ARENA

Centre for European Studies University of Oslo

Annual report 2013

Introduction

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

The research at ARENA is multidisciplinary and problem-driven, and 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. ARENA aims to publish in internationally recognized journals and to actively seek cooperation with other leading research communities, not least through coordination and participation in international research projects.

In 2013, the continued financial, social and political crises of Europe have been the focus of attention of scholars as well as of the general public all over Europe and beyond. The crises expose the democratic challenges facing the European Union, which are highly relevant also for Norway as a closely associated non-member of the EU through the EEA, Schengen and other agreements. To meet these challenges, ARENA has developed the research project 'Integration and division: Towards a segmented Europe?' (EuroDiv), which is funded by the Norwegian Research Council from 2013 to 2018. The aim of EuroDiv is to establish how the crisis transforms Europe and the implications this has for Norway, and to provide knowledge on potential ways out of the crisis.

While continuing to strengthen our basic understanding of the political order of Europe, ARENA's researchers have produced invaluable knowledge that contributes to enlightening topical issues which directly affect all Europeans in their everyday lives.

In this report, you will find a comprehensive overview of ARENA's activities in 2013.

Oslo, June 2014

Prof. Erik O. Eriksen ARENA Director

Enik O. Eriksen

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Research projects

EuroDiv 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 implicit assumption in mainstream EU research is that integration is if not quite uniform, then at least quite unidirectional. However, European integration has to a certain degree departed from the initial assumption that it should aim at a uniform acquis communautaire in which the same policies apply in the same way at the same time in all participating countries. The idea of asymmetric, differential, or flexible, integration pre-dates the crisis.

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. The European crisis seems to be accelerating a process in which the member states end up with different statuses. From this perspective, Norway's relations with the EU is no exception, but one of several variations in the diversity of integration in Europe.

EuroDiv studies the crisis and analyses the sustainability and democratic legitimacy of ongoing transformations in Europe. By distinguishing segmentation from the more widely used conception of differentiated integration, integration and disintegration are analysed simultaneously in order to better understand the present crisis developments.

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

Sub-projects

EuroDiv is divided into the following sub-projects:

Law and democracy

How has the crisis affected parliaments at the EU and national levels? What are the effects of increased mobility and mobilisation on accelerated cultural change and fragmentation?

The European executive order

What room of manoeuvre remains for national



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

governments in the formulation and implementation of EU policies and legislation? Has the crises led to strengthened administrative capacity at the EU level?

Economic development as segmentation?

Three important changes in the design of monetary union are studied: changes to fiscal coordination; banking union; and the interpretation of the rules for joining both the single currency and for being eligible to join it through EU membership.

The domain of foreign and security policy

To what extent does differentiated integration take place in the domain of foreign, security and defence policy in the context of crisis?

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 Tranøv, Hedmark University College

More: arena.uio.no/eurodiv

NORCONE The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context

The main purpose of NORCONE is to establish the nature of the EU's constitutional developments as well as the constitutional implications for Norway which stem from its relationship with the EU.

About

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

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.

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

Objectives

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

NORCONE takes as its main point of departure the challenges and opportunities for democracy in international society. International developments raise the question of the relationship between constitution and sovereignty. It challenges the idea of national sovereignty safeguarding constitutional rule, and thus the protection of citizens' rights and interests, which in turn enables and justifies democracy.

The development of systems of rights and law enforcement beyond the nation state 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.

The project culminates in 2014, when the Norwegian Constitution celebrates its 200th anniversary. The aim is to stimulate a qualified public debate on the living constitution of Norway in light of the prin-



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

ciples laid down in 1814, the inspiration and genesis of which are truly European.

Outcomes

Two books were finalised in 2013: Det norske paradoks: Om Norges forhold til Den europeiske union [The Norwegian Paradox: On Norway's relations with the European Union], edited by Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (Universitetsforlaget, January 2014), with contributions by a number of ARENA researchers; and *The Normativity of the European* Union, Erik O. Eriksen (Palgrave Macmillan, February 2014). In addition to the two books, the research led to a number of publications and media contributions (see pp. 19-23 and 54-60).

Two NORCONE events were organised: the workshop 'Europe in crises, Europe as the crisis?' in March 2013 (see pp. 26-27) and a teacher seminar in the Norwegian Constitution in international perspective in October (see pp. 44-45).

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 Siursen 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

EPISTO 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 European Union and the European Commission's 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? Some would say no. To deal with the risks and hazards globalisation throws upon us, they would argue, the best available expertise must be mobilised and given the necessary power, even if we by doing so are challenging familiar ideas of democracy. If more power to the experts can help save the planet, the economy, health, security and other basic goods, we should not hesitate embracing it or worry so much about democratic standards. Why stick to ideas of 'rule of the people' that may turn out to be irrelevant and even dangerous in a world that is in urgent need of decisions based on our best knowledge? Why not opt for what political philosopher David Estlund refers to as 'epistocracy' a 'rule of the knowers'?

'Why not EPISTOcracy? Political legitimacy

and "the fact of expertise" (EPISTO) elaborates on this and other arguments for expert-rule, tests the soundness of their empirical assumptions, and develops a sophisticated and robust normative defence of democracy in Europe that specifies the legitimate role and scope of expert power.

Objectives

The main objectives of the EPISTO project are to elaborate on different dimensions of knowledge-based rule and develop a typology for epistocracy; to discuss and identify the proper standards for assessing the normative legitimacy of expertise arrangement based on recent contributions and debates in political philosophy and democratic theory; to map and analyse the European Commission's expert group system, its composition and powers; and finally, to study expertise behaviour, deliberation and rationality in the context of this system, and discuss and assess this system's normative legitimacy in light of its empirical findings.

Outcomes

EPISTO's kick-off conference was staged in Oslo in April 2013. The conference addressed EPISTO questions explicitly but also related questions, and gathered around 60 participants. They discussed three core themes: expert rule and democratic legitimacy; the role of knowledge and expertise in EU governance; and the European Commission's use of



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

expertise (see pp. 28-29). The conference proceedings were published as ARENA report 1/14: 'Expertise and Democracy', edited by Cathrine Holst.

The project members moreover produced several publications and comments and held conference presentations and contributed to other events throughout the year (see pp. 34-40 and pp. 54-60).

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

FLAGSHIP

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?

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

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

FLAGSHIP's aim is to provide Norwegian universities and policy makers with a better understanding of the change dynamics of flagship universities in selected other European countries and



Opening ceremony at Universitetsplassen, University of Oslo

the ways in which changes in Norwegian universities compare to these. The aim is further to contribute to the discussion on the autonomy of Norwegian universities and university colleges, as well as to the strengthening of the knowledge basis of Norwegian knowledge area policies, especially in the areas of research and innovation.

Outcomes

The Flagship project members produced several articles in peer-reviewed academic journals and book chapters in 2013 (see pp. 19-23). They also held a number of conference presentations and contributed to other events, as well as giving interviews and commentaries (see pp. 35-40 and pp. 54-60)

Institutional reports on ten selected universities have been published within the project, all of which are available from the project website.

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

The European Crisis and the Citizens

The number of EU citizens migrating to other European countries has risen considerably since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008. This project investigates the experiences of EU migrants in Norway, as well as what they know about their rights.

About

What does it mean to be an EU citizen in times of crisis? As more and more Southern Europeans migrate to Norway in order to escape the euro crisis, how aware are they of their rights as EU citizens? How do they experience moving to and living in another European country? What are the policies and support networks in place to help them in this transition? And how does the Norwegian public receive the arrival of crisis-fleeing Europeans?

The project *The European Crisis and the Citizens:* Vulnerable EU Citizens, Uses of Rights and Labour Migration to Norway analyses the effects of increased mobility and mobilization on Norwegian society and the findings will shed light on how Norway emerges as an EU partner in everyday life experiences.

The project revolves around the concept of EU citizenship as a resource for social and political resilience for EU citizens who are faced with particular challenges during periods of economic and political crisis.

The project analyses the effects of increased

mobility and mobilization on Norwegian society and politics. Norway has become a receiving country of economic migrants from the countries that are most affected by crisis. The new structural inequalities in Europe question the inside-outside perspective that is traditionally informing Norway's ambivalent position towards the European project.

In this context, the project unfