: an inter-national perspective](#), EUDO Citizenship Forum on 'Should EU citizenship be duty-free?', October 2017

(with Joseph Lacey) [The Case for Welfare Restrictions in an EU Democracy](#), *EuVisions: Tracking the ideas, discourse and politics of social Europe*, Centro Einaudi, Turin, 20 February 2018,

[Second Thoughts on a Second Brexit Referendum](#), Brexit Institute, Dublin City University, July 2018.

[On Mushroom Reasoning and Kostakopoulou's Argument for Eurozenship](#), Verfassungsblog.de (*VerfBlog*), 2019/1/16

['Taking Back Control': Democracy, Differentiation and the Role of National Parliaments](#), IDEES 46, 08/05/2019 (in English, Spanish and Catalan)

[Brexit e l'ansia di riprendere il controllo](#) 31 Jan 2020 Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli

(with Sandra Kröger) [How the EU can counter democratic backsliding in its member states](#) 22 April 2021 LSE Blog

(with Sandra Kröger and Marta Lorimer) [Is differentiated integration democratic? Taking stock of the views of political party actors](#) 7 May 2021 LSE Blog

f) Videos and Podcasts

Lectures and interviews on [YouTube](#)

9. Research Plans

I am currently involved in research projects relating to three broad areas: Constitutionalism, Democracy and Rights; Global Justice and Differentiated Integration within the EU; and Democratic Ethics and Public Conduct.

1. Constitutionalism, Democracy and Rights

Along with Professor Jeff King at UCL, I am currently co-editing the [Cambridge Handbook of Constitutional Theory](#), for which we have a contract with Cambridge University Press. I am also completing a monograph entitled [The Democratic Constitution](#) for the Constitutional Theory series of Oxford University Press.

The CUP Handbook is a large undertaking of some 500,000 words across 65 chapters and involving some of the major international figures in the field. It innovates in two main ways.

First, we make a threefold distinction between the substantive values that a constitution might be hoped to promote; the modalities or mediating procedural norms and practices, such as the separation of powers, that might be necessary for a constitutional system to possess if the substantive values are to be realised; and finally the institutions that might possess the requisite procedural qualities and be appropriate for the realisation of the substantive constitutional goals. Second, we offer an expansive list of values, modalities and institutions. In part that is driven by a desire to be comprehensive, but it also – and more importantly – reflects a view that constitutionalism consists of much more than a constitutional document and the legal mechanisms that enforce and interpret it, but encompasses the workings of the political system of the state as a whole, including the various global governance structures through which it interacts with other states and their citizens. We had funding from UCL and the Leverhulme Trust to host a major conference covering the values and modalities chapters in July 2019, and are looking at holding a second on institutions in 2020. The volume is due to be finalised over the coming two years.

My monograph on The Democratic Constitution develops and refines the arguments of my earlier monograph in this area, Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy (CUP, 2007 – and winner of the Spitz Prize). It breaks new ground in three main ways. First, it provides a more detailed account of the role of courts and the nature of judicial reasoning from this perspective, including an analysis of their qualities as mechanisms of democratic contestation. Second, it makes explicit the ways in which a democratic constitutionalism that operates through formal electoral and legislative mechanisms possessing certain constitutional qualities differs from both popular constitutionalism and populist constitutionalism. Third, building in part on the theory of ‘republican intergovernmentalism’ developed in my book on the EU, it looks at the relationship of domestic constitutional arrangements to those promoted by international courts and law. As a side project, I have also been researching a historical piece in this area – a study of Constant’s commentary on Filangeri, which allows for a comparison between enlightenment and liberal conceptions of constitutionalism. This project too should be completed over the coming three years.

2. Global Justice and Differentiated Integration

I am currently part of an H2020 project coordinated by the EUI looking at differentiated integration (InDivEU). This develops my discussion of this topic in chapters 1 and 6 of my recent monograph A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism and Democracy in the EU (CUP, 2019). As co-lead of Work Package 1, I am examining the Philosophical Foundations of Differentiated Integration. In particular, I am looking at whether differentiated integration has a principled as well as a purely pragmatic justification, and can be compatible with a legal and political framework for the EU that can meet the criteria of a ‘fair scheme of social and political cooperation’ among both states and their individual citizens. Along with a post doctoral researcher attached to the project, we have also done some interviews with political actors across the EU and drawn on a survey of citizens done by another group of researchers within the project to test out how others respond to our theories. These arguments are potentially generalizable, and my plan is to apply them to some of the key topics within the growing global justice literature dealing with ‘fair trade’ and cooperation among states with regard to tackling global poverty and climate change. We have already had three articles accepted related to the EU project, have another under review, with two more in progress. We have also secured a book contract

with Bristol University Press/Policy Press for a book in their series of ‘short’ books on *Flexible Europe*, which has now been submitted and should be published in January 2022.

3. *Democratic Ethics and Public Conduct*

This too represents a long-standing interest and connects to my writing on the topics of ‘dirty hands’, compromise and democratic leadership. My aim over the next few years is to write pieces on a number of topics - such as corruption, privacy, voting rights and obligations, solidarity and protest – that will form the core of a book on the moral qualities required of politicians, public servants and citizens for a democratic system to operate effectively and legitimately. With two colleagues, I am currently preparing an application to be submitted to the AHRC for a project on ‘Truth, Truthfulness and Post-Truth in Democratic Political Life’. This project explores how truthfulness on the part of politicians proves necessary for the integrity of a system of representative democracy, and the degree to which this is being challenged by the increasing use of ‘post-truth’ rhetoric. It combines normative political theory and empirical political science in an innovative way, involving a mixed methods approach that employs both focus groups and a survey.

10. Referees

Professor Quentin Skinner
Barber Beaumont Professor of the Humanities
The School of History,
Queen Mary, University of London,
Mile End Road, London E1 4NS, UK
Email: q.skinner@qmul.ac.uk

Professor James Tully
Emeritus Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Law, Philosophy, and Indigenous Governance,
Department of Political Science
University of Victoria
PO BOX 3050
Victoria BC, V8W 3P5
Canada
Email: jtully@uvic.ca.

Professor Philip Pettit
Laurence S. Rockefeller University Professor of Politics and Human Values
Centre for Human Values
Princeton University
Email: ppettit@Princeton.EDU

Professor Albert Weale
Emeritus Professor of Political Theory and Public Policy
School of Public Policy

University College London
29/30 Tavistock Square
London, WC1H 9QU
Email: a.weale@ucl.ac.uk

Professor Cécile Laborde
Nuffield Chair in Political Theory
Nuffield College
1 New Rd
Oxford OX1 1NF
Email: cecile.laborde@politics.ox.ac.uk

Professor Neil Walker
Regius Professor of Public Law and the Law of Nature and of Nations
Edinburgh Law School
Old College
South Bridge
Edinburgh EH8 9YL
Email: neil.walker@ed.ac.uk

Professor Jo Shaw
Salvesen Professor of European Institutions
Edinburgh Law School
Old College
South Bridge
Edinburgh EH8 9YL
Email: jo.shaw@ed.ac.uk

Appendix I Selected Reviews of Monographs, Edited Books and Scholarly Editions

I Monographs

Modern Italian Social Theory - Ideology and Politics from Pareto to the Present, (Polity Press, 1987, Stanford University Press, Ca, 1987, translated into Indonesian)

'In the English-speaking world, specialists in modern Italian thought are lamentably few; it is hard to think of *anyone*, apart from Bellamy, who can write with such authority on such a wide range of Italian theorists ... a sound and important book, the fruit of prodigious scholarship and profound reflection.' *History of Political Thought* (review article)

'Richard Bellamy's range is impressive, his ambition laudable, his subject important and his approach promising ... his reconstruction of particular ideas sometimes superb'. *American Historical Review*

'a complex and challenging work ... both welcome and impressive.' *British Journal of Sociology* (part of a review article)

'this is a good book ... Bellamy is at his best in placing the ideas in a wider historical context. In the process he provides the reader with some fascinating insights into the Italian thought that has engendered so many important theoretical innovations.' *Social Forces*

'a lively, lucid, well-informed and judicious account' *Sociological Review*

'covers a wide territory ... sensibly and with much insight ... The placement of Italian social thought in the context of its political and social conditions is the outstanding merit of Bellamy's book.' *Ethics*

Other reviews include *American Journal of Sociology*, *Journal of Modern History*, *Italian Studies*, *Times Literary Supplement*, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, *Il Pensiero Politico*, *European History Quarterly*, *Critica Storica*, and *Social Forces*

Liberalism and Modern Society: An Historical Argument, (Polity Press and Penn State University Press, 1992, translated into Portuguese and Chinese)

'a fine study ... provides rich insights into the fate of ethical liberalism' *Ethics*

'a valuable analysis of the various strands constitutive of modern liberalism ... His well written and clearly organised study ... will confirm Bellamy's reputation as an intellectual historian and theorist.' *Philosophical Quarterly*

'Finely written and deeply researched' *Review of Metaphysics*

'a very clear, well-documented and useful book ... will become one of the basic introductions to the sociology of liberalism and a basic resource for all those who are

concerned with reassessing the nature and claims of contemporary democratic thought' *British Journal of Sociology*

'Bellamy's book is highly commendable. His social historical analysis of the evolution of liberalism is a significant contribution to the literature. ... Bellamy's successful joining of historical exposition of societal / political moralities and structures with analysis of philosophical ideas is impressive.' *Millennium*

'meticulously researched and written in a punchy and literate style ... an impressive, informative and highly stimulating piece of work'. *International Affairs*

'Bellamy's achievement lies in having provided us with an accomplished overview of liberalism and in locating the really fertile ground for theorizing about it in the historical particularism of its varieties' *Times Literary Supplement*

'a tantalizing and courageous book ... a challenging [study] of the interplay between ideas, political cultures and institutions' *English Historical Review*

'impressive and scholarly ... Bellamy is especially good at interrelating theoretical and historical considerations in an illuminating, if sometimes controversial, way.' *Political Studies*

'wide ranging, extremely well-informed, and clearly written. It combines acute philosophical criticism with social history, and always clearly sets out the distance of its own conclusions from existing interpretations ... The broad scope of Bellamy's approach and the sustained attention to social and political context are both to be commended.' *Radical Philosophy*

Other reviews include *West European Politics, History, Political Theory, Capital and Class, Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, and *Journal of Modern History*

(with Darrow Schecter) Gramsci and the Italian State, (Manchester University Press and St Martin's Press, 1993, translated into Japanese)

'a major contribution to the debate over what is living and what is dead in Gramsci's political thought' *Choice*

'a welcome contribution to the English-language literature' *American Historical Review*

'The authors offer a useful counterbalance to the existing literature in English through their determination to concentrate on Gramsci's 'national' experience' *English Historical Review*

'scholarly and erudite ... They succeed in steering our attention away from reading Gramsci simply as a Marxist, and they provide the framework for a richer and more comprehensive evaluation of his ideas' *History of Political Thought*

Other reviews include *English Historical Review, European History Quarterly, Il Pensiero Politico, Times Higher Education Supplement, Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain* and *Italian Studies*.

Liberalism and Pluralism: Towards a Politics of Compromise, (Routledge, 1999)

'his argument is sobering. Will liberalism decimate the pluralism it parents? Bellamy's approach to this horrendous prospect deserves consideration by both democrats and liberals'

Journal of Politics

'Bellamy argues for "democratic liberalism," a strategy of inclusiveness which strives to achieve a just and stable consensus on a constitutional framework through "negotiated compromise.'" *Ethics*

'A strength of the work is its discussion of different forms and strategies of political compromise' *Choice*

Review articles in *Government and Opposition* and *Res Publica*, other reviews include *Acta Politica*, and *Canadian Journal of Political Science*.

Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy, (Cambridge University Press, 2007, translated into Spanish and Chinese)

'an excellent means of exposing brighter law students to high-level political theory and offers a salutary rebuff to lawyers' hubris.' *Times Higher Education*

'The author's claims are defended by an array of forceful arguments, clearly expounded; and the work provides an impressive overview of current debates over democracy and judicial review ... No legal constitutionalist could fail to enjoy the stimulating challenge Bellamy's new book provides.' *Cambridge Law Journal*

'... broad-ranging and ambitious ... he does the great service of reminding us of the important role that political actions (such as bargaining and compromising) and political institutions (such as political parties and various electoral systems) have to play as (democratic) alternatives to judicial intervention in the upholding of rights.' *Political Studies Review*

'This dense monograph is a timely and very important contribution to contemporary normative debates on democracy ... Bellamy's outstanding contribution is to demonstrate the implications that the principle of non-domination has for understanding the nature and norms of democracy'. *European Political Science: Reviews* (review article)

'Richard Bellamy has written a powerful critique of judicial review. At the same time, he has offered a serious, sustained defence of unicameral parliamentary supremacy ... the array [of arguments] he marshals is impressive, drawing on political science as well as moral, political, and legal theory ... in his well-researched book ...' *International Journal of Constitutional Law* (1 • CON) (review article)

'a welcome reminder of how effective the politics of democratic opposition, compromise, representation, and so on are at ensuring the preservation of values that Republicans and the liberal tradition both prize.' *Modern Law Review* (review article)

‘This is a complex and sometimes dense argument, which takes considerable trouble to engage with hard cases and to address potential criticisms. In particular, it constitutes a significant contribution to discussion of the institutional requirements of non-domination. Even those who disagree with Bellamy’s conclusions will be challenged by his arguments, and will benefit from following his close engagement with a comprehensive range of arguments in legal theory and political philosophy, and the way in which evidence from political science is brought to bear on these debates.’ *Contemporary Political Thought*

‘sharp, intelligent, and clear ... The second, affirmative, half of the book, building up an account of competitive and majoritarian democratic politics on questions of principle, oriented toward non-domination, is first rate, one of the best works in democratic theory in recent years.’ *Perspectives on Politics*

Other reviews include *University of Toronto Law Journal*, *Perspectives on Politics* (a second review in this journal, this time as part of review article), *Redescriptions*

[A Very Short Introduction to Citizenship](#), (Oxford University Press, 2008, translated into Arabic).

‘Citizenship is a vast subject for a short introduction, but Richard Bellamy has risen to the challenge with aplomb ... [M]ost academics would have played safe by rehearsing the views of others with a few critical comments. Bellamy has been much bolder ... he advances a distinctive and provocative view of citizenship ... as ‘the right to have rights’ ... One can only hope that well-argued and highly principled tracts like this will remind governments and voters that citizenship involves duties as well as rights.’ *Times Literary Supplement*

[A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism and Democracy in the EU](#), (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

‘Richard Bellamy is one of the major figures in normative debates about the European Union (EU). Over the course of more than a decade, he has developed a complex theory of democratic legitimacy in the EU. *A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism and Democracy in the EU* represents the culmination of this work ... the book marks a major contribution to on-going debates about how the EU could be reformed and made more democratic. It contains many appealing proposals (e.g., enhancing the role of national parliaments as a counter-weight to executive dominance) and will without doubt be widely read and debated, consolidating Bellamy’s status as a leading voice in the field.’ *Perspectives on Politics*

‘an important and thought-provoking contribution to the literature on EU democracy ... In a way in which only truly original books can, *A Republican Europe of States* makes the reader want to object and engage in constructive criticism. Bellamy’s ideas are a challenge for all those who assume that democracy – including its political subject and institutions – must be fundamentally rethought and ultimately reconfigured in the EU context. One of the many strengths of the book is that, while approaching the issue from political philosophy, Bellamy integrates insights from neighboring disciplines such as comparative politics, political economy and law into his analysis. The argument never runs the risk of losing contact with

the reality of European integration. Keeping an eye on the EU treaties and important court decisions, Bellamy explores what scope the existing order offers for republican intergovernmentalism. In this way, he arrives at clear reform perspectives that no one seriously concerned with the issue of EU democracy will be able to ignore.' *European Journal of Political Theory* (review article).

II Edited Books

(editor), Liberalism and Recent Legal and Social Philosophy, (Franz Steiner, 1989) (Also appeared as a special issue of the Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie, Beiheft nr. 36, 1989)

Reviews include *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*

(editor), Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth Century Political Thought and Practice, (London: Routledge, 1990)

'Richard Bellamy's excellent essay on Green explores his theory of self-realisation and the large part it played in his politics, ethics and metaphysics ... Readers will appreciate the breadth of coverage of Victorian Liberalism offered by this book' *Albion*

'a coherent and unified collection which should appeal to both political historians and historians of political thought. Indeed it may help to break down that division.' *Political Studies*

Other reviews include *Victorian Studies*, *Utilitas*, *History*, *Times Literary Supplement*, *Il Pensiero Politico*, *Politikon*, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* and *English History Review*

(editor), Theories and Concepts of Politics: An Introduction (Manchester: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1993)

'If you are looking for a single text, introducing students to the current state of political theory, then you won't do better than this' *History of European Ideas*

Other reviews include *Filosofia Politica*

(co-editor, with V. Bufacchi & D. Castiglione), Democracy and Constitutional Culture in the Union of Europe, (London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1995)

'a sophisticated and sympathetic collective effort to go beyond the conventional debate on the democratic deficit' *Journal of Common Market Studies*

'will be greatly appreciated by those interested in constitutionalism, citizenship and the future structure of the European Union.' *Modern Law Review*

Other reviews include *Government and Opposition*, *Political Studies*

(editor) Constitutionalism, Democracy and Sovereignty: American and European Perspectives, (Ashgate: Avebury Press, 1996) (First volume of a series sponsored by the UK Association for Social and Legal Philosophy)

Reviews include *History of Political Thought* and *Neue Politische Literatur*

(co-editor with Angus Ross), A Textual Introduction to Social and Political Thought (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)

'the book stems from an interdisciplinary course ... for students in philosophy, politics and sociology. It would make an excellent textbook for use in similar courses elsewhere.'
International Journal of the Classical Tradition

Other reviews include *Southeastern Political Review*

(co-editor, with Martin Hollis), Pluralism and Liberal Neutrality, (London: Frank Cass, 1999) (Also appeared as a special issue of Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy Vol. 1, n. 3 1998)

'a useful, uniformly well-written, and interestingly varied set of essays' *Political Quarterly*

(co-editor with Alex Warleigh), Citizenship and Governance in the European Union, (London: Continuum, 2001, reissued 2005)

'The book not only reflects the great variety of fields in which EU citizenship has become an important concept for understanding the political character of the EU, but provides ... a profound analysis of both its theoretical implications and its practical development in the Euro-Polity.'
West European Politics

'This is a most useful book, both for those interested in the detailed developments of the European Union and theorists who are concerned with the question of the state and sovereignty.'
European Foreign Affairs

'The book is a well-written and well-documented volume. It is a major addition to the field of citizenship studies.'
Democratization

Other reviews include *Journal of Common Market Studies* and *Millennium*.

(co-editor with Andrew Mason), Political Concepts, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)

'an intelligent review of political concepts' *Australian Journal of Political Science*

'... the essays ... reveal the larger philosophical and political debates lying just below the surface of the concept ... To compress all of these essays into one volume is itself a notable achievement.'
Perspectives on Political Science

Other reviews include *Contemporary Political Thought*, *Political Studies Review*

(co-editor with T. Ball), The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, translated into Persian, Chinese and Spanish)

'... an impressive work of reference ... this is an indispensable map. If you care about politics and agree with Keynes that ideas matter, you will find this an essential reference tool.' *Economist*

'... completely indispensable to those concerned with this general field.' *English Historical Review*

'a splendid volume.' *Canadian Journal of Political Science*

'... provides an interesting and wide-ranging analysis.' *International Affairs*

'This really excellent collection provides a valuable background to political philosophy ... its 28 essays are of a consistently high standard.' *Philosophical Books*

Other reviews include the *Times Literary Supplement*, *Times Higher Education*, *Historical Journal*, *European Journal of Political Theory* (review article), *Der Staat* and *European Legacy*.

(co-editor with Dario Castiglione and Emilio Santoro), Lineages of European Citizenship: Rights, Belonging and Participation in Eleven Nation States, (Palgrave, 2004)

'the general introduction, written by co-editor Richard Bellamy, raises a very inspiring framework for citizenship studies' *Political Studies Review*

'this volume is extremely valuable. It is essential reading for scholars interested in two different but at the same time interrelated processes of the development of national and common European citizenship.' *West European Politics*

'This critical and comparative study is a useful basis for further research on citizenship and Europeanization.' *British Journal of Sociology*

'The principal value of the current volume is in some extremely penetrating accounts of national traditions, to our understanding of which it makes valuable contributions.' *English Historical Review*

Other reviews include *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*

(editor), The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2005

'a welcome addition to the literature ... seventeen articles by leading scholars ... are preceded by a lengthy introduction in which Bellamy not only summarizes the contributions of the authors contained in the book, but offers his own valuable insights into the rule of law.' *Law and Politics Book Review*

(editor), Constitutionalism and Democracy, International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory - Second Series, (Dartmouth, 2006), pp. xi-xlviii.

'This volume provides a comprehensive compilation of contemporary essays on the tension between constitutionalism and democracy ... [A]ll essays have been chosen carefully [and] are closely related to each other, like in a dialogue, which adds considerably to their individual qualities ... This book will therefore be highly valuable not only for graduates or postgraduates but will also become an essential tool for all academics interested in this topic.' *Political Studies Review*

(co-editor with D. Castiglione and J. Shaw), Making European Citizens: Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context (Palgrave, 2006)

'The book is well written and gives the reader a new way of approaching European citizenship ... highly recommended.' *Political Studies Review*

'Extremely timely ... a genuinely informative book, which helps to enhance our understanding of the obstacles to participation, representation and identity formation within the EU ... highly recommended.' *Journal of Common Market Studies*

'The merit of the present volume is that it shows how far the EU is from replicating the moderate successes of welfare states, governed through systems of party competition, and so how far it is from a meaningful conception of a democratic polity'. *Public Administration*

'edited by three leading scholars ... the coherence of the volume is noteworthy... Most chapters provide very valuable contributions to the subject. The introductory chapter by the editors is remarkable in its ability to synthesise in a few pages vast knowledge on citizenship ... Interestingly, 'optimism of the will' is not absent from some of the contributions, but ... the reader of this outstanding volume would be inclined to think that 'pessimism of the intellect' is the appropriate conclusion as regards an active European citizenship.' *West European Politics*

'edited by three of the leading voices in European Union studies ... The volume is replete with rich insights and meanings, and deserves further reading, even for those relatively familiar with EU citizenship. This collection and its individual chapters will no doubt be cited by those seeking to get to grips with EU citizenship, its problems, its potential and likely future trajectories for years to come.'
Common Market Law Review

III Editions of Books

Norberto Bobbio, The Future of Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987).

Reviews include *Times Higher Education Supplement*, *Sociological Review*, and *Social Science Quarterly*

Norberto Bobbio, Which Socialism?: Marxism, Socialism and Democracy, ed. R. Bellamy (Polity Press, 1987)

'...the excellent introduction sets the stage for readers unfamiliar with Italian politics... ' *New Statesman*

Reviews include *American Political Science Review*, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Sociological Review*, and *Social Science Quarterly*

A Gramsci, Pre-Prison Writings ed. R Bellamy, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, 1994)

'an excellent and judicious selection, well annotated and finely translated' *History of Political Thought*

'a useful aid to Gramsci scholarship' *Ethics*

'[T]he first reasonably representative collection of his early political and cultural journalism available in English....Gramsci is revealed as a brilliant journalist first and foremost, and secondly as a Communist activist ... a refreshing perspective ... Richard Bellamy's selection is judicious, Virginia Cox's translation scrupulous and the notes informative'. *Times Literary Supplement*

Other reviews include *London Review of Books*, *Labour History Review*, *Modern Italy* and *History of European Ideas*

Appendix 2 Invited Talks Post January 2013

16/01/2013 'Political Constitutionalism and International Human Rights Conventions: The Hirst Case', Law Department, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

16/01/2013 'Rights as Democracy', Politics Department, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

13/03/2013 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', CREUM, Ateliers de la démocratie, Université de Montréal

14/03/2013 'Political Constitutionalism and International Human Rights Conventions: The Hirst Case', Conference on Debating Rights through the Courts and in Parliament: Diversity's Challenges", UQÀM, Montréal, 13-16 March

27/03/2013 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', Global Democratic Governance Profile Area, University of St. Gallen

2/05/2013 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna

17/05/2013 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', Oxford Law and Politics Interdepartmental project on Justice and Democracy beyond the State

25/05/2013 'The Political Constitution of an International Association of Democratic States', Workshop on 'Nationalism and Globalisation: New Settings, New Challenges' Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law, University of Edinburgh

5/06/2013 'An Ever Closer Union of Peoples: Republican Intergovernmentalism, Democracy and Representation in the EU', Seminar on "Multilevel Constitutionalism: European Experiences and Global Perspectives", Law Faculty, Humboldt University, Berlin

1/11/2013 'Between Cosmopolis and Community: Justice and Legitimacy in a European Union of Peoples', Seminar on Democracy and Multilevel-Governance in the EU, BIGSSS, University of Bremen

9/11/2013 'Political Legitimacy and the Financial Crisis', Institut für Politikwissenschaft, University of Mainz

18/1/2014 'From Plato to Barroso: Political Theory and the EU', Fellow Lecture, Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst

06-07/03/2014 'The Neglected Role of National Parliaments in EU Policy-Making: Giving Representation its Due', International workshop on 'National Parliaments in EU policy-

making' Hanse- Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, 6-7 March 2014 (jointly with Sandra Kröger)

24/03/2014 'Political Legitimacy and European Monetary Union: Contracts, Constitutionalism and the Normative Logic of Two-Level Games', Seminar on Democracy and Multilevel-Governance in the EU, BIGSSS, University of Bremen

09/05/2014 'Political Legitimacy and European Monetary Union: Contracts, Constitutionalism and the Normative Logic of Two-Level Games', Conference on Social Justice, the Financial Crisis, and the Eurozone, Technical University of Darmstadt.

26/05/2014 Presentation of book *Croce, Gramsci, Bobbio and the Italian Political Tradition*, Seminario di Teoria Politica, Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, Università di Pisa

27/05/2014 Lectio Magistralis, 'Cosmopolitanism Revised: the Republican Alternative to Liberal Cosmopolitan Democracy and Justice', Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna

06/06/2014 Royal Irish Academy Discourse (with a response by the Irish President), 'International Human Rights and Democratic Public Ethics', University of Limerick

09/10/14 Reset Lecture, 'Cittadinanza europea: miti e realtà', Università degli Studi di Milano

24/10/14 'The Limits of Lord Sumption', Workshop on Lord Sumption, Human Rights, and the European Court of Human Rights, Trinity College, Oxford

17/12/14 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Centre for Ethics, Institute for Philosophy, University of Zurich

18/12/14 'Beyond a Constraining Dissensus?: The Role of National Parliaments in Politicizing European Integration', Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS), University of Zurich

20/02/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Workshop on 'The Political Philosophy of Federalism', K.U. Leuven 'Centre for Ethics, Social and Political Philosophy'

09/03/15 'Beyond a Constraining Dissensus?: The Role of National Parliaments in Politicizing European Integration', Jean Monnet Seminar, Centre for European Law and Governance, University of Cardiff

12/03/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Colloquium in Ethics, Politics, and Society, Center for Ethics and Global Politics – LUISS

13/03/15 'Beyond a Constraining Dissensus?: The Role of National Parliaments in Politicizing European Integration', LUISS School of Government

20/03/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Department of Politics, University of Exeter

30/04/15 Keynote Lecture: 'Is there a Global Public Law?', Launch Conference of the Centre for Global Law, Koç University, Istanbul

07/05/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Séminaire de Théorie Politique de Sciences Po, Paris

19/05/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Dipartimento di Filosofia, Giornata di Studi Internazionale, Repubblicanesimo e Libertà

03/06/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Political Theory Seminar, Political Science Department, University of Amsterdam

08/06/15 'The Paradox of the Democratic Prince', Workshop on Leadership and Democracy, UCD, Dublin

29/06/15 'Defending Sovereignty: A European Republic of States', Centre for Advanced Studies, Summer School in Political Philosophy, University of Rijeka.

