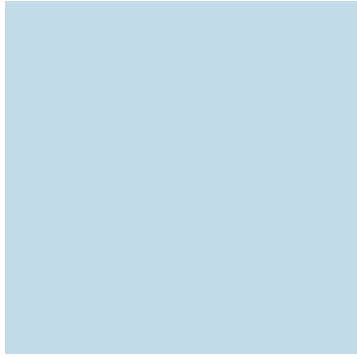
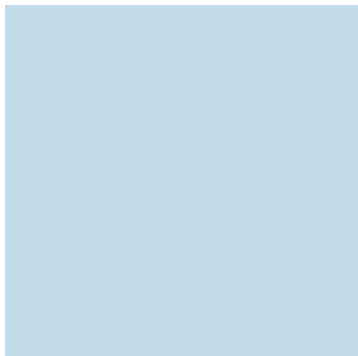
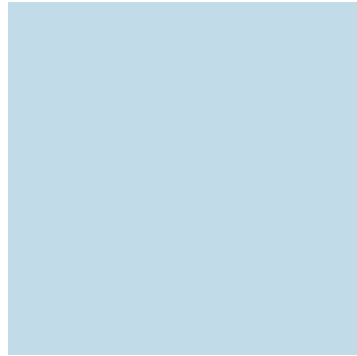




**ARENA
Centre for
European Studies**



**2011
Annual Report**



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ARENA - Centre for European Studies (originally *Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State*) was established as a ten-year research programme in 1994. In 2004, ARENA became permanent part of the University of Oslo as a centre for European research based at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

ARENA conducts theoretically founded and empirically informed research on the emerging European political order.

ARENA is internationally recognised as an important research community engaged in the exploration of the ongoing processes of political change in Europe. ARENA aims to develop further the centre as leading in this field, by conducting theoretically founded and empirically informed basic research, publishing in internationally recognised journals, and by actively seeking cooperation with other leading research communities.

Research at ARENA has always been organised around a core of interconnected research themes. The objective is to maintain a fruitful research community of active researchers coherently organised in several sub-groups. The centre interacts regularly with national and international colleagues, not least in a number of research projects, and at in-house seminars and workshops such as the institutionalised ARENA Tuesday Seminar.

In 2011, ARENA researchers conducted research within a number of projects, published widely, organised a number of events and presented research at a large number of external academic and other events, as this report documents.

A major part of the centre's activities this year revolved around the ARENA-coordinated RECON project (*Reconstituting Democracy in Europe*), which drew to a conclusion in December 2011. Over the last five years, a large group of scholars from across all of Europe and beyond have critically examined the important question of how to reconstitute



democracy in Europe. By the end of 2011 the financial crisis in Europe exposed some of the democratic challenges facing the EU, and RECON's research was thus proven to be highly topical.

In 2011, as RECON's coordinating institution, ARENA invested much effort in drawing the project to a successful end. Highlights from the research were presented at open dissemination seminars in Brussels and in Oslo, and also in a pamphlet with snapshots of findings. Moreover, numerous academic publications were finalised and a large academic concluding conference was organised in Oslo. RECON was the only *Integrated Project* financed by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme to be coordinated by the University of Oslo, and the project's scope and size is reflected in the high level of activities: more than 60 project conferences were organised and the publications database includes more than 1,600 entries.

ARENA was also involved in several other activities, and new research projects also started in 2011. The two projects NORCONE (*The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context*) and FLAGSHIP (*European Flagship Universities*), both financed by the Norwegian Research Council, started in 2011.

This report presents all the main research activities at ARENA in 2011, including the centre's publications, events and dissemination beyond the research community.

Research agenda

The research at ARENA is dedicated to the study of the European political order and how it is transformed through processes of political integration. The research at the centre is organized in line with the four main research areas of the long-term *EuroTrans* project, which cover the following dimensions:

- the administrative-regulative dimension of the political order;
- the constitutional-democratic dimension of the political order;
- the cognitive-cultural dimension of the political order;
- the external dimension of the political order.

EuroTrans is designed to serve as a focal point for present and future research activities at ARENA, organising the research into four thematical sub areas, under which most projects financed by other sources are linked. Hence, *EuroTrans* is both a project financed by the Research Council of Norway and functions as an overarching research agenda for the whole centre.

ARENA is involved in several large and small projects funded by different sources. Some projects are initiated and coordinated by ARENA researchers, such as the RECON, NORCONE and FLAGSHIP projects, but ARENA also participates as a partner in a number of projects and networks coordinated at other universities and research institutions across Europe, and beyond.

The Transformation and Sustainability of the European Political Order (EuroTrans)

The multilevel constellation that makes up the European Union is a unique political system. In the EuroTrans project we ask: How are decisions made at the many levels of the EU? Which are the processes of democratisation? How is the EU changing and what are the consequences for citizens and member states?

About

The traditional model of democratic rule is based on national control and the territorial delimitation of sovereignty. In Europe this has been supplemented with forms of supra-national governance, direct participation and representation.

The EU is an innovative order, providing answers to some of the challenges facing the nation state, but at the same time raising questions about how this order ensures effective action and democratic self-determination in a globalised world. The EU's multi-level system of governance, with its local, national and supranational elements, represents an experimentarium for research on the conditions for democratic rule and change.

The research under EuroTrans covers the following dimensions of the political order:

- The administrative-regulative dimension
- The constitutional-democratic dimension
- The cognitive-cultural dimension
- The external dimension

Objectives

EuroTrans studies the direction, dynamics and sustainability of the evolving European political order.

- What are the key characteristics and components of the new emerging order?
- What are the implications for member states' governing arrangements and for



- the citizens of Europe?
- How robust is this new system and what are the conditions for change?
- How can the multilevel constellation that makes up the EU be assessed from the point of view of democracy and rule of law?

Funding

The Research Council of Norway's ten-year programme 'Europe in Transition'.

Project period

01.10.2007-31.12.2012 (phase 1)

ARENA project members

Morten Egeberg

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

John Erik Fossum

Åse Gornitzka

Helene Sjursen

Hans-Jörg Trenz

(research area leaders)

All ARENA researchers

Cooperation

A total of more than 50 cooperating researchers, 35 of them from universities outside Norway

Reconstituting Democracy in Europe (RECON)

The nation state has been the institutional mainstay of modern democracy. Today, this particular political form is challenged and may be transcended by something new. Can the state form as such be reconstituted in Europe, and if so, at what level? Are alternative forms more viable?

About

Reconstituting Democracy in Europe (RECON) focused on the conditions for democracy in the multilevel constellation that makes up the European Union.

RECON was initiated and coordinated by ARENA and concluded at the end of 2011. The project involved more than 120 researchers from 22 universities and research institutions across Europe as well as New Zealand, covering a wide range of academic disciplines, mainly political science, economics, law and legal theory, sociology, and anthropology.

See the publication *Snapshots of findings* for a selection of findings from the project. RECON's publications database includes books, journal articles, working papers, reports and other publications, as well as workshop and conference papers by all affiliated researchers. All publications in the *RECON Online Working Paper Series* and *RECON Report Series* are also included. A search engine allows you to search among the 1,600 entries in the database.

For a comprehensive overview of research activities, publications, events and news, visit RECON's website: www.reconproject.eu

Objectives

RECON sought to clarify whether democracy is possible under conditions of pluralism, diversity and complex multilevel governance. The project established three models of European democracy, and different options for democratic reconstitution in Europe were



delineated and assessed:

- reframing the EU as a functional regulatory regime and reconstituting democracy at the national level
- establishing the EU as a multinational federal state
- developing a post-national Union with an explicit cosmopolitan imprint

RECON assessed which approach to democratisation of the multilevel constellation that makes up the EU is most viable. It did so by investigating:

- the EU's protracted constitutionalisation process
- the institutional complex in Europe
- the role and status of gender within the enlarged Europe
- how civil society and the public sphere legitimises/delegitimises the European integration process
- the democratic quality and governing capacity of the Union within tax and fiscal policy and within foreign and security policy
- the enlargement process and the consolidation of democracy in the new member states
- the conditions and prospects of democratisation in transnational arrangements

The project's aims included identifying strategies through which democracy can be strengthened. RECON's research thus brings forth knowledge of great relevance for the ongoing processes of reforming European and national institutions.

Funding

Integrated Project funded by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research, Priority 7: Citizens and governance in a knowledge-based society.

Project period

01.01.2007-31.12.2011

ARENA project members

Erik Oddvar Eriksen
(scientific coordinator)

John Erik Fossum
(substitute scientific coordinator)

Daniel Gaus

Cathrine Holst

Christopher Lord *(work package leader)*

Agustín José Menéndez *(work package leader)*

Asimina Michailidou

Espen D. H. Olsen

Marianne Riddervold

Guri Rosén

Helene Sjørnsen *(work package leader)*

Hans-Jörg Trenz *(work package leader)*

RECON partner institutions

ARENA, University of Oslo *(coordinator)*

Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic,
Prague

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

European University Institute, Florence

Freie Universität, Berlin

Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Johann Wolfgang Goethe University,
Frankfurt am Main

London School of Economics and Political
Science

Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

Queen's University Belfast

Riga Graduate School of Law

Sabancı University, Istanbul

Spanish National Research Council, Madrid

Université libre de Bruxelles

University of Auckland

University of Bremen

University of Hamburg

University of León

University of Reading

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Mannheim Center for European Social
Research *(affiliated partner)*

The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context (NORCONE)

Some claim that in today's Europe the constitutional-democratic character and legitimacy of the EU's member states can no longer be established without taking the effects of the EU properly into account. If so, does this also apply to a closely associated non-member such as Norway? And, what are the implications for the ability of Norwegian citizens to govern themselves through law and politics?

About

NORCONE (The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context) examines how Norway's constitutional development is tied up with and affected by the EU.

Constitutions always evolve in their international contexts. Legal developments beyond the nation state are profound, not least as a consequence of the European Union, which many analysts and decision-makers understand as a constitutional order. Formally speaking, Norway is not a member of the EU. However, it is closely affiliated with it, first and foremost through the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement, but also through the Schengen Agreement, and a range of other agreements.

Objectives

The main purpose of the project is to establish the nature of the EU's constitutional developments as well as the constitutional implications for Norway which stem from its relationship with the EU. Are Norwegian citizens able to govern themselves autonomously through politics and law within the new European context?

This project takes as its main point of departure the challenges and opportunities for democracy in international society. International developments raise the question of the relationship between constitution and



The Norwegian constitution, various editions.
(Photo: Stortinget)

sovereignty. It challenges the idea of national sovereignty safeguarding constitutional rule, and thus the protection of citizens' rights and interests, which in turn enables and justifies democracy.

The development of systems of rights and law enforcement beyond the nation state have first delimited, and later redefined, the principle of state sovereignty. In Europe these developments have been particularly strong due to the existence of the EU, an organisation capable of rights enforcement. The focus of NORCONE is on the implications of the European integration process on Norwegian constitutional democracy. It addresses the broader process of juridification, and the role and status of the Norwegian Constitution and the implications for democracy.

NORCONE will result in two books: one in English on Europe's democratic-constitutional development; and one edited volume in Norwegian integrating and synthesising a, for now, fragmented and dispersed knowledge base with reference to Norway's relations to the EU. This book will update existing knowledge and establish a conception of Norway's constitutional-democratic status.

The project will conclude prior to the 200th

anniversary celebration of the Norwegian Constitution in 2014. The aim is to stimulate a qualified public debate on the living constitution of Norway in light of the principles laid down in 1814, the inspiration and genesis of which are truly European.

Funding

The Research Council of Norway's Norwegian Constitution Bicentennial 2014 research initiative

Project period

01.07.2011-30.06.2013

ARENA project members

Erik Oddvar Eriksen
John Erik Fossum
(project directors)
Morten Egeberg
Åse Gornitzka
Cathrine Holst
Espen D. H. Olsen
Helene Sjursen
Jarle Trondal

Cooperation

Dag Harald Claes
Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

Lars Blichner
Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen

Eirik Holmøyvik
Faculty of Law, University of Bergen

Fredrik Bøckman Finstad
Norwegian Ministry of Justice

European Flagship Universities Balancing Academic Excellence and Socio-Economic Relevance (FLAGSHIP)

The FLAGSHIP project examines and compares the strategies of Norwegian and other Western European universities in adapting to a global context that requires a better balance between academic excellence and socio-economic relevance.

About

FLAGSHIP examines the ways in which European flagship universities have adapted over the last ten years to far-reaching changes in their political and socio-economic environments, and the extent to which these adaptations are initiated and implemented by the institutional leadership or as a consequence of external change drivers.

A 'flagship' university is defined as a comprehensive research-intensive university, located in one of its country's largest urban areas. A flagship university is in general among the oldest and largest institutions for higher learning of its country.

Objectives

The overall objective of this project is to produce relevant insights into the way in which selected flagship universities in Europe interpret and use their institutional autonomy in creating an effective balance between strengthening the excellence and securing the socio-economic relevance of their academic activities.

The project addresses the following two questions:

- What are the organised settings and institutional characteristics that attract highly qualified staff and students, encourage academic excellence and free enquiry and also make universities take seriously their social and economic responsibilities?
- What are the main factors that over the last ten years have affected these organised university settings and institutional characteristics?

For understanding the way in which European research-intensive universities adapt their strategies, structures, policies and practices, one has to understand how specific university actions relate to European-level ambitions and interventions, as well as to the national legal, financial-economic, and political traditions and realities. Based on this understanding, the strategic room to manoeuvre that these universities have, as well as the way in which they use this autonomy, will be examined.

This will be done through case studies of nine selected institutions. These are 'flagship' universities in small nations in Northern and Western Europe: Universities of Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, and Stockholm, the Universities of Amsterdam and Leuven, and the Universities of Vienna and Zurich.

FLAGSHIP's aim is to provide Norwegian universities and policy makers with a better understanding of the change dynamics of flagship universities in selected other European countries and the ways in which changes in Norwegian universities compare to these. The aim is further to contribute to the discussion on the autonomy of Norwegian universities and university colleges, as well as to the strengthening of the knowledge basis of Norwegian knowledge area policies, especially in the areas of research and innovation.



Archway in the Domus Media building at the University of Oslo. (Photo: University of Oslo)

Funding

The Research Council of Norway's programme Knowledge base for research and innovation policy (FORFI)

Project period

01.09.2011-31.08.2013

ARENA project member

Åse Gornitzka (*project coordinator*)

Cooperation

Peter Maassen and Bjørn Stensaker
*Department for Educational Research,
University of Oslo*

Other projects

Menu for Justice – Towards a European Curriculum Studiorum on Judicial Studies

A common legal framework and a convergent judicial culture represent one of the pillars on which the European integration process has been pivoting since its very beginning. Today, more than ever, the understanding and the maintenance of the tempo and the direction of the integration need to rely on a common language with which Europeans and European policy makers develop a dialogue across domestic and cultural differences.

Menu for Justice is the first European project that takes seriously the issue of how young generations should be trained in law and legal matters and how the prospective experts of law and courts should be provided of new skills and competences to effectively face the challenges of a common judicial space. With 50 partners in Europe, the project aims at assessing principal shortcomings of legal education, developing an innovative curriculum studiorum in judicial studies, and offering the EU and the public basic guidelines to monitor the way legal and judicial training are changing in the EU, all over the cycles of education (from undergraduate to graduate, PhD programs and vocational learning).

Project type

Erasmus Structural Network funded by the European Commission's EU Lifelong Learning Programme

Project period

01.09.2009-30.09.2012

ARENA project members

Ian Cooper and Christer Gulbrandsen

Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe and Canada (RECODE)

The process of nation-building has generally been described in terms of struggles for territorial concentration of power, political participation and social rights. Many of these conflicts can be equated with the development of industrial society. Since then, social and political alignments have experienced a great change. What could be deemed the *simple diversity* of industrial societies has given place to a new, *complex diversity* in which a variety of social, political and cultural cleavages overlap and compete for political legitimacy at a national and supranational level.

RECODE's concern is that within a context wherein the nation state may no longer sustain its role as the dominant social organisation and mode of community, these cleavages may interact in such a manner as to pose particularly demanding challenges (but also offer possibilities) for the political authorities. RECODE examines four issue areas in depth in order to achieve a clearer sense of *complex diversity*, its implications for public policy, and policy suggestions: linguistic diversity; de-territorialized diversity; religious diversity, and; diversity and redistribution.

Project type

Research Networking Programme financed by the European Science Foundation

Project period

01.06.2010-01.06.2014

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Espen D. H. Olsen and Hans-Jörg Trenz

Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Network (LISBOAN)

As of December 2009, the Lisbon Treaty has become the EU's new fundamental framework for the foreseeable future. The analysis of altered or novel treaty provisions has consequently become a high priority for interdisciplinary research-based teaching curricula in EU studies. LISBOAN promotes synergies between research and teaching, highlights innovative approaches and establishes best practices in teaching this key issue to present and future generations of students. It also includes an annual 'Lisbon Watch'.

LISBOAN is network of 67 partner institutions from 32 countries, covering all EU member states as well as Croatia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Turkey, and includes the key disciplines of economics, history, law, and political sciences.

Project type

Erasmus Academic Network funded by the European Commission's EU Lifelong Learning Programme

Project period

01.10.2010-30.09.2013

ARENA project members

Ian Cooper, Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord

A Stronger European Parliament and its Impact on European Policy Making

The European Parliament (EP) co-decides annual budgets and much EU legislation. It has a veto on the appointment of both the Commission and the President of the Commission. Representatives of the Commission and the Council take part in EP debates and committees. Yet, methods of studying the EP are not well suited to the study of at least one of its most important roles: namely, that of providing a forum in which different concepts of the Union's polity can be justified in adverse controversy with one another.

This project seeks to fill the gap through the application of a new research methodology – the Discourse Quality index – to case studies of how the parliament has debated and decided three key issues: a) Co-decision legislation on climate change under the 'community method'; b) the development of the Common Defence and Security Policy; c) institutional and constitutional change prior to the Lisbon Treaty. Each of these decisions corresponds to different inter-institutional relationships between the European Parliament, the Commission and Council. Taken together, they can be expected to test a range of different justifications that decision-makers give in parliamentary debate for how the Union should operate institutionally.

Project type

Project funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' contributions to foreign-policy research and development

Project period

01.01.2011-31.12.2011

ARENA project member

Christopher Lord

Publications

ARENA researchers published a number of books, special issues of journals, peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters in 2011. A complete overview of publications is listed in the following.

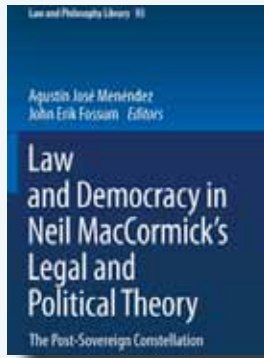
ARENA has its own in-house series of reports and working papers. The *ARENA Working Paper Series* publishes pre-print manuscripts by ARENA researchers or from external researchers presenting their research at ARENA seminars. The series is part of the European Research Paper Archive (ERPA), which is a common access point and database for 17 online series in the field of European integration research. The *ARENA Report Series* consists of proceedings from workshops or conferences, project reports, PhD and Master theses supervised at ARENA.

The RECON project had two project publication series: the *RECON Online Working Paper Series* and the *RECON Report Series*. The latter was a subseries of the *ARENA Report Series*. The online working papers authored by ARENA researchers were also reprinted as ARENA working papers.

Publications 2009-2011

Type	2009	2010	2011
Monographs	3	2	1
Edited books	3	1	2
Special issues of journals	1	1	2
Book chapters	21	30	21
Journal articles	32	25	24
ARENA Working Papers	14	16	15
ARENA Reports	7	6	9
...of which RECON Reports	4	2	4
RECON Online Working Papers	19	29	38
PhD theses	-	3	1
MA theses	3	3	3

Books and special issues

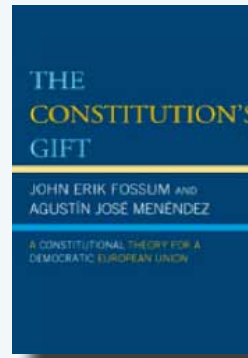


Law and Democracy in Neil MacCormick's Legal and Political Theory The Post-Sovereign Constellation

*Agustín José Menéndez and
John Erik Fossum (eds)*
*Springer, Law and Philosophy Library
Vol. 93, 2011*

The Scottish legal philosopher and politician Neil MacCormick made important contributions to the understanding of law and democracy under pluralism. His institutional theory of law has elucidated the close connection between the normative character of law as a means of social integration and legal social practices.

The articles in this book are written in MacCormick's spirit, and aims to reveal the connection between democracy and law in his works, as well as to deepen the insights in the respective fields. Originally intended as a celebration of MacCormick's work on the occasion of the completion of the four-volume series on *Law, State and Practical Reason*, it has turned into an homage and salute after MacCormick's passing.



