



ARENA

**Centre for European Studies
University of Oslo**

**Annual report
2014**

Introduction

ARENA Centre for European Studies is a research centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oslo. The centre conducts theoretically oriented, empirically informed basic research on the dynamics of the evolving European political order.

The research at ARENA is organised along four key dimensions of political order: A European democratic order; the EU's executive order; expertise and knowledge in the EU; and European foreign and security policy.

In 2014, the bicentennial of the Norwegian Constitution set much of the agenda also for ARENA's research and outreach activities, not least through the project *The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context* (NORCONE). The major publication from this project, *Det norske paradoks [The Norwegian Paradox]* deals with Norway's affiliation with the EU and how this affects popular rule and the conditions for Norwegian constitutional democracy. The book and its findings was widely presented and debated throughout the year. ARENA also staged a three-day conference in November on *Democratic Constitutionalism in Europe*, with a broad range of international scholars.

In this report, you will find a comprehensive overview of ARENA's activities in 2014.

Oslo, March 2015

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Erik O. Eriksen". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Prof. Erik O. Eriksen
ARENA Director

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Research projects

Integration and division Towards a segmented Europe?

The aim of EuroDiv is to provide more knowledge on the implications of the current crisis and on possible ways out of the crisis.

About

What are the implications of the current European crisis for democracy and integration in a long-term perspective? What does it mean that countries both within and without the EU are integrated to different degrees? The assumption of the project *Integration and division: Towards a segmented Europe?* (EuroDiv) is that Europe is moving towards a permanent situation characterised by a more diversified EU.

Objectives

EuroDiv aims to establish how the crisis is transforming Europe and the implications this has for Norway as a closely associated non-member of the EU. Greater differentiation may give rise to particular patterns of segmentation with profound democratic and constitutional implications. EuroDiv seeks to establish how prevalent such segmentation trends are and whether there are important – democratic – countervailing forces.

A major objective is therefore to identify what the democratic and constitutional implications are of current patterns of transformation, what they entail for the sustainability of the European political order, and Norway's role in relation to it.

Activities in 2014

EuroDiv consists of four sub-projects which study various aspects of differentiation in Europe. The opening conference was organised in November, with four parallel workshops involving most of EuroDiv's international network. Key publications were ARENA Report 2/14 and a compilation of the key legal texts of the crises (see pp. 30-31). Moreover, Christopher Lord prepared a special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy* on differentiated integration, and Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum an edited volume on the EU's non-members, both forthcoming in 2015.

Law and democracy

The sub-project *Law and democracy* studies the impact of segmentation on democratic and constitutional processes, and the implications for European citizens. In 2014, its focus was on understanding the characteristics, scope and implications of the Eurocrisis, and on studying citizen mobilisation and Norway's EU affiliation in the wake of the crisis. Three workshops were organised: one in January (see p. 46) and two in November (see pp. 38-39 and 41-42).

The European executive order

The sub-project *The European executive order* analyses the impact of the crisis on administrative systems at the EU and national levels. The first workshop was organised in November (see pp. 40-41). As part of this project, Zuzana Murdoch was guest researcher at ARENA in 2014.



The EU financial crisis contributes to a more segmented Europe (photo: Colourbox)

Economic development as segmentation?

The sub-project *Economic development as segmentation?* studies important changes in the design of the monetary union, such as fiscal coordination and banking union, and if these developments contribute to further segmentation. As part of this project, David Mayes was guest researcher at ARENA in 2014 and a workshop was held in December (see pp. 44-45).

The domain of foreign and security policy

The fourth sub-project studies differentiated integration in the domain of foreign, security and defence policy. Two workshops were organised in 2014: *The EU in the World* at the NoPSA Congress in August (see p. 48) and one in Oslo in November (see p. 43).

Funding

The Research Council of Norway's research initiative 'Europe in Transition' (EUROPA).

Project period

01.12.2013–01.12.2018

Project coordinator

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

ARENA project members

Morten Egeberg, John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Helene Sjursen and Jarle Trondal (*sub-project coordinators*), Cathrine Holst, Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Åse Gornitzka, Agustín José Menéndez, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen, Marianne Riddervold and Hans-Jörg Trenz

Cooperation

Tom Christensen, *University of Oslo*
 Hans Otto Frøland, *Norwegian University of Science and Technology*
 Per Lægreid, *University of Bergen*
 David Mayes, *University of Auckland*
 Hilmar Rommetvedt, *IRIS, Stavanger*
 Bent Sofus Tranøy, *Hedmark University College*

More: arena.uio.no/eurodiv

The Norwegian Constitution in a changing European context

NORCONE establishes the nature of the EU's constitutional developments as well as the constitutional implications for Norway which stem from its relationship with the EU.

About

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

Objectives

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

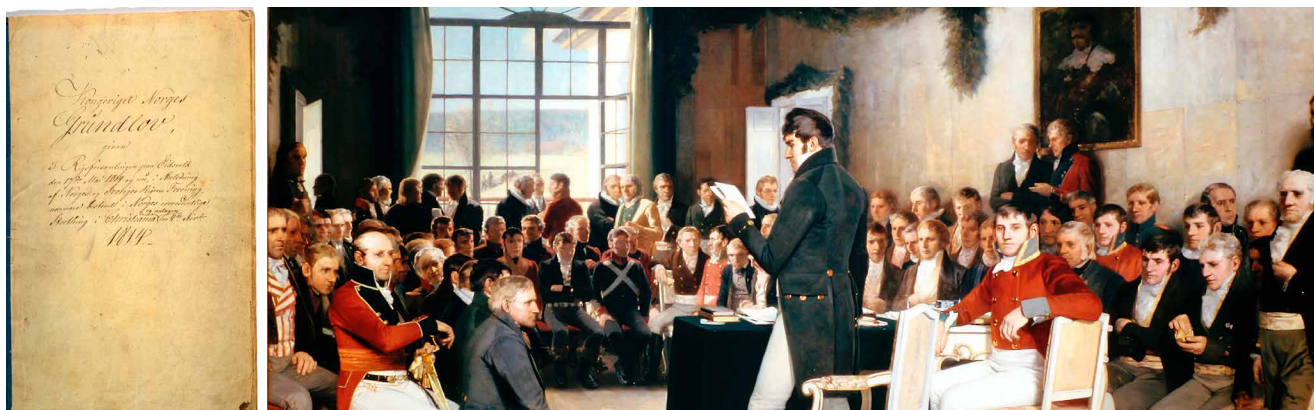
The development of systems of rights and law enforcement beyond the nation state has delimited, and later redefined, the principle of state sovereignty.

In Europe this development has been particularly strong due to the existence of the EU, an organisation capable of rights enforcement. NORCONE addresses the broader process of juridification, and the role and status of the Norwegian Constitution and the implications for democracy.

Activities in 2014

The NORCONE project ended in 2014, when Norway celebrated the bicentenary of its Constitution. The project produced two books and organized several events, in addition to journal articles, book chapters and presentations at academic conferences.

The book *Det norske paradoks [The Norwegian Paradox]* deals with Norway's affiliation with the EU and how this affects popular rule and the conditions for constitutional democracy in Norway (see p. 18). It is edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, with contributions by a number of ARENA researchers. ARENA staged several events to present its findings, including a seminar in cooperation with Partnerforum in February (see pp. 60-61), a book launch and debate at Litteraturhuset in March (see pp. 62-63), a seminar in the Norwegian Parliament (see p. 78) and a conference in Brussels (see pp. 64-66), both in June. The contributors to the book were also invited to several events across the country (see pp. 68-69). ARENA's web article about the book, 'EØS-avtalen truer demokratiet' [*The EEA Agreement; a menace to democracy*], is the all-time most visited



The original version of the Norwegian Constitution and Eidsvold 1814 by Oscar Arnold Wergeland (photos: Archive of the Norwegian Parliament)

news item at ARENA's website and was commented in several media outlets (see p. 70).

The book *The Normativity of the European Union* by Erik O. Eriksen deals with the constitutional and democratic development of the EU. It gives an overview of the status and conditions for democracy in a Europe in crisis (see p. 16). It was translated to German and is forthcoming in Norwegian in 2015.

NORCONE's concluding conference *Democratic constitutionalism in Europe* in November was part of the official programme for the 2014 Bicentenary. The main theme was the EU as political and constitutional project after the fall of the Berlin Wall and what has happened with law-based cooperation in Europe after the financial crisis (see pp. 36-38). As part of the three-day long international conference, a public debate with Scandinavian parliamentarians was also staged (see pp. 66-67).

Funding

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

Project period

01.07.2011– 31.12.2014

Project coordinators

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum

ARENA project members

Morten Egeberg, Åse Gornitzka, Cathrine Holst, Espen D. H. Olsen, Helene Sjørnsen and Jarle Trondal

Cooperation

Lars Blichner, Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen and Eirik Holmøyvik, *University of Bergen*
Fredrik Bøckman Finstad, *Norwegian Ministry of Justice*

More: arena.uio.no/norcone

Why not epistocracy? Political legitimacy and ‘the fact of expertise’

The EPISTO project examines and assesses the legitimacy of expert rule in modern democracies with a particular focus on the EU and European Commission expert groups.

About

The EU has recently taken unprecedented administrative and legal measures to address threats of terror, the euro crisis, and environmental challenges. Critics claim that the Union’s crises management contributes to pushing the EU further towards technocracy and expert-rule. Is Europe abandoning democracy as we know it? And if so, is this a problem?

A key question for the project *Why not epistocracy? Political legitimacy and ‘the fact of expertise’* (EPISTO) is how to combine democratic procedures with the demands for knowledge-based politics with wide use of experts and expertise. ‘Epistocracy’ refers to ‘rule of the knowers’, and EPISTO elaborates on arguments for expert-rule, tests the soundness of their empirical assumptions, and develops a normative defence of democracy in Europe that specifies the legitimate role and scope of expert power.

Objectives

EPISTO will elaborate on different dimensions of knowledge-based rule and develop a typology for epistocracy. The proper standards for assessing the normative legitimacy of expertise arrangements will

be discussed and identified. The project will map and analyse the European Commission’s expert group system, its composition and powers with the aim to study expertise behaviour, deliberation and rationality. This system’s normative legitimacy will be discussed and assessed in light of empirical findings.

Activities in 2014

A typology for the classification and evaluation of expertise-based arguments has been developed, and project leader Cathrine Holst has discussed solutions in terms of ‘mechanisms for holding experts to account’. The European Commission’s use of expertise has been analysed by project members.

A scientific report with selected papers and presentations from the EPISTO kick-off conference was published as ARENA Report 1/14, edited by Holst (see p. 30). Several publications appeared in 2014, and important agreements for further publications were made, including a special issue of the Open Access journal *Politics and Governance* edited by Holst and Åse Gornitzka.

EPISTO (co-)organised a number of workshops: ‘Knowledge, expertise and policy-making’ in Oslo 11 June (see p. 47); ‘Was Plato right? Should the experts rule?’ at the 2014 Nordic Political Science Congress on 12-15 August (see pp. 48-49); and ‘Deliberation after consensus: Democracy, epistemic quality and public discourse’ in Paris on 20-21 November. Moreover, the research was presented at a range of seminars



The School of Athens by Raphael (photo: Wikipedia Commons)

and conferences, both nationally and internationally (see pp. 52-58 and pp. 80-81).

In 2014, EPISTO further strengthened its cooperation with related academic networks and institutions. It is included in an international research network on expertise, SKAPE-Net, which had its launch workshop in October. Cathrine Holst was affiliated with the Quality of Government Institute at the University of Gothenburg as a guest researcher in 2014 and is also part of the Centre for Research on Gender Equality (CORE) at the Institute for Social Research, where she studies 'expertification' and Europeanisation of Norwegian gender equality policy.

Funding

The EPISTO project reached the final round of the European Research Council's Starting Grant competition and was later financed by the Research Council of Norway.

Project period

01.07.2012–31.06.2017

Project coordinator

Cathrine Holst

ARENA project members

John R. Moodie and Silje Hexeberg Tørnblad

Cooperation

Fredrik Engelstad, Johan Karlsson Schaffer, Ole Jacob Sending and Hege Skjeie, *University of Oslo*
 Margareta Bertilsson and Christian Rostböll, *University of Copenhagen*
 Rainer Forst, *Frankfurt University*
 Cristina Lafont, *Northwestern University*
 Helene Landemore, *University of Yale*
 Ulrike Liebert, *University of Bremen*
 Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen, *University of Aarhus*
 Helen Longino, *Stanford University*
 Anders Molander, *Oslo and Akershus University College*
 Kalypso Nicolaïdis, *University of Oxford*
 Bo Rothstein, *University of Gothenburg*

More: arena.uio.no/episto

European flagship universities: Balancing academic excellence and socio-economic relevance

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

European Flagship Universities: Balancing Academic Excellence and Socio-Economic Relevance (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?

The project will contribute to a better understanding of how the organisational adaptations of Norwegian universities compare to those of universities in other small Western European countries. 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.

Activities in 2014

The first project phase (2011-2012) was dedicated to analysing European-level policy developments as well as national-level legal, financial-economic, and political traditions and realities. The strategic room to manoeuvre for flagship universities were then examined in eleven selected universities: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Leuven, Vienna, Zurich, Warsaw and Melbourne. These institutional



Opening ceremony at Universitetsplassen, University of Oslo

reports are available from the project website.

In the second phase (2013-2014), detailed case studies at the departmental level are undertaken in four fields: Chemistry, Psychology, Public Health, and Teacher Education. Investigating the practices of institutional autonomy at the shop-floor level, the project observes how formal changes through reforms and regulations intertwine with managerial intentionality (e.g. strategic planning) and institutional settings (structures, routines, cultures and identities), both in the area of personnel policies and research management.

As the project is coming towards an end, Flagship project members were particularly active in their outreach to stakeholders in 2014 (see pp. 52-58 and 79-81). Several articles in peer-reviewed academic journals and book chapters were published (see pp. 22-27).

Funding

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

Project period

01.09.2011–31.03.2015

Project coordinator

Åse Gornitzka

ARENA project member

Tatiana Fumasoli

Cooperation

Peter Maassen and Bjørn Stensaker
University of Oslo

More: arena.uio.no/flagship

Other projects

In addition to the ARENA-coordinated projects in the previous pages, ARENA's researchers participate in a number of projects and networks coordinated by other universities and research institutions.

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. 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-territorialised diversity; religious diversity, and; diversity and redistribution.

Project type

Research Networking Programme financed by the European Science Foundation

Coordinator

Peter A. Kraus, Augsburg University

Project period

01.06.2010–01.06.2014

ARENA project members

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

More: www.recode.fi

Parliamentary Democracy in Europe (PADEMIA)

The motivation of PADEMIA is to establish a Europe-wide and sustainable network of 56 academic institutions from 31 countries to promote research and teaching in reaction to growing European demands to study parliamentary democracy in Europe.

PADEMIA seeks to enhance discussion among students, junior and senior researchers, also in exchange

with stakeholders, on how to deal with the new challenges parliaments and citizens across Europe are facing today. The network responds to the 'Future of Europe' report which identifies '(t)he on-going sovereign debt crisis and the ever accelerating process of globalization (as) an unprecedented dual challenge for Europe'; but also addresses the implications the Lisbon Treaty and further formal agreements (e.g., Fiscal Compact) have for parliamentary democracy in Europe whose complex, multi-level character furthermore requires thorough and comprehensive reflection.

Project type

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

Coordinator

Wolfgang Wessels, University of Cologne

Project period

01.10.2013–01.10.2016

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord

More: www.pademia.eu

Interparliamentary Cooperation in the EU's External Action (PACO)

Interparliamentary Cooperation in the EU's external action – Parliamentary Scrutiny and Diplomacy in the EU and beyond (PACO) brings together three interrelated teaching and research areas: EU external relations, inter-parliamentary cooperation and parliamentary diplomacy.

PACO aims to discover and explain if and why inter-parliamentary cooperation in the field of external relations (CFSP/CSDP, human rights, development, trade, etc.) has contributed towards increased scrutiny by the EP and national parliaments; and if and why parliamentary diplomacy can add to the diplomatic tool set (i.e. public diplomacy) in the EU's cooperation with third partners via its own delegations at the bilateral and multilateral levels. PACO further aims to contribute to a new understanding of the role of European parliaments (EP, national parliaments) in EU external action.

Project type

Jean Monnet Network co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

Coordinator

Jan Wouters, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, University of Leuven

Project period

01.09.2014–31.08.2017

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord and
Espen D. H. Olsen

More: ghum.kuleuven.be/ggs/projects/paco-project/

Addressing the Needs on Teaching, Education and Research in EU Foreign Policy (ANTERO)

One of the challenges the EU is confronted with is that of internal and external legitimacy. On internal legitimacy, the Union has been faced with a clear decline in popularity among its citizens. The internal legitimacy of EU foreign policy should not be taken for granted. This is compounded by legitimacy-related challenges facing the EU, situated on the international/external level. In terms of its external legitimacy, survey figures show that the EU is a largely unknown actor among the citizens of many third countries. Moreover, those who know the EU are far from unanimously positive about its impact on their country or on international affairs. ANTERO studies the effectiveness, coherence, and success of the EU as an international actor where both internal and exter-

nal legitimacy play critical roles. It aims to strengthen the interaction between research in the field of EU foreign policy and the translation of that research through innovative, research-led teaching.

Project type

Jean Monnet Network co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

Coordinator

Ben Tonra, University College Dublin

Project period

01.09.2014–31.08.2017

ARENA project members

Helene Sjursen, Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Guri Rosén,
Marianne Riddervold, Tine E. J. Brøgger,
Johanne D. Saltnes and Johanna Strikwerda

Research and Expertise in Society

ARENA cooperates with the Centre for European Studies at Jagiellonian University in Kraków in establishing a postgraduate research track within an MA programme in European Studies in Kraków: *Central and Eastern European Studies: Research Track*.

ARENA researchers contribute to teaching at regular courses in Kraków as well as a winter school for graduate students and PhD candidates in February 2015 and a summer school in June/July 2015.



ARENA contributes to the MA in European Studies in Kraków (photo: Jagiellonian University)

Tatiana Fumasoli held the inaugural lecture of the 2014/2015 academic year at the Institute of European Studies on 8 October 2014, which also marked the beginning of the new specialisation.

The specialization is an innovative combination of theory and practical set of skills. Courses are led by academic specialists as well as experts from the private and public sectors. It will allow the students to learn about the mechanism of how the scientific research can be transferred into actions conducive to the development of economy, society and democracy which they will then be able to implement during their internship in NGOs, public or private institutions and companies. The aim is to educate top experts in the field, conscious of their role and responsibilities as researchers.

Project type

Grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway through the EEA and Norway Grants, co-financed by the Polish funds.

Project period

01.08.2014–31.07.2016

ARENA project members

Tatiana Fumasoli, Åse Gornitzka, Cathrine Holst, Christopher Lord, Asimina Michailidou, Espen D. H. Olsen and Hans-Jörg Trenz

More: www.ces.uj.edu.pl/academics/ma-in-european-studies/central-eastern-european-studies-research-track



Publications

New books 2014

The Normativity of the European Union

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN: 9781137391445

Reconstructing the integration process with a view to the Eurozone crisis, Eriksen in this book provides an insight into the conditions for integration and the nature of the EU.

The Normativity of the European Union offers a novel account of what has made European integration possible based on a pragmatist approach. The force of reasons in legally organized orders constitutes the core component of this approach. Eriksen identifies the main reasons for European integration as imperatives – as normative musts. The book explains why further integration has become a moral duty and why there is an expectation that the EU should be democratic.

A novel model of the EU as a non-state government premised on a set of democratic innovations is suggested. This model, which has a cosmopolitan underpinning, is in line with changes in international relations brought about by the integration process; the conditioning of sovereignty upon the respect of democracy and human rights.

German translation published as:

Die Normativität der Europäischen Union

Verlag Karl Alber, ISBN: 9783495486467

The Internet and European Integration: Pro- and Anti-EU Debates in Online News Media

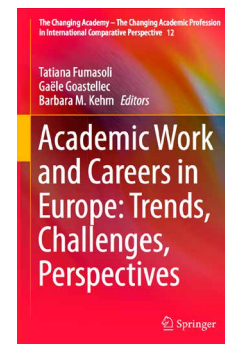
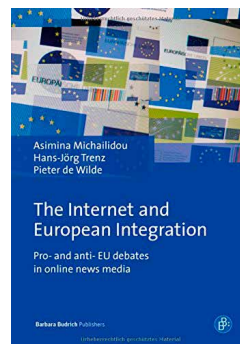
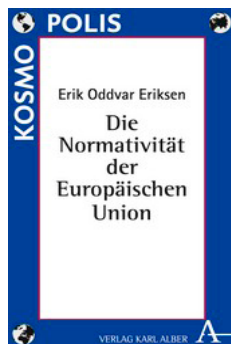
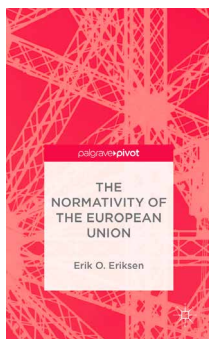
*Asimina Michailidou, Hans-Jörg Trenz
and Pieter de Wilde*

Barbara Budrich, ISBN: 9783847401537

The Internet and European Integration offers a wealth of original empirical data on the link between rising Euroscepticism and online news and social media.

Based on an innovative research design, the book shows how online EU reporting and debates tend to be more emotional and less based on facts, while at the same time bringing the EU closer to the public. It is argued that what is missing from the Eurosceptic arguments found in online media is a clear vision of what Europe ought to look like after the current crisis.

The legitimacy of the EU is contested online, where large numbers of citizens are getting involved and mobilized and national audiences also focus attention on EU debates. Nevertheless, online debates reify the contours of the national public sphere, both in content, actors and what is contested. The book also finds that nationalist cleavages and fights for redistribution between North and South were less salient in citizen debates, even though the main articles often build around them.



Building The Knowledge Economy In Europe: New Constellations in European Research and Higher Education Governance

*Edited by Meng-Hsuan Chou and Åse Gornitzka
Edward Elgar, ISBN: 9781782545286*

This volume investigates the dynamics of emerging knowledge policy domains on the European political agenda, and the dynamics of this in relation to knowledge policies. It brings together leading experts who address the two central pillars of the 'Europe of Knowledge'; research and higher education, to reveal the vertical, horizontal and sequential tensions in European knowledge governance.

This book is the first comparative volume on European research and higher education policies. The chapters cover topics such as the idea of the European Research Area, the sustainability of the Bologna Process, the institution-building for a Europe of Knowledge, the domestic impact of EU-level initiatives, and the role of the crisis in the European Higher Education Area. It accounts for the creation of key institutions administering EU funding and addresses the core issues of European integration in the knowledge domains.

Academic Work and Careers in Europe: Trends, Challenges, Perspectives

*Edited by Tatiana Fumasoli, Gaële Goastellec and
Barbara M. Kehm
Springer, ISBN: 9783319107196*

This book explores the perceptions of academic staff and representatives of institutional leadership about the changes in academic careers and academic work experienced in recent years. It emphasizes standardization and differentiation of academic career paths, impacts of new forms of quality management on academic work, changes in recruitment, employment and working conditions, and academics' perceptions of their professional contexts. The book demonstrates a growing diversity within the academic profession and new professional roles inhabiting a space which is neither located in the core business of teaching and research nor at the top-level management and leadership. The new higher education professionals tend to be important change agents within the higher education institutions not only fulfilling service and bridging functions but also streamlining academic work to make a contribution to the reputation and competitiveness of the institution as a whole.

Det norske paradoks: Om Norges forhold til Den europeiske union

*Edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum
Universitetsforlaget, ISBN: 9788215021003*

The Norwegian Paradox discusses the democratic consequences of Norway's EU affiliation through the EEA Agreement and how it affects the preconditions for constitutional democracy. Although Norway is not an EU member and a majority voted against EU membership in 1994, Norway participates in the internal market, Schengen and parts of the EU's defence cooperation. This book discusses what democracy means in a world characterised by increasing globalisation, Europeanisation and judicialisation. Are democracy and EU affiliation at all compatible?

Hvilken betydning har Norges EU-tilknytning for folkestyret, og hvordan påvirker denne forutsetningene for konstitusjonelt demokrati? Selv om Norge ikke er EU-medlem, er vi like fullt tilsluttet EUs stadig mer omfattende indre marked og tilliggende områder, så vel som grensekontroll og deler av forsvarssamarbeidet. Hvordan kan dette skje når et flertall av den norske befolkningen stemte mot EU-medlemskap i 1994? Jo mer EU integreres og demokratiseres, dess mer vil det norske demokratiet måtte lene seg på EU for legitimitet. Boka diskuterer hva demokrati innebærer i en verden som er preget av økende globalisering, «europeisering» og rettsliggjøring.

Folkestyrets varige spenninger: Stortinget og den norske politiske selvforståelsen

*Johan P. Olsen
Universitetsforlaget, ISBN: 9788215023229*

Norway is perceived as a well-organized, well-functioning and stable democracy where the political institutions are supported by the people. However, three major official reports have expressed democratic concerns. In *The Enduring Tensions of Democracy* Johan P. Olsen analyses how this paradox, and modern democracies in general, can be understood. Attention is drawn to the political order as an arrangement of interacting levels of governance, institutions and channels of influence.

Norge blir ansett som et velorganisert, velfungerende og stabilt demokrati der folket slutter opp om de politiske institusjonene. Tre store offentlige utredninger har imidlertid kommet med bekymringsmeldinger om demokratiets virkemåte og utvikling. Boken analyserer hvordan dette paradokset, og moderne demokratier generelt kan forstås. Har Norge en politisk orden etter folkets ønske, og er vi forberedt på en ny tid? Oppmerksomheten rettes mot den politiske orden som et arrangement av samvirkende styringsnivåer, institusjoner og kanaler for innflytelse. «Den store norske fortellingen» om at folket, staten og parlamentet er suverene, holdes opp mot at demokratisk politikk i praksis er organisert rundt varige spenninger og skiftende maktbalanser.



Forvaltning og politikk

Tom Christensen, Morten Egeberg, Per Lægreid and Jacob Aars
Universitetsforlaget, 4th edn, ISBN: 9788215023250

Public administration plays an important role in the political system, at supranational, national, regional as well as local governance levels. This book offers a thorough introduction to the Norwegian public administration structure and function, including historical development, core values, tasks, rules and procedures, staff characteristics, key roles, relationship to its surroundings, and features of new reforms.

Den offentlige forvaltningen spiller en viktig rolle i det politiske systemet som saksforbereder og iverksetter, og den gjør dette på fire styringsnivåer: det overnasjonale, det nasjonale, det regionale og

det lokale. Denne boken tilbyr en grundig introduksjon til den norske forvaltningens oppbygging og virkemåte, herunder den historiske utviklingen, verdigrunnlag, oppgaver, prosedyre, saksbehandlingsregler, trekk ved personalet, utformingen av sentrale roller, forholdet til omgivelsene og trekk ved nye reformer. Boken gir i tillegg en innføring i norsk fylkeskommunal og kommunal forvaltning: oppbygging, virkemåte og reformer. Fjerde utgave er gjennomgående oppdatert om endringer i forvaltningens oppbygging og nyere trender i forvaltningspolitikken.

Politikk i grenseland: Festskrift til Øyvind Østerud

Edited by Dag Harald Claes, Knut Heidar and Cathrine Holst

Universitetsforlaget, ISBN: 9788215022598

On the occasion of Prof. Øyvind Østerud's 70th birthday, Universitetsforlaget released a festschrift celebrating his impressive scholarly career. The book has contributions from a range of academic fields discussing topics such as developmental aid, environmental protection, nationalism, the establishment of statutory instruments, and the European Union. The contributors provide insights into their own research on Norwegian politics and policies from social sciences, history and law. The festschrift also comprises contributions from international scholars, on 'promising leadership', the self-defence of democracy, and patriotism.

Politikk i grenseland setter norsk politikk under lupen. Med ulike innfallsvinkler tar bidragene for seg faghistorie, aktuelle fagdebatter og kontroversielle temaer som u-hjelp, miljøvern, nasjonalisme, EU og rettsliggjøring. Kapittelforfatterne, som gir innblikk i egen forskning omkring norsk politikk, er sentrale forskere og fagformidlere fra både samfunnsvitenskap, historie og jus. Her er også bidrag fra forskere utenfor Norge, om «håpefullt lederskap», demokratiets selvforsvar og patriotisme. Politikk i grenseland er et festskrift til Øyvind Østerud i anledning hans 70-årsdag.

The Arctic Contested

*Edited by John Erik Fossum and Keith Battarbee
Peter Lang, ISBN: 9782875742063*

In recent decades, and in particular as a result of global climate change, the significance of the Arctic has radically shifted, from a remote periphery to a region of intensifying political and academic interest and of conflicting interests.

This collection of texts examines in particular how national and international politics and law impact on Arctic governance, communications and indigenous rights; and in parallel, explores perceptions and experiences of the North in literature and the dramatic arts. The book thus offers a platform for cross-disciplinary dialogue, in order to highlight that the Arctic is too multi-faceted and complex for any one discipline or approach adequately to encompass.

Publications 2011-2014

	2011	2012	2013	2014
Monographs	1	1	1	4
Edited books	2	4	4	5
Special issues of journals	2	–	–	–
Book chapters	21	31	16	47
Journal articles	24	15	30	21
ARENA Working Papers	15	7	8	13
ARENA Reports	9	4	1	2
Publication points (total)	54.3	47.6	49.7	70.0
Publication points (per academic person-year)	3.4	2.8	2.5	4.1

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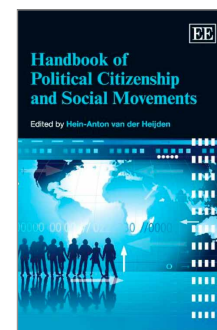
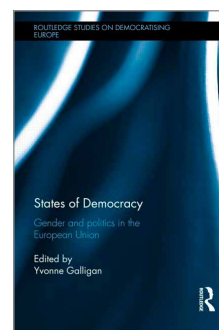
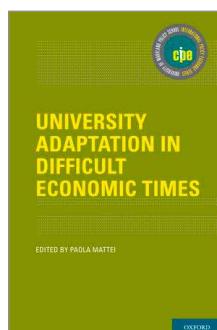
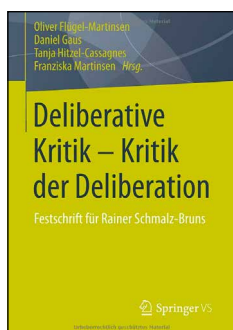
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ARENA Reports

The ARENA Report Series consists of proceedings from workshops or conferences, project reports, PhD and Master theses supervised at ARENA.

Expertise and Democracy

ARENA Report 14/01

Cathrine Holst (ed.)

Why not epistocracy? Political legitimacy and ‘the fact of expertise’ (EPISTO) examines and assesses the legitimacy of expert rule in modern democracies, with a particular focus on the EU.

This report is based on the proceedings of EPISTO’s kick-off conference in Oslo in 2013. The contributions are multifaceted and interdisciplinary and range from chapters on normative political theory to analyses of the role of experts in specific policy fields. They follow three main themes: expert-rule and democratic legitimacy, the role of knowledge and expertise in EU governance, and the European Commission’s use of expertise.

In addition to the editor and project coordinator of EPISTO, Cathrine Holst, the report has contributions by Marion Dreyer, Beate Elvebakk, Robert Evans, Lucy Hatton, Karin Jønch-Clausen, Klemens Kappel, Silje Aambø Langvatn, Julia Metz, Anders Molander, John R. Moodie, Alfred Moore, Espen D. H. Olsen, Christoph Ossege, David Budtz Pedersen, Ortwin Renn, Marianne Riddervold, Hans-Jörg Trenz, and Anthony R. Zito.

The European Union in Crises or the European Union as Crises?

ARENA Report 14/02

John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez (eds)

What kind of crisis is the European Union going through? Is it mainly a financial crisis? Or is it a sovereign debt crisis? Or are there deeper structural causes of the crisis? What role did the asymmetric design of the Monetary Union play in the development of the crisis? Is the crisis to be interpreted as a result of a transformation of capitalism that renders democracy impossible? Is this a single crisis or a set of overlapping and mutually reinforcing crises?

These are some of the questions that the authors of this volume address through critically engaging with the past, the present and the future of European integration, from a multitude of academic disciplinary angles.

The volume is the third in a series of ARENA reports providing the reader with a comprehensive analysis of the unfolding of the European crisis. Previous volumes are **ARENA Report 7/2009** *The Sinews of European Peace* and **ARENA Report 3/2012** *The European Rescue of the European Union*.



Expertise and Democracy

Cathrine Halset (ed)

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The European Union in Crises or the European Union as Crises?

John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez (eds)

ARENA Report No 2/14



The Key Legal Texts of the European Crises

Treaties, regulations, directives, case law
Fernando Losada and Agustín José Menéndez (eds)

ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo
Center of Excellence for the Foundations of the European Law and Policy, Helsinki

Draft version 0.1 - June 2014

The Key Legal Texts of the European Crises: Treaties, Regulations, Directives, Case Law

**Online Report
Version 1.0
September 2014**

*Fernando Losada and
Agustín José Menéndez
(eds)*

This volume compiles and examines the key set of legal documents of the European 'Great Crisis'.

A number of decisions and structural reforms have been adopted by the EU, through new legal acts, regulations and directives. Agustín José Menéndez and Fernando Losada have assembled these key legal documents in one single file.

'It appears that the structural, long-term impact of managing the crises on the constitutional law of the EU and its member states is bigger than that of any previous round of Treaty amendment. The crises have been a more powerful spark of constitutional change than the Maastricht, Amsterdam or Nice Treaties', the editors argue.

In addition to contributions by the editors John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez, the report includes chapters by Hauke Brunkhorst, Michelle Everson, Mark F. Gilbert, Christian Joerges, Jeremy Leaman, Christopher Lord, Giandomenico Majone, Asimina Michailidou, Fritz W. Scharpf, Dennis Smith, Pedro Gustavo Teixeira, and Klaus Tuori.

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Democracy in Europe:
Why the Development of the European Union
into a Transnational Democracy is Necessary
and How it is Possible





Events

NORCONE concluding conference: Democratic constitutionalism in Europe

As part of the Bicentennial Celebration of the Norwegian Constitution in 2014, ARENA staged a broad multidisciplinary conference on the implications of the European integration process on the nation states, and in particular on Norwegian constitutional democracy.

The conference was the major and concluding event of the project *The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context* (NORCONE). The conference was part of the Norwegian Parliament's official programme for the 200th anniversary celebration and was held at Blindern campus on 4 November 2014. ARENA also staged an evening political debate with Scandinavian parliamentarians (see pp. 66-67). As part of the three-day conference, four parallel EuroDiv workshops were organised (see pp. 38-43).

Constitutional democracy

Rector **Ole Petter Ottersen** opened the conference, which took place on the very same date the so-called November constitution was signed 200 years ago to allow for a union with Sweden. Ottersen referred to the recent ARENA book *The Norwegian Paradox*, which points to democratic shortcomings of Norway's current relationship with the EU.

President of the Norwegian Parliament, **Olemic Thommessen** addressed the constitutional challenges implicit in the current situation, with Norway being a close associate but non-member of the EU. He admitted that the EEA Agreement raises important

democratic issues for Norway. Also in his view these have become particularly relevant this year, celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Constitution and the sovereignty of the people.

The first part of the conference consisted of three keynotes providing 'the big picture' of democratic constitutionalism in Europe today. It explored the nature of the EU in constitutional terms and the present status of democracy in Europe, with a particular focus on what the euro crisis has done to constitutional democracy at both the national and supranational level.

John Erik Fossum and **Agustín José Menéndez** gave an introduction to the history of EU law and different models of integration. They are authors of the book *The Constitution's Gift* from 2010, which by Kalypso Nicolaïdis was presented as a 'must reference' to understand the constitutional system in the EU today.

Democratic challenges and the financial crisis

German law professor **Christian Joerges** (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin) shed light on the EU's legal status in view of the crisis. He took particular note of the controversy over the European Central Bank's programme for Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT). The ECB's 2012 announcement that it would be willing to buy government bonds without limit in certain scenarios arguably constitutes the most controversial decision in its 15-year history.

Joerges depicted Europe as being in a state of



Oxford professor Kalypto Nicolaidis shared her experience of being an EU 'wise man' to a large public in the University Library

emergency. 'We do not have the means and legislation in place to cure the Eurozone crisis', he warned.

From the audience, former Danish permanent representative to the EU, Poul Skytte Christoffersen, questioned Prof. Joerges' neoliberal story of the EU. He pointed to the EU's social-democratic agenda, which was tuned towards steering the internal market. In his view, the major mistake – which in turn has led to the banking crisis – was that the free movement of capital was not adequately controlled.

Professor **Kalypto Nicolaidis** (University of Oxford) gave a lecture on the potential for European 'demoi-cracy', a polity of multiple distinct people. Referring to her experience of being a 'wise man' in the Reflection Group headed by former Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez, she moreover argued that short-termism is the key problem of democracy. Politicians are not able to think ahead, she regretted, and her term of 'sustainable integration' did not gain

ground in the group, which was to reflect on Europe's challenges towards 2030.

What about non-members?

The second part of the conference discussed what options the EU has, what options states in Europe have and the implications of membership and non-membership. A specific focus was on the situation for Norway as an associate non-member state, and Switzerland as another non-member but also non-EEA state.

State Secretary to the Minister of EU/EEA affairs, **Ingvald Naess Stub**, discussed the Norwegian government's policy towards the EU. Their strategy for increased influence is to act earlier and pick their battles. **Erik O. Eriksen** however underscored the democratic shortcomings of such an approach, and repeated his 'no legislation without representation' critique.

Joachim Blatter (University of Lucerne) explained that Switzerland seems to be turning away

from Europe and towards China, and that EU membership is a non-option for the country today – also for democratic reasons. He stressed however that the Swiss are becoming more fundamentalist and a less reliable negotiating partner.

What are the options?

The ensuing panel debate engaged renowned scholars in discussions on issues such as associate membership; British euroscepticism and the options available for existing members; challenges related to the EU's high aspirations and constitutional framing; and the challenges of talking about à-la-carte EU models, where member states can pick and mix the policy areas they want for deeper integration.

The panelists were law professors **Bruno de Witte** (European University Institute), **Carol Harlow** (London School of Economics and Political Science), **Imelda Maher** (University College Dublin), **Harm Schepel** (University of Kent), and **Daniel Thym** (University of Konstanz), in addition to Erik O. Eriksen and Joachim Blatter. Given the current situation, they understood to some extent that Norway is not considering full EU membership. However, from an outsider's perspective, Norway's affiliation through the EEA was considered an oddity.

Law and democracy in Europe

The EuroDiv workshop *Law and Democracy in Europe* was convened by **Erik O. Eriksen** and **John Erik Fossum** and took place on Blindern campus on 5-6 November. The workshop took stock of the present status of legal-democratic rule in the EU, addressing issues of increased executive dominance and greater differentiation in the wake of the euro-crisis. Participants also discussed the potential for improving representative institutions in order to give the people of Europe a greater role.

Erik O. Eriksen addressed a number of normative implications of the Eurozone crisis, noting that greater solidarity was required to enable the EU to fulfill its promises to the citizen once more. **Daniel Gaus** (Goethe University Frankfurt) meanwhile delivered an analysis proposing that a strengthened role for the European Parliament is necessary to address issues of non-domination and equality. **Sergio Fabbrini** (LUISS University, Rome) also took up the theme of domination, noting that, with the institutionalization of the European Council, a logic of consensus was giving way to a logic of domination. Similarly, **Ben Crum** (VU University Amsterdam) gave an insight into the European Semester and its constraining power on nation states. He proposed



Conference organisers John Erik Fossum and Erik O. Eriksen (left), law professors and panelists Bruno De Witte, Carol Harlow and Imelda Maher, UiO rector Ole Petter Ottersen and President of the Norwegian Parliament Olemic Thommessen

increasing the role of the European Parliament and giving national parliaments a stronger voice in the process.

Michelle Everson (Birkbeck, University of London) described how markets are increasingly subject to technical supervision and therefore are far from ‘free’: futurization and endemic debt create significant and systemic risks for the banking system in Europe. **Johannes Pollak** (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna) highlighted how the many different modes of representation within the EU led to compound representation and the dangers of collision, collusion and confusion.

Christopher Lord outlined how the European Parliament, through helping manage member states’ externalities, can enable national parliaments to meet

their obligations: this assistance in turn gives indirect legitimacy to the EP. Finally, **John Erik Fossum** provided insight into how the crisis has led to a shift from differentiated integration to a more static notion of differentiation and that new democratic coping mechanisms will be necessary to achieve the necessary congruence and accountability across a more differentiated Europe.

The European executive order

The EuroDiv workshop *The European executive order*, organized by **Morten Egeberg** and **Jarle Trondal** on 5-6 November, dealt with what they see as an emerging multilevel EU administration, composed of the European Commission, a growing number of EU agencies as well as national agencies (regulatory authorities), most commonly working together in issue-specific transnational networks.

The main task is probably application of EU law, however, providing expertise and proposals at the policy formulation stage also seem to be key functions. Arguably, we are witnessing a profound transformation of the European executive order from a system based on relatively delimited, coherent national administrations to an integrated, common EU administration, partly by-passing national ministries. The aim of the workshop was a further penetration along these lines rather than that of launching a new paradigm.

Tobias Bach (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin) brought new empirics on how EU regulatory networks tend to empower and autonomize national agencies vis-à-vis their parent ministries, also at the policy-development stage. **Nina M. Vestlund**, using the EU medicines regulatory network as her case, showed how the EU agency arranges a division of labour among the national agencies, resulting in a considerable pooling of administrative resources.

Michael Buess (University of Lucerne) found that government representatives on the management

boards of EU agencies are not that much instructed from back home, and, in addition, they tend to evoke rather technocratic role conceptions. Thus, actual government control of EU agencies might be questioned.

Eva Ruffing (University of Hannover) presented new, nuanced, data on the actual degree of autonomy of EU agencies vis-à-vis the Commission. **Mathias Johannessen** (University of Oslo) showed that although member states' representatives on the management boards of EU agencies may be more active than previously thought, their interventions are more expertise-based and European than nationally oriented.

Martijn Groenleer (Delft University of Technology) presented a more theoretically oriented paper on the consequences of having redundancy, duplication and overlap within (and among) regulatory networks. **Hussein Kassim** (University of East Anglia) presented a forthcoming paper (with Vantaggiato/Wright) on the EU competition network supporting many previous findings from other policy fields; e.g. on the pivotal role of the Commission and on the empowering effect on national competition authorities vis-à-vis their ministries.

Joan Pere Plaza i Font (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (with Dehousse/Fernandez-Pasaran) reported findings on comitology supporting earlier findings on the basically consensual nature of comitology, however, also specifying scope conditions.



From left: Morten Egeberg, Nina M. Vestlund, Michael Buess and listeners at the workshop 'The European executive order'

Koen Verhoest (University of Antwerp/University of Leuven) presented a forthcoming paper (with Ongaro) aiming at explaining the 'policy autonomy' of EU agencies. **Anchrit Wille** (Leiden University) analyzed the evolving EU 'accountability landscape', i.e. how EU executive bodies like the Commission and agencies might be held to account.

Finally, a paper by Egeberg, Trondal and Vestlund was circulated. It shows how EU agencies increasingly seem to become closely related to particular Commission departments; their 'parent DGs'. In addition to paper givers, **Åse Gornitzka** and **Johan P. Olsen** (ARENA) took part as discussants. **Manuel Szapiro** (European Commission) took part as a practitioner.

Europe's social substrate

Hans-Jörg Trenz convened the EuroDiv workshop *Europe's social substrate* on 5-6 November. It focused on Europe's civil society and on the implications of the Eurocrisis regarding redistributive conflicts and new politics of identity. The objective of the various contributions was to delineate the contours of the contested European space and within and across national arenas. The carriers of this contestation, public intellectuals, political parties and protest movements as well as political conflicts channelled through different media outlets, were also investigated.

Ulrike Liebert (University of Bremen) addressed the 'TINA' (there is no alternative) narrative that has

been used during the Eurocrisis. Counter-narratives have not succeeded in replacing it, despite its authoritative nature devoid of justifications, which stand in contrast to liberal, pluralist ideals of democracy.

Christian Lahusen (University of Siegen) analysed the relation between political behaviour and social inequality in unemployed youths in Germany and Sweden. Lahusen concluded that political participation is not an individual choice, but a collective experience. Political apathy can only be solved in social terms and there is a need for more local democracy, he argued.

Giovanni Moro (FONDACA, Rome) discussed the paradoxes of non-conventional representation and the Eurozone turmoil. The paradox refers to civic representation appearing both ‘impossible but real’ and ‘real but impossible’. On the one hand, active citizenship organisations claim to stand and act for their constituencies, on the other hand, they do so by shifting away from mechanisms of representative democracy (i.e. voting).

Ruby Gropas (European University Institute) had studied the creative resistance to the Eurocrisis. In the countries most hardly hit by the crisis, there are fascinating examples of citizens mobilising in spontaneous initiatives aimed at provoking positive change. Driven by principled notions of solidarity, altruism, social justice, community-building, self-sufficiency, environmental protection and democracy they have engaged to provoke change at the most local level, while keeping an exceptionally global outlook.

Christiano Bee (University of Surrey) compared policy discussions regarding active citizenship in the UK and Italy, providing an assessment of the ongoing process of Europeanization by looking at the frames, ideas, opinions and evaluations of activists. In her presentation, **Aline Sierp** (University of Maastricht) employed a history-of-ideas perspective in order to look more closely at the national stereotypes which seem to have been amplified by the European crisis.

Susannah Verney (University of Athens) analysed the rise of right-wing Euroscepticism in crisis-stricken Greece. Given that European integration began as a project of the right and centre, initially often opposed by the left, this firm base of rightwing opposition suggests a rather striking shift in the legitimacy basis of the European construction. **Simon Usherwood** (University of Surrey) consequently unpacked the concept of Euroscepticism. He pointed out that a shift from the ideological and strategic model of Euroscepticism is needed. There is a danger of long-term hollowing-out of popular engagement and legitimacy with the EU.

Finally, **Asimina Michailidou** and **Hans-Jörg Trenz** presented results of an empirical project on Euroscepticism in online media, which they show to be ambiguous, emotional and pervasive. The more the EU becomes salient in the media, the more biases apply and Europe is discussed negatively.

Constitutionalising foreign and security policy?

The EuroDiv workshop *Constitutionalising European foreign and security policy?* was convened by **Helene Sjursen** and **Bruno Oliveira Martins** on 5-6 November. It brought together 16 legal scholars and political scientists to discuss the constitutional and democratic implications of developments within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It asked: what, if any, is the constitutional identity of the EU in the domain of foreign and security policy? And what are the democratic implications of a putative constitutionalisation of this domain?

Eight papers and one research project were presented and discussed covering both procedural and substantive issues of a putative constitutional identity in the domain of CFSP and its democratic implications. Special emphasis was put on the role of European courts in CFSP. Discussions revolved around the hypothesis of a slight de-intergovernmentalisation of the CFSP with a reinforcement of the power of the European courts.

Ramses A. Wessel (University of Twente) discussed the putative particularity of CFSP norms and procedures emphasizing what he called the classical myth of CFSP being a purely intergovernmental policy area. Meanwhile, **Teija Tiilikainen** (Finnish Institute of International Affairs) presented a research project addressing the EU's external identity in the form of how the EU expresses itself in the treaties.

Addressing the role of the courts in CFSP, **Christophe Hillion** (University of Leiden/SIEPS Stock-

holm) described and discussed several elements pointing towards judicial control. Similarly, **Christina Eckes** (University of Amsterdam) discussed the role of the Court of Justice of the European Union after the Lisbon Treaty, arguing that we can see a slight expansion of the Court's capacity to give guidance on what the CFSP is and how it should be interpreted.

Bruno Oliveira Martins (Aarhus University) used empirical examples from the EU's counter-terrorism policy to explore how the EU relates to the precautionary logic in the security domain. Providing examples from the same domain, **Fiona de Londras** argued that the EU experiences constitutionalist tensions that are not dissimilar to those identified at the national level and that EU courts in fact undertake significant work in bolstering constitutionalism in the realm of CFSP.

Ben Tonra (University College Dublin) used narrative constructions to guide his analysis on the nature of the EU's foreign policy grounding in democratic consent and legitimacy. **Kolja Raube** (University of Leuven) also investigated democratic accountability in EU foreign policy providing insights from a case of inter-parliamentary cooperation. Finally, **Helene Sjursen** presented evidence from Norway arguing that the executive unilaterally defines Norway's relationship with the EU in the foreign and security area while the parliament has taken a passive stance, leaving the citizens on the sideline.

The EU's incredible(?) Monetary Union

Christopher Lord and **David Mayes** convened a EuroDiv workshop at ARENA on 9-10 December 2014. International scholars had been invited to discuss *The EU's incredible(?) Monetary Union*. It analysed legislative changes to the European Monetary Union (EMU) and the recent evolution of the European economies. Do the developments move the EU towards improved sustainability, and do they contribute to solidifying the divisions in Europe between the euro area and non euro area, between the EU and the EEA, and even between the members of the euro area itself? The workshop was also attended by advisors from the Central Bank of Norway (Norges Bank) and ARENA staff members.

The first two papers looked into the European Semester, the yearly cycle of economic policy coordination in which the EU's priorities to boost growth and job creation are set out, national reform programmes are reviewed, country-specific recommendations given and member state progress monitored.

Anna Michalski (Uppsala University) discussed the role of national parliaments in this new framework, whereas **Jonathan Zeitlin** (University of Amsterdam) via Skype provided findings from his analysis (with Vanhercke) of how EU social objectives have been integrated in the European Semester. He argued that there has been a progressive 'socialisation' with increasing emphasis on social objectives and targets and enhanced role for social

and employment actors. Her moreover provided recommendations towards making the European Semester more socially balanced, contextually sensitive, and more learning-oriented while at the same time enhancing its public acceptance and democratic legitimacy.

Michele Chang (College of Europe, Bruges) considered the evolving role of the European Central Bank (ECB) in euro area governance, and specifically financial supervision. Since the onset of the global financial crisis, the ECB has increased its capacity and competences significantly, culminating with the Banking Union, which sets up the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) and Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM). It represents the most important change in EU governance since the introduction of the euro. Chang sought to explain this centralisation of authority by means of different theories: neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism, and historical institutionalism.

David Mayes (ARENA/University of Auckland) argued that the EU's new measures, which move in the direction of more sustainable and prudent fiscal policy, have also reinforced the divisions in Europe; not only between members and non-members of the euro area, but also between its stronger and weaker members. However, they come nowhere near a fiscal union where better off regions automatically assist those in difficulty. The Banking Union appears to offer a way out, in Mayes' view, but it also contributes



Arild J. Lund (left) and Thorvald Grung Moe (right) from the central bank of Norway with workshop convenors David Mayes, guest researcher at ARENA, and Christopher Lord



to further segmentation. On the one hand, it consolidates the division between the euro area and other member states, by extending their relationship to banking supervision and resolution, with a degree of mutualisation of risk. But on the other, it offers the opportunity for some member states to form a new segment by joining the SSM and the SRM but not joining the euro area, if they feel their banks are sufficiently interrelated.

Finally, **Christopher Lord** (ARENA) identified a role for parliamentary scrutiny in reconciling the independence of the ECB with standards of democratic control. He argued that the ECB has duties of justification to both the European

and national parliaments. Without adequate parliamentary control, the reform of monetary union could massively aggravate the democratic deficit; increasing the executive power at both levels, that is, national governments, the European Commission and the ECB, at the expense of the controlling powers of representative bodies at both level, that is, national parliaments and the European Parliament.

Crisis, innovation/experimentation and the governance of European integration

The 5th International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice was organised by the University of Oslo's interfaculty research programme on democracy on 8-9 January 2014. The theme of this year's conference was *Democratic Innovations, Democratic Crises: Is There a Connection?* The event combined plenary sessions and six parallel workshops.

John Erik Fossum convened one workshop together with law professor **Andreas Føllesdal**: *Crisis, innovation/experimentation and the governance of European integration*. This workshop discussed the democratic implications of the crisis.

Europe is currently undergoing the worst crisis in the EU's history. Crises may cause breakdowns; they may also generate innovation and spur experimentation. The EU is then also frequently considered a major experiment in the world of political governance, not the least because it is the world's first major attempt at establishing democracy at the supranational level. What has the crisis done to the democratic character of the multilevel constellation that makes up the EU?

The workshop also focused on innovative aspects of the process of integration, not the least because democratization must accompany polity formation. It is not a matter of democratizing an already established and existing system, but of establishing and democratizing a supranational system at the same time. The long-held assumption is that the two

processes proceed in parallel. The question is whether that continues to apply in the context of crisis. The workshop discussed whether the innovative features of the integration process offer distinct democratic prospects.

The conveners gathered prominent international guests, notably Emeritus Professor at the European University Institute **Giandomenico Majone**, Professor of Law and Social Science **Charles Sabel** (Columbia Law School) and Professor of Public Policy and Governance **Jonathan Zeitlin** (University of Amsterdam).

Christopher Lord discussed his paper 'A Plague on all their Houses? Neither Majone, nor Føllesdal/Hix, and, perhaps, not even Sabel/Zeitlin'. Further from ARENA, **Erik O. Eriksen** discussed reflexive constitutionalism and **John Erik Fossum** investigated democracy and differentiation in Europe in light of the crisis. **Mai'a K. Davis Cross** presented a paper entitled 'Crisis and Catharsis in EU integration', whereas **Asimina Michailidou** looked at the situation of crisis and change in Greece in her paper, asking what price for democracy?

Knowledge, expertise and policy-making

The EPISTO project (Why not epistocracy? Political legitimacy and ‘the fact of expertise’) invited to the workshop *Knowledge, expertise and policy-making* at ARENA on 11 June 2014.

It brought together a cross-faculty group of scholars from the University of Oslo; from the Centre for the Study of Mind in Nature (CSMN) at the Department for of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas; from the Centre for the Study of the Legitimacy of the International Judiciary (PluriCourts) at the Law Faculty, and from ARENA. Researchers from the Centre for Welfare and Labour Research (AFI) and the Centre for the Study of Professions (SPS) at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences also contributed to the workshop.

The event discussed perspectives on knowledge and knowledge production from a variety of angles. EPISTO project coordinator **Cathrine Holst** presented a paper together with **Silje H. Tørnblad**, in which they undertake an epistemic assessment of deliberation in a democratic political setting.

The Berlin Workshops

At the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Democracy Programme of the University of Oslo held its 6th Annual Conference at Humboldt University on 10-11 November 2014.

The opening lecture was held by Emeritus Professor of public administration Hellmut Wollmann, who spoke on developments of the state and the public sector in Europe after the fall of the Wall. It was followed by four parallel workshops.

The workshop *Political parties and democracy* gathered a multi-disciplinary group of political theorists/philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, historians and legal theorists to discuss the role of political parties in modern societies. It had two aims: to clarify democratic strengths and shortcomings of political parties; and reflect on their normative justification. Workshop conveners **John Erik Fossum** and **Johannes Pollak** (Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna) gave an overview of the role and functions of political parties in actual political systems and discerned the relevant analytical dimensions of representation and democracy.

The workshop *Democratic auditing* was convened by **Christopher Lord**. He organised a roundtable discussion on experiences with democratic assessment from different states, including his own EU democratic audit. **Espen D. H. Olsen**, **Asimina Michailidou** and Lord also discussed individual papers in a workshop session on new directions for democratic assessment.

The 2014 Nordic Political Science Congress

The 2014 Nordic Political Science Congress was hosted by the University of Gothenburg and the Nordic Political Science Association (NoPSA) in Gothenburg on 12-15 August 2014. The Congress composed of a total of 37 workshops organised along different areas of research within political science, political theory and international relations.

The EU in the world

The role for the EU in the world is increasingly being challenged from multiple sources and positions. We witness changes in the world's constellations of power, notably with the rise of 'emerging powers', coupled with financial and economic uncertainty. There is possibly even an ideational lack of confidence in the European project itself.

The workshop *The European Union in the World*, chaired by Ben Rosamond (University of Copenhagen) and co-sponsored by Helene Sjursen, aimed to address how these fluctuating circumstances are affecting the external dimension of EU policy and 'actorness', integration in foreign and security policy and perceptions of the EU in the international arena. Questions such as how these changes are affecting the EU's capacity to act, its ability to address problems of coherence and legitimacy and the EU's use of normative justification and ability to act as a normative power, were all central to the discussion. ARENA's research group on the EU's foreign and security policy contributed with several papers.

Helene Sjursen addressed Norway's close affiliation to the EU in the field of foreign and security policy and questioned whether or not this is problematic from a democratic perspective. Through a study of the EU Maritime Security Strategy and the Atalanta mission, **Marianne Riddervold** addressed if, and if so how, the European Commission de facto influences EU foreign and security policies beyond its delegated powers. **Johanna Strikwerda** discussed the role of the European Commission in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and why member states accepted the Defence and Security Procurement Directive when there is seemingly no role for supranational governance in this field. Finally, **Tine Brøgger** focused on the Lancaster House Treaties between the UK and France, seeking to explain why these treaties were established outside, as opposed to inside, the EU framework.

Should the experts rule?

The workshop *Was Plato right? Should the experts rule?* was chaired by Cathrine Holst together with Bo Rothstein (University of Gothenburg). It addressed the tensions between epistocratic considerations and democratic norms, the epistemic dimension of democracy, and expert accountability and legitimacy in policy-making. Whereas some contributions focused on the theoretical and/or normative aspects related to expert rule, others were more empirically oriented and focused on existing expertise arrangements,



Helene Sjursen discussed Norway's EU affiliation in the field of foreign and security policy (photo: Anke Schmidt-Felzmann)

within the EU and in Italy, Finland and Norway.

ARENA's research group on the EPISTO project, led by **Cathrine Holst**, contributed with several papers. Holst discussed the accountability of economists and economic expertise in EU policy-making in light of the economic crises in the EU and the potential development of institutional mechanisms that promote epistemic diversity as a mechanism for controlling experts. Holst was also the co-author of a paper with Anders Molander (Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences) examining the conditions for legitimate expert arrangements within a democratic order and distinctions between epistemic democracy and epistocracy.

John Moodie argued that the European Com-



The Expert Group on Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion (photo: European Commission)

mission has reinterpreted external criticism and demands in a way that can both satisfy their critics, while maintaining the existing internal culture and structures built on widespread consultation of experts and evidence-based policy-making through the existing Community Method. **Silje H. Tørnblad** analysed the role of the European Commission expert groups. She argued that as many of the groups seem to be filling other roles than instrumental, problem-solving functions, there is a need for a more suitable institutional framework for these groups. In addition, **Guri Rosén** contributed a co-authored paper with Anne Elizabeth Stie (University of Agder) discussing elite accountability in the field of EU foreign policy.

ARENA Tuesday Seminars

At the ARENA Tuesday Seminars, external scholars as well as ARENA's own staff are invited to present and defend their work in an inspiring and rewarding academic environment. A brief report from each seminar is available from ARENA's website.

21 January 2014

Delegation and Democratic Meta-deliberation

Claudia Landwehr, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

11 February 2014

Towards More Effective Problem-solving? Analysing the Ex-post Evaluation of EU Legislation

Ellen Mastenbroek, Radboud University Nijmegen

25 February 2014

The External Institutional Dimension of Differentiated Integration: Third Country Participation in EU Sectoral Bodies

Sandra Lavenex, University of Lucerne

18 March 2014

After the Euro Crisis: A New Paradigm on the Integration of Europe

Sergio Fabbrini, University LUISS Guido Carli

8 April 2014

European Welfare Systems 1883-2013: Is "Ever Stronger Integration" a Master Narrative?

Einar Øverbye, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences

29 April 2014

Crisis Resilience and EU Citizenship

Espen D.H. Olsen, ARENA

13 May 2014

Emerging Scientific Elites: How European Research Instruments Trigger Integration and Fragmentation of the Europe of Knowledge

Tatiana Fumasoli, ARENA

20 May 2014

A Union of Member States: State Transformation and the New Intergovernmentalism

Christopher Bickerton, University of Cambridge

19 June 2014

(Not) In the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defense Policies

Marianne Riddervold, ARENA



From the Tuesday Seminar with H       Landemore on 18 November 2014

19 August 2014

Politicization of Humanitarian Aid in the EU

Charlotte Dany, ARENA and Goethe-University

16 September 2014

Judicial Influence on Policy Outputs? The Political Constraints of Legal Integration in the EU

Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen, University of Copenhagen

23 September 2014

Banking Union in Europe: Will it work? What will it cost?

David Mayes, ARENA and University of Auckland

14 October 2014

Situating EU Agencies in the Political-administrative Space

Nina Merethe Vestlund, ARENA

18 November 2014

Democratic Deliberation and Legitimacy in Crowdsourced Legislative Processes: The Case of the Law on Off-Road Traffic in Finland

H       Landemore, Yale University

25 November 2014

Recruitment and Expertise in the European Commission

Johan Christensen, Stanford University

Other conferences and events

ARENA's staff organised and chaired panels and workshops as part of international academic conferences, in addition to giving invited lectures and academic papers at events organised by a range of research projects, networks and academic institutions.

Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'The European Defence Agency and the Member States: Public and Hidden Transcripts', *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, 23 January 2014.

- 'Security in an Era of Financial Restraint', *'The Relevance of the Transatlantic Relationship in the Current Global Security Environment' workshop*, University of Florida, Gainesville, 19 April 2014.
- 'The European Defence Agency and the Member States: Public and Hidden Transcripts', *British International Studies Association Conference*, Dublin, 18–20 June 2014.
- 'Rethinking Epistemic Communities', *American Political Science Association Annual Conference*, Washington DC, 28–31 August 2014.
- 'The Politics of Crisis in Europe', College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Northeastern University, Boston, 27 October 2014.
- 'The Military Dimension of European Security', *'Epistemic Communities in Europe' workshop*, University of Siegen, 20–21 November 2014.

Egeberg, Morten and Jarle Trondal, 'Flernivåstaten og det norske statsapparatet', *Norwegian Political*

Science Conference, Oslo, 22–23 May 2014.

- Egeberg, Morten, Jarle Trondal and Nina Merethe Vestlund, *Quest for Order, 5th Biennial ECPR Standing Group for Regulatory Governance Conference*, Barcelona, 25–27 June 2014.
- 'The Quest for Order: Unravelling the Relationship between the European Commission and European Union Agencies', *Annual European Group for Public Administration Conference*, Speyer, 10–12 September 2014.
- Fossum, John Erik, 'The Crisis and Differentiation in Europe', *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 23 January 2014.
- 'New Models of Federalism', *International Conference on Qualified Autonomy and Federalism vs. Secession in the EU and its Member States*, Eisenstadt, 28 February 2014.
 - 'Federalism in a Changing World', *World Congress of Constitutional Law*, Oslo, 16–20 June 2014.
 - 'Federalism and Democracy in a Changing World', *International Political Science Association World Congress*, Montreal, 23 June 2014.
 - 'Federalism in a Changing World – Canada and the

- European Union Assessed', guest lecture, European University of Flensburg, 1 July 2014.
- 'The Crisis, Democracy and Differentiation', *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3–6 September 2014.
 - 'Europe as a Cultural and Historical Entity', guest lecture, MA in Journalism, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, 3 October 2014.
 - 'From "simple" to "complex" diversity: Balance and Perspectives', *RECODE Concluding Conference*, Augsburg, 24 October 2014.
 - 'EU Democracy in Light of Different Conceptions of the EU Political System', *PADEMIA Workshop on Multilevel Democracy*, Amsterdam, 30 October 2014.
 - 'The Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union', guest lecture, BA in Social and Communication Sciences, Department of Political Science, University of Lucerne, 20–21 November 2014.
 - 'Mediating Complex Diversity', *Eurochallenge workshop 'Towards Complex Diversity?'*, University of Copenhagen, 4 December 2014.
- Fossum, John Erik and Johannes Pollak, 'Which Principles for a Democratic and Sustainable European Union?', *7th Pan-European Conference on the European Union*, The Hague, 5–7 June 2014.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, 'Emerging Scientific Elites: How European Research Funding Instruments Trigger Integration and Fragmentation of the Europe of Knowledge', *ERA-CRN workshop 'The Governance of the Europe of Knowledge'*, Cambridge, 10–11 April 2014.
- 'Shifting Organizational Routines, Multiple Logics: The Case of Academic Recruitment', *The 30th European Group for Organizational Studies Colloquium*, Rotterdam, 3–5 July 2014.
 - 'University Institutional Autonomy: Towards Strategic Management of Academic Human Resources?', guest lecture, Department of Sociology and Social Research, Università degli Studi Milano Bicocca, Milan, 1 October 2014.
 - 'Between Excellence and Relevance: The Role of Universities in the Knowledge Society', inaugural lecture, Institute of European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, 8 October 2014.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana and Jeroen Huisman, 'Organizational Boundaries and Institutional Change in Higher Education', *27th Consortium of Higher Education Researchers Annual Conference*, Rome, 8–10 September 2014.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, Åse Gornitzka and Peter Maassen, 'System Integration and Institutional Autonomy: Resilience and Change in Reforming the European Governance of the University Sector', *Annual Con-*

- ference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 23–24 January 2014.
- ‘The Level of Internal Integration in European Flagship Universities’, *27th Consortium of Higher Education Researchers Annual Conference*, Rome, 8–10 September 2014.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, Christopher Morphey and Bjørn Stensaker, ‘Changing Missions in Public Higher Education? Analyzing Strategic Plans of Research-Intensive Universities’, *27th Consortium of Higher Education Researchers Annual Conference*, Rome, 8–10 September 2014.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, Terhi Nokkala and Bojana Culum, ‘Reflecting upon the Networking Perceptions of Early Career Female Scholars’, *Association of the Study of Higher Education 39th Annual Conference*, Washington DC, 20–22 November 2014.
- Gornitzka, Åse, ‘EU: Institusjonelle perspektiv på hvordan overnasjonale organisasjoner oppstår, formes og endres’, *Institutional Change seminar*, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 23 January 2014.
- ‘Å institusjonalisere “excellence” i Kunnskapens Europa – en studie av opprettelsen av Det europeiske forskningsrådet’, Centre for Technology, Innovation and Culture (TIK), University of Oslo, 9 April 2014.
 - ‘Societal Inclusion in Expertise Venues: Participation of Interests Groups and Business in the European Commission Expert Groups’, *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3–6 September 2014.
 - ‘A Policy for Crossing the Borders? Europe, the Nation State, and the Internationalisation of Higher Education’, *NORRUSS (Russia and the High North/Arctic) workshop*, 18 November 2014.
 - ‘Who are the “Experts” in European Knowledge Policies?’, *Epistemic Communities in Europe’ workshop*, University of Siegen, 20–21 November 2014.
- Gornitzka, Åse and Lisbet Berg, ‘Consumer Attention Deficit Syndrome (CADS): Consumers’ Efforts to Keep Informed on Twelve Consumer Areas’, Centre for Competition Policy, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 14 March 2014.
- Holst, Cathrine, ‘Lessons from a local equal pay controversy’, *Workshop on Institutional Change in Welfare State and Working Life*, Fafo, Oslo, 29 January 2014.
- ‘Liberafeministiske perspektiver på makt og likestilling’, guest lecture, PhD course, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, 4 March 2014.
 - ‘Holding EU Experts to Account: The Case of Economic Expertise’, *Technocracy and Democracy in Times of Financial Crisis Conference*, Darmstadt

- Technische Universität/Goethe University Frankfurt, Darmstadt, 6–7 March 2014.
- ‘Institusjonell design gjennom dobbelt nektelse: kommentar til Jon Elster’, *seminar with Jon Elster*, Polyteknisk forening, University of Oslo, 26 March 2014.
 - ‘What is Epistocracy? Dimensions of Knowledge-based Rule’, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, 24 April 2014.
 - ‘Public Justification and Strategic Uses of Expertise’, Quality of Government Institute (QOG), University of Gothenburg, 20 May 2014.
 - ‘Ekspertvelde eller demokrati?’, *Norwegian Political Science Conference*, Oslo, 22 May 2014.
 - ‘Statsvitenskapelig vinkel og et perspektiv om å bli brukt (eller misbrukt) som forsker i politikkutviklingen’, *Norwegian Political Science Conference*, Oslo, 22 May 2014.
 - ‘Likelønn: normative og institusjonelle perspektiver’, research seminar, Law Faculty, University of Bergen, 6 June 2014.
 - ‘Holding EU Experts to Account: The Case of Economic Expertise’, *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3–6 September 2014.
 - ‘Hva er diskriminering?’, guest lecture, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, 24 October 2014.
- Holst, Cathrine and Silje Tørnblad, ‘Varieties and Challenges in Assessing EU Experts’ Performance’, *Deliberation after Consensus workshop*, Paris, 20–21 November 2014.
- Holst, Cathrine and Helena Seibicke, ‘Experts on Gender: On the Role of Expertise in EU Gender Politics’, *International Political Science Association World Congress*, Montreal, 19–24 July 2014.
- Lord, Christopher, ‘Monetary Union – A union without a Union?’, *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 23 January 2014.
- ‘An Indirect Legitimacy Argument for a Directly Elected European Parliament’, *Annual PADEMIA Conference*, Brussels, 12–13 June 2014.
 - ‘An Indirect Legitimacy Argument for a Directly Elected European Parliament’, guest lecture, Institute of Higher Studies Vienna, 15 October 2014.
 - ‘An Indirect Legitimacy Argument for a Directly Elected European Parliament’, *PADEMIA Workshop on Multi-level Democracy*, Amsterdam, 30 October 2014.
- Mayes, David, ‘The Funding of Bank Resolution’, *UACES 44th Annual Conference*, Cork, 1–3 September 2014.
- ‘The changing welfare state and democracy in Europe’, Department of Finance and Economics,

- Technical University of Tallinn, 6 October 2014.
- ‘Banking Union in Europe -Will It Work? What Will It Cost?’, WHU—Beisheim School of Management, Vallendar, 7 October 2014.
 - ‘Top-down restructuring of markets and institutions: The Nordic Banking Crisis 1990-92’, *SAFE Conference on Reorganization and Resolution of Transnational Financial Institutions*, Bad Homburg, 10-11 October 2014.
 - ‘Regulation and Governance in the Non-Bank Financial Sector: Lessons from New Zealand’, *Non-bank Financial Firms and Financial Stability workshop*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta/Georgia State University, Atlanta, 6-7 November 2014.
 - ‘Plausible Recovery and Resolution Plans for Cross-Border Banks’, *European Banking Union: Prospects and Challenges Conference*, University of Buckingham, 21-22 November 2014.
- Michailidou, Asimina, ‘The EU Online Public Space: United in Diversity?’, *ECREA Conference ‘Journalism in Transition: Crisis or Opportunity?’*, Thessaloniki, 28-29 March 2014.
- ‘The medium makes the public? Convergent EU contestation in divergent online spheres’, *European Sociological Association 3rd interim conference RN32 Political Sociology*, EuroChallenge/University of Copenhagen, 28-29 November 2014.
- Moodie, John Robert, ‘The European Commission and European Technology Platforms: Managing Knowledge and Expertise in European Research and Technology Policy’, *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 24 January 2014.
- ‘Resistant to Change? An Analysis of the European Commission’s Response to External Challenge and Criticism of its Expert Group System’, *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3-6 September.
- Olsen, Johan P., ‘Organisasjonsteori og studiet av politiske institusjoner’, *Institutional Change Seminar*, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 30 April 2014.
- ‘The New Institutionalism’, guest lecture, international PhD course, Faculty of Educational Science, University of Oslo, 13 November 2014.
 - ‘Lorenzettis utfordring og demokratiets århundre’, *Jörgen Westerståhl lecture*, University of Gothenburg, 2 December 2014.
- Riddervold, Marianne, ‘Different Threat – Different Response: EU and NATO in the Fight Against Somali Piracy’, *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 23 January 2014.
- ‘(Not) in the hands of the member states: How the European Commission influences EU security and defence policies’, *International Political Science As-*

- sociation World Congress*, Montreal, 23 June 2014.
- Riddervold, Marianne and Guri Rosén, 'More than Intergovernmentalism? Decision-making in EU Foreign Policy', *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3–6 September 2014.
- Rosén, Guri and Anne Elizabeth Stie, 'Elite Versus Democratic Accountability in the Area of EU Security and Defence', *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3–6 September 2014.
- Rosén, Guri, 'A Budgetary Advance: The European Parliament's Growing Role in EU Foreign Policy', *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 24 January 2014.
- Seibicke, Helena, 'Understanding lobbying as a deliberative process: Contrasting theoretical approaches to interest group advocacy in the EU', *UACES 44th Annual Conference*, Cork, 1–3 September 2014.
- 'Understanding lobbying as a deliberative process', *European Consortium for Political Research Graduate Conference*, Innsbruck, 3–5 July 2014.
- Sjursen, Helene, 'Developments in the EEAS', Research Seminar 'Analysing Change in the EU institutions', Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 25 November 2014.
- Todd, John, 'Safer to Stand Alone Once More? The Securitisation of Europe in the British Eurosceptic Discourse', *Annual Conference of the Norwegian Society for European Studies*, Oslo, 24 January 2014.
- Tranøy, Bent Sofus, 'Finanskrisen, eurokrisen og fordelingskrisen', *Samplan*, Lillehammer University College, 17 September 2014.
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'The Euro-crisis and the politicization of the EU', guest lecture, University of Flensburg, 4 February 2014.
- 'Mediated Representative Politics: The Euro-crisis and the Politicization of the EU', guest lecture, Cardiff School of Law, 28 February 2014.
 - 'A Public Sphere Approach of Online Public Opinion-formation in the European Union', *ECREA Conference 'Journalism in Transition: Crisis or Opportunity?'*, Thessaloniki, 26–29 March 2014.
 - 'Towards a New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: From Subaltern Online Publics to Online Mass Publics', *AU IDEAS Pilotcenter The Democratic Public Sphere Seminar*, Aarhus University.
 - 'Public Contestations and the European Crisis: Pro- and Anti-European Debates in Online Media', *International Political Science Association World Congress*, Montreal, 19–24 July 2014.
 - 'Mediatized Transnational Conflicts: Online Media and the Politicization of the European Union in

- Times of Crisis' (co-author Asimina Michailidou), *UACES 44th Annual Conference*, Cork, 1-3 September 2014.
- 'Mediatized Transnational Conflicts: Online Media and the Contestation of the Legitimacy of the European Integration Project in Times of Crisis' (co-author Asimina Michailidou), *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Glasgow, 3-6 September 2014.
 - 'The Euro Crisis: New Socio-Political Divisions, Mobility and Mobilization', keynote, '*Social Movements in Global Perspectives: Past – Present – Future*' Summer School, Ruhr-University Bochum, 11 September 2014.
 - 'Media Spaces or Media Spheres? De-territorialisation and Re-territorialisation in the Age of Digital Communication', *RECODE Concluding Conference*, Augsburg, 24 October 2014.
 - 'Europe's Global Challenges: Society, Politics, Market', opening speech, *Third Midterm Conference of the European Political Sociology Research Network of the European Sociological Association*, University of Copenhagen, 26-27 November 2014.
 - 'Towards Complex Diversity? Understanding New Challenges for the Accommodation of Difference and Diversity in Europe and the World', *Eurochallenge Workshop 'Towards Complex Diversity?'*, University of Copenhagen, 4 December 2014.
 - 'Internet and Democracy in the EU: A Public Sphere Perspective', University of Ljubljana, 9 December 2014.
 - 'Euroscepticism and the Unfinished Democratization of the EU', *Populism and Democracy in Europe seminar*, University of Trento, 12 December 2014.
- Trondal, Jarle and Romulo Pinheiro, 'Loose- or Tight- Coupling? Exploring the Interplay between Decoupling, Slack and Resilience in Universities', *European Forum for Studies of Policies for Research and Innovation (Eu-SPRI) Annual Conference*, Manchester, 18-20 June 2014.
- Trondal, Jarle, 'From Multilevel Governance to Multilevel Administration: Studying the European Administrative System', *PADEMIA PhD School 'Democracy in Europe: Institutions and Practices'*, Comenius University, Bratislava, 16-19 June 2014.
- Tørnblad, Silje Hexeberg, 'Heterogeneity in the European Commission Expert Groups', *European Consortium for Political Research Graduate Conference*, University of Innsbruck, 3-5 July 2014.
- Vestlund, Nina Merethe, 'European networks and national medicines agencies', *SCANCOR Wednesday Workshop*, The Scandinavian Consortium for Organizational Research, Stanford University, 6 August 2014.



Outreach

Norway and Europe: Democracy redefined?

Must Norwegian democracy be redefined, when power and influence is regulated in other ways than those prescribed by the Constitution and facilitated by the parliamentary channel?

In cooperation with ARENA, Partnerforum organised a seminar on the situation of Norway in an increasingly integrated Europe. The half-day seminar was held in the government building complex on 24 February 2014. The newly released book *The Norwegian paradox* (see p. 18) was the theme of this expanded seminar, with several authors present. The audience consisted in government officials from different ministries, departments and agencies. They discussed important questions such as Norway's administrative sovereignty, democratic constitutionalism, participation, autonomy and representation.

The changing concept of sovereignty

Erik O. Eriksen painted the overall picture of the current situation and pointed to Norway's celebration of its Constitution. The 1814 Constitution was not based on the sovereignty of the people, he reminded, this democratic principle was gradually developed and accepted later on. Moreover, the concept of state sovereignty has changed profoundly, and we can no longer speak of a truly sovereign state in the internationalised and globalised 21st century. But where EU member states have changed their constitutions to

allow for EU membership, Norway has surrendered state sovereignty to a much greater extent through the EEA Agreement. In order to attend to Norwegian interests, it has not been possible to respect the 'no' of the people by responsible politicians. The context they operate in is so different from that of civil society, and to Eriksen this explains why there is a majority in favour of full membership in the parliament as opposed to in the people. **John Erik Fossum** also elaborated on the Norwegian political parties' 'suicide paragraphs' which keep the membership issue off the agenda. Norway's lack of political representation in the EU is highly questionable, he argued.

National administrations under pressure

Jarle Trondal highlighted the change that national administrative sovereignty has undergone, based on a co-authored chapter with Morten Egeberg. With the EEA Agreement, national authorities are in charge of implementing EU policy. Their room of manoeuvre is however under pressure as the European Commission and EU agencies are involved more directly, bypassing national ministries and political leadership, Trondal explained. The challenge for national administrative sovereignty is also a result of increasingly independent national agencies following from the last decades' new public management development.

Missing debates in the parliament

Helene Sjørusen's studies of the Storting's commit-



Cathrine Holst, Helene Sjursen, John Erik Fossum and Jarle Trondal raised important questions on Norway's EU affiliation

tee on foreign and security policy reveals a tight cooperation with the government in this field. Potential disagreement is clarified prior to meetings to avoid hard debates in the Storting. This consensus-shaping mechanism could however be questioned in democratic terms. Also in foreign and security policy, there is a need to prioritise among different interests and values, she emphasized, calling for more open and reflective debates also on these issues.

The future of the EU was intensely debated across the continent in the early 2000s, with the proposal of a Constitution for Europe. Did this debate reach Norway? **Cathrine Holst** has, together with Fossum, studied the Storting's European consultative committee, which is to consult the government on EEA and related matters. Their analysis reveals that debates on principled and constitutional issues are completely absent. Focus is rather on isolated matters of economic policy where Norway's interests are strong. Holst found it alarming that not even well-informed

and committed politicians have been debating these issues in Norway.

Schengen and beyond

Norway-EU cooperation in justice and home affairs is analysed by **Fredrik Bøckman Finstad** (Ministry of Justice) in the book. He explained how Norway is given access to the European Council on Schengen-related matters, both on political and technical matters, although it has no voting rights. However, if the EU defines a policy as not being Schengen relevant, Norway has no influence or access at all.

Kjetil Wiedswang (Dagens Næringsliv) commented on the various findings and opened the floor for discussions. The ensuing debates revealed many of the questions and issues facing government officials in their daily EU-related work.

Partnerforum is a cooperation between the University of Oslo, the Norwegian Business School BI and 20 partners in public administration.

The EU and the Norwegian paradox

The Norwegian Constitutional Bicentennial was celebrated across the nation in 2014. But what is the actual status of Norwegian democracy, 20 years after the EEA Agreement entered into force?

Both the European Economic Area and a number of other agreements with the EU has expanded at a high pace. Few are aware of how deeply integrated Norway actually is in Europe today. The book *The Norwegian paradox* (p. 18) was published at the start of the anniversary year and documents just this by looking at Norway's cooperation with the EU in several different areas, and from political as well as legal perspectives.

ARENA invited to a book launch and debate at the House of Literature on 17 March, asking if the Norwegian constitution or the EU's constitution actually apply in Norway. The theme sparked a lot of interest and there were no empty seats in the audience.

'There is too much emphasis on backward-looking perspectives when celebrating the bicentennial', **Erik O. Eriksen** said in his introduction. He is one of the editors of the book. 'As a counterweight, it would be interesting to find out if there is anything left of the Norwegian Constitution today. What is its status when taking the EU affiliation into account? Indeed, the EU constitution is increasingly also Norway's constitution today', he argued, referring to the book's findings. 'The basic principle of "no legislation without representation" does not apply to Norway'.

Democratic self-harm

Eriksen characterized the current affiliation as one of 'democratic self-harm'. 'The EEA has put Norwegian democracy to the test, and has in fact damaged the democratic chain of rule', he warned. He noted that Norway, like all other states, experiences that democracy falls short because of globalization, internationalization and judicialisation. When EU member states have joined forces to meet these challenges, they have renounced their self-rule, but at the same time they have increased their co-determination, Eriksen explained. 'Norway has also reduced its self-rule, however, it has got no co-determination in return'.

Looking for surrogates

Co-editor **John Erik Fossum** noted that Norway does not have politically elected representatives in the EU. He argued that although the Norwegian parliament formally adopts the laws, they are made by EU representatives on behalf of Norwegian citizens. 'In reality, EU citizens in Norway have more influence on Norwegian laws than we have ourselves', Fossum claimed.

'Since 1994, Norwegian authorities have thus systematically looked for surrogates who can speak up for Norway in the EU – but with variable success', he continued. 'Such surrogate representation is also problematic from a democratic perspective, as there is no one to be held accountable for the decisions'.

One of the foremost constitutional lawyers in Nor-



In the panel (from left): Helene Sjørnsen, John Erik Fossum, Eirik Holmøyvik, Erik O. Eriksen, Sten Inge Jørgensen and Kristin Clemet

way, **Eirik Holmøyvik**, problematised the Norwegian parliamentary practice of transfer of sovereignty to the EU. He noted that Art. 93 of the Constitution, which allows for surrendering sovereignty under certain conditions, has only been used by the Parliament once when transferring powers to the EU. This was when the EEA Agreement was introduced in 1992. In his view, this current practice runs counter to the solemnly celebrated Constitution.

Legally insignificant but politically crucial

Norway also cooperates very closely with the EU in foreign and security policy. But how is the balance between democracy and the need for action capacity?, **Helene Sjørnsen** asked. 'We know that there is no consensus in the Parliament on EU membership. One could thus expect all opportunities for open debate and criticism to be utilized also in Norway-EU cooperation in foreign and security policy.' Her research however shows that there is little or no parliamentary debate on these issues. Action capacity and executive dominance seem to outweigh democratic processes.

No public debate

Sten Inge Jørgensen from the weekly *Morgenbladet* and **Kristin Clemet** from the conservative think tank Civita commented on the book's findings before the floor was opened for questions.

Moderator **Kjetil Wiedswang** from the daily newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv* started by asking: 'Does it matter, as long as a massive majority of our parliamentarians support the EEA Agreement?' 'If democracy does not matter, then of course, it might not be so problematic', Eriksen replied. 'But if the people is in lack of knowledge and has made no conscious choice in approving of the current state of affairs, then there is a logical rupture to the argument that "we like it"', Sjørnsen expanded. The book documents the lack of both public and parliamentary debates.

'This book is a bombshell', Jørgensen concluded. 'It is probably the most important book published on the occasion of the Constitutional Bicentennial. We need self-determination in the most important processes of our time.'

A podcast is available from ARENA's website.

Paradoxes of EU non-membership

A number of EU neighbouring countries are integrated in the internal market and adopt the EU *acquis* to various extent. The democratic implications for non-members were discussed at a public conference in Brussels.

On 23 June 2014, ARENA invited Brussels-based practitioners and officials to explore the status and position of EU-affiliated non-members. The conference aimed to shed light on the democratic implications of the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement as well as other forms of affiliation; bilateral agreements, association and partnership agreements. Although the EEA Agreement is increasingly used as a benchmark for desired cooperation from the EU's perspective, it is contested, as it suffers from participatory gaps.

Norway in the 'integration trap'

The EEA has been an economic success, **Erik O. Eriksen** underlined, but democratically this affiliation is highly problematic. 'Norway has surrendered sovereignty without having received anything in return in the form of co-determination.'

'We need to realise that the EU is not an international organisation, but rather a new form of supranational state-like organisation, which intervenes in spheres traditionally reserved for the states', Eriksen explained. The whole political system and identity of the member states are changed, he

argued, and the concept of sovereignty needs to be rethought in today's internationalised and globalised world.

The missing link

Norway is not politically represented in the EU, **John Erik Fossum** expanded. There is information and consultation, but no political representation. This asymmetric relationship makes Norway a *rule taker* rather than a *rule maker*.

In light of this, Fossum was critical to the way Norwegian political parties operate to keep the membership issue off the agenda. The principles and issues that should have been debated are not discussed, as they are too much linked to the membership question, he warned.

Fossum explained how Norwegian governments have made efforts towards *surrogate representation*, which entails that Nordic neighbours are encouraged to speak Norway's case. 'This kind of representation is obviously very problematic from a democratic point of view', he emphasized, concluding that Norway loses out both on co-decision and self-decision.

Espen D. H. Olsen called for more debate on the *depoliticization* of citizenship, and pointed to substantive changes since 1994. Norwegians have gained many economic rights through the country's EU affiliation. But whereas political rights have gained prominence for EU citizens, this is not the case for Norwegian citizens, he explained.



The conference was held at the Philanthropy House in Brussels. In the panel (from left): Halvard H. Fredriksen, Espen Olsen, Sieglinde Gstöhl, John Erik Fossum, Helene Sjursen, Erik O. Eriksen and René Schwok (photo: Vivian Hertz)

Consensus on foreign policy issues?

Helene Sjursen shed light on Norway's cooperation with the EU in foreign and security policy. Here, Norway participates in much of what the EU does. How problematic is this from a democratic perspective? Sjursen asked, referring to findings that Norwegian-EU cooperation in this area is hardly debated in the parliament at all. A number of consensus-shaping mechanisms are in place to ensure consensus between parliament and government, she argued, and on this basis questioned its actual status. 'Consensus should be the result of open debate', but the claim for consensus might instead be used to silence or constrain such debates, as critique could weaken the authorities.

Legal imbalance: EFTA vs. ECJ

Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen (University of Bergen) looked at the complex judicial architecture

of the EEA Agreement. His studies of case law over the past 20 years reveal that the EFTA Court and national courts, although fully independent, have consistently taken into account all relevant rulings of the European Court of Justice (ECJ). Thus, also in the legal realm, decision-making has been outsourced.

Challenges for EU-Swiss relations

Could an affiliation through bilateral agreements be the solution for Norway to regain sovereignty and self-rule? **René Schwok** (University of Geneva) explained how the institutional aspects of Swiss-EU relations are very simple, but that the EU has been pushing for a more substantial approach, similar to the EEA. Switzerland has around 120 bilateral agreements with the EU, but since 2005 no new agreements have been signed. Since the 2014 referendum, in which the Swiss accepted quotas on immigration, there has been a total stalemate in the

relation. Quotas are incompatible with the Swiss-EU agreements on free movement, and Schwok could not see any solution to the dilemma. Under these circumstances, Switzerland can 'obviously not be a model', he concluded.

The EEA as a benchmark

Sieglinde Gstöhl (College of Europe, Bruges) shed light on other neighbours' EU affiliation. Models range from the EEA and Swiss-EU bilateral agreements to lesser-known cases such as the custom's union with Turkey, the EU's neighbourhood policy, and agreements with microstates.

From the EU's point of view, the EEA Agreement is the best you can get, Gstöhl argued, and 'all EU neighbours are interested in deep, not shallow, integration'. When expanding the EU's economic community, the EU increasingly attempts to conclude more dynamic agreements with the EEA as a benchmark model. The paradox of non-participation thus applies beyond the Norwegian context, she claimed, before discussing other shortcomings of the EEA, stemming from the proliferation of EU agencies and increased difficulties with assessing whether market legislation is EEA relevant or not.

*The first part of the conference presented findings from the book *The Norwegian Paradox* (see p. 18). All presentations will appear in the 2015 Routledge volume *The EU's Non-members*'.*

EU and the constitutions

ARENA invited parliamentarians to discuss today's constitutional context and challenges on 4 November 2014. Do we take the current situation seriously enough?

As part of the international conference *Democratic Constitutionalism in Europe* (see pp. 36-38), ARENA staged a parliamentary debate at the House of Literature in Oslo on Nordic constitutional democracy in a Europeanised context. The convenors invited Norwegian, Danish and Swedish parliamentarians to discuss today's Europe and the countries' EU affiliations and asked: Do we realize the severity of the current situation?

The European integration process affects most aspects of Norwegian society and way of rule, even as a non-EU member state. How do Norwegian law makers relate to this complex reality? What role and function can national constitutions have today, with the EU and its body of law at the supranational level? What about our neighbours and EU members, Sweden and Denmark?

Former Danish diplomat **Poul Skytte Christoffersen**, who has a decades-long experience from various EU institutions in Brussels, revealed that Denmark faces some of the same problems as Norway when it comes to participation. 'The Danish opt-outs entail that one has to be a legal scholar to understand



The panel (from left): Michael Tetzschner, Kjetil Wiedswang, Steen Gade, Liv Signe Navarsete, Jette Christensen and Daniel Tarschys. Poul Skytte Chistoffersen (right) opened the debate

where Denmark can participate and not', he argued. In his view, it is also a moral problem that politicians nevertheless want to cooperate, but not take the responsibility.

Daniel Tarschys, former member of the Swedish parliament and Secretary General of the Council of Europe, paradoxically maintained that Norway has served as a model for Sweden in terms of democratic standards. After 20 years of EU membership, he claimed that national sovereignty has not been undermined. On the contrary, Sweden has gained more self-determination through its membership, he explained. 'It is not a zero-sum game on the separation of powers between the national and EU level'.

Jette Christensen (Labour Party), one of the

three panelists from the Norwegian parliament, admitted that the Norwegian parliamentary system is not adapted to the current reality of being a closely associated non-member. 'We need a better and more operational debate on European politics', she stated.

When discussing Norway's 'self-binding' through the EEA Agreement, **Michael Tetzschner** (Conservative Party) admitted that 'the political logic does not necessarily coincide with what people perceive as logic'. The third panelist from the Storting was **Liv Signe Navarsete** (Centre Party), whereas **Steen Gade** (Socialist People's Party) shared his views and experiences from 25 years as member of the Danish Folketing. **Kjetil Wiedswang** from the Norwegian daily *Dagens Næringsliv* was the final panelist.

The Norwegian paradox

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum were the editors of a collective volume analysing the democratic consequences of Norway's EU affiliation.

Eriksen and Fossum were coordinators of the project *The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context* (NORCONE), which came to an end in 2014. The book *Det norske paradoks: Om Norges forhold til Den europeiske union* [*The Norwegian paradox: On Norway's EU affiliation*] (see p. 18) was one of the key outcomes of this project.

The book finds that Norwegian democracy is under pressure due to the country's peculiar relationship with the EU through the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement, Schengen and a number of other agreements.

Based on the book's findings, Erik O. Eriksen claimed that Norway has fallen into the *integration trap*, with no escape options. The way out through membership is blocked because of the prevailing EU scepticism in public opinion. The way out through termination of the EEA and other agreements is blocked as evidence indicates that Norway would not be able to obtain a free-trade agreement similar to that of Switzerland. The EU instead uses the EEA as a benchmark, due to its non-bureaucratic features and low costs.

With the 2014 celebration of Norway's Constitutional Bicentennial, coinciding with the 20th anniversary

of the EEA Agreement, the book proved to be of great current interest and its findings sparked a lot of debate throughout the year.

Read more (in Norwegian): '– EØS-avtalen truer demokratiet', *arena.uio.no*, 16 January 2014 (also available at *Forskning.no*)

Book presentations

'Den paradoksale norske EU-tilknytning', Erik Oddvar Eriksen, *Research Council of Norway conference '200 år med Grunnloven - må historien skrives på nytt?'*, Oslo Opera House, 10 January

'Det norske paradoks', John Erik Fossum and Erik O. Eriksen, book opposition, *University of Oslo Constitution Week*, University of Oslo, 7 March

'Grunnlovsjubileum med bismak – hva betyr grunnlov i dag?', Erik O. Eriksen, *Grunnlovsjubileet 2014*, Askim public library, 20 March

Lecture by John Erik Fossum, Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries, Oslo, 7 April

'Er det noe makt igjen i gamle Norge?', Erik O. Eriksen, *Fra Eidsvoll til Brussel? debate at the House of Literature*, Bergen, 15 May

'Popular Rule Towards 2050: What Are the Main Challenges Facing Democracy and Popular Rule?', John Erik Fossum, *Constitution Seminar*, Frogn municipality, Drøbak, 16 May



There were no empty seats at the book launch at Litteraturhuset in March (left) John Erik Fossum on '1814 in 24 hours', which was broadcasted live on TV from Eidsvoll in May (right)

'Det norske paradoks', Erik O. Eriksen, Norwegian Ministry of Finance, 12 June

'Mot en felles europeisk forvaltning', Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, *Stat & Styring - Tidsskrift for politikk og forvaltning*, 2/2014.

'Grunnloven vs EØS - Hva har vi egentlig å feire i jubileumsåret?', Erik O. Eriksen, *Protestfestivalen*, Kristiansand, 18 September

'All makt i denne sal? ...eller i EU-regimet', Helene Sjørusen, *Lørdagsforelesning 'Er Stortinget satt på sidelinjen?'* at the occasion of the 2014 Constitutional Bicentennial, 1 November [available online at Kunnskapskanalen, www.nrk.no]

Events organised on the book

The book was also discussed at the following events organised by ARENA and others throughout the year. Read more in other sections of this report:

- Partnerforum seminar, 24 February (pp. 60-61)
- ARENA Lecture, 4 March (pp. 74-75)
- Book launch, 17 March (pp. 62-63)
- The Norwegian Storting, 4 June (p. 78)
- Conference in Brussels, 23 June (pp. 64-66)
- Parliamentary debate, 4 November (pp. 66-67)

The book in the media

Skattlegging uten representasjon, op-ed by Erik O. Eriksen, *Dagens Næringsliv*, 7 January

Flaggar ut makta, interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Nationen*, 10 January

Ny forskning: «EØS-avtalen truer demokratiet», *Kureren*, 17 January

Forskere mener EØS truer demokratiet, *Nationen*, *Adresseavisen*, *Stavanger Aftenblad*, *Hallingdølen*, *Møre-nytt*, *Fremover*, *Avisa Nordland*, *Framtida*, *Hordaland*, 21 January

En ny form for integrasjon, op-ed by Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, *Aftenposten*, 5 February

EU-paradoks ved Norges grunnlovsjubileum, interview with Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, *Juristkontakt* no. 2/2014

Er det norske sjølvstyret i fare?, interview with John Erik Fossum, *Bladet Forskning* no. 1/2014

Grunnloven er uthulet, comment by editor Erling Rimehaug, *Vårt Land*, 1 February

Jubileum med bismak, op-ed by Erik O. Eriksen, *Dagbladet*, 3 March

Lobbylandet, interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *DN Magasinet*, 8 March

‘Det umyndige Norge’, comment by Per Anders Madsen, *Aftenposten*, 9 March

Akademisk alenegang, book review, *Klassekampen Bokmagasinet*, 15 February

Har redusert sjølvstendet og tapt medverknad i EU, interview with Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, *Apollon* no. 1/2014

Gammel EU-temperatur blusset opp igjen, *Smaalenenes Avis*, 22 March

Interview on Norway’s Constitution and EU affiliation, radio interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Historietimen*, *NRK P1+*, 13 April

1814 på 24 timer, TV lectures by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, *NRK*, 10 May [available online at www.nrk.no]

Paradokset i jubileumsåret, op-ed by Erik O. Eriksen, *Bergens Tidende*, 15 May

De norske EU-lobbarna har gått under jorden, interview with Erik O. Eriksen, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 22 May

Suvereniteten utfordres, interview with Jarle Trondal, *Ukesavisen Ledelse*, 22 August

Europas forente stater, op-ed by Erik O. Eriksen, *Dagbladet*, 9 September

Demokratisk selvskading, op-ed by Erik O. Eriksen, *VG*, 4 November

ARENA på jakt etter demokrati i Europa: – Norges befolkning er i ferd med å bli annenrangs i Europa, *ABC Nyheter*, 4 November

Habermas symposium

Jürgen Habermas held the Holberg Lecture ‘Democracy in Europe’ at the University of Stavanger on 11 September 2014. **Erik O. Eriksen** was invited to comment on his work and engage in a debate with one of the great thinkers of our time.

The German social scientist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas is recognized as one of the world’s leading intellectuals. Over the last 25 years he has made important contributions to the debate on the future of European democracy. In the lecture, Habermas presented his view on the EU’s efforts to build post-national democracy. ARENA director Erik O. Eriksen has published extensively on topics closely related to Habermas’ work, Habermas being an important source of scholarly inspiration.

Eriksen and **Cathrine Holst** also contributed with lectures on the conditions for democracy in the age of globalisation in a symposium on the following day. This session was dedicated to discussing Habermas’ ideas as well as the challenges for democracy in Norway in the year celebrating the Constitution’s bicentenary. Eriksen asked whether post-national democracy is possible, and Holst discussed deliberative democracy and (the use of) expertise.

Habermas’ lecture was published as ARENA Working Paper 13/2014: ‘Democracy in Europe: Why the Development of the European Union into a Transnational Democracy is Necessary and How it is Possible’ (see p. 33).

Book launches

Political competence

Cathrine Holst, ‘Hvorfor ikke la ekspertene styre?’, presentation of chapter given at book launch of *Politisk kompetanse: Grunnlovas borgar 1814-2014*, University of Oslo Library of Law, 12 February

Festschrift to Øyvind Østerud

Cathrine Holst, presentation of Festschrift in honour of Prof. Øyvind Østerud, *Politikk i grenseland*, Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, Oslo, 8 April

The Arctic Contested

John Erik Fossum, book presentation of *The Arctic Contested*, ASANOR/NACS Conference *Connections and Exchanges: America in an Intercontinental North*, Alta, 20 September

Norwegian democracy in the 21st century

John Erik Fossum, ‘Er Norge egentlig mer selvstendig i dag enn i 1814?’, book launch of *Det norske demokratiet i dag - 200 år etter Eidsvollssverket: Et vellykket eksperiment?*, House of Literature, Oslo, 24 September

The enduring tensions of democracy

Johan P. Olsen published a book on the enduring tensions of democracy as a sidelong glance to the 2014 constitutional bicentennial.

The book *Folkestyrets varige spenninger: Stortinget og den norske politiske selvforståelsen* [*The enduring tensions of democracy: the parliament and the Norwegian political self-understanding*] (see p. 18) departs from the following paradox: Norwegian democracy is perceived as one of the world's most well-organised, efficient and stable democracies. The Norwegian form of government and political institutions enjoy the people's trust. Still, three major official reports from the last decade have revealed a gloomy situation in terms of how Norwegian democracy is functioning and developing.

Together, these three independent studies (Power and Democracy Study, EEA Review Committee, 22 July Commission) have set off what Olsen calls 'democracy alarms', and he analyses the above paradox in his book. We must dare to debate the fundamentals of democracy, he argues.

How much direct democracy should we have, how many majority decisions? To what extent should we rely on expert rule on the one hand, and on layman rule on the other? What is to be accepted as the true expression of the 'will of the people'?

It has proven difficult to agree on these questions, and these are the 'enduring tensions of democracy'

that the author refers to.

Olsen concludes that Norwegian democracy is not sufficiently prepared for current challenges, where a complex and dynamic development is taking place both at the national and international levels. We are witnessing major changes, with demographic, migration and economic changes that could change the entire European political order.

Read more (in Norwegian): 'Store utfordringer for norsk demokrati', arena.uio.no, 30 April 2014

Book presentations

Johan P. Olsen was invited to discuss the book at a number of events throughout 2014:

'Folkestyrets varige spenninger', book opposition, *University of Oslo Constitution Week*, University of Oslo, 6 March

'Folkestyrets varige spenninger', University of Tromsø, 29 April

'Demokrati anno 2014 – Folkestyrets varige spenninger', University of Nordland, Bodø, 6 May

Bokbad: 'Hva skal vi gjøre med folkestyret?', *På kanten - Den norske filosofifestivalen*, Kragerø, 31 May

'Folkestyrets varige spenninger', University of Bergen, 17 September

'Et demokratiprojekt? Grunnloven og folkestyrets organisatoriske basis', Grunnlovssymposium,



Ekspertene slår alarm og advarer mot at folkestyret forvirrer. Men få tar trusselen helt på alvor:

Debatten ingen tør å ta

Norge anses som et av verdens best fungerende demokratier. Likevel advarer den ene utredningen etter den andre om hvor vi er på vei. – Vi tør ikke ta den prinsipielle demokratidebatten, mener statsviter Johan P. Olsen.

IDEER
 Av Johan P. Olsen
 De fleste som har lest utredningene om demokratiet, har nok fått inntrykk av at Norge er et av verdens best fungerende demokratier. Likevel advarer den ene utredningen etter den andre om hvor vi er på vei. – Vi tør ikke ta den prinsipielle demokratidebatten, mener statsviter Johan P. Olsen.



Johan P. Olsen presented his book during the University's Constitution Week at the Library of Law in March (left)
 Olsen in an interview with Klassekampen (right)

‘Grunnloven, forvaltningen og Knut Dahl Jacobsen’, Bergen, 18 September

‘Folkestyrets varige spenninger – Debatten ingen tør ta’, Aker Seniorakademi, Oslo, 25 September

‘Folkestyre og grunnlov’, University of Agder, Kristiansand, 8 October

The book in the media

‘Debatten ingen tør å ta’, interview with Johan P. Olsen, *Klassekampen*, 1 March

‘Folkestyre i seg sjølv’, book review, *Forskerforum*, 6 March

‘Det umyndige Norge’, comment by Per Anders Madssen, *Aftenposten*, 9 March

‘Å tenke stort, igjen’, book review by Henrik Thune, *Morgenbladet*, 25 April

The ARENA Lecture 2014: Vidar Helgesen

Norway's first 'Europe Minister', Vidar Helgesen, held the ARENA Lecture 2014. He explored EU-Norway relations at Blindern campus on 4 March.

2014, the year of the Norwegian Constitution's bi-centennial celebration, was also the year of the 20th anniversary of the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement. Against this backdrop, and recent findings from the edited book *The Norwegian Paradox* (see p. 18), ARENA had invited the Norwegian Minister for European Affairs to talk about Norway's role in Europe and the democratic consequences of Norway's peculiar form of EU affiliation.

Vidar Helgesen, Minister at the Office of the Prime Minister and responsible for EEA and EU Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was Norway's first Europe Minister when appointed in 2013. He spoke to a large audience consisting of students and employees at the University but also others interested in European affairs and Norway-EU relations.

1814 - 1989 - 1994 - 2014

'For those of us working with European issues, understanding what is happening in Europe is crucial, but also *why* it happens. ARENA contributes to enhance our understanding', the Minister said in his lecture, which was entitled 'The year of celebrations: 1814 - 1989 - 1994 - 2014'.

Rector Ole Petter Ottersen mentioned three

questions from an op-ed by ARENA director Erik O. Eriksen that he encouraged the Europe Minister to respond to: Is Norway caught in the integration trap? Is our affiliation with the EU best described as 'taxation without representation'? Last, but not least, are we actually following the Norwegian or the EU's constitution?

Helgesen underlined the importance of asking such questions, even though the answers are not evident. Despite democratic shortcomings, he emphasized that cooperation always pays off over time, even if it does not pay off for everyone at all times.

Democratic plastering

In Helgesen's view, characterizing Norway's EU affiliation as 'democratic self-harm' is stretching it too far. However, he admitted that it may have 'elements of plastering'. The EEA Agreement was adopted by a large parliamentary majority, and all incumbent parliaments and governments have supported the agreement ever since, Helgesen argued. It provides opportunities for early influence in legislative processes, he emphasized, arguing that in the end, political results are most important.

The EU has constantly changed since the EEA Agreement came into force. The pillar structure is gone, the euro is established, and the number of member states has increased significantly. The Agreement has tackled major challenges and has proven to be robust and dynamic. However, it was the answer to



Minister for EU/EEA affairs, Vidar Helgesen spoke to a crammed auditorium at Blindern

challenges of the 1980s related to the internal market, and it is not perfect, Helgesen admitted.

Norwegian interests

The audience challenged the minister to be more specific about what a ‘more active policy towards the EU’ actually means, and how the Norwegian government is working to influence EU-level policy-making.

As an example, Helgesen explained that the government aims to give clearer and earlier instructions on Norway’s positions to those representing us in expert groups, that it is a political responsibility to decide on a common position, and that it increasingly wants to use the European Affairs Committee of the Norwegian Storting as a venue for discussion on EU issues.

The appointment of the ministerial position also sparked a lot of interest, and the Minister was asked to expand on his new role; including his mandate, institutional responsibility and position.

Knowledge-based debate

Helgesen praised ARENA and the University of Oslo for increasing the level of knowledge regarding Norway’s EU affiliation. In turn, this contributes to increased understanding and a more open debate. As a result, wiser and better decisions are made, he said. Upon questions from the audience, he said that there is an obvious need for increased knowledge about the EU in Norway, also in school textbooks.

He urged ARENA to continue its contributions to Norwegian democracy by maintaining and developing the discussions on the challenges, dilemmas and paradoxes of Norway’s EU affiliation, and not least, to continue asking questions.

The speech was published in Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift 02/2014 as ‘Grunnlov, EØS og demokrati’.

The lecture and discussions are available as a podcast from ARENA’s website.

Anne Brasseur: Challenges to human rights and democracy in Europe

The biggest threat to democracy today is intolerance and xenophobia, Anne Brasseur warned in an ARENA lecture on 10 September 2014. The President of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly (PACE) discussed current conflicts in Europe.

Anne Brasseur's lecture at Blindern campus was devoted to the current challenges for democracy and human rights in Europe. The audience had the opportunity to discuss some important challenges of our time with the head of an assembly which brings together 318 parliamentarians from 47 European countries, representing 820 million people.

The rise of extremist parties

Brasseur pointed to the tremendous migration flows due to conflicts across the world as one such challenge. 'If we are not able to find collective solutions, we will only feed more arguments to extremist and right-wing parties', she warned.

Brasseur encouraged all political democratic forces to stand together to combat hate speech, intolerance and xenophobia. 'This is the biggest threat to democracy today'.

Wearing a t-shirt from the 'No Hate Speech' campaign, Brasseur had on her way to the lecture signalled her support to this campaign and to make 22 July a remembrance day for victims of hate crime. She encouraged all parliaments to support the campaign.

'We owe the younger generations to stand up for our values. If not, we could lose our freedom'.

She called upon the audience to never take freedom for granted. And in order to preserve the freedoms that our ancestors fought for, she underlined the need for strong democracies.

Difficult dialogue with Russia

Brasseur mentioned the situation in Ukraine and the difficult dialogue with Russia among other current challenges.

Ukraine does not have an independent judiciary, there is no separation of powers and the country struggles with a high degree of corruption. 'A state with weak institutions is a weak state, and a weak state is not able to give a response to a crisis', she emphasized.

She continued by stressing that Russia's annexation of Crimea violates international law and territorial integrity. As a signal that this act was unacceptable, PACE decided to suspend the voting rights of the Russian delegation, Brasseur explained. The current dialogue with the Russian Duma, which responded by withdrawing its delegation, is very difficult. Brasseur stressed the importance of keeping the channels of dialogue open. In her view, violence can by no means be the answer to the problem.

'But when Russia claims not to be part of the problem in Ukraine, it is difficult to see how the country can be part of the solution', she underlined.



President Anne Brasseur gave her support to the 'no hate speech' campaign before holding her lecture

Conflicts across Europe

Brasseur touched upon a number of other current challenges related to human rights and democracy, including the situation in Azerbaijan and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and frozen conflicts such as in Cyprus.

The audience took well use of the opportunity to discuss with Anne Brasseur. Among the questions raised was the developments and threats to democracy in Hungary, towards which Brasseur expressed deep concerns.

She was also asked about the role of parliaments and parliamentarians on the international arena, the formal status of the EU within the Council of Europe and the EU's lengthy process of ratifying of the European Charter of Human Rights, as well as

the competing and/or complementary roles of the EU and the CoE in promoting human rights and democracy in Europe.

To Brasseur, PACE provides a unique opportunity as an interparliamentary platform to meet and discuss across different cultures, while ensuring mutual learning and respect.

Norway, EEA and a transforming EU

Friends of Europe of the Norwegian Storting invited to the seminar *Norge, EØS og et EU i forvandling* on 4 June 2014. ARENA gave topical analyses of recent developments in the EU and of Norway-EU relations, based on the book *Det norske paradoks*. The findings were discussed with parliamentarians and parliament staff with a stake in the topics at hand.

Erik O. Eriksen pointed to the book proving how integrated Norway is with the European Union, and argued that Norway is a *de facto* EU member. He regretted the lack of scholarly as well as political attention to this situation, and to the enormous changes taking place over the last decades. When addressing the recent EP elections, Eriksen underlined that although protest parties had gained ground, 80 per cent still voted for established party groups. Against the backdrop of the crisis, this is a tremendous vote of confidence, he argued. **Morten Egeberg** outlined recent developments in the EU's bureaucracy, notably the role and functioning of the European Commission and the proliferation of EU agencies, and the consequences for Norway. **Helene Sjursen** looked at Norwegian foreign and security policy in light of the Ukraine crisis, pointing to Norway's pragmatic approach and tight affiliation to EU policies. She called for more open debate on Norwegian foreign policy to increase its democratic legitimacy. **Espen D. H. Olsen** analysed the development of EU citizenship and the consequences for Norwegian citizens, including crisis-induced migration to Norway from the EU.

Europe 1989 'East/West'

As part of the University of Oslo's *Constitution Week* in March 2014, **John Erik Fossum** organised a seminar in the series 'International constitutional waves'.

The session *Europe 1989 - East vs. West* took as its point of departure two important and evocative events in Europe's constitutional development. The first is the onstart of a new wave of democratic constitutionalism in the wake of the fall of the Iron Curtain in Central and Eastern Europe. The other is that it set in motion a process of step-wise incorporation of the CEE states into the new developing political order in Europe.

The large influx of new EU members has in turn meant a certain re-constitutionalisation of the EU, which we are still trying to understand the full implications of. Fossum and Menéndez have shown how the EU is based on a distinct form of constitutionalism (*The Constitution's Gift*, 2011): The central EU level is equipped with the precepts of supremacy and direct effect, but they are authorised through special 'integration clauses' in the member states' constitutions and through constant reference to the 'common constitutional traditions of the member states'. At the seminar, **Hans-Jörg Trencz** explored how this constitutional construct and the many tensions it contains relate to its social component or social constituency. **Christoffer C. Eriksen** (University of Oslo) in turn discussed how this constitutional construct affects Norway.

Balancing academic excellence and socio-economic relevance

The Research Council of Norway organised the conference *Grensesprengende forskning og innovasjon - hva kreves?* on 26 February 2014 to discuss the knowledge base for research and innovation policy. **Åse Gornitzka** contributed with findings from the FLAGSHIP project, which studies European Flagship Universities and their balance between academic excellence and socio-economic relevance (see pp. 8-9).

The aim of the event was to discuss how to foster excellent research and ensure its relevance and benefit to business and industry. Researchers from the Research Council's programme Knowledge base for research and innovation policy (FORFI) as well as international scholars had been invited to present their views and findings.

Europe in Transition

The Norwegian Research Council organised the annual meeting for the research programme 'Europe in Transition' at their premises at Lysaker on 26 November 2014.

At the information and discussion meeting the three projects financed within the programme were presented. ARENA's EuroDiv project (*Integration and division: towards a segmented Europe?*) was presented by **John Erik Fossum**, **Christopher Lord** and **David Mayes**, with particular focus on the sub-project on economic developments (see pp. 2-3).

The meeting is meant to serve as an arena for discussing and disseminating research to relevant stakeholders, such as invited representatives of ministries, trade and industry and social partners, as well as the steering group of the research initiative and the Research Council.

Other outreach activities

ARENA's researchers are actively engaging with practitioners and policy makers, social partners and the general public through giving lectures and contributing to panel debates, seminars and other events organised by non-academic institutions.

Fossum, John Erik, 'Organising a Pan-European Referendum', *Greens/EFA Conference We, the Citizens: How to Let Europeans Participate in Future Treaty Changes*, European Parliament, 9 April 2014

— 'Ny vri på multikulturalismen', *UiO-festivalen*, 24 May 2014

Gornitzka, Åse, 'Konkurranse, koordinering og politisk kontroll – erfaringer fra kunnskapspolitikken', *Partnerforums høstkonferanse*, 29 October 2014

Gornitzka, Åse and Peter Maassen, 'Europeiske flaggskipuniversitet – endringsdynamikk', The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions' research committee, 26 November 2014

Holst, Cathrine, 'Hva er feminisme?', *Bjørnsonfestivalen*, Molde, 22 January 2014

— 'Forskningsrådets historie: en kommentar', seminar on the history of The Norwegian Research Council, Oslo, 13 February 2014

— 'Øyet som ser - om bruk og misbruk av ekspertise i styringsverket', Nordic Administrative

Association, Oslo, 25 February 2014

— 'Diskriminering – noen utviklingslinjer', *Saturday Lecture 'Folket – hvem er det?'*, 8 March 2014

— 'Demokrati og feminisme: Noen normative konfliktlinjer', Fredrik Engelstad anniversary seminar, 14 March 2014

— 'Akademikeres samfunnsansvar', anniversary seminar of the journal ARR, 19 March 2014

— introduction to the seminar *Spenningen mellom forskning og politikk*, Ministry of Education and Research, Bergen, 14 October 2014

Lord, Christopher, 'Social Justice, Democracy and European Integration', Hearing of the European Economic and Social Committee on its Action Plan for the EU, Brussels, 18 February 2014

— panel debate on the role of parliaments in EU external action, *Interparliamentary Cooperation in EU External Action international workshop*, Jean Monnet network PACO, European Parliament, 5 December 2014

Mayes, David, 'The Funding of Bank Resolution in Europe: Will the New Framework Meet Expectations?', Bruegel, Brussels, 16 December 2014



Christopher Lord in the European Parliament, December 2014
(photo: KU Leuven)



John Erik Fossum in the European Parliament, April 2014
(photo: Greens/EFA)

Tranøy, Bent Sofus, 'Har vi råd til en velferdsstat?',
The Norwegian Civil Service Union (NTL)
Conference, Stavanger, 13 March 2014

- 'Krisen i Europa, hvordan plassere ansvar?',
Norwegian labour and welfare service (NAV)
leadership conference, Oslo, 19 March 2014
- 'Makt og avmakt i en markedsøkonomi', Ministry
of Trade, Industry and Fisheries, 24 March 2014
- 'Makt og maktmisbruk i en (finansialisert)
markedsøkonomi', The Norwegian National
Authority for Investigation and Prosecution of
Economic and Environmental Crime (ØKOKRIM),
Oslo, 14 June 2014
- 'Menneskebilder: Samarbeid, egoisme,
individualisme og rasjonalitet', *TVIL2014: Seg
selv – nok?*, Bergen, 11 September 2014

Trondal, Jarle, 'Hvor hører EU-byråene hjemme?',
Office of the Prime Minister, 11 February 2014

Sjursen, Helene, 'EU Enlargement', *Europacafé '10
years of added value?'*, European Movement,
Oslo, 29 April 2014

- 'Norske demokratiske utfordringer for EU-ledede
operasjoner', Conference '*Er EU blitt viktigere enn
NATO i Europa?*', co-organised by the Norwegian
Atlantic Committee/People and Defence/
European Movement/Norwegian Institute for
Defence Studies, Oslo, 1 October 2014
- Seminar 'The "New" EU Institutions: What
Changes Ahead?', Swedish Institute of
International Affairs, Stockholm, 25 November
2014

Media contributions

As a centre for research on issues directly affecting European citizens, ARENA aims to reach out beyond the research community. The staff contribute to the public debate in print and broadcast media, commenting upon topical issues with research-based knowledge.

EU-lederskap på sparebluss, Asimina Michailidou, Dagsavisen [interview], 2 January 2014

Cameron ønsker tak på innvandring / Lite flytting i Europa, John Erik Fossum, Vårt Land [interview], 15 January 2014

Tror EU i krise vil kreve mer fra Norge, Helene Sjørnsen, NTB [interview], reported/printed in Stavanger Aftenblad, Avisa Hordaland, Dagsavisen, Nordlys, 22-23 January 2014

Kan tvinges til eurosonen, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 25 January 2014

EUs rolle i Ukraina, Helene Sjørnsen, NRK Dagsnytt atten [radio interview], 28 January 2014

Kravet om størrelse, Jarle Trondal (and Morten Øgård), Fædrelandsvennen [op-ed] 4 February 2014

Referendum in Switzerland, Helene Sjørnsen, NRK Dagsnytt atten [radio interview] 10 February 2014

Sveits sa nei til EU-borgere, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten.no [interview], 9 February 2014

Bildt: Lite i Sveits som smitter, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, NRK.no [interview], 10 February 2014

Spår omkamp i Sveits, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, NTB [interview], reported/printed in Nationen, Dagsavisen, Vårt Land, Bergens Tidende, NRK.no, DN.no, Stavanger Aftenblad, VG Nett, Adresseavisen, Haugesunds Avis, Klar Tale (+editorial Klassekampen) 10-11 February 2014

Slik fant de lykken i Norge, Espen D.H. Olsen, Aftenposten [interview], 18 February 2014

Kampens paradoks: Både Europa og Ukraina vil tape på det, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 19 February 2014

The Situation in Ukraine, Guri Rosén, NRK Dagsnytt atten [radio interview], 24 February 2014

Velferd og økonomi, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Østlendingen [op-ed], 25 February 2014

Europaminister: – Ukraina-krise er den viktigaste testen EU har opplevd, report on the ARENA Lecture 2014 by Europe Minister Vidar Helgesen, Uniforum, 5 March 2014

Gamle kamper om igjen, Cathrine Holst, Tønsbergs Blad [interview], 8 March 2014

Intenst diplomati om Ukraina, Guri Rosén and



Guri Rosén and Helene Sjørusen in NRK's Dagsnytt Atten radio studio, and Asimina Michailidou interviewed by Annette Groth on NRK's Urix (foreign affairs) on the EP elections in May 2014

Helene Sjørusen, Dagsavisen [interview], 11 March 2014

Forskning viser, Cathrine Holst, Fett no 1/2014 [interview]

Det lykkelige valg, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen [op-ed] 14 March 2014

Deltagelse, Cathrine Holst, Klassekampen [comment], 26 March 2014

Nationalism in Europe, Helene Sjørusen, NRK Søndagsavisa [radio interview], 30 March 2014

En ny vår for feminismen, Cathrine Holst, Dusken.no [interview], 1 April 2014

Blir på barnerommet, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Aftenposten [interview] 13 April 2014

Kommer seg ikke ut av barnerommet, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Fædrelandsvennen [interview] 14 April 2014

Nymerkanitilismen, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen [op-ed] 26 April 2014

European Parliament elections, Helene Sjørusen, NRK Dagsnytt atten [radio interview], 15 May 2014

Heia NOUge, Cathrine Holst, Morgenbladet [interview], 16 May 2014

Ekspertene vender tilbake, Cathrine Holst, Klassekampen [interview], 16 May 2014

EU-sceptics in the EU Parliament, Asimina Michailidou, NRK Urix [TV interview], 22 May 2014

- Valg til EU-parlamentet [Election to the EU Parliament], Bart Bes, NRK Nyheter [TV interview] 23 May 2014
- EU-kritikarar treng ikkje få meir makt, Guri Rosén, Nationen [interview], 24 May 2014
- Tallenes trasige tale, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Adresseavisen [interview] 24 May 2014
- EU-ekspert til VG: Nå blir det livlig i Brussel, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, VG [interview], 26 May 2014
- Et EU på ville veier?, Guri Rosén, NRK ytring [op-ed], 27 May 2014
- Europa gikk mange skritt til høyre, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 27 May 2014
- Stjernesmell tvinger EU til ny kurs, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Vårt land [interview], 28 May 2014
- EU Parliament Elections, Rosén, Guri, Opplysningen 99,3 Radio Nova [radio interview], 30 May 2014
- Tallenes trasige tale, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Bergens Tidende [interview] 31 May 2014
- Går rett i Le Pens felle, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen [interview], 4 June 2014
- EUs «1814» kan ryke, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Stavanger Aftenblad [interview], 19 June 2014
- Parlamentarismen i en tynn tråd, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Bergens Tidende [interview], 20 June 2014
- Går for gjenvalg i dag, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 24 June 2014
- Stanser neppe Juncker, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 24 June 2014
- Kan tvinges til eurosone, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 25 June 2014
- Kan koste Norge dyrt å ikke ta vare på arbeidsinnvandrerne, Asimina Michailidou and Espen D. H. Olsen, NRK.no [interview], 3 July 2014
- De nye gigantene, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen [op-ed], 5 July 2014
- Streeck i regningen, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen [op-ed] 2 August 2014
- Møter krav om sterkere NATO, Helene Sjørven, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 5 August 2014
- De hadde fått panikk om de hadde mistanke om en slik finansiering, Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, Dagbladet [interview], 12 August 2014
- Advarer mot fryktelig krise om ikke svak Hollande får budsjettflertall, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, E24.no [interview], 26 August 2014
- Et tilbakeslag for fransk politikk, Bent Sofus Tranøy, dn.no [interview] 26 August 2014



A selection of press clippings (Il Manifesto, Klassekampen and Aftenposten)

30 år i debattens tjeneste, Cathrine Holst,
Klassekampen [interview], 30 August 2014

- Sliter fordi de ikke kan språket, Espen D.H. Olsen,
Budstikka [interview], 4 September 2014

På kanten, Cathrine Holst, Morgenbladet [interview],
5 September 2014

Debate on a Catalanian Independence Vote, John
Erik Fossum, NRK Uria, Verden på lørdag [radio
interview], 13 September 2014

On Scottish Independence, John Erik
Fossum, TV2 Nyhetskanalen [TV interview], 16
September 2014

Dette skal skottene stemme over, Erik Oddvar
Eriksen, E24.no [interview], 17 September 2014

Urnene er stengt: – Skottland blir ikke det samme

etter dette, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, E24.no
[interview], 18 September 2014

Doomsday Gap, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen
[op-ed] 27 September 2014

‘Il potere di Draghi si ferma a Karlsruhe’, Agustín
José Menéndez, Il Manifesto [interview], 5
December 2014

Tre om Piketty, Bent Sofus Tranøy, Klassekampen
[interview] 13 December 2014

Hatets ansikt, Erik Oddvar Eriksen [interview],
Dagbladet, 24 December 2014

- Hverdagen blir stadig tøffere. Folk har mistet alt håp
and Betydelig risiko for at vi vil starte 2015 med
et nytt gresk drama, Asimina Michailidou, dn.no
[interview], 29 December 2014

Popular science publications

Commentaries and blogs

Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'European Integration and Security Epistemic Communities, E-international Relations, 9 January 2014

Egeberg, Morten, Åse Gornitzka and Jarle Trondal, 'The Technocratic European Commission: A Myth?', EUDO Café, 21 March 2014

— 'European Parliament Staff: Who are they and does their background influence decision-making?', EUROPP Blog, 29 October 2014

Eriksen, Erik O. 'Skattlegging uten representasjon', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 7 January 2014

— 'All makt i denne sal?', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog, 20 January 2014

— 'Jubileum med bismak', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 3 March 2014

— 'The EU and the Norwegian paradox: Bicentennial of the Constitution with an Aftertaste', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog, 11 April 2014

— 'Norway's Rejection of EU Membership has given the Country Less Self-determination, not More', EUROPP Blog, 22 April 2014

— 'Mer integrasjon som kriseløsning', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 9 September 2014

— 'Norge i integrasjonsfella', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 4 November 2014

Fossum, John Erik, 'Sykkelteorien, EU og Norge', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 31(3): 391–394

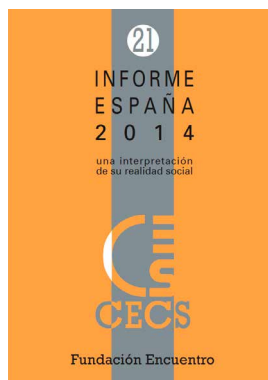
Menéndez, Agustín José, 'La soberanía truncada o por qué Europa es parte del problema, y no sólo de la solución', infoLibre, 2 November 2014

Michailidou, Asimina, 'A legal alien in Oslo: what does it mean to be an EU citizen on the move?', Greeklish.info, 19 February 2014

Saltnes, Johanne Døhlle and Tine E. J. Brøgger, 'Federica Mogherini has outlined an ambitious plan for European foreign and security policy, but the extent to which it is attainable remains to be seen', EUROPP Blog, 7 November 2014

Video

Olsen, Espen D. H., 'EU-forsker om Norge, EØS og Schengen', interactive video as part of a digital learning resource on Norway-EU relations, NDLA, 15 October 2014



Espen D. H. Olsen explains Norway's relations with the EU through the EEA and Schengen Agreements (www.ndla.no)

Books, journals and reports

Mayes, David, 'Bank Structure and Resolution', *Butterworths Journal of International Banking and Financial Law*, 11: 1-4, December 2014, posted as feature article on LexisNexis Banking & Finance Law Blog Loan Ranger, 5 January 2015

Menéndez, Agustín José, '¿Qué queda de la soberanía y del Estado Social y Democrático de Derecho tras la crisis?', *Informe España 2014*, annual report on the Social State of Spain published by Fundación Encuentro, Madrid

Eriksen, Erik. O. 'The EU and the Norwegian Paradox: Bicentennial of the Constitution with an Aftertaste' / 'EU og det norske paradoks: Grunnlovsjubileum med bismak', in Gudleiv Forr (ed.) *1814-2014 Red, White and Blue: Norwegian Constitution, American Inspiration / Rødt, hvitt og blått: Norsk grunnlov, amerikansk inspirasjon* [bilingual coffee table book], ART PRO forlag

Prizes and nominations

Mai’a K. D. Cross was elected as a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher in the US. CFR’s roster includes top government officials, renowned scholars, business executives, acclaimed journalists, prominent lawyers, and distinguished nonprofit professionals.

The Term Member Program encourages promising young leaders in government, media, nongovernmental organizations, law, business, finance, and academia to engage in a sustained conversation on international affairs and US foreign policy. The program allows them to interact with seasoned foreign-policy experts and participate in a wide variety of events designed especially for them.

Each year a new class of term members, between the ages of 30 and 36, is elected to a five-year membership term.



Helene Sjursen (left) and Mai’a K. Davis Cross (right)

The Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP) awarded two prizes to Helene Sjursen.

Helene Sjursen received the 2014 prize for the most downloaded JEPP Special Issue for the edited volume *The EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy: the quest for democracy* (vol. 18, no. 8, 2011).

In the same issue, Sjursen published the article ‘Not so intergovernmental after all? On democracy and integration in Europe’s Foreign and Security Policy’. This article received the prize for the most downloaded article from that Special Issue.

The prizes were based on the total number of downloads in 2012 and 2013.



Organisation and staff

Personnel and economy

As a research centre based at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo, the main part of ARENA’s budget is financed by external funding sources. In 2014, the centre’s main sources of external funding were the Research Council of Norway, the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation.

Key figures 2014

Professors including research professors (work years)	5.4
Senior researchers and post docs (work years)	6.7
PhD fellows	7.0
MA students	5.0
Administrative staff (work years)	3.3
Total budget (NOK million)	19
External financing	65 %

The ARENA Board

Chair

Tor Saglie

Ministry of Justice and Public Security

Board members

Inger Johanne Sand

Department of Public and International Law,
University of Oslo

Steinar Stjernø

Department of Social Work, Child Welfare and Social
Policy, Oslo and Akershus University College of
Applied Sciences

Carlo Thomsen

Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and
Modernisation

John Erik Fossum

Staff representative, ARENA

Nina Merethe Vestlund

Staff representative, ARENA

Deputy members for staff representatives:

Cathrine Holst

Johanna Strikwerda

ARENA Management

ARENA Director

Prof. Erik Oddvar Eriksen



Eriksen has been professor at the University of Tromsø and the University of Bergen, and professor II at the Centre for the Study of Professions at Oslo University College as well as at the University of Aalborg.

Eriksen's main research fields are political theory, public policy and European integration. His interest in legitimate rule has led to publications on democracy in the EU, governance and leadership, functions and limits of the state, deliberative democracy, trust, regional politics, security politics and the welfare state.

Administrative Director

Geir Ove Kværk



Kværk was project manager for the projects *Reconstituting Democracy in Europe* (RECON) and *Citizenship and Democratic Legitimacy in Europe* (CIDEL), both funded by the European Commission's Framework Programmes for research.

Academic staff



Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross

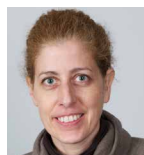
Research: European foreign and security policy (CFSP/CSDP), diplomacy, public diplomacy, soft/smart power

Part time from September



Prof. John Erik Fossum

Research: Political theory, democracy and constitutionalism in the EU and Canada, Europeanisation, nation-state transformation



Dr. Tatiana Fumasoli

Research: Higher education and research policy, management studies, organisation theory



Dr. Cathrine Holst

Research: Political theory, philosophy of social science, the role of expertise in the EU, public debate on Europe, gender equality policies, feminist theory and gender studies



Prof. Christopher Lord

Research: Democracy, legitimacy and the EU, political parties in the EU, EU foreign policy, the history of British relations to Europe, the political economy of the monetary union



Dr. Asimina Michailidou

Research: Public sphere theory, political and public communication, globalization and political activism, online media and impact on EU politics



Dr. John Moodie

Research: European research and technology policy, technocratic governance, the role of expertise in the EU



Dr. Espen D. H. Olsen

Research: European citizenship, EU integration, citizen deliberation, deliberative democracy, the Eurocrisis, political theory, qualitative methods



Prof. emeritus Johan P. Olsen

Research: Organisational decision-making, New Institutionalism, democracy, power and the Scandinavian model, the changing political organisation of Europe



Dr. Marianne Riddervold

Research: International Relations and European integration, the foreign and security policy of the EU, the EU as an international actor



Prof. Helene Sjursen

Research: The EU as an international actor, the EU's foreign and security policy, EU enlargement, democratic aspects of foreign and security policy



Prof. Agustín José Menéndez

Profesor Contratado Doctor Permanente I3, University of León

Research: Democracy, fundamental rights, legitimacy, EU constitutional theory, national vs. EU law, the EU's social dimension

Part-time



Prof. Morten Egeberg

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

Research: The role of organisational factors in political systems, the European Commission, the relationship between the EU and the national levels, EU agencies and national executives



Prof. Hans-Jörg Trenz

EURECO Professor, Centre for Modern European Studies, University of Copenhagen

Research: European public sphere and civil society, cultural and political sociology, migration and ethnic minorities, European civilization and identity



Prof. Åse Gornitzka

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

Research: European education and research policy, the role of expertise in EU policy-making, the domestic impact of the EU's soft modes of governance



Prof. Jarle Trondal

Professor, University of Agder

Research: EU as a political system, administrative integration/transformation, EU/EEA and Norway, European Commission, EU committee governance

PhD fellows



Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger

PhD project: 'The EU in Crisis: Implications for the Common Security and Defence Policy'



Johanna Strikwerda

PhD project: 'Pushing the Boundaries of Inter-governmentalism? The Role of the Commission in the CFSP'



Guri Rosén

PhD project: 'The Role of the European Parliament in the EU's Foreign Policy'
Thesis submitted in August



Silje H. Tørnblad

PhD project: 'The European Commissions's Expert Groups: More than Expertise?'



Johanne Døhlle Saltnes

PhD project: 'Political Conditionality in the EU Cooperation Agreements with the ACP States'
On leave January – mid-September



Nina Merethe Vestlund

PhD project: 'Decision-Making in a Compound European Context'
Research stay at SCANCOR (Scandinavian Consortium for Organizational Research), Stanford University, June – August



Helena Seibicke

PhD project: 'Argumentation and Influence: A Deliberative Approach to Interest Group Advocacy in EU Policy-Making'

Guest researchers



Bart Bes

PhD student, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, VU University Amsterdam

Project: 'Under Pressure: Role Conceptions of Senior Commission Officials in an Era of Politicization'
January – May



Charlotte Dany

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Goethe-University Frankfurt

Project: 'Politicization of Humanitarian Aid in the European Union'
Stay funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG)
April – August



Oliver Eberl

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Technical University Darmstadt

Project: 'Post-War Ideas of Europe's Normativity'
Stay funded by the Research Council of Norway
April – August



David Mayes

Professor, Director of the New Zealand Governance Centre, University of Auckland
Project: Implications of banking union and fiscal aspects of monetary union
August – December



Zuzana Murdoch

Senior Research Fellow, Zentrum für Sozialpolitik (ZeS), University of Bremen
Two related research projects on Seconded National Experts in the European Commission and the European External Action Service
Stay funded by E.ON Ruhrgas
August – October



Andreja Pegan

PhD student, University of Luxembourg
Project: 'An Analysis of Legislative Assistance in the European Parliament'
April – September



Bent Sofus Tranøy

Professor, Hedmark University College and Oslo School of Management
Project: Political economy and the Eurocrisis
All year (part time)

Administration



Marit Eldholm
Research and Communications Advisor



Ida Hjelmescæth
Finance and Personnel Management
On leave January – October



Ragnar Lie
Senior research advisor
Part time until July



Kadri Miard
Higher Executive Officer
Until July



Guri Rosén
Advisor
October – December



Veronica Thun
Executive Officer
Part time until July

Research assistants

Rachelle Esterhazy
Part time until September

Linn-Hege Lauvset
Part time until September

Veronica Thun
Part time (all year)

MA students

Spring 2014



John Todd

'The British Self and Continental Other:
A Discourse Analysis of the United
Kingdom's Relationship with Europe'

Co-supervisor: Christopher Lord



Hanne Holden Halmrast

'Vitenskapens rolle i matfeltet i EU:
En organisasjons-strukturell analyse'
[The role of science in the EU's food
policy field: A structural-organisational
analysis]

Supervisor: Åse Gornitzka

Fall 2014



Kjersti Varpe Nørgaard

'Scandinavian Perceptions of Welfare
Migration within the EU/EEA: A
Qualitative Content Analysis'

Supervisor: Espen D. H. Olsen



Linn Tomasdotter

'Norwegian Innovation Policy, a Result
of Europeanization? A Case Study of
the Participation of Nordland County in
the Smart Specialisation Platform, S3'

Supervisor: Åse Gornitzka



Veronica Thun

'20 Years of European Citizenship:
A Qualitative Content Analysis
of the European Commission's
Conceptualization of Citizenship in the
EU'

Supervisor: Espen D. H. Olsen



Annual report 2014
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