23/11/15 'The Paradox of the Democratic Prince', Law Department, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil

24/11/15 'A Procedural Reading of Dworkin's *Taking Rights Seriously*', Law Department, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil

25/11/15 'The Limits of Lord Sumption: Limited Legal Constitutionalism and the Political Form of the ECHR', Key Note, 2nd International Conference on Constitutional Law and Political Philosophy, On the Future of Constitutionalism: The Construction of Constitutional Democracy in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

27/11/15 'Turtles All the Way Down', Law Department, University of Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

04/05/16 'The Republican Contract', Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, University of Pavia

07/05/16 'The Political Constitution of the CJEU', Pluricourts workshop on 'Republicanism and International Law', Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona

12/05/16 'The The Paradox of the Democratic Prince', Political Theory Workshop, University of Copenhagen and Discussant Workshop on Compromise

16/05/16 Co-organizer Workshop on 'Democracy and Equality' for IPSP report, Institute for Future Studies, Stockholm

23/05/16 Discussant, Workshop on 'The European Social Deficit', Centre for European Governance, University of Exeter

28/09/16 'The Democratic Prince', British Institute, Florence

15/10/16 (with Joseph Lacey) 'Normative Theory', KFG Berlin, Workshop on European Integration Theory

22/10/16 (with Sandra Kröger) 'The Demoi-cratic Justifiability of Differentiated Integration in a Heterogeneous EU', Workshop on 'Europe's Boundaries', St Anthony's College, Oxford

28/11/2016 'Rethinking Political Legitimacy in the EU – From the Democratic Deficit to the Demoi-cratic Disconnect', Syracuse University, Florence

07/01/17 'The Paradox of the Democratic Prince', Oxford Political Thought Conference, St Catherine's College, Oxford

15/02/17 'Rethinking Political Legitimacy in the EU – From the Democratic Deficit to the Demoi-cratic Disconnect', Jean Cabot University, Rome.

09/03/17 'EU Citizenship as International Citizenship: A Republican Intergovernmental Approach', Colloque international sur *La citoyenneté comme appartenance au corps politique*, organisé par l'Institut Michel Villey (Université Panthéon-Assas, Paris)

28/04/17 Keynote Lecture, 'EU Citizenship as International Citizenship: A Republican Intergovernmental Approach', Final Conference of the FP7 sponsored research network beucitizen.eu, Brussels

14/06/17 'Representing the People's of Europe: Republican Inter-governmentalism and the Demoi-cratic Disconnect', *Workshop on Global Democracy and Global Constitutionalism*, Pompeu Fabra University (UPF), June 14-16 2017

27/06/17 Keynote Lecture: 'EU Citizenship as International Citizenship: A Republican Intergovernmental Approach', Conference on *The Future of Republicanism: Liberal, Critical, Radical*, University of York.

22/09/17 The Brian Ketterer Lecture. 'European and National Citizenship: How Each Legitimize and Limit the Other', Alexander von Humboldt Annual UK Meeting, German Embassy, London

16/10/17 'EU Citizenship: Supra-, Trans- or Inter-National?', Scuola di Giurisprudenza, Dottorato di Ricerca in Legal and Social Sciences, Università di Camerino

25/10/17 'A Justification and Defense of Inter-national Citizenship', Yale Political Theory Workshop, Political Science Department, Yale University, New Haven.

2/11/17 (with Joseph Lacey) 'Balancing the Rights and Duties of European and National Citizens: A Demoi-cratic Approach', Conference on *Transnationalisation and the Judicialisation of Welfare*, University of Bremen (Final workshop of Norface Project TransJudFare)

3/11/17 Keynote Lecture: 'Republican Intergovernmentalism and the Demoi-cratic Disconnect', Conference on *Republicanism in the History of Political Thought and Philosophy Today*, Charles University and Anglo-American University, Prague

17/11/17 'Justice, Legitimacy and Republicanism: Non-domination and the Global Circumstances of Legitimate Politics', Political Philosophy Workshop, Sun Yat-sen University, Zhuhai, China

19/11/17 'Inter-National Citizenship: Republican Inter-governmentalisms and the Case of the EU Citizenship', Faculty Workshop, Sun Yat-sen University, Zhuhai, China

7/12/17 Keynote Lecture: 'The Paradox of the Democratic Prince: Machiavelli, Pareto and Mosca on Ideal Theory, Realism and Democratic Leadership', Conference on *Elites and Democracy in Modern Political Thought*, CRASSH, University of Cambridge

31/01/2018 'Was the Brexit Legitimate, and would it be Legitimate to have a Second Referendum?' Workshop on Brexit: Understanding, Legitimacy and Implications, Centre for European Governance/Centre for Political Thought, University of Exeter.