The Constitution's Gift A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union

John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011

The key contribution of this book is found in the theory of constitutional synthesis, as this captures the distinctive traits of the EU as a polity which aspires to be democratic. The book explains how and why the EU was the first union of constitutional states where integration is not steered by power politics or imperialism, but by constitutional law.

The authors consider the process of forging the EU's constitution and the set of fundamental norms that define the institutional structure, the decision-making procedures, and the foundations of the Union's democratic legitimacy. Their analysis illuminates the distinctive features of the EU's pluralist constitutional construct but also the interesting parallels to the Canadian constitutional experience and provides the tools to understand the Union's development, especially during the Laeken (2001–2005) and Lisbon (2007–2009) processes of constitutional reform.



The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy The Quest for Democracy

Helene Sjurset (ed.)

Journal of European Public Policy
Vol. 18, No. 8, Special Issue, 2011

This special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* edited by Helene Sjurset seeks to deepen the knowledge of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

The collection critically examines the claim of an emerging democratic deficit in the field of foreign and security policy. In order to do so, it is necessary to have a clearer picture of the degree and form of integration in this domain. It is only when this is clarified that we can establish what kinds of democratic problems – if any – may have arisen. If the EU has moved beyond intergovernmentalism, questions would arise as to how national executives can be held accountable. However, a departure from intergovernmentalism does not necessarily point in a single direction, and different forms of integration would require different forms and channels of democratic legitimation. Hence, this collection follows a twin track of addressing both the questions of the 'nature of the beast' and of democracy.



The Arctic is Hot - Part II

John Erik Fossum and Stéphane Roussel (eds)
International Journal
Vol. LXVI, No. 4, 2011

One can observe a new international interest in the Arctic amid a certain expansion of the rule-of-law principle in the international arena. The Arctic is on the agenda of the European Union, and also the new globalised world affects this unwelcoming region.

The contributors to this special issue of *International Journal* look at how globalisation is affecting the Arctic. They discuss how the Arctic has opened up: is the region completely open, or does it have regulated access? To whom has it opened up: is the region open to anybody, only for invited multinational corporations or only to other Arctic states? And, finally, what is opened up: common areas, border areas or domestic areas, or all of the above?



Byråkrati og geografi

Geografisk relokalisering av norsk sentraladministrasjon

[Bureaucracy and Geography: Geographical Relocation of Norwegian Central Administration]

Jarle Trondal (ed.)
Universitetsforlaget

Why did attempts of relocation of state regulatory agencies in Norway fail in the 60s, 70s and 80s, whereas similar experiments were successful in the 2000s? Does the geographical location of government regulatory agencies impact on their actual behavior, and is it true that state regulatory agencies located in Oslo are more strongly connected to the political leadership than those located outside the capital?

This edited volume highlights key aspects of the decision-making processes concerning geographical relocation of Norwegian state regulatory agencies, as well as the effects of relocation. A key argument of the book is that there are few changes to the balance between political governance and institutional independence as a result of increased geographical distance between the agencies and the political leadership.

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- Holst, Cathrine (with Aarseth, Helene), 'Poststrukturalisme og kjønnsforskning – slik to sosiologer ser det', *Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning*, (2): 154-168
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Book chapters

- Chou, Meng-Hsuan, 'The European Security Agenda and the "External Dimension" of EU Asylum and Migration Cooperation' in Xymena Kurowska and Patryk Pawlak (eds) *The Politics of European Security Policies*, Routledge
- De Wilde, Pieter, 'The Plural Representative Space: How Mass Media and National Parliaments Stimulate Pluralism Through Competition' in Dawid Friedrich and Sandra Kröger (eds) *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan
- 'Belonging and Engagement: Benefits of Difference on EU Issues in Europe's Public Spheres' in Kolja Raube and Annika Settler (eds) *Difference and Democracy*, Campus Verlag
- Egeberg, Morten and Trondal, Jarle, 'Sentralforvaltningens geografi: Har lokalisering av direktorater og tilsyn betydning?' in Jarle Trondal (ed.) *Byråkrati og geografi*, Universitetsforlaget

- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar, 'An Emerging European Public Sphere' in Camil Ungureanu, Klaus Günther and Christian Joerges (eds) *Jürgen Habermas, Volumes I and II*, Ashgate
- 'Democracy Lost: The EEA Agreement and Norway's Democratic Deficit' in Helge Høibraaten and Jochen Hille (eds) *Northern Europe and the Future of the EU. Nordeuropa und Die Zukunft der EU*, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag GmbH
- 'Reflexive Integration: A Perspective on the Transformation of Europe' in Gerard Delanty and Stephen P. Turner (eds) *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*, Routledge
- Fossum, John Erik, 'Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity: Conceptualising the National Dimension in Neil MacCormick's Post-Sovereign Constellation' in John Erik Fossum and Agustín J. Menéndez (eds) *Law and Democracy in Neil MacCormick's Legal and Political Theory*, Springer
- Holst, Cathrine, 'Kjønn, Feminisme og Vitenskap' in Susanna M. Solli and Eivind Balsvik (eds) *Introduksjon til samfunnsvitenskapene. Bind II*, Universitetsforlaget
- Lord, Christopher, 'Legitimate and Democratic? The EU's International Role' in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds) *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford University Press
- 'The Quality of Democracy' in Magdalena Góra and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds) *Democracy, State and Society: European Integration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Jagiellonian University Press
- Menéndez, Agustín José, 'From Constitutional Pluralism to a Pluralistic Constitution? Constitutional Synthesis as a Maccormickian Constitutional Theory of European Integration' in John Erik Fossum and Agustín J. Menéndez (eds) *Law and Democracy in Neil MacCormick's Legal and Political Theory*, Springer
- Menéndez, Agustín José and Fossum, John Erik, 'Introduction' in John Erik Fossum and Agustín J. Menéndez (eds) *Law and Democracy in Neil MacCormick's Legal and Political Theory*, Springer
- Michailidou, Asimina and Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'A Media Perspective on Political Representation: Online Claims-Making and Audience Formation in 2009 EP Election Campaigns' in Dawid Friedrich and Sandra Kröger (eds) *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan
- Sverdrup, Ulf, 'Modes of Association to the EU: The EEA as a Model?', in Helge Høibraaten and Jochen Hille (eds) *Northern Europe and the Future of the EU. Nordeuropa und Die Zukunft der EU*, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag GmbH
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Bottom-Up Europeanization: Civil Society Involvement and EU Governance in the New Member States' in Magdalena Góra and Katarzyna Zielińska (eds) *Democracy, State and Society: European Integration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Jagiellonian University Press
- 'Social Theory and European Integration' in Adrian Favell and Virginie Guiraudon (eds) *Sociology of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan
- Trondal, Jarle, 'Byråkratiets geografi' in Jarle Trondal (ed.) *Byråkrati og geografi*, Universitetsforlaget
- 'Politisk styring og institusjonell uavhengighet i sentraladministrasjonen: Utvikling over tid' in Jarle Trondal (ed.) *Byråkrati og geografi*, Universitetsforlaget
- Trondal, Jarle (with Kiland, Charlotte), 'Reform møter tilsyn: Turbulens i luftfartstilsynet' in Jarle Trondal (ed.) *Byråkrati og geografi*, Universitetsforlaget
- 'Agendasetting, vedtak og iverksetting: En studie av en relokaliseringsprosess' in Jarle Trondal (ed.) *Byråkrati og geografi*, Universitetsforlaget

Other publications

Eriksen, Erik Oddvar, 'Democratic Legitimacy beyond Borders: Government without a State', in Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds) *Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective*, ARENA Report No 2/11, RECON Report No 13

Fossum, John Erik, 'The Constitutional Dimension: Comment on Glyn Morgan', in Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds) *Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective*, ARENA Report No 2/11, RECON Report No 13

Holst, Cathrine, 'Ekspertisens verdimakt', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 28(2): 111-112

— 'Zooropa', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 28(3): 220-221

— 'Etter terroren', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 28(4): 332-333

Lord, Christopher, 'Power without Arbitrariness? Some Reflections on Attempts to Use Indirect Legitimacy to Justify the EU as a "Restrained Yet Capable" Form of Political Power', in Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds) *Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective*, ARENA Report No 2/11, RECON Report No 13

Menéndez, Agustín José, 'Introduction', in Flavia Carbonell, Agustín José Menéndez and John Erik Fossum (eds) *Hope, Reluctance or Fear? The Democratic Consequences of the Case Law of the European Court of Justice*, ARENA Report No 5/11

— 'A Proportionate Constitution? Economic Freedom, Substantive Constitutional Choices and *Dérápages* in European Union Law', in Flavia Carbonell, Agustín José Menéndez and John Erik Fossum (eds) *Hope, Reluctance or Fear? The Democratic Consequences of the Case Law*

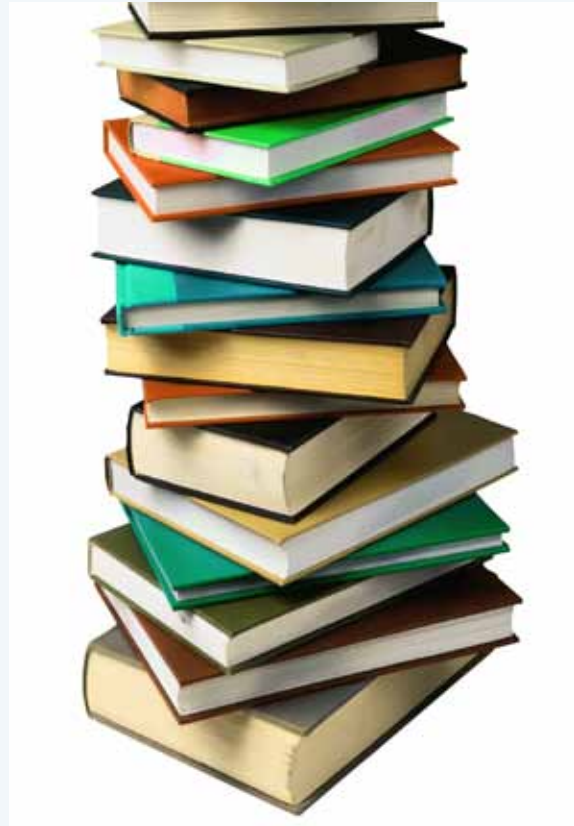


Photo: Colourbox

of the European Court of Justice, ARENA Report No 5/11

Michailidou, Asimina, 'The European Public Sphere: Media and Transnational Communication in European Integration 1969-1991 – by J.H. Meyer', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(5): 1145-1146

Trenz, Hans-Jörg (with Mansfeldová, Zdenka, Guasti, Petra and Hronešová, Jessie), 'Introduction: Democratization, Collective Identity Formation, and the EU Enlargement' in Petra Guasti, Jessie Hronešová, and Zdenka Mansfeldová (eds) *The Nexus between Democracy, Collective Identity Formation, and EU Enlargement*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

ARENA Working Papers

11/01

Agustín José Menéndez
From Constitutional Pluralism to a
Pluralistic Constitution?
Constitutional Synthesis as a
MacCormickian Constitutional Theory of
European Integration

11/02

Agustín José Menéndez
United They Diverge?
From Conflicts of Law to Constitutional
Theory? On Christian Joerges' Theory

11/03

John Erik Fossum
Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity
Conceptualising the National Dimension
in Neil MacCormick's Post-Sovereign
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11/04

Espen D. H. Olsen
European Citizenship
With a Nation-State, Federal or
Cosmopolitan Twist?

11/05

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
Representation through Deliberation
The European Case

11/06

Martin Marcussen and Jarle Trondal
The OECD Civil Servant between
Scylla and Charybdis

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Ian Cooper
A "Virtual Third Chamber"
for the European Union?
National Parliaments After
the Treaty of Lisbon

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Daniel Gaus
The Dynamics of Legitimation

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*Irena Fiket, Espen D. H. Olsen and
Hans-Jörg Trenz*
Deliberations under Conditions
of Language Pluralism
Insight from the Europolis Deliberative
Polling Experiment

11/10

*Morten Egeberg, Åse Gornitzka, Jarle
Trondal and Mathias Johannessen*
Parliament Staff: Backgrounds, Career
Patterns and Behaviour of Officials in the
European Parliament

11/11

Daniel Gaus
The State's Existence Between Facts and Norms
A Reflection on Some Problems
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11/12

Espen D. H. Olsen and Hans-Jörg Trenz
From Citizens' Deliberation to
Popular Will Formation
Generating Democratic Legitimacy
through Transnational Deliberative Polling

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Guri Rosén
Can You Keep a Secret?
How the European Parliament
Got Access to Sensitive Documents
in the Area of Security and Defence

11/14

Jarle Trondal
Bureaucratic Centre Formation in
Government Institutions
Lessons From the European Commission

11/15

Marianne Riddervold
Applying Communicative Action Theory in
Empirical Research on EU Foreign Policy
Comparative Advantages and
Methodological Ramifications

ARENA Reports

11/1

Bernhard Aaboe Jensen

En nasjonal, føderal eller regionaleuropeisk Union?

En studie av Dansk Folkepartis og Venstres vurdering av EUs konstitusjonstraktat og Lisboa-traktat

11/2

Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds)

Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective

RECON Report No 13

11/3

Christian Joerges and Tommi Ralli (eds)

European Constitutionalism without Private Law – Private Law without Democracy

RECON Report No 14

11/4

Christian Joerges (ed.) in co-operation with Tommi Ralli

After Globalisation
New Patterns of Conflict and their Sociological and Legal Re-constructions

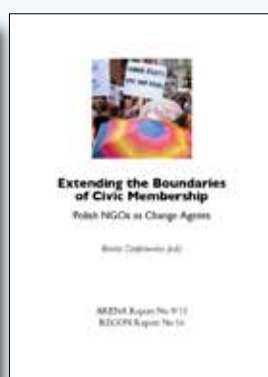
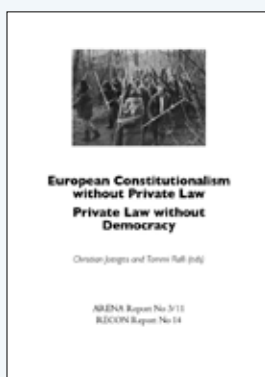
RECON Report No 15

11/5

Flavia Carbonell, Agustín José Menéndez and John Erik Fossum (eds)

Hope, Reluctance or Fear?

The Democratic Consequences of the Case Law of the European Court of Justice



11/6

Anne Linn Fløttum Høen

Democratic Deliberation between Citizens in the EU

Is Plurilingualism and Multiculturalism Compatible with Democratic Deliberation?

11/7

Ane Kristine Djupedal

Recent Developments in the EU Migration Management Policy
EU-Cape Verde Mobility Partnership, FRONTEX and the Management of the European Borders

11/8

Marianne Riddervold

A Humanitarian Common Policy through Deliberation?
On the Characteristics of EU Foreign Policy

11/9

Beata Czajkowska (ed.)

Extending the Boundaries of Civic Membership
Polish NGOs as Change Agents
RECON Report No 16

RECON's publication series

The RECON project had two publication series. The *RECON Report Series* was issued by ARENA as part of the established *ARENA Report Series*. Four reports were published in 2011, whereas a total of 20 reports were published over the five-year project period. Most reports are a collection of papers from a previous RECON workshop while some volumes present project findings. The reports hold a high academic and editorial standard, and some have been or will be elaborated and submitted as anthologies with academic publishing houses.

The *RECON Online Working Paper Series* published 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. The series was interdisciplinary in character, but was especially aimed at political science, political theory, sociology, and law. It published work from researchers involved in the RECON project but was also open to submissions from other researchers working within the fields covered by RECON. The series editors were Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (ARENA) and the project's work package leaders constituted the series' editorial board. The series was published by ARENA, and it is part of the ERPA (European Research Papers Archive) and the EBSCO databases. The RECON papers are available in electronic format, and all 125 papers issued in the series can be downloaded from the RECON website.

RECON Online Working Papers

2011/38

Carlos Closa Montero

Moving Away from Unanimity
Ratification of the Treaty on Stability,
Coordination and Governance in the
Economic and Monetary Union

2011/37

Cathleen Kantner

European Identity as *Commercium* and
Communio in Transnational Debates
on Wars and Humanitarian Military
Interventions

2011/36

*Sara Clavero, Yvonne Galligan, Cathrine
Holst, Róża Vajda and Katarzyna Zielińska*
RECON: A Feminist View

2011/35

Ben Crum

What Do We Owe the Poles (or the Greeks)?
Three Emerging Duties of Transnational
Social Justice in the European Union

2011/34

Federica Bicchi

The Role of Information and Knowledge in
the EU Foreign Policy System?
Evidence from Heads of Mission's Reports

2011/33

Dariusz Niedźwiedzki

Regional, Ethnic, European?
Complex Identity Construction of Silesians
in the Context of Cultural Borderland

2011/32

Cathrine Holst

Equal Pay and Dilemmas of Justice

2011/31

Michelle Everson and Christian Joerges

Reconfiguring the Politics-Law Relationship
in the Integration Project through Conflicts-
Law Constitutionalism

- 2011/30
Cathleen Kantner
Debating Humanitarian Military Interventions in the European Public Sphere
- 2011/29
Waltraud Schelkle
Choice in European Reforms of Social Policies
The Case of Public Employment Services
- 2011/28
Elisabeth Wisniewski
Coming to Terms with the 'Legitimacy Crisis' of European Foreign Politics
The European Parliament Pushing the Frontiers of Consultation
- 2011/27
Mark Thomson
Democracy, Inclusion and the Governance of Active Social Policies in the EU
Recent Lessons from Denmark, the UK and France
- 2011/26
Katherine Lyons and Christine Cheyne
Social Insurance Mechanisms in the European Union
- 2011/25
Mattias Iser
Dimensions of a European Constitutional Patriotism
- 2011/24
Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and Cosima Glahn
Parliamentary Control of Military Missions: The Case of the EU NAVFOR Atalanta
- 2011/23
Meltem Müftüleri-Baç and Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm
The European Union's Foreign Policy
The Perceptions of the Turkish Parliamentarians
- 2011/22
Guri Rosén
Can You Keep a Secret?
How the European Parliament Got Access to Sensitive Documents in the Area of Security and Defence
- 2011/21
Merzuka Selin Türkes
Human Rights in the European Union's Foreign Policy
Universal in Discourse, Flexible in Practice
- 2011/20
Meltem Müftüleri-Baç
The European Union and Turkey
Democracy, Multiculturalism and European Identity
- 2011/19
Dirk Peters
A Divided Union?
Public Opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy
- 2011/18
Tess Altman and David G. Mayes
Democratic Boundaries in the US and Europe
Inequality, Localisation and Voluntarism in Social Welfare Provision
- 2011/17
Emmanuel Sigalas
When Quantity Matters
Activity Levels and Re-Election Prospects of Members of the European Parliament
- 2011/16
Daniel Gaus
The State's Existence between Facts and Norms
A Reflection on Some Problems to the Analysis of the State

2011/15
Daniel Gaus
The Dynamics of Legitimation
Why the Study of Political Legitimacy Needs
More Realism

2011/14
Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
Representation through Deliberation
The European Case

2011/13
Nora Fisher Onar
'Europe', 'Womanhood' and 'Islam'
Re-aligning Contested Concepts via the
Headscarf Debate

2011/12
Rainer Forst
Transnational Justice and Democracy

2011/11
Petra Guasti
The Europeanisation of Parliaments in
Central and Eastern Europe

2011/10
Espen D. H. Olsen
European Citizenship
With a Nation-State, Federal, or
Cosmopolitan Twist?

2011/09
Hauke Brunkhorst
Cosmopolitanism and Democratic Freedom

2011/08
Eric Miklin and Ben Crum
Inter-Parliamentary Contacts of Members of
the European Parliament
Report of a Survey

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John Erik Fossum
Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity
Conceptualising the National Dimension
in Neil MacCormick's Post-Sovereign
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Agustín José Menéndez
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From Conflict of Laws to Constitutional
Theory? On Christian Joerges' Theory

2011/05
*Olga Brzezińska, Beata Czajkowska and
David Skully*
Re-constructing Polish Identity
Searching for a New Language

2011/04
Mihály Csákó
Education for Democracy in Hungarian
Schools

2011/03
Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvaki
The Politics of Justification?
Applying the 'Discourse Quality Index' to
the Study of the European Parliament

2011/02
Agustín José Menéndez
From Constitutional Pluralism to a
Pluralistic Constitution?
Constitutional Synthesis as a
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European Integration

2011/01
Radostina Primova
Enhancing the Democratic Legitimacy of
EU Governance?
The Impact of Online Public Consultations
in Energy Policy-Making

Events

ARENA organises a number of academic events each year, from large international conferences to smaller workshops. ARENA also organises regular Tuesday Seminars where external scholars as well as ARENA researchers are invited to present and defend their work.

In 2011, researchers also organised and chaired panels and workshops as part of international academic conferences organised by the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) and the Research Programme on Democracy at the University of Oslo. Moreover, they participated at numerous academic events worldwide, including conferences organised by associations such as the Council for European Studies (CES), the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the European Sociological Association (ESA), the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), the International Studies Association (ISA), and the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES), in addition to giving invited lectures and academic papers at events organised by various research projects, networks and academic institutions.

Roundtable discussion: A Typical European Way of Looking at Politics?

Oslo, 14 January 2011

An open roundtable discussion on Johan P. Olsen's latest book *Governing through Institution Building* was organised as a part of the 2nd International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice in Oslo.

The international conference was organised by the Research Programme on Democracy at the University of Oslo, which is an interfaculty research programme with participants from several research fields (primarily from social sciences, humanities and law).

Chair **Erik Oddvar Eriksen** (ARENA) opened the session, stating that the book brings up fundamental questions on what constitutes a stable political system and what students of politics can learn from the European experiment.

Emeritus Professor **Johan P. Olsen** (ARENA) presented his book which attempts to understand not only what is happening in political science and institutional analysis, but also to understand and sum up the thoughts of the leading scholar over the last 40 years. The book is part of Olsen's continuous effort to employ organisational theory to make sense of political institutions: how they emerge, are maintained and change, and what difference they make.

Professor **Philippe Schmitter** from the European University Institute in Florence and Professor **Inger Johanne Sand** from the Department of Public and International Law at the University of Oslo commented on the book.

A podcast from the event is available at www.arena.uio.no



Johan P. Olsen presented his latest book
(Photo: Sindre Hervig/ARENA)



Johan P. Olsen
*Governing Through
Institution Building:
Institutional Theory
and Recent Euro-
pean Experiments in
Democratic Organiza-
tion*

Oxford University
Press, 2010

In 2011 **Johan P. Olsen** was elected as member of the **American National Academy of Sciences** because of his important contributions to scientific research.

Among the 2,200 members of the Academy there are 400 foreign associates, among whom 200 are Nobel laureates. Prof. Olsen is one of three current Norwegian members.

RECON Concluding Conference: What is *Left* of European Democracy?

Oslo, 25-26 November 2011

The concluding conference of the RECON project gathered project participants as well as keynote speakers and other external invitees to discuss findings and to discern the greater, more overarching implications that RECON's collective research effort has generated.

The conference started by paying due attention to the most pressing issue facing the EU, namely the financial crisis. The first part was devoted to discerning the main lessons from the financial crisis and the likely implications for the EU, and was kicked off by a keynote speech by Emeritus Professor **Giandomenico Majone** (European University Institute, Florence) on rethinking the European project after the crisis of monetary union.

Two sessions were then devoted to the presentation and discussion of project findings, and the conference ended with a panel debate on the future of the European democracy. The debate touched various topics and was multifaceted as the RECON project itself.

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) recollected some of the main questions and challenges that the project was set out to solve as well as the main lessons from five years of research. Responding to the need to theorise a democratic alternative to the nation state and a federation, they pointed to the cosmopolitan model, which has been developed within RECON. Their paper summarised the innovations of RECON's theoretical framework and put it in the larger perspective of the challenge of European democracy.

The two-day conference was organised by ARENA and 76 participants attended. The conference was preceded by the public half-



Anne Maria Holli comments on RECON's findings on gender equality (Photo: Marit Eldholm/ARENA)

day event 'Europe's Democratic Challenge' at Litteraturhuset, which attracted close to 200 participants (see pp. 49-50 in this report).

The conference programme and papers are available at www.reconproject.eu

Other events

A Multitude of Constitutions?

RECON workshop
Oslo, 13-14 January 2011

The workshop 'A Multitude of Constitutions? The European Constitutional Pluralism in Question' was organised jointly by RECON and the Research Programme on Democracy within the framework of the 2nd International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice at the University of Oslo.

The workshop discussed the merits of the theory of constitutional synthesis, developed by workshop coordinators **Agustín José Menéndez** and **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) and exposed in their monograph *The Constitution's Gift*. The workshop sought to address critical dimensions of the European constitutional experience through reference to the theory of constitutional synthesis.

The Costs of Children

RECON workshop
Lillestrøm, 24-25 February 2011

The Europe Institute at the University of Auckland organised the two-day workshop 'The Costs of Children' within RECON's work package on 'The Political Economy of the EU'. Hosted by ARENA and taking place in Lillestrøm, it brought together academics from several European countries working in the related areas of childcare and gender equality.

The aim of the workshop was to explore the role and status of gender by investigating the one aspect that has the greatest impact on the different roles of men and women: the bearing and raising of children.

Democracy in a Changing World

MatchPoints Seminar 2011
Aarhus, 12-14 May 2011

With the situation in the Arabic countries as a backdrop, this year's MatchPoints Seminar in Aarhus dealt with democracy, democratisation and democratic renewal in Denmark, the EU, North America and developing states. The seminar had a rich variety of themes concerning democracy, and hosted numerous prominent Nordic and international speakers such as **Francis Fukuyama** (Stanford University/Aarhus University) and **Fareed Zakaria** (Time Magazine/CNN).

John Erik Fossum (ARENA) was co-organiser of the seminar and opened the event together with the rector of Aarhus University Lauritz B. Holm-Nielsen and the director of the MatchPoints Seminar Michael Böss. Fossum also organised the workshop 'Representation and Deliberative Democracy in Europe and North America: Theory, Experiences and Historical perspectives'. The workshop focused on the renewed interest in deliberative democracy and the public sphere in a modern globalised society where we are constantly reminded of the crisis in representative democracy. The purpose of the MatchPoints Seminars is to create dialogue between Aarhus University and the surrounding society concerning subjects of wider societal interest.

Democracy as Idea in Practice

RECON workshop
Oslo, 26-27 May 2011

The workshop ‘Democracy as Idea in Practice: The Methodological Relevance of Reconstruction in Democratic Theory’ was organised by **Daniel Gaus** (ARENA) in cooperation with the Research Programme on Democracy at the University of Oslo. Scholars from political science, philosophy and sociology came together to discuss the disciplinary divide between normative political theory and empirical political science. The question here was how to analyse the role and impact of ideas in practice. The workshop discussed methodological aspects of democratic and political theory starting from the Habermasian concept of reconstruction.

Reconstituting Democracy in Europe

Section at the 6th ECPR General Conference
Reykjavik, 25-27 August 2011

Hans-Jörg Trenz (ARENA) organised and chaired the section ‘Reconstituting Democracy in Europe’ at the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) conference at the University of Iceland. The section was tailored to the work of the RECON project and examined the present state of democracy and its many challenges in Europe from a range of angles, including constitutional, institutional and issue-specific ones. It consisted of seven panels with a total of 40 paper presentations.

A number of RECON researchers contributed to the panels, which nevertheless included numerous external researchers as well, and thus ensured an active engagement on the RECON problematique among scholars who had not previously been involved in the project. Panel chairs from ARENA were John Erik Fossum (two panels) and Agustín J. Menéndez (one panel), whereas Christopher Lord was discussant on one panel.

Europe of Knowledge

Section at the 6th ECPR General Conference
Reykjavik, 25-27 August 2011

Meng-Hsuan Chou (ARENA) organised and chaired the section ‘Europe of Knowledge (Education, Higher Education and Research Policy)’ as part of the ECPR conference in Reykjavik. The section discussed European actors’ ambition to transform their common area into a single space of knowledge-production, consolidation and dissemination.

It gathered five panels with a total of 27 papers to improve our understanding of how a Europe of Knowledge is being institutionalized. **Åse Gornitzka** and Chou chaired the panel ‘Pathways of Institutionalising a Europe of Knowledge: Comparing Governance Mechanisms in Education, Higher Education and Research’ as part of the section, addressing two key questions: Who and what are the factors facilitating/hindering the construction of the Europe of Knowledge? And how, why and to what extent have they done so?

Democratising the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy

RECON workshop
Oslo, 15-16 September 2011

Coordinators of RECON’s work package on ‘The Foreign and Security Dimension’, **Helene Sjursen** (ARENA) and Wolfgang Wagner, organised the workshop ‘Democratizing the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy’.

This last workshop of the work package was designed to discuss the final results of the research done by each individual researcher as well as their findings’ implications for the guiding questions of the work package as a whole. First, to what extent has the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy moved beyond intergovernmentalism? And second, what kind of democracy would be required?

A Humanitarian Common Policy through Deliberation?

PhD defence Marianne Riddervold
University of Oslo, 11 November 2011

In her PhD thesis 'A Humanitarian Common Policy through Deliberation? On the Characteristics of EU Foreign Policy' (*ARENA Report 11/8*) [Marianne Riddervold](#) seeks to answer two main questions. First, is there a normative distinctiveness to EU foreign policy; is the EU a humanitarian actor? Second, if so, can such a policy be understood as a result of deliberative processes, of decision-making processes where arguments are presented and considered legitimate so that they are acted upon?

Riddervold specifies a framework for studies of foreign-policy behaviour based on the theory of communicative action and examines two empirical cases: the Maritime Labour Convention and Atalanta, the EU's naval military operation against piracy. These are both critical cases of EU foreign policy, by being cases where the EU has strong material interests but still claims to be promoting human rights. Findings suggest that the EU does not act as a traditional great power. Instead of acting only in favour of its interests, the EU in both cases acted in line with what one would expect of a humanitarian actor, that is, it promoted human rights through law, even when this involved costs to the EU itself. The EU is not only driven by material interests, but also by norms, Riddervold concludes.



Knud Erik Jørgensen and Marianne Riddervold.
(Photo: Sindre Hervig/ARENA)

ARENA Tuesday Seminars

11 January

The Top of the Mast: EU Multilevel Administration and the Global

Christer Gulbrandsen, ARENA

25 January

Better than it Used to Be? New Evidence on the Congruence of Voters and their National MPs Regarding the Issue of European Integration

Hermann Schmitt, University of Mannheim

1 February

The Politics of Justification

Christopher Lord, ARENA

Dionysia Tamvaki, University of Reading

1 March

A Right to Free Transnational Communication?

Peter Niesen, Technische Universität Darmstadt

8 March

Joint-Decision Traps and Beyond: Varieties of Constitutional Change in Multilevel Systems

Arthur Benz, Technische Universität Darmstadt

22 March

The Accountability of Europe's Intergovernmental CFSP/CSDP Executive

Daniel Thym, University of Konstanz

29 March

The Rotating Presidency of the Council – Roles Perception After the Treaty Change

Rafal Riedel, Opole University/ARENA

14 June

The Dynamics of European Institution Building: The Case of the European Research Council

Åse Gornitzka, ARENA

6 September

Backgrounds, Career Patterns and Behaviour of Officials in the EP

Morten Egeberg, **Åse Gornitzka**, ARENA, **Jarle Trondal**, ARENA/University of Agder, **Mathias Johannessen**, University of Oslo

4 October

Politics of Legitimation

Frank Nullmeier and **Tanja Pritzlaff**, University of Bremen

11 October

The Europeanization of Norwegian Equal Pay Legislation: Dilemmas of Justice

Cathrine Holst, ARENA

18 October

Mediated Representative Politics in the European Union: Towards Audience Democracy?

Asimina Michailidou, ARENA

Hans-Jörg Trenz, ARENA/University of Copenhagen

1 November

Re-Inventing Citizenship: On the Connection between Democracy, Rights, and Legitimacy in Multi-Level Systems

Andreas Niederberger, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main

8 November

Europeanization of EU Business Lobbying: Resource Dependence in a Triangular Relationship

Beate Kohler-Koch, University of Mannheim

15 November

The Real World of EU Accountability

Mark Bovens, Utrecht University

6 December

Can You Keep a Secret? How the European Parliament Got Access to Sensitive Documents in the Area of Security and Defence

Guri Rosén, ARENA

Conference participation

- Chou, Meng-Hsuan, 'Evolution of the "Fifth Freedom" as Idea in European Integration', paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, Montreal, 16–19 March 2011
- 'Anatomy of a Learning Architecture: The Case of Implementing the European Charter for Researchers and the Code of Conduct for their Recruitment', paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
 - 'Anatomy of a Learning Architecture: The Case of Implementing the European Charter for Researchers and the Code of Conduct for their Recruitment', paper presented at the UACES annual meeting, Cambridge, 5–7 September 2011
 - 'EU and the Promotion of Circular Migration: The Role of Politics, Policy and Practice', paper presented at the workshop 'Circular migration and development: African and European policy responses', Uppsala, 5–6 December 2011
- Chou, Meng-Hsuan (with Cerna, Lucie), 'Transforming the EU's "Knowledge-Based Economy?" Lessons from Negotiating the Blue Card and Scientific Visa', paper presented at the CES 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, 20–22 June 2011
- Chou, Meng-Hsuan (with Real-Dato, José), 'Explaining Divergent Implementation of the European Researcher Charter and the Code of Conduct: The Case of Spain & Norway', paper presented at the EUSA 12th Biennial Conference, Boston, 3–5 March 2011
- 'Translating the European Charter and Code of Conduct for Researchers', paper presented at the workshop 'European Regulatory Governance', Copenhagen Business School, 27–28 October 2011
- Cooper, Ian, 'A Virtual Third Chamber for the European Union? National Parliaments under the Treaty of Lisbon', paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
- De Wilde, Pieter, 'Representation in Media and National Parliaments', paper presented at the EUSA 12th Biennial Conference, Boston, 3–5 March 2011
- 'Communicating Europe in National Parliaments and the Media: Patterns and Causes in Politicizing the EU Budget', paper presented at the workshop 'National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs', Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Berlin, 7 April 2011
 - 'The Politicization of European Integration', guest lecture at the Center for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, 15 April 2011
 - 'Contesting Europe', presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference 'Where is European Democracy Heading?', Brussels, 19 May 2011
 - 'Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns' (co-authors Michailidou, Asimina and Trenz, Hans-Jörg), paper presented at the 3rd Conference of the Section for International Politics, German Political Science Association (DVPW), Munich, 6–7 October 2011
- De Wilde, Pieter and Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Contesting EU Legitimacy: The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism During 2009 EP Election Campaigns' (co-author Michailidou, Asimina), paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
- Morten Egeberg, Gornitzka, Åse and Trondal, Jarle (with Johannessen, Mathias), 'Parliamentary Staff: Backgrounds, Career Patterns and Behaviour of EP Officials', paper presented at the workshop 'Public Administration in the Multilevel System', Humboldt University Berlin, 23–24 June 2011

- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar, 'The Role of Deliberation in Collective Decision-Making – On Explanatory Mechanisms and the Epistemics of Rational Reason', paper presented at the workshop 'Epistemic Democracy in Practice', Yale University, 20–22 October 2011
- Eriksen, Erik Oddvar and Fossum, John Erik, 'Summing up: RECON – Achievements and Future Challenges', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'Political Legitimacy Beyond the State', Frankfurt am Main, 31 March–1 April 2011
- 'What Democracy for What Europe?', paper presented at the RECON Concluding Conference 'What is *Left* of European Democracy?', Oslo, 25–26 November 2011
- Fossum, John Erik, 'The EU as seen through the Theory of Constitutional Synthesis', lecture at the Center for European Union Research, Central European University, Budapest, 27 January 2011
- 'Representation, Deliberation and the Legitimacy of the EU' (co-author Eriksen, Erik Oddvar), paper presented at the the EUSA 12th Biennial Conference, Boston, 3–5 March 2011
 - 'The Representation-Deliberation Interface' (co-author Eriksen, Erik Oddvar), paper presented at the MatchPoints Seminar 'Challenging Democracy', Aarhus, 12–14 May 2011
 - 'A Constitutional Future for Europe?', presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference 'Where is European Democracy Heading?', Brussels, 19 May 2011
 - 'Nationalism, Federalism and Diversity in the Post-Sovereign Constellation', paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
 - 'Representation and Democratic Legitimacy in Multilevel Systems: Comparing the European Union and Canada', paper presented (via Skype) at the workshop 'Comparing Modes of Governance in Canada and the European Union', University of Victoria, 14–15 October 2011
- 'Reflections on Experimental Governance', paper presented at the 'Symposium on Experimentalist Governance in the European Union', Social Science Research Center Berlin, 21 October 2011
 - 'The European Representation-Deliberation Interface', lecture at the 'Ringvorlesung Komplexität und Demokratie', University of Darmstadt, 27 October 2011
 - 'A constitutional future for Europe?', presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference 'Europe's Democratic Challenge', Oslo, 24 November 2011
- Fossum, John Erik and Menéndez, Agustín J., 'Constitutional Synthesis as the Constitutional Theory of the European Union', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'A Multitude of Constitutions? European Constitutional Pluralism in Question', Oslo, 13–14 January 2011
- 'A Theory of Constitutional Synthesis: A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union', paper presented at the Centre for Legal Philosophy, University of Alicante, 24 March 2011
 - 'The Theory of Constitutional Synthesis: A Constitutional Theory for a Democratic European Union', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'European Constitutional Pluralism and the Constitution of the Union', Madrid, 10–11 November 2011
- Fossum, John Erik (with Crum, Ben), 'European Citizen's Two Representation Channels and their Political Interplay in the EU's Multilevel Parliamentary Field', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'Strengthening Democracy in the EU: Alternative Forms of Representation', Bremen, 14–15 July 2011
- Fossum, John Erik (with Laycock, David), 'Representative Democracy in the EU and Canada Compared', paper presented at the MatchPoints Seminar 'Challenging Democracy', Aarhus, 12–14 May 2011
- Gaus, Daniel, 'Bridges to Be Built: The Analy-

- sis of Legitimacy between Political Theory and Empirical Research’, paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, 9 February 2011
- ‘Anmerkungen zu einer “hermeneutischen Wende” in der Politischen Theorie’, paper presented at the conference ‘Gegenstand und Methoden der politischen Theorie’ of the German Political Theory Association, Bremen, 28–30 September 2011
- Gornitzka, Åse, ‘How Do Crises Affect the Development and Sustainability of European Governance Sites? The Case of Voluntary Policy Coordination in Education Policy’, paper presented at the CES 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, 20–22 June 2011
- Gornitzka, Åse (with Metz, Julia), ‘The Struggle over the Appropriate Role of European Union in Knowledge Creation: A Case Study of the Birth and Institutionalisation of the European In’, paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
- Gulbrandsen, Christer, ‘The Top of the Mast: EU Multilevel Administration and the Global’, paper presented at the National Conference in Political Science, Bergen, 5–7 January 2011
- ‘A Tale of Two Transposition Practices: International Maritime Legislation in a National Administration’, paper presented at the EUSA 12th Biennial Conference, Boston, 3–5 March 2011
 - ‘Side By Side: EU and the IMO: Two International Executive Orders and National Implementation’, paper presented at the workshop ‘Public Administration in the Multilevel System’, Humboldt University Berlin, 23–24 June 2011
 - ‘From Keel to Top-Sail: Building Capacities in a Multi-level Union Administration’, paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
- Holst, Cathrine ‘Equal Pay and Dilemmas of Justice’, paper presented at the Winter Seminar of The Norwegian Sociological Association, Skeikampen, 28–30 January 2011
- ‘Hva er likestilling?’, invited lecture, Forskerforum, Centre for Gender and Equality, Kristiansand, 22 February 2011
 - ‘Martha Nussbaum: Feminisme og rettferdighet’, invited lecture at the conference ‘Feministisk filosofi’, University of Bergen, 15–16 March 2011
 - ‘Om norsk kulturforskning’, invited lecture, Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, 16 March 2011
 - ‘Epistocracy and Expertise’, presentation at the workshop ‘Framing Expertise: Scientific Knowledge and Systems of Professions’, Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik, 7–11 May 2011
 - ‘Are there Analytical Reasons for Preferring Real World Examples to Thought Experiments in Normative Political Theory?’, paper presented at the joint RECON/Research Programme on Democracy workshop ‘Democracy as an Idea in Practice’, Oslo, 25–26 May 2011
 - ‘Tony Judt and Europe: Introduction’, presentation at the conference ‘Tony Judt: A Distinctive Presence Among Us’, Paris, 23–25 June 2011
 - ‘Er verden slik den bør være? Om forholdet mellom er og bør i kjønnsforskningen’ and ‘Feministisk vitenskapskritikk og positivismestridens rekkevidde’, invited lectures, PhD course in the Philosophy of Science, University of Tromsø, 7–8 September 2011
 - ‘Gender Democracy across Europe: Reflections on Explanatory Factors and the Input-Outcome Relationship’, presentation at the RECON workshop ‘Gender and Democracy in the European Union’, University of Crete, 19–20 September 2011

- ‘Epistocracy: Conceptual Clarifications’, paper presented at the workshop ‘Epistemic Democracy in Practice’, Yale University, 20–22 October 2011
 - ‘Liberalisme, sosialdemokrati og norsk familiepolitikk’, paper presented at the workshop ‘Likestilling og familiepolitikk’, University of Oslo, 29–30 November 2011
 - ‘Fra demokrati til ekspertstyre: Hva er problemet?’, presentation at the Research Seminar of the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 14 December 2011
- Lord, Christopher, ‘On the Value of Parliamentary Representation as a Means of Securing Justification during the Course of Legislation’, paper presented at the Match-Points Seminar ‘Challenging Democracy’, Aarhus, 12–14 May 2011
- ‘A European Representative Democracy?’ presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference ‘Where is European Democracy Heading?’, Brussels, 19 May 2011
 - ‘Problems of Political Justice Raised by Bargaining Models of European Integration’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘Transnational Social Justice in the European Union and its Implications for Global Justice’, Amsterdam, 10–11 June 2011
 - ‘Ensuring Political Equality? The European Parliament and the Democratic Performance of the EU’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘Strengthening Democracy in the EU: Alternative Forms of Representation’, Bremen, 14–15 July 2011
 - ‘Do EU Agencies Satisfy a “Right to Justification?”’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘Agency Governance in the EU and its Consequences’, Mannheim, 16–17 September 2011
 - ‘Representative Claims Making: Some Theoretical and Methodological Reflections Applied to European Parliamentary Debates’, paper presented at the joint RECON/IPSA workshop ‘Changing Modes of Parliamentary Representation’, Prague, 14–15 October 2011
- ‘Problems of Compound Representation after Lisbon’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘European Constitutional Pluralism and the Constitution of the Union’, Madrid, 10–11 November 2011
 - ‘Problems of Compound Representation after Lisbon?’, paper presented at the RECON Concluding Conference ‘What is *Left* of European Democracy?’, Oslo, 25–26 November 2011
- Menéndez, Agustín J., ‘Financial Crisis Caused by European Governance?’, presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference ‘Where is European Democracy Heading?’, Brussels, 19 May 2011
- ‘Synthetic Constitutionalism at Midnight: The Constitutional State of the Union after Lisbon’, paper presented at the ECPR 6th General Conference, Reykjavik, 25–27 August 2011
 - ‘Weighing and Balancing: Proportionality as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘The European Rescue of the European Union: The Socio-Economic Malaise of Integration’, León, 9–10 September 2011
- Menéndez, Agustín J. (with Chiti, Edoardo and Teixeira, Pedro), ‘The European Rescue of the European Union’, paper presented at the RECON workshop ‘The European Rescue of the European Union: The Socio-Economic Malaise of Integration’, León, 9–10 September 2011
- Olsen, Espen D. H., Trenz, Hans-Jörg and Fiket, Irena, ‘Deliberation under Conditions of Language Pluralism: Insights from the EuroPolis Deliberative Polling Experiment’, paper presented at the ESA/ECPR conference ‘Transnational Democracy: Mobilization, Organization, Communication’, Florence, 20–21 January 2011
- Riddervold, Marianne, ‘From Reason-Giving to Collective Action: Argument-Based Learning and European Integration’, pa-

- per presented at the RECON workshop 'Democratizing the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', Oslo, 15–16 September 2011
- Riedel, Rafal, 'New Treaty – New Roles for the Rotating Presidency of the European Union's Council?', paper presented at the 'World Politics Seminar', University of Tromsø, 24 January 2011
- Rosén, Guri, 'Can You Keep a Secret? How the European Parliament Got Access to Sensitive Documents in the Area of Security and Defence', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'Democratizing the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', Oslo, 15–16 September 2011
- Sjursen, Helene, 'Security – Beyond Democracy?', presentation at the RECON outreach conference 'Where is European Democracy Heading', Brussels, 19 May 2011
- 'Beyond Democracy? Integration in the CFSP', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'Democratizing the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', Oslo, 15–16 September 2011
- 'Security – Beyond Democracy?', presentation at the RECON Outreach Conference 'Europe's Democratic Challenge', Oslo, 24 November 2011
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Mediati(zi)ng EU politics: Online News Coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections', paper presented at German-Swiss-Austrian European Studies Association's Conference, Basel, 17–19 January 2011
- 'The Saga of Europeanization: Affirmations of Ordinary Life in the Process of European Integration', presentation at the EURECO Distinguished Lecture Series '7 Tales of Europe', University of Copenhagen, 3 May 2011
 - 'Representation and the Media', paper presented at the MatchPoints Seminar 'Challenging Democracy', Aarhus, 12–14 May 2011
 - Keynote presentation at the International Conference 'Public Sphere Reconsidered', Covilhã, 19–20 May 2011
 - 'The European Public Sphere and European Collective Identity', presentation at the Seminar Series on European Societies, University of Florence, 3 June 2011
 - 'Euroscepticism in EU Elections and Referendums', paper presented at the RECON workshop 'Strengthening Democracy in the EU: Alternative Forms of Representation', Bremen, 14–15 July 2011
 - 'Deliberation under Conditions of Language Pluralism: Insights from the Europolis Deliberative Polling Experiment', paper presented at the ESA 10th Conference 'Social Relations in Turbulent Times', Geneva, 7–10 September 2011
 - Keynote presentation at the International Conference 'Identity and Intercultural Communication', Bucharest, 26–27 September 2011
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg and de Wilde, Pieter, 'A Media Perspective on Political Representation: Online Claims Making and Audience Formation in 2009 EP Election Campaigns' (co-author Michailidou, Asimina), paper presented at the CES 18th Conference of Europeanists, Barcelona, 20–22 June 2011
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg and Olsen, Espen D. H., 'From Citizens' Deliberation to Popular Will-Formation? Generating Democratic Legitimacy through Transnational Deliberative Polling', paper presented at the ECPR 39th Joint Sessions of Workshops, St. Gallen, 12–17 April 2011
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg (with Statham, Paul), 'The Politicization of Europe: Trend or Episode?', paper presented at the RECON Concluding Conference 'What is *Left* of European Democracy?', Oslo, 25–26 November 2011

Dissemination

As a centre for high-quality research on issues directly affecting European citizens, ARENA aims to reach out also beyond the research community, through public seminars and meetings with practitioners, as well as participation at the Norwegian Research Fair.

The annual **ARENA Lecture** invites politicians and other influential persons to give a public lecture on a topic that is both academically interesting and of genuine public interest. Among previous ARENA lecturers are Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jonas Gahr Støre, Norwegian Prime Ministers Gro Harlem Brundtland and Kjell Magne Bondevik, General Secretary of the European Council Daniel Tarchys, the Head of the European Commissions Forward Study Unit Jerome Vignon, and European Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy Margot Wallström.

ARENA researchers moreover participate in the public debate through media appearances, commenting upon topical issues and with research-based knowledge. Finally, they contribute with expertise to policy makers and analysts by meetings with public administration and ministries and by participation in governmental review committees as well as in research committees and university bodies.

The ARENA Lecture 2011: Europe and the USA - Two historical experiments at a crossroads

Oslo, 16 February 2011

In the 2011 ARENA Lecture the Dutch journalist, author and historian Geert Mak looked at Europe and the US in the twenty-first century and presented a powerful wake-up call for us, citizens of the West, regarding our self-images and the need to revise them.

Mak compared Europe and the US and their self-images in a historical perspective and also looked ahead at the 21st century, arguing that the two old great powers need a reality-check to see if the values they like to hold up still hold true.

– Will we manage to handle within national borders the challenges from the world around us, and the shifting crises, or are we floating like a chunk of ice in the water, unable to influence our own development?, Mak asked.

A journey to a divided US

Geert Mak is the author of the book and TV-series *In Europe*, a travelogue through the European continent and a history of the 20th century. In the Autumn of 2010, he also travelled in the United States.

– This time I didn't travel through the US one normally sees, I went off the main roads. I met a divided people that have lost its faith in the image of the US that they grew up with.

Frail self-images

He claimed that the view that we Europeans have of Europe, that of a serene and organised law-abiding society with a good welfare system, is a comfortable one, but that the economic and democratic crises of recent years have proven that the EU is a frail project. If action is not undertaken, the Union will prove unsustainable, Mak said.

Europe's self-image as a 'soft power' is also frail. The EU's ability to portray itself as such



Geert Mak presented the ARENA Lecture 2011 at *Litteraturhuset* in Oslo. (Photo: Ragnar Lie/ARENA)

a soft power, spreading its values through globalisation, trade and by setting a good example rather than through force, largely rests on the backing of the US military force, in Mak's view.

We have to take responsibility

Still, Mak is not a pessimist when it comes to Europe; on the contrary, he supports the European project. – We all have to take responsibility for the future of Europe. We Europeans have to take part in and politicise Europe. The democratic deficit in Europe and the distance between citizens and the decisions that are made concern us all and need to be solved, he concluded.

In her comment to Mak, **Cathrine Holst** (ARENA) suggested that Mak might have painted a picture of the western society that is too nostalgic of the past and that he ignores the progress that our society has seen. Yet, there is no doubt that the EU could improve its democracy. After all, Holst said, – Mak is one of the few people I know who talks of us as citizens of Europe. There are few people, especially in Norway, who recognise this community.

A video from the lecture is available at arena.uio.no.

Forum for European Research: A more powerful European Parliament

Oslo, 22 March 2011

The Norwegian Forum for European Research held a seminar jointly organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ARENA in March. This year's meeting addressed the increasing influence of the European Parliament in the decision-making system of the EU, and allowed ARENA researchers to present their research in this field to practitioners.

In his introduction, State Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs **Erik Lahnstein** stressed the fact that the European Parliament has become a real force in an increasing number of policy areas in the EU. This is signified by the fact that high-ranking national politicians are increasingly seeking out this institution. Lahnstein claimed that this has repercussions for the Norwegian attempts to influence the EU. This has traditionally been aimed at the Commission, but working on a civil service level does no longer suffice – joint, transnational political advances are often needed.

Christopher Lord (ARENA) discussed the appointment of the 2009 Commission, and argued that not only could the European Parliament throw the Commission, it had gained an increasing influence of the composition of the Commission. He sustained that the EU system is moving towards a parliamentary system of government. **Guri Rosén** (ARENA) discussed the increasing influence of the European Parliament on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy. The informal power of the EP has been gradually formalised, which is partially explained by the need for more democratic legitimacy.



