

What kind of democracy for what kind of European Foreign and Security Policy?



At a recent workshop in Oslo, scholars were invited to discuss two important questions: First, to what extent can one say that the Common Foreign and Security Policy has moved beyond intergovernmentalism? Second, if so, what type of democratic legitimacy would that require?

Read more on p. 9

The EU Naval Force Somalia prevents a hijacking in March 2009. The military anti-piracy Operation Atalanta was investigated closer by some of the contributors to the workshop © Council of the European Union/German navy

The European political order: State-less but democratic and just?

A second workshop was organised in Oslo in September within WP 1 - *Theoretical Framework*. RECON researchers and invited guests were gathered to discuss new theoretical developments in political theory on the transnationalisation of the democratic state. The workshop focused on theoretical groundwork, debating the concept of the state. Particular attention was paid to how the concept of state relates to the concepts of justice and democracy.

Read more on p. 8



European stories



Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis are the editors of a book on intellectual debates on Europe in national contexts which appeared on Oxford University Press in November. The volume takes an innovative approach to key debates about European identity

and contains contributions from a number of distinguished scholars in the field. The book is an important outcome of research conducted within the framework of work package 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere* of the RECON project.

Read more on pp. 6-7

RECON partners:

Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

ARENA - Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo (coordinator)

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

European University Institute, Florence

Free University Berlin

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

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Editorial

RECON is now entering its fifth and final year. The challenge facing us in this last year is two-fold: to complete the research we are committed to do, and to render clear what are the main findings from the project. What have we found? How may we synthesize the findings?

This pertains to drawing out the main findings from each sub-project or work package, as well as discerning the implications that these findings have for the basic question that RECON addresses, namely: what democracy for what European Union?

The findings thus far render clear that the EU has moved decisively beyond the first, intergovernmental, model in most policy areas, perhaps with the exception of foreign and security policy. This serves to underline that the EU is more than an international organization. It is a polity with a material constitution, representative-democratic arrangements, certain elements of citizens' rights protection, and the ability to make binding decisions on behalf of citizens and member states, increasingly also through majority vote. But whereas the EU has moved beyond the first model, its ability to handle crises is limited, and its overall measure of 'stateness' is very weak, with member states retaining the means of legitimate violence. Thus, there is little to suggest that the EU has moved in the direction of the second, federal state model.

This leaves us with three sets of pressing questions. First, is whether the integration can be said to represent a decisive move towards the third, cosmopolitan, model. Or might the crisis lead to disintegration? If there is a clear move in the direction of the third model, this brings up the question as to whether it is possible to establish and sustain democracy in an entity that lacks the sanctioning powers of the state form and that operates in a world of states with claims to sovereignty. The third question is to consider what the findings say to the relevance and adequacy of the overarching structure of models that RECON was crafted on. Do they suffice or is there a need for a better conceptualization of what European democracy means today?

These are important challenges that require inputs from the entire RECON project collective. There are also some important planned events in 2011 where we will discuss project findings. One is the RECON Outreach Conference in Brussels on 19 May, the other is in Oslo during 24-26 November. The 24th is an Outreach Conference whereas the two remaining days are for the RECON Concluding Conference.

We greatly encourage all project participants to contribute with their inputs so that we may together bring this important project to a successful end.

Erik O. Eriksen
scientific coordinator

John Erik Fossum
substitute scientific coordinator

RECON Online Working Papers

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

2010/25

John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez
The Theory of Constitutional Synthesis: A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union

2010/24

Raúl Letelier
Non-Contractual Liability for Breaches of EU Law: The Tension between Corrective and Distributive Justice

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Sara Clavero and Yvonne Galligan
Gender Equality in the European Union: Lessons for Democracy?

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Pieter de Wilde, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Asimina Michailidou
Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns

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Rainer Nickel
Data Mining and 'Renegade' Aircrafts: The States as Agents of a Global Militant Security Governance Network — The German Example

2010/20

David G. Mayes and Zaidah Mustaffa
Social Models in the Enlarged EU

2010/19

Tess Altman and Cris Shore
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2010/18

Aleksandra Maatsch
Between an Intergovernmental and a Polycentric European Union: National Parliamentary Discourses on Democracy in the EU Ratification Process

2010/17

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
Bringing European Democracy Back In: Or how to Read the German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Treaty Ruling

2010/16

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2010/15

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Two Stories about Toleration

2010/14

Zdenka Mansfeldová and Petra Rakušanová Guasti
The Quality of Democracy in the Czech Republic

2010/13

Emmanuel Sigalas, Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak, Peter Slominski and Jozef Bátora
Democracy Models and Parties at the EU Level: Empirical Evidence from the Adoption of the 2009 European Election Manifestoes

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Informal Elite Dialogue and Democratic Control in EU Foreign and Security Policy

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2010/10

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The Committee of the Regions: The RECON Models from a Subnational Perspective

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Half full not half empty Europe in the financial crisis

David Mayes

Europe Institute, University of Auckland

In the last RECON Newsletter several writers took the opportunity to point out that European performance in the two years of the financial crisis since the collapse of Lehman Brothers was far from perfect – quite right. It was also deficient in the period before that. But they went on to draw the conclusion that closer integration and better democratic arrangements at the EU level were the answer. There is a non-sequitur here. The United States has much better democratic arrangements and institutions at the federal level yet it was not only a major cause of the crisis but has thus far had a rather less successful response to the crisis, as it is difficult to get agreement on fundamental changes.

While the EU has ducked some of the harder issues in trying to develop a European level for dealing with cross-border banks, it has addressed the problem of looking at financial stability at the EU level through the European Systemic Risk Board and has achieved remarkable success in putting together a nearly 0.5 trillion euro European Financial Stability Facility. People are very disparaging about the ability of successive Greek governments to face up to fiscal difficulty but it would be an interesting speculation to ask what their standard of living and problems would be now if they had been outside the euro area. The Stability and Growth Pact may not have been as successful in encouraging fiscal responsibility as many hoped but performance since the founding of the euro area has been much better than that of the previous twenty years. Not surprisingly the greatest peacetime downturn in many countries since the 1930s has had serious repercussions.

The financial crisis has emphasised a number of well-known drawbacks to the Western system(s) of capitalism and clearly these need to be addressed and not just in Europe. However, this does not negate the enormous advances that have been achieved in human welfare in the decades since this system has been operating – even taking the crisis and its likely further evolution into account. Of course with optimal policy and business decisions we could be living in a wealthier and fairer society, especially with the benefit of hindsight. But all systems will be imperfect and one of the great features of the RECON project is that it is seeking to expose the deficiencies of the present and plausible alternative democratic paradigms for Europe.

One might ask, for example, whether in fact some of the problems revealed by the crisis is that the EU has moved too rapidly towards a single system and that maintaining a flexible exchange rate for

some countries might have been more beneficial. In such cases, the more challenged countries can place more weight on the exchange rate as an adjustment mechanism and less on the labour market and fiscal policy. Having more choice at the national level might be preferable. OECD countries outside the EU have seen similar benefits. In many respects a currency area is a fair weather benefit. It gives advantages of lower real interest rates through a lower risk premium and holds down offsetting responses to favourable shocks.

However, there are indeed some important challenges, particularly for welfare in the EU, that the crisis has highlighted. With an ageing population it is clearly difficult to make the fiscal arithmetic add up. For example, in order to make pension schemes viable there has been a switch from defined benefits to defined contributions. Hence people are subject to much more uncertainty. They may not know, even quite close to retirement, what sort of income their contributions will buy as it depends on the performance of the market and the fund managers. Fluctuations in asset values provide a particular problem when history has been largely of rising prices as has been the case in many housing markets. Not only does it pose the difficulty that people are uncertain about how much equity they may have in a house when they need to sell but it makes it more difficult to decide what sort of savings vehicle will offer the greatest protection. Higher expected rates of return are associated with higher risks. However, in the crisis even conservative plans

have generated negative returns. Worse still the returns from what appear to be similar risk rated products have varied considerably across providers.

This greater uncertainty applies to labour markets as well and European governments have responded to the pressures by a wide range of innovative responses, encouraged by the soft coordination of the Open Method described by Anna Michalski in her latest RECON discussion paper 'Social Welfare and the Levels of Democratic Governance in the EU'. These innovations result in a more complex and flexible system with many providers, which some label 'chaotic' as set out in Tess Altman and Cris Shore's RECON paper 'Social Welfare and Democracy in Europe' (2010/19). Organising oneself in the face of a complicated and frequently changing sys-

tem places considerable responsibility on people.

There is thus an ironic dilemma. Allowing people more freedom of choice may enable them to choose products more related to their specific needs and preferences but it may also expose them to greater risks. It most certainly requires a higher level of financial literacy than a purely prescriptive regime. One of the things the crisis has emphasised is that greater financial awareness is required in the modern world. Financial literacy used to be equated with numeracy but numeracy as

taught in schools often has a more abstract scientific framework. It does not teach people how to recognise financial scams or to understand the motivation of people who are giving them advice. Increased financial regulation and harmonisation may help but at the levels of income and wealth prevailing in Europe at present increased financial awareness is also an important ingredient of protecting the more vulnerable.

'In many respects a currency area is a fair weather benefit'



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What does this imply for the three RECON democratic models? Well it does not imply an unambiguous emphasis on a more federal approach. Such an approach may indeed be desirable but the financial crisis does not provide the evidence. Trying to strike a balance between risk management for people and risk management by people at all levels of government faces the modern complex European society with an evolving problem to which there will be only imperfect answers. These answers will not be the same for each part of society nor indeed for each person within it. In the light of such problems the EU has made a pretty good attempt, crisis included. It could have been a lot worse particularly without the degree of coordination, co-operation and integration that has taken place.

Unlike some of my colleagues, for me the glass is half full and the wine well worth drinking.

'Greater financial awareness is required in the modern world'

Democratic surveillance or bureaucratic suppression of national sovereignty in the European Union?

Ideas on the multilateral surveillance regulation

Policy paper by Stefan Collignon

Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies, Pisa

This paper argues that the problems of coordination failure and the insufficient enforcement of common policy rules that have caused the Greek crisis are due to a lack of democracy at the European level. Unless reforms take this democratic dimension in consideration, future crises are inevitable. The proper way of solving this problem is involving the European Parliament as a democratic legislator in multilateral surveillance.

La pensée unique est morte! Vive la pensée unique! The recent euro-crisis has highlighted the limits and flaws in the current system of governing the economy of the European Union. It has proven that intergovernmental policy coordination is not able to produce optimal policies for Europe's citizens or even to prevent a near-fatal breakdown of the euro. Not surprisingly, the failure to generate welfare improving policy output contributes to the growing Euroskepticism and the gradual loss of legitimacy for the European integration project. Long gone are the times, when a permissive consensus allowed governments to go ahead and build Europe in the manner of "enlightened despotism". Shocked by the crisis, European Union and member state authorities have now come up with a variety of propositions for reforming Europe's economic governance, which aim at raising the efficiency of European Union's governance, i.e. at improving the system's output, but they all avoid dealing with the core problem: who is legitimizing European policy decisions? How is it possible that governments tell each other what to do, when each has been democratically elected to something else?

While it is now common to state that "neither the Member States nor the Commission have correctly implemented the Maastricht Treaty" (EP 2010), the reasons behind this coordination failure remain in the dark. For example, the Commission has nothing else to say than that the recent crisis "showed gaps and weaknesses in the current system, underlining the need for stronger and earlier policy co-ordination, additional prevention and correction mechanisms and a crisis resolution facility for euro-area Member States." The European Central Bank goes a step further and finds: "The disappointing performance of fiscal policies under the EU framework was due to the weak governance of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), notably (i) a lack of enforcement of fiscal discipline at the EU level and (ii) insufficient national incentives to comply with the EU rules." Yet, this begs the question why the governance was so weak and what kind of incentives are needed to improve the situation. [...]

I will argue that the only way to achieve this is through a democratic European Economic Government. The French government used to call for a *gouvernement économique* for the Euro Area, but it never specified what it meant, presumably because it was afraid of the unintended consequences. Unfortunately, the recent Franco-German Paper is a blueprint for how *not* to create an economic government. Before they are designing reforms of Europe's governance, European policy makers must learn the lessons from the past. If the logic of previous failures is not understood, nothing is learned from mistakes, and the solutions will hardly improve policy outcomes in the future.



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The emerging consensus among policy-makers now focuses on three areas: (1) strengthening surveillance over budgetary policy in the Stability and Growth Pact; (2) setting up a framework for competitiveness surveillance and the correction of economic imbalances and (3) the design of a euro area framework for crisis management. All these proposals seek more efficient coordination of policies amongst mainly national actors, although most see the need for a stronger role of the European Commission and the ECB. [...] In my last paper for the Monetary Dialogue, I made some concrete proposals on policy improvements after the crisis. In this paper I will concentrate on the need of a democratic framework for economic policy reforms and then comment on some of the fault lines in the existing policy proposals by European authorities.

Read the full paper at www.reconproject.eu

On RECON's website you can find policy memos and commentaries by RECON-affiliated researchers, who relate ongoing research to contemporary events:

www.reconproject.eu

Go to Press Room / Commentaries and Policy Memos

New Book: The New Politics of European Civil Society

Ulrike Liebert and
Hans-Jörg Trenz (eds)

Routledge, 2010



Ulrike Liebert and Hans-Jörg Trenz are the editors of a new volume which appeared on Routledge in November 2010.

European civil society has emerged as a social space between EU governance and the citizens of the member states, populated by non-state agents claiming to represent, speak for or participate on behalf of the most varied social constituencies in EU decision making. This book consolidates European civil society research by re-viewing its conceptual, normative and empirical-analytical foundations. With contributors from political science to sociology to law, it captures the evolving practices of European civil society that stretch across the national (local), the European and the global realm.

Developing an analytical framework that highlights the interplay between civil society building and polity building from above as well as from below, within the legal and institutional framework of the EU, they examine whether and how civil society can contribute to making democracy work in normative democratic theoretical perspectives.

The book is a cooperative project which was initiated by the editors' coordination of WP 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere*, and which further matured through exchanges with colleagues who share a longstanding interest and research experience in European civil society. The book thus also draws on research from the CONNEX network and the CIVGOV project, and has benefited greatly from fieldwork conducted within the ConstEPS and the EU Social Constituency projects.

The volume contains contributions by Andrew Arato, Nadine Bernhard, Klaus Eder, Erik Jentges, Beate Kohler-Koch, Ulrike Liebert, David Ost, Heiko Pleines, Christine Quittkat, Carlo Ruzza, Stijn Smismans and Hans-Jörg Trenz.

Call for papers: Challenging and Renewing Democracy as We Know It

MatchPoints Seminar, Aarhus, 12-14 May 2011

Aarhus University, Denmark will host an interdisciplinary conference on deliberative democracy and democratization. John Erik Fossum (ARENA, University of Oslo) will organise a workshop on deliberative democracy and representation.

There is wide agreement that democracy is the only viable legitimation principle in modern societies. At the same time we are constantly reminded of the crisis in representative democracy. These problems might if anything be compounded by globalization and regionalization (notably the EU)



Aarhus university park © Søren Kjeldgaard/AU

which help increase state interweaving and interdependence. These developments have given impetus to a renewed interest in deliberative democracy and an attendant quest for deliberative modes of opinion-making and will-formation. Citizens' assemblies and deliberative polls are held up as some of the institutional mechanisms for harnessing deliberative democracy. But it is hardly the case that the standard institutions of representative democracies – elections, party competition and parliaments – are devoid of deliberative qualities of their own. So, are deliberative arenas inside and outside formal representative institutions best understood as substitutes or as complements? And is the answer to that question, in turn, influenced by how far we understand deliberation as directed at a rational consensus and how far, in contrast, we regard it as a means of showing of mutual and equal respect for positions that may often be irreducibly different from one another?

Workshops on

Deliberative democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, experiences and historical perspectives

Requisites of Democracy: Conceptualization, Measuring, and Explanation

Institutions of Democracy in Transition

Democratisation in Fragile States

Vernacular Democracy: Ethnographic Approaches to the Global Appeal of the Rule of the People

Panel debates on *Democratisation after the Neocons*, *Deliberative Democracy* and *Danish Democracy* (in Danish)

The seminar is open for a selection of proposed papers. The deadline for proposals is **1 February 2011**. Contact: **Michael Böss: engmb@hum.au.dk**

Several RECON members are confirmed speakers, including Ben Crum (Free University Amsterdam), Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA), Christopher Lord (ARENA), Johannes Pollak (Webster University Vienna) and Hans-Jörg Trenz (ARENA). Other confirmed speakers are Francis Fukuyama (Stanford University/Aarhus University), Fareed Zakaria (Time/CNN), Anthony McGrew (University of Southampton), Georg Sørensen (Aarhus University), James Fishkin (Stanford University), Mark Warren (University of British Columbia), Dario Castiglione (Exeter University), David Laycock (Simon Fraser University), Jack Snyder (Columbia University) and Robert Rotberg (Harvard University).

The conference is organised by Michael Böss, in collaboration with John Erik Fossum, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Danish Institute for International Studies, and the Danish media house Politiken.

The purpose of a MatchPoints seminar is to create dialogue between Aarhus University and the surrounding society concerning subjects of wider societal interest. The seminars are therefore open to the public.

For further information see www.matchpoints.au.dk

RECON Report 12

Collective Identity and Democracy

The Impact of EU Enlargement

Magdalena Góra and Zdzisław Mach (eds)

The enlarged and enlarging European Union is a novel political project in motion. The supranational institutions created for six member states over 50 years ago are influencing the everyday lives of more than 500 million European citizens in 27 countries. In addition to being national citizens such as French, Polish or Hungarian, they are also Europeans.

This report brings together contributions on the changing nature of collective identity formation processes in the enlarged and enlarging Europe. The point of departure is a broad reconsideration of the concept of identity in the context of completed and future EU enlargement. The authors investigate the changes of established identities in old, new and prospective EU member states, and ask how ongoing political processes affect who the Europeans are; what is the content of their reconstructed identity; and what are the consequences of changes in collective identity formation for political processes in Europe?



Download reports from RECON's website

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RECON Outreach Conferences

Brussels, 19 May 2011

Oslo, 24 November 2011

RECON will hold a first outreach conference presenting main findings from the project in Brussels on **19 May 2011**. The conference will be held at Residence Palace in the European district, and is open to policy makers, journalists, interest groups, civil society actors, other European research projects as well as the academic community and the general public.

A second outreach conference will be staged in Oslo on **24 November 2011**, in conjunction with RECON's concluding conference. This event will be held at Blindern campus at the University of Oslo.



The programme will be available at RECON's website.

New book on European stories

European Stories is the first comparative study on how European integration has been dealt with by intellectuals in distinct national contexts. It contrasts visions of European integration across Europe and explores the many different ways 'public intellectuals' have debated Europe. How is the European Union framed in different intellectual debates? How is the evolving European polity conceived? What do these differences in turn tell us about the European Union? The book is an important outcome of research conducted within RECON's WP 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere*.



European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts
Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis (eds)
Oxford University Press
November 2010

Justine Lacroix is Professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and member of WP 5 – *Civil Society and the Public Sphere*

Kalypso Nicolaïdis is Professor at the University of Oxford

Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis are the editors of a new book on intellectual debates on Europe in national contexts which appeared on Oxford University Press in November. The book focuses on the post-1989 period but also includes historical accounts of the 'European idea' and its variants across the continent. Although not concluding on the extent to which such ideas may frame the attitude of European publics, the editors assume that they matter to the European project as a whole.

Three normative models

The editors suggest that the visions of the EU in the last two decades can be clustered around three distinct normative models, and that variants of these models can be found across national contexts. They discern two main cross-national debates: the first is between those who call for continent-wide unity and those who defend European nations as the only legitimate political units. The second debate revolves around the 'search for a third way'. Thinkers within this strand seek to pin down conditions for upholding 'unity in diversity'.

Within the first debate, the book identifies the 'national civic' or 'statist' school at the one end. This approach is based on the idea that the cradle of modern democracy and the welfare state is the nation state, which arguably cannot be reproduced as such at the European level. At the other end of the spectrum are those who equate more Europe with progress, the 'supranational' school. Europe is seen as the promise of economic, social, moral, and eventually political progress by virtue of its anti-nationalist and anti-hegemonic features, premised on the assumption

that it constitutes a new territorial scale where democratic principles may spread. A federal Europe would also be the only way to 'rescue' the achievements of the national welfare state – achievements that are threatened by the pace of globalization.

Thirdly, there are those who oppose both sides by advocating a third way, transcending this age-old opposition. This debate is concerned with how to accommodate radical diversity within a polity in the making. This is the third, 'transnational' school of thought identified by the editors, which perceives the EU as a new kind of polity.

These three models largely correspond to the three RECON models for reconstituting democracy in Europe, as identified by Eriksen and Fossum: the *Audit Democracy*, in which the union is derived from the member states; the *Federal Multinational Democracy*, in which the union is recognized as a sovereign state, in accordance with international law; and the *Regional European Democracy*, in which polity sovereignty is multi-dimensional and shared among levels.

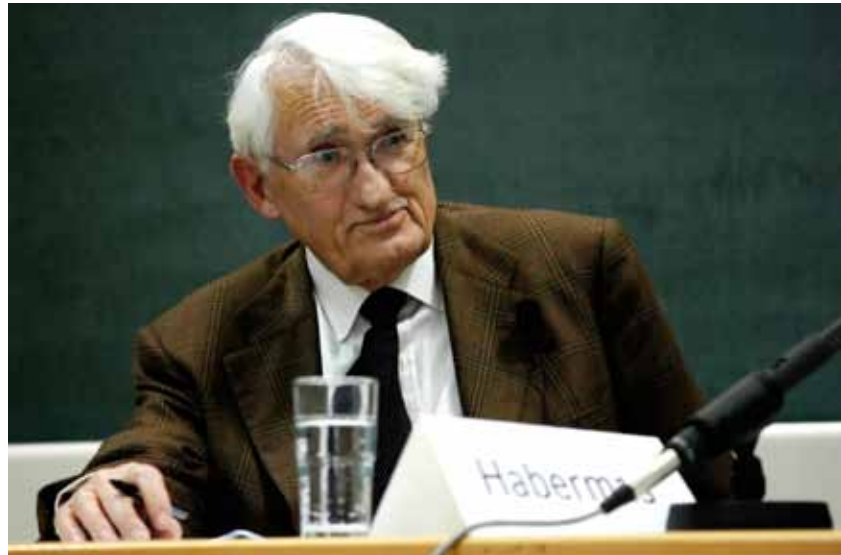
National debates on Europe

On this background, the book presents a number of country studies, categorizing them within four groups: *founders*, *joiners*, *returners*, and *outliers*. The sample of countries covers a number of important aspects such

as old and new EU members, members and non-members, Southern, Nordic, Western, and Eastern countries, large, medium, and small states, mainstream Catholic and non-Catholic cultures, periphery versus core, etc. This should give the editors enough comparative leverage to convey the variety of European stories to be found across Europe.

Several RECON partners contribute to the volume with analyses of national debates on Europe, within all of the four categories of countries. In addition, and on a transnational level, **Ulrike Liebert** analyses national intellectual contributions to the debate on democratic legitimacy in Europe since 2001. She finds that European democracy debates oscillate between a *communitarian* vision cherishing democracy in collectivist terms and a *liberal* vision celebrating diversity, individual rights, and legal constitutionalism.

One of the *founders*, France, is analysed by **Justine Lacroix**. She finds that the French debate on the EU's democratic legitimacy has revolved around the connection between rights and boundaries, and around the appropriate locus for democracy. She finds two



Lacroix shows that there is no equivalent in the French intellectual circles to the model of federal supranationalism advocated in Germany by Jürgen Habermas © Wolfram Huke

contradictory perceptions of Europe: either as an 'undefined' and 'open' space or an 'exclusive' entity centred on its own particularities. Moreover, French intellectuals writing on Europe almost all insist on the nation as the main locus for political socialization, but



The Jozef Pilsudski monument in Krakow. Góra and Mach's analysis of Poland goes back to the regaining of Polish Independence in 1918

they disagree on whether the EU constitutes an unwelcome motor for the dissolution of national communities or a promise to move beyond the sole nation-state framework.

In Spain, one of the *joiners*, **Carlos Closa** and **Antonio Barroso** explain how European integration has been almost totally uncontroversial due to the link established between democratization and Europe. Spanish intellectuals have long shown a 'benign neglect' towards the issue, and in this vacuum, public lawyers have assumed a central role in discussions on the EU. It has thus turned into a kind of arcane domain for specialists. In their view, *constitutional tolerance*, as articulated by Joseph Weiler, fit best with Spanish intellectual debates on Europe.

Magdalena Góra and **Zdzisław Mach** analyse the debate on Europe in Poland, labelled as a *returner*. They demonstrate how the continuity and change over the years in the Polish debate are crucial to understanding how the perception of Europe in Poland is constructed today. They also discuss the problem of reorientation of Poland's place in a changing Europe and present the phenomenon of being 'east of the West and west of the East'. Moreover, they account for the major voices on the costs and benefits of integration processes, as well as the self-perception of Poles as Europeans.

RECON partners have also investigated the debates in two so-called *outliers*. In Norway, **John Erik Fossum** and **Cathrine Holst** find, in line with most of the other chapters, that the

most important obsession boils down to 'the national issue'. They find that the great majority of Norwegian public intellectuals frown at the notion of Europe as a democratic anchor, and instead insist that the EU is a democratic curse, which Norway should stay away from. The European project and European governance are seen to have profoundly negative effects on the role of politics, autonomy, agency, sovereignty, and republican ideals, and there is a strongly held conviction that Europe is a 'rich man's club'. **Nora Fisher Onar** and **Ahmet Evin** have studied Turkish intellectuals from the inception of Ottoman Westernization to present, including the last decade with particular intense debates on Turkey's place in Europe after achieving EU candidate status in 1999. Fisher Onar and Evin argue that certain features of Turkish discourse are constant both over time and across the political spectrum. These include a tendency to see 'Europe' as a ubiquitous and monolithic actor, and the perception that the 'European experience' offers a menu for change from which some items may be ingested and others ignored.

The conclusion is entitled 'Echoes and Polyphony: In praise of Europe's narrative diversity'. Here, **Janie Pélabay**, **Kalypso Nicolaidis** and **Justine Lacroix** claim that it is neither desirable nor possible to promote a unique, homogenized, and official vision of what it means to be European. They point to the contributions to the volume and argue that they demonstrate that the EU polity is significantly marked, supported, or challenged by a great variety of diverging and competing stories about Europe. Hence the question of how to accommodate this mosaic of European stories: how could and should they participate in a public process of agreement on the European project? Based on an overview of European intellectual stories, they examine what is at stake in the very idea of 'narrative diversity' once applied to the EU.



From the 2007 elections in Turkey, when the country's place in Europe was on the agenda © AP

On European Stories

"This is a brilliant book. Its highly instructive chapters on how issues of European unification have been discussed from different aspects in different countries reveal in each case the strong dependence on national contexts – and the lack of mutual concern and coordination we observe in Europe even among intellectuals."

Jürgen Habermas

"I urge Europeans across the continent to read and debate it."

Pierre Rosanvallon
Collège de France

"Thanks to an impressive pan-European team, this unusual volume enables us to peep through the opaque walls that separate national debates. Whether you are looking for similarities or for differences, be prepared for many surprises"

Philippe Van Parijs
Université Catholique de Louvain
and Harvard University

"This is a remarkable attempt to capture the full polyphony, not to say cacophony, of different national, sub-national and supra-national versions of the European story, and then to find some underlying tune. It should be essential reading for anyone interested in the intellectual and political future of the European project."

Timothy Garton Ash
University of Oxford

"The trajectory of European integration is being decided not in Brussels but in 27 diverse nation-states. Their citizens view Europe in strikingly different ways. Brilliantly combining story-telling and social science, *European Stories* offers a path-breaking analysis of these disparate national visions. Indispensable for anyone who cares about Europe's future."

Andrew Moravcsik
Princeton University

The European Political Order: State-less but Democratic and Just?

RECON WP 1 workshop
Oslo, 30 September – 1 October 2010

Within the framework of WP 1 – *Theoretical Framework*, ARENA at the University of Oslo, hosted the workshop ‘The European Political Order: State-less but Democratic and Just?’. RECON researchers and invited guests from Europe and the US discussed new theoretical developments in political theory on the transnationalisation of the democratic state.

Current scholarly attention is predominantly on alternatives to state orders when exploring how the EU could be restructured into a just political order. Less attention is paid to the question of whether a state-like order might be a precondition for a legitimate organisation of a political community. Understanding what the EU system is as well as its developmental path until today requires a dynamic and reflexive view on the theoretical concepts in use. The workshop focused on theoretical groundwork, debating the concept of the state. Particular attention was paid to how the concept of state relates to the concepts of justice and democracy.



Rainer Forst

The workshop opened with a paper by **Rainer Forst** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University) on ‘transnational justice and democracy’. Rather than adopting a static Platonic view, Forst argued in favour of a procedural view on justice that can be detracted from the Kantian tradition. Individual moral and political autonomy is based on the fundamental moral right to justification. Justice, and accordingly a just political order, requires procedures of justification that enable individuals to equally and effectively have a say. In this view, democracy has to be understood as a practice that sets up such procedures and transforms the subjects of justification into the agents of justification. But where, then, is the place for democracy: within or beyond the state? According to Forst, requirements of justice make no halt at the borders of states, but are universal in kind. Wherever rule is exercised, there must be democracy. In his comment **Kjartan Koch Mikalsen** (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) focused on the role of public political institutions in Forst’s account. Institutions not only seem to function as remedy to injustice, but also have an enabling function in providing individuals with enforceable rights.

A similar view was brought forward by **Rainer**

Schmalz-Bruns (University of Hannover), who argued that there is more to the idea of democracy than its connection to the moral right to justification. If seen under moral premises only, the talk of ‘democratisation’

of the EU in fact turns into an alibi to substitute democracy for alternatives. Under real-world political conditions, however, moral autonomy is structurally vulnerable. Democracy points to the fact that vulnerability has to be compensated for by institutional means in order to transform it into effective political autonomy. From this perspective, a state-like organisation – that is, a legally institutionalised organisation of common hierarchical self-intervention – is an integral part of the idea of democracy as well as the idea of justice as moral right to justification. In his comment **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) argued that there also is a downside to the state-organisation as assumed by Schmalz-Bruns. Although state-like political institutionalisation has proven to be valuable in the modern constellation, there seems to be a dilemma to it. Fossum sees the state as programmed to reinforce nationalism at cost of other types of social ties. The crucial question for the EU, then, is how to have a state without creating a new nationalism.

Daniel Gaus (ARENA) examined some basic problems in the analysis of the concept of state and pointed to an ambivalence in the literature on the role of the state. In the ongoing discourse about the future shape of the EU two different

uses of ‘the state’ are prevalent. One uses ‘the state’ as an abbreviation for the political communities that have developed historically. The second, contrasting use of ‘the state’ formally refers to a normative idea. Gaus argued that there could be democracy and justice beyond the state in the first sense, without necessarily transcending the idea of the state (and its relation to the ideas of democracy and justice), and that any analysis of the relationship of state, democracy and justice should avoid to confuse the two meanings. **Cathrine Holst** (ARENA) objected that the two different uses of the state in the literature may serve an analytical purpose. They rather reflect disagreements with regard to the descriptive characteristics of the state and the explanatory power of the concept of state, she argued.

Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA) then pointed to a specific puzzle with European integration. The



Eva Ermann, Jean Cohen and John Erik Fossum

EU is more than an intergovernmental order as the member states are no longer in control of a considerable degree of delegated powers. The puzzle relates to the fact that there is a high degree of compliance with EU regulations, a compliance that is voluntary. To account for this, Eriksen proposed to make a conceptual distinction between government and state. The procedures of EU decision-making are based on moral values. Thus, defining the EU as a governmental structure would allow for regulations to have procedural legitimacy without the need of coercion. The latter is implied in the concept of state, whereas Eriksen would rather view the EU as a cosmopolitan entity premised on state-based members. In her comment **Jean Cohen** (Columbia University) questioned the view of the EU as a cosmopolitan entity. She argued that if the cosmopolitan feature of the EU is only about universal values included in the treaty basis, then any democratic nation state would be cosmopolitan. In her view, this is also reflected in the fact that Eriksen’s description of the EU as a cosmopolitan entity brings several features of the state back in.

The workshop initiated with the public lecture ‘Constitutionalism Beyond the State: Myth or Necessity?’, by Jean Cohen. She asked what kind of constitutionalism would be appropriate beyond



Erik O. Eriksen and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns

the state, and what the relation among distinct and competing legal orders should be. The public lecture was organized by ARENA in cooperation with The Research Programme on Democracy at the University of Oslo. Cohen’s paper ‘Constitutionalism Beyond the State: Myth or Necessity?’ was published as *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/16*.

What Kind of Democracy for What Kind of European Foreign and Security Policy?

RECON WP 6 Workshop
Oslo, 16-17 September 2010

ARENA invited scholars from WP 6 – *The Foreign and Security Dimension* to discuss two important questions: First, to what extent can one say that the Common Foreign and Security Policy has moved beyond intergovernmentalism? Second, if so, what type of democratic legitimacy would that require?

The two chairs of the workshop, **Helene Sjursen** (ARENA) and **Wolfgang Wagner** (VU University Amsterdam), introduced the overarching questions by highlighting the interdependence between the depth and form of integration in foreign policy and the status and prospect of democracy in this policy area. Because assumptions about the intergovernmental character of the CFSP are often used to justify why there is no democratic shortage in this area, investigating that claim will set the premises for deciding what kind of democracy is needed for the CFSP. As long as the CFSP remains intergovernmental, democratic accountability and control continue to be an issue for each member state. However, if decision-making cuts across national, European, and transnational levels, the question of democracy becomes far more complex.

Institutional development beyond intergovernmentalism?

Many of the contributors focused on the institutional and structural conditions shaping the CFSP. The extent to which member states share information was held out as one indicator of the level of integration in the area of CFSP. **Federica Bicchì** and **Caterina Carta** (London School of Economics and Political Science) presented the results of their extensive study of the EU's COREU/ CORTESY-network, used to circulate a range of different types of information related to the CFSP among the member states. They

Uwe Puetter (Central European University) argued that a stable, largely routinised decision-making context has developed in the CFSP field. However, the normative framing of the CFSP is contested. Such contestation is important, in their view, if we are to understand the process towards consensus-building at the European level. **Kolja Raube** (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) examined the level of executive integration within the CFSP and asked to what extent a state-like executive is developing. He argued, based on an analysis of changes following from the Lisbon Treaty, that the intergovernmental features of the executive institutions have been complemented by integrative and centralizing moves. Thus, he concluded that, in particular due to the role of the High Representative and the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), the CFSP can no longer be seen as purely intergovernmental.

Digging further into the EEAS, **Caterina Carta** discussed what type of foreign action service it might become. Carta argued that its policy mission and bureaucratic arrangements will be of particular importance in determining its future shape, as these structures will largely determine the institutional culture and actual functioning of the new service.

The impact of an outside perspective?

As argued by Sjursen and Wagner in the framework paper, the EU's foreign policy might also be influenced by the perceptions and policies of key external partners such as Turkey. Three papers examined EU-Turkish relations. **Meltem Müftüler-Baç** and **Arzu Kibris** (Sabanci University) presented findings from their study on the voting behaviour of Turkey and a selection of EU members in the UN General Assembly from 1997-2008. They found a high degree of voting convergence, except in areas where Turkey perceives the EU's positions to contradict with vital national interests. Moreover, they found that there is stronger voting convergence between Turkey and the EU than between Turkey and the US.

Also with a view to identify the level of convergence between Turkey and the EU in the field of foreign policy, **Nora Fisher Onar** (Sabanci University) compared their perspectives on the Israeli/Palestinian question. She concluded that there has been a steady, though not linear, convergence on this issue. This is due, in her view, not only to corresponding energy and security interests, but also to changes in the Turkish foreign policy perspective since the early 2000s, bringing it closer to the EU.

Analysing the extent to which the EU influences the policies of candidate countries, **Selin Türkes** (Sabanci University) discussed the Turkish

Constitutional Court's decision to ban the pro-Kurdish political party DTP in 2009. Investigating the reasons presented by the Court to justify its decision, which implied a breach of the EU's membership conditions, she found that the Court referred to internal EU norms, principles and practices. This, she argued, suggests that the EU's ability to influence Turkish policies



EU High Representative Catherine Ashton at a press briefing on the European External Action Service
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depends on the level of consistency between the EU's external policies and its internal practices.

More than intergovernmental policy?

The framework paper also held out that another way of studying the intersection between the EU's foreign policy and democracy would be to analyse the EU's policy profile. Two contributions used this as a starting point in order to shed light on the principles that the EU binds itself to in its foreign and security policy as well as the 'actual' consistency in concrete cases.

Marianne Riddervold (ARENA) asked whether or not the EU's foreign policy behaviour changes when it acquires military means. Investigating why the EU launched its military anti-piracy Operation Atalanta, she concluded that the need for long-term protection of humanitarian aid to Somalia was a key mobilizing argument. Contrary to what one would expect of a traditional great power, the EU has not prioritised its own interests at the expense of protecting humanitarian aid. It has bound itself to global law when using force against pirates. **Magdalena Gora** (Jagiellonian University) argued that the future characteristic of EU foreign policy depends on whether its foreign policy norms are accepted by the new member states. Gora examined Poland's perspectives on EU foreign policy by analysing positions on international development aid and on the future shape of the Common Security and Defence Policy.

A democratic CFSP?

Finally, two contributions addressed the state of democracy in EU foreign policy-making. In order to examine at what level – national, transnational or supranational – mechanisms for democratic control of EU military missions are developed, **Dirk Peters**, **Wolfgang Wagner** and **Cosima Glahn** (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) presented their study of Operation Atalanta. They found the prime locus of parliamentary activity to be at the national level, whereas democratic control at the European level is reduced to a 'deliberate audit function'. Finally, **Cathleen Kantner** (University of Stuttgart) presented findings from her media content analysis of European, transnational, and transatlantic debates on humanitarian military interventions.

In the last year of RECON, the main task of the WP will be to integrate and synthesize the various findings.



EU's Operation Atalanta escorts a food aid convoy into Somalia, February 2009 © EU NAVFOR

demonstrated how the EU member states have become embedded in a system of information exchange that has developed far beyond what was intended at the outset. COREU is now also used as a forum for decision-making. It has contributed to erode the barriers between national and European levels of foreign policy making.

Antje Wiener (University of Hamburg) and

Agency Governance in the EU and its Consequences

RECON WP 3 workshop
Mannheim, 16-17 September 2010

The rapid proliferation of EU agencies in the past decades marks a strikingly new institutional development in the EU's executive order. The creation of EU agencies is considered part and parcel of the formation and reform of 'executive satellites' in the EU, which have been created in the orbits of the Commission and the Council Secretariat.

The purpose of this workshop, which took place at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES), within WP 3 – *Representation and Institutional Make-Up*, was to flag three important themes in the nascent literature on EU agency governance and to explore their linkages: (1) The creation and design of EU agencies; (2) the workings of EU 'agency governance' and how it is affected by agency design; (3) the implications of agency governance for questions of accountability and democratic legitimacy.

After a brief introduction by the workshop convenors, **Mark Thatcher** (LSE, London) focussed on the question why the creation of EU agencies is lagging behind in the area of 'economic regulation' in general and in areas dominated by (network) industries in particular. He attributed these patterns to national politicians' and regulators' reluctance to delegate powers in these areas given the perceived political salience, a high degree of politicization and the dominant position of domestic regulatory institutions. Moreover, also the European Commission tends to oppose the creation of an EU agency in areas where it exercises considerable power.

David Levi-Faur (WZB Berlin/Hebrew University of Jerusalem) observed a 'double movement toward a single market and a single European regulatory space' and discussed the different (institutional) manifestations of the European regulatory space comprising a diverse set of agencies and agency-like institutions ranging from the European Central Bank to OLAF as well as regulatory networks such as ENISA. He interprets the process through which the European

regulatory space has evolved as 'administrative regulatory state building'.

The second part of the workshop addressed the theme of 'agency governance', which encompasses patterns of policy-making and policy effectiveness of EU agencies and regulatory networks. **Martino Maggetti** (University of Lausanne/University of Zurich) and **Fabrizio Gilardi** (University of Zurich) presented a paper on a specific European Regulatory Network, the Committee of European Securities Regulators (CESR) seeking to explain the structural make-up of the network as well as the effectiveness of the CESR in harmonizing domestic standards and facilitating domestic implementation. They found that the regulators of countries with larger financial industries tend to occupy more central positions in the network, and that this relationship is stronger among newer member states.

Morten Egeberg (ARENA Oslo) and **Jarle Trondal** (Agder University/ARENA Oslo) presented their research on the role which EU agencies play in the process of 'executive centre formation' at the EU level. They argued that the intensity of interactions between EU agencies and national and supranational actors is strongly affected by the degree to which the policies addressed by EU agencies are politicized. Moreover, they argued that EU-level agencies are integral building blocks of a multilevel Union administration, partly bypassing national ministries.

Madalina Busuioic (University of Amsterdam) and **Martijn Groenleer** (Delft University) presented a paper co-authored with **Deirdre Curtin** (University of Amsterdam) in which they empirically explored the autonomy and accountability of Europol. They found that despite an increase in the agency's formal-institutional powers to act more autonomously, the lack of cooperation by its national counterparts prevents Europol from exercising these powers effectively. Moreover, the increase of the EP's powers has led to a move towards a 'parliamentarization' of Europol's accountability.

In the last section of the workshop, three papers

dealt with the implications of agency governance for questions of accountability and democratic legitimacy in EU regulatory policy making. **Arndt Wonka** and **Berthold Rittberger** (MZES) investigated the political attitudes of EU agency staff. They found that EU agency professionals strongly approve of 'professional' accountability, but also forms of 'social' accountability and public approval are considered important. Agency professionals are acutely aware of the political character (and impact) of their work, which might result from their principled skepticism towards a purely 'technocratic' notion of legitimation and accountability. According to Rittberger and Wonka, this may also reflect the conviction that efficient regulation in the heterogeneous EU context relies on the general approval of the public and of political elites.

Christopher Lord (ARENA, Oslo) focused on the 'paradoxical parliamentarization' of EU agencies. The paradox stems from the EP's strong skepticism vis-à-vis EU agencies on the one hand, and its legislative efforts to increase the powers and autonomy of EU agencies on the other. He reported that legislative decisions on EU agencies are supported by parliament with overwhelming majorities. Lord argued that MEPs fight hard to bring proposals for agencification closer to their individual policy preferences, and found that the EP is much more likely to secure its amendments where the Commission and Council feel that they are justified by shared legitimation beliefs rather than the pursuit of specific policy preferences.

Finally, **Johannes Pollak** (Webster/IHS, Vienna) focused on the structure and function of 'accountability regimes' currently in place to supervise EU agencies' work. The main criticism raised was that the institutional provisions to hold agencies to account are not tailored specifically to agencies' competencies and their substantive area of work. He further advocated more involvement of the EP in holding EU agencies to account.

Following an editing and reviewing process, the contributions will be considered for publication in a Special Issue on EU Agency Governance in the *Journal of European Public Policy*.

Upcoming events

The Costs of Children
Lillestrøm, 24-25 February 2011

Within the framework of WP 7 – *The Political Economy of the European Union*, the University of Auckland will organise a workshop on 'The costs of children'. The workshop is hosted by ARENA and will be staged in Lillestrøm outside Oslo.

The aim of the workshop is to explore the role and status of gender by investigating the aspect that has the greatest impact on the different roles of men and women: namely, the bearing and raising of children. Family policies vary considerably across the EU in two distinct ways: in how they affect levels of female employment and pay; and, in the degree to which they adhere to the principle of equality of treatment.

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A Multitude of Constitutions? The European Constitutional Pluralism in Question
Oslo, 13-14 January 2011

Within the framework of WP 2 – *Constitutional Politics*, RECON will organise a workshop as part of the 2nd *International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice* at the University of Oslo.

The workshop will discuss the merits of the theory of constitutional synthesis recently developed by Fossum and Menéndez and exposed in their forthcoming monograph *The Constitution's Gift*. The key component of the theory is the regulative ideal of a common constitutional law, of a constitution made up of a collective of national constitutions; which in their view makes up the deep constitution of the EU. Constitutional synthesis is made up of normative integration and institutional consolidation, which together make up for a distinct constitutional dynamic.

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After Globalization - New Patterns of Conflict

Joint RECON/CRC 597 workshop
Loccum, 5-7 September 2010

In a workshop organised jointly by RECON and the University of Bremen Collaborative Research Centre 'Transformations of the State,' twenty-three academics from around Europe came together to discuss the conflicts law approach to transnational governance. The three-day event took place in the tranquil surroundings of the Academy of the Abbey of Loccum, in Niedersachsen. The contributions, organised in nine panels in three broad groups, will be published as a RECON Report.

The first two panels presented normative orientations of the conflicts-law project; two further panels explored its sociological backing; and a final cluster of panels discussed applications in individual fields.



The village of Loccum outside Bremen

Opening the workshop, **Christian Joerges** (University of Bremen) introduced conflicts law as a 'project under construction'. His presentation on 'the idea of a three-dimensional conflicts law as constitutional form' (RECON online working paper 2010/05), was commented on by **Andreas Maurer** and **Olaf Dilling** (both University of Bremen). In the second panel of the day, **Florian Rödl** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University) expanded conflicts law towards a 'democratically sensitive universalism' in his paper on 'democratic juridification without statization: law of conflict of laws instead of a world state.' Discussant **Marc Amstutz** (University of Fribourg) responded, with a comment on 'the opium of democracy.'

The second day started with inter-disciplinary panels discussing the sociological background for the conflicts-law approach, while at the same time carrying on debates that begun in the workshop 'The Social Embeddedness of Transnational Markets,' co-organised between RECON and Transformations of the State, in February 2009. **Kolja Möller** (University of Bremen) presented a paper on Michel Foucault's analysis of governmentality and the social embeddedness of market societies, in a paper entitled 'Is Michel Foucault a Polanyian?' This was followed by **Martin Herberg's** (University of Bremen) paper on global governance and conflicts of law from a Foucaultian view, 'the power/knowledge-nexus revisited'. **Michelle Everson** (Birkbeck, University of London) commented on both papers. **Sabine Frerichs** (University of Helsinki) then asked, from an economic-sociology perspective, 'what sociological backing for the conflict of laws approach?' Her contribution was commented upon by **Henning Deters** (University of Bremen).

Summing up and expanding on these contributions of the first part of the second day, **Domenico Siciliano** (University of Florence) discussed the concepts of governmentality, governance, and society in his comments on Foucault and Polanyi on the concluding day of the workshop.

In three final panels on the second day and two panels on the concluding morning, the focus shifted to individual thematic fields. **Poul F. Kjaer** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University) opened the theme of 'constitutionalising globalization?' with his paper on 'the concept of the political in the concept of transnational constitutionalism', adopting a sociological perspective. **Inger-Johanne Sand** (University of Oslo) commented on his contribution from a primarily legal point of view. In the next panel, **Rainer Nickel** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University) and **Alicia Cebada Romero** (Carlos III University of Madrid) continued on conflicts law and constitutionalism, this time in the context of European human-rights adjudication. Their paper on 'conflicting constitutional laws and constitutional pluralism' was commented upon by **Markus Krajewski** (University of Bremen/University of Erlangen Nürnberg). In a panel on constitutionalism and administrative governance, **Rike**

Krämer (University of Bremen) gave a presentation on 'the notion of diagonal conflicts as a key concept of European conflicts law', with **Olga Batura** (University of Bremen) commenting.

Social rights and private governance constituted the theme of the penultimate panel. **Isabell Hensel** (Frankfurt am Main) presented her paper on 'social rights in global governance structures', which was commented upon by **Josef Falke** (University of Bremen). In a final panel on global poverty, **Tommi Ralli** (University of Bremen) gave a presentation on 'a covenant to combat poverty,' with **Regina Kreide** (Justus Liebig University Giessen) acting as a discussant.

The workshop was organised within WP 9 – *Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared*. The proceedings will be published in the RECON Report Series in 2011.

New Book:

Conflict of Laws and Laws of Conflict in Europe and Beyond: Patterns of Supranational and Transnational Juridification

Rainer Nickel (ed.)

Intersentia, 2010



Rainer Nickel is the editor of this volume which deals with new approaches to supra- and transnational law-generating structures. These new approaches, namely Christian Joerges' theoretical concept based upon the conflict of laws methodology, and additional ideas of constitutional pluralism and of participatory transnational governance, are discussed from private, public and international law perspectives. They strive to conceptualise, in legal categories, the efforts to re-constitute democratic governing in post-national constellations.