05/05/2018 'Balancing National and European Citizenship', CRASH Workshop on 'Solidarity, Social Policy, and Free Movement in Europe after the Crisis', University of Cambridge

11/09/2018 Keynote Lecture: 'EU citizenship – Supra-national, Trans-national or International?', Conference on Political Identity on the Threshold, Nova Institute of Philosophy (IFILNOVA) / Ethics and Political Philosophy Lab (EPLAB), Lisbon, Portugal

15/11/2018 Keynote Lecture: 'Demoi-cratic Constitutionalism within the EU', Conference on Global Constitutionalism and the Future of Democracy, University of Erfurt, Germany

28/11/2018 'Taking Back Control: Why National Democracy Needs the EU, and the EU Needs National Democracy', Institute for Futures Studies, University of Stockholm

30/01/2019 Keynote Lecture: 'Democracy and Lying: To What Extent Does the One Reduce or Induce the Other?', 4th Braga Colloquium in the History of Moral and Political Philosophy on 'The Politics of Emotions: Historical Insights and Contemporary Challenges', University of Braga, Portugal.

12/02/2019 'Taking Back Control: Why National Democracy Needs the EU, and the EU Needs National Democracy', PhD in Global Studies Programme, Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo

25/04/2019 Book Launch 'A Republic of European States', UCL European Institute

30/04/2019 'Taking Back Control': Demoi-cracy, Differentiation and the Role of National Parliaments', Workshop on 'Parliaments in asymmetric 'federal' systems: How to combine differentiation with parliamentary representation', 'School of Government', LUISS, Rome

30/04/2019 Book Symposium 'A Republic of European States', School of Government, LUISS, Rome

16-17/09/2019 'Differentiated Integration as a Fair Scheme of Cooperation', Conference on 'Is Europe Unjust?', EUI, Florence

19/09/2019 Book Symposium 'From Maastricht to Brexit, School of Government, LUISS, Rome

19/09/2019 'Representative Democracy, Truthfulness and the Challenge of Populism and Technocracy', School of Government, LUISS, Rome

20/09/2019 Keynote Lecture, 'Why Political Constitutionalism is Opposed to Constitutional Populism', Conference on 'Political Constitutionalism and Constitutional Populism: What Do They Share?' (Convegno Annuale di Diritti Comparati), Scuola Superiore, Sant'Anna, Pisa

14/10/2019 Book Symposium 'A Republic of European States', Amsterdam Centre for Contemporary European Studies, Faculty of Law, University of Amsterdam

08/11/2019 Keynote Lecture, 'Why Political Constitutionalism is Opposed to Constitutional Populism', Conference on Pierre Trudeau at 100: The Legacy of P.E. Trudeau 1919-2019, Faculty of Law, University of Montreal

13/12/2019 Keynote Lecture, 'Taking Back Control: Why National Democracy Needs the EU, and the EU Needs National Democracy', Staatsrechtconferentie 2019 [Annual Conference of Dutch Association of Public Law], *The Economic Constitution: Principles of State Democracy under the Rule of Law between Globalization and Europeanization (De Economische Constitutie - Beginselen van de Democratische Rechtsstaat tussen Globalisering en Europeanisering)*

06/03/2020 Keynote Lecture, 'When is Democracy Constitutional? On the Relations between Political, Populist and Popular Constitutionalism' Conference on 'Constitutionalism in the Age of Populism', jointly with the Victoria Colloquium on Social, Political and Legal Theory, University of Victoria, Canada.

09/03/2020 Distinguished Speaker Series, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 'Taking Back Control': Demoi-crazy and Republicanism within a European Association of Sovereign States'

01/10/2020 Amsterdam Centre for European Studies Annual Conference on Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe: Promises, Pitfalls, Pathways – invited talk on 'Demoi-crazy or Domination?' (via Zoom)

27/11/2020 Webinar on my book *A Republican Europe of States*, Collegio Europeo di Parma

02/03/2021 Paper on 'Differentiated Integration as a Fair Scheme of Cooperation', Nuffield Political Theory Workshop (via Zoom)

09/04/2021 Commentator on Cristina Lafont (Northwestern), 'The Democratic Case for Judicial Review: A Participatory interpretation of the internal relation between the Rule of Law and Democracy', Normative Orders, Goethe University, Frankfurt (via Zoom).

18/04/2021 'Taking Back Control: Why National Democracy Needs the EU and the EU needs National Democracy', Seminar, Mathias Corvinus Collegium Foundation, Budapest

05/05/2021 Discussant at Book Symposium on Mark Tushnet, *Taking Back the Constitution*, King's College London (on Teams)

01/07/2021 Plenary speaker on 'Political Constitutionalism and the Challenge of Populism', Critical Legal Studies Annual Conference on Transnational Political Constitutionalism, Cardiff University (via Zoom)

07/07/2021 Keynote Address, REDEM workshop on *The Ethical Complexity of Voting*, University of Genoa (via Zoom)