State Secretary Erik Lahnstein
(Photo: Sindre Hervig/ARENA)

Bjørn Høyland (Center for International Climate and Environmental Research, Oslo) presented his research on the patterns of political coalitions in the EP, suggesting that the Parliament votes in clusters following party dividing lines. Moreover, the matters discussed are increasingly settled in the first round and the respective spokesperson could increasingly influence the outcome of singular cases.

The Norwegian Forum for European Research (Europapolitisk Forskerforum) is an annual meeting place between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the research community. The forum is organised by the Foreign Ministry.

Europe's democratic future

In 2011, the RECON project held two outreach conferences addressing practitioners, policy makers, journalists and the interested public: one in Brussels and one in Oslo. How to strengthen democracy in the EU was the crucial question at both events, where researchers presented key findings from five years of research.

Where is European Democracy Heading?

Brussels, 24 May 2011

Key findings were presented to a broad audience in the European district in Brussels during a well-attended half-day session in May. More than 80 practitioners and stakeholders attended the conference, which was organised by ARENA in cooperation with the RECON partner Université libre de Bruxelles.

RECON's Scientific Coordinator **Erik Oddvar Eriksen** (ARENA) opened the event by addressing the importance of democracy in the time of economic crisis before introducing **Angela Liberatore** (European Commission, DG Research) and her welcome to the audience.

RECON-affiliated scholars then presented selected research results on the constitutional essentials of the EU, compound representation, Euroscepticism, the contestations of EU legitimacy, how EU integration has been dealt with in national contexts by so-called public intellectuals, the possible democratic challenges in the field of foreign, security and defense policy, the democratic quality of EU decision-making processes on gender equality, the political economy of the EU, and finally, European and international economic law and the conflicts-law theory.

Andrew Duff, Member of the European Parliament (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe), **Lisbeth Kirk**, founder and Editor-in-Chief of *EUobserver*, and **Theofanis Christoforou**, principal legal adviser with the European Commission's Legal Service commented upon the research



Lisbeth Kirk, Editor-in-Chief of the *EUobserver* comments on RECON's research findings in Brussels. In the panel (from left): Justine Lacroix, Aleksandra Maatsch, John Erik Fossum, Erik O. Eriksen, Pieter de Wilde and Crhistopher Lord (Photo: Vivian Hertz/paviani.be)

findings. The two sessions both ended with an open discussion, where an interested audience asked questions and discussed RECON's findings with the speakers and commentators.

A podcast from the event is available on www.reconproject.eu

Europe's Democratic Challenge

Oslo, 24 November 2011

The Oslo outreach conference was organised prior to the project's concluding conference in November. The public seminar was a part of the University of Oslo's 200th anniversary celebration and was held at Litteraturhuset, attracting an audience of close to 200 people. Among the participants were representatives from different Norwegian ministries and the Parliament, political parties, diplomatic institutions, local and regional authorities, trade unions and employer's organisations, NGOs and media, as well as students and researchers.

Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs **Jonas Gahr Støre** gave the keynote speech after a welcome by RECON's Scientific Coordinator **Erik Oddvar Eriksen** (ARENA), who gave a short introduction to the project in the context of the financial crisis and challenged Støre to give his views on what Europe could do to overcome the current crisis.

RECON-affiliated researchers then discussed the conditions for democracy in the EU through a series of short presentations on the EU's constitutional status and constitutionalism beyond the state, problems of compound representation in the EU after Lisbon and, the EU's democratic challenges from below, changing identities in Europe, the possible democratic challenges to the EU's foreign, security and defence policy, gender democracy in the EU, and finally, the EU's political economy with a particular focus on the monetary union and the current euro crisis.

After the broad yet concise presentations of some of the project's research, the



Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum discuss the future of European democracy with Jonas Gahr Støre (Photo: Annica Thomsson/UiO)

independent political analyst **Aslak Bonde** commented on the findings and provided his own take on the current situation. This contribution constituted a bridge between the presentation of research findings and the ensuing discussions with the non-academic audience.

A video from the event is available on www.reconproject.eu

Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Snapshots of Findings

In the final year, RECON prepared the project pamphlet *Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Snapshots of Findings*. This was widely distributed in connection with the outreach conferences.

As RECON addresses questions of fundamental concern, which will remain relevant also beyond the project's lifetime, and as it has produced research results with policy implications, ARENA developed the pamphlet to provide such research-based policy recommendations.

The publication does not present the overall academic achievements of RECON but presents snapshots of selected findings that should be of interest to a non-academic readership: practitioners and policy makers,

NGOs and interest groups, media and the informed reader, and others who work within or take an interest in some of the fields under study.



The Oslo Research Fair

Oslo, 23-24 September 2011

ARENA continued its tradition of arranging a competition on EU knowledge for ninth graders at The Oslo Research Fair 2011. The first prize was a 25,000 Norwegian kroner travel grant, to be won through a web-based quiz and an exciting finale during the event.

The Oslo Research Fair (*Forskningstorget*) is part of the National Science Week in Norway, a nation-wide event held each year to make science and research available to the public. In Oslo, 20,000 visitors attended the research fair, which included a multitude of activities. ARENA is one of the few social sciences actors participating at this event.

In 2011, ARENA hosted a quiz for ninth graders for the third time. Three teams competed in the finale held on Universitetsplassen after qualifying through two rounds of a web-based quiz in the weeks leading up to the fair.

The pupils were tested in their knowledge of European history, EU institutions and other European issues.

Commissioned reports

Norwegian Review Committee on the EEA Agreement (*Europautredningen*)

Independent Committee appointed by the Norwegian Government in January 2010

Helene Sjørusen, Member of the EEA Review Committee (2010-2012)

Ulf Sverdrup, Head of the Secretariat of the EEA Review Committee (2010-2012)

Meng-Hsuan Chou and Åse Gornitzka, 'Den femte frihet og Kunnskapens Europa: Konsekvenser for Norge', report to the EEA Review Committee, 59 pages, 2011



The winning team from Kastellet secondary school
(Photo: Sindre Hervig/ARENA)

The excited winning team from Kastellet secondary school planned to use their money towards a class trip to Poland, a welcome addition to a curriculum that is low on knowledge on European affairs.

During the rest of the fair, the visiting pupils and general public could try the quiz and win a prize, an ARENA mobile cleaner. The smaller kids were invited to mark with post-its on a map where they had travelled in Europe.

Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, 'Forvaltningsmessige konsekvenser av EØS/EU: Sentraladministrasjonen – norsk og europeisk', report to the EEA Review Committee, 20 pages, 2011

Official Norwegian Reports

Cathrine Holst (with Hege Skjeie, Ronald Craig, Helga Eggeb, Anne Britt Flemmen, Øystein Gullvåg Holter, Anders Todal Jensen, Kjell Erik Lommerud, Marjan Nadim, Sevil Sümer, Mari Teigen, Thomas Michael Walle), 'Structure for Equality', Official Norwegian Report NOU 2011: 18

Media and magazines

- 'Flytting av tilsyn ut av Oslo ga null effekt', comment by Jarle Trondal, *Dagens Næringsliv*, 12 January 2011
- 'EU – en hybrid uten forbilde', article on the RECON project, *Apollon*, 17 January 2011
- 'Kaller EØS-avtalen demokratisk katastrofe', interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Nationen*, 18 January 2011
- 'Hvor ble det av demokratiet?', interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *ABC Nyheter*, 18 January 2011
- 'From Norway, the Hopes of a Former Eurosceptic', Cathrine Holst, *The Guardian*, 22 January 2011
- 'Forsker på demokrati i Europa med EU-midler', interview with Marit Eldholm, Mission of Norway to the EU newsletter, 24 January 2011
- 'Et løfte om likeverd', Erik O. Eriksen, *Dagbladet*, 14 March 2011
- 'I kunnskapens Europa', Meng-Hsuan Chou and Åse Gornitzka, *Adresseavisen*, 29 March 2011
- 'Derfor har Støre vetofrykt', interview with John Erik Fossum, *VG*, 12 April 2011
- 'Trur ikkje Noreg tør seie nei', interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Dag og Tid*, 15 April 2011
- 'Sannfinnene sier oss en del om fremmedfrykt og EU-motstand', interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *NRK*, 18 April 2011
- 'Demokrati – et universelt og vanskelig gode', interview with John Erik Fossum, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 14 May 2011
- 'Kriselitteratur', *Dagbladet*, 19 June 2011
- 'Storstilt forskningsprosjekt: – EU er ikke demokratisk', article on RECON's outreach conference, *ABC Nyheter*, 20 May, 2011
- 'Norsk nei til postdirektivet vil råde EØS-partnarar', comment by Ulf Svedrup, *Nationen*, 21 May 2011
- 'Europeisk demokrati under lupen', report from RECON's outreach conference, Mission of Norway to the EU newsletter, 24 May 2011
- 'Generasjon arbeidsløshet', comment by Agustín J. Menéndez, *Universitas*, 1 June 2011
- 'Rekordstor motstand mot norsk EU-medlemskap', comments by Erik O. Eriksen and Ulf Svedrup, *Nationen*, 13 June 2011
- 'Mynten som truer EU', interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Aftenposten*, 26 June 2011
- 'The triple democratic crisis of the European Union', Agustín J. Menéndez, *RECON Policy Paper*, July 2011
- 'Økonomer i vinden', Cathrine Holst, *Aftenposten*, 22 July 2011
- 'Vi er alle sosialdemokrater', Cathrine Holst, *Aftenposten*, 11 August 2011
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Professors including research professors (work years)	6.0
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MA students	4
Administrative staff (work years)	5.4
Total budget (NOK million)	23
Externally financed part of budget	70 %

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‘A Humanitarian Common Policy through Deliberation? On the Characteristics of EU Foreign Policy’

PhD defended November 2011



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Helena Seibicke

‘How Influential is the European Women’s Lobby on EU Policy-Making?’

October 2011 –



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‘Pushing the Boundaries of Intergovernmentalism? The Role of the Commission in the CFSP’

March 2011 –



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'Recent Developments in the EU Migration Management Policy: EU-Cape Verde Mobility Partnership, FRONTEX and the Management of the European Borders' (Supervisor: Meng-Hsuan Chou)

Anne Linn Fløttum Høen

'Democratic Deliberation between Citizens in the EU: Is Plurilingualism and Multiculturalism Compatible with Democratic Deliberation?' (Supervisor: Espen D. H. Olsen)

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Solveig Grønnestad

'The Role of National Parliaments and the Subsidiarity Principle in the European Union, and the Background for the Early Warning System' (Supervisor: Morten Egeberg)

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