The volume seeks to find new ways for a democratisation of European and transnational governance outside traditional models, and more convincing ways of a European and transnational 'juridification' that reconciles democracy, diversity, and social rights.

The contributors are Nina Boeger, Alicia Cebada Romero, Michelle Everson, John Erik Fossum, Christian Joerges, Poul Kjaer, Karl-Heinz Ladeur, Miguel Poyares Maduro, John P. McCormick, Jürgen Neyer, Rainer Nickel, Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, Florian Rödl, Wolf Sauter, Christoph Schmid, Gunther Teubner, Ellen Vos and Neil Walker.

The volume builds on research developed within WP 9 – *Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared* and is an elaborated version of RECON Report No 7.

Continued funding of Bremen project

The German Science Foundation has decided to continue their financial support of the Collaborative Research Project 'Transformations of the State' for four more years with a grant of 11 Million €. It is the first time that a Collaborative Research Centre with a focus on political science is supported over such a long period. The Centre explores in 18 interdisciplinary subprojects in what ways the liberal national state has changed under the pressures of globalisation and liberalisation. The first research period was primarily descriptive, the second explanatory, whereas the third will be concerned with the outcomes of these processes and their evaluation.

The Bremen project is closely interlinked with the RECON project, most intensively in the context of WP 9 – *Global Transnationalisation and Democratisation Compared*, coordinated by John Erik Fossum and Christian Joerges. In Bremen, Joerges and Josef Falke direct a project on 'Trade Liberalisation and Social Regulation'. The cooperation between RECON and Bremen has so far materialised in four workshops and conferences, RECON Reports and book publications, and will be continued in 2011.

More information on the Transformations of the State project: www.sfb597.uni-bremen.de

Justine Lacroix receives ERC Starting Grant

Justine Lacroix has been successful in obtaining a Starting Grant from the European Research Council with her project RESIST 'Human Rights versus Democracy: Towards a Conceptual Genealogy of Skepticism about Human Rights in Contemporary Political Thought'.

The aim of RESIST is to outline a conceptual genealogy and a critical typology of the theoretical arguments that have been advanced, in the name of democracy, against the dominant human rights discourse of contemporary societies. The main types of critique will be outlined emphasising their complexity and diverse nature, and will then be supplemented with historical contextualisation. Contemporary examples of the democratic critique of the primacy of human rights will be compared with historical examples of thinkers who criticised human rights as such, notably Bentham, Burke, Marx, De Maistre, Comte and Schmitt. The key research question is whether a common critical aim can be articulated from different intellectual starting points that are otherwise far apart; and whether or not the structure of the arguments that run through these approaches significantly changes the type of critique advanced.

The successful candidates were announced on 19 November 2010. RESIST started on 1 October 2010 and will last for 5 years.



Call for postdoctoral researchers CSIC Madrid

A call for Postdoctoral Researchers is soon to be announced by the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid. Projects within the thematic scope of RECON are eligible.

The positions will be announced for a period of 3 years at the Institute of Public Goods and Policies (IPP), Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities. The IPP expect to have the possibility of hiring up to 3 post docs, one in each of the following areas: Comparative Politics (RECON eligible); Science Dynamics and Innovation; and Environmental Economics.

Expected deadline for applications is mid-December 2010. The successful candidates are expected to start in May 2011, but this is subject to negotiation. The full pre-announcement of the call is available at: www.ipp.csic.es/es/node/275434

The call will be published in the Spanish Official Journal (BOE): www.boe.es

For more information, please contact Carlos Closa: carlos.closa@cchs.csic.es

Appointments



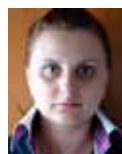
Tatjana Evas was employed as RECON researcher at the University of Bremen in November 2010. Evas recently submitted her PhD thesis, which provides a comprehensive and systematic reconstruction of the adjudication of EU law in the two Post-Soviet EU member states: Estonia and Latvia. She assesses and compares how the national courts understand and apply EU law, explicitly or implicitly considering their appeal to coherence of the EU institutional legal order. The expected date of defense is 20 January 2011. Evas contributes to WP 2 and WP 3.



Amelie Kutter assumed the position of Research Associate at the Department of Sociology of Lancaster University in August 2010. As a member of the 'Great Transformation project' directed by Bob Jessop at the Cultural Political Economy Research Centre she works on discourses of the current financial and economic crisis. Kutter has contributed to WP 6 and WP 8 as part of the team at Freie Universität Berlin.



Cathleen Kantner was appointed Professor of International Relations and European Integration at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Stuttgart in April 2010. She was Assistant Professor at the Centre for European Integration at the Otto-Suhr Institute for Political Science at Freie Universität Berlin from 2005 to 2010. She contributes to RECON's WP 6 and WP 8.



Cristina Daniela Vintila joined the RECON team at the Institute of Public Goods and Policies, Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid as PhD student in September 2010. She has been awarded a JAE pre-doctoral scholarship and her dissertation analyses the European citizenship and the political rights of EU non-nationals in the member states. Vintila contributes to RECON's WP 2.

Carlos Closa, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Public Goods and Policies at CSIC and member of RECON's WP 2, spends the academic year 2010-2011 as Emile Noël Fellow at New York University. Closa has also been appointed Affiliated Scholar at the Global Governance Programme, European University Institute, which was inaugurated in June 2010.

Magdalena Góra, member of RECON's WP 8, is guest researcher at ARENA, University of Oslo from September 2010 to February 2011. She is researcher at the Institute of European Studies, Jagiellonian University, and has been awarded a research grant for the individual project 'The new EU member states and the future of the European integration', funded by the Norwegian Financial Mechanism and the EEA Financial Mechanism.

Arzu Kibris, member of RECON's WP 6, received her PhD in Political Science at Sabanci University in June 2010. Her PhD thesis is a game-theoretical study of the linkages between foreign and domestic policy-making. She was appointed Postdoctoral Fellow at Sabanci University for the RECON project for the academic year 2010-2011.

Johannes Pollak was appointed Head of the Political Science Department at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna on 1 October 2010. He also continues in his position as senior research professor at Webster University Vienna. Pollak contributes to RECON's WP 3.

Selin Türkeş, PhD candidate in Political Science at Sabanci University and member of RECON's WP 6, has received a Marie Curie Fellowship and spends the academic year 2010-2011 at the University of Deusto in Spain.

Justine Lacroix, member of WP 5, was appointed Professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles in October 2010. She also obtained an ERC Starting Grant (see above).

New Book: Political theory of the European Union

Jürgen Neyer and
Antje Wiener (eds)

Oxford University Press, 2010



The contributors to this book attempt to create a more decisively interdisciplinary theoretical approach

to studying the EU within the wider world-political context. The volume brings together scholars in a range of disciplines across the social sciences, many of whom contribute to RECON. The book aims not at offering a complete theory, but rather a theoretical approach combining different stands of political and legal theory. Contributions by Ulrich Beck, Erik O. Eriksen, Michelle Everson, Andreas Føllesdal, Edgar Grande, Matthias Kumm, Ian Manners, Jan-Werner Müller, Jürgen Neyer, Neil Walker, and Antje Wiener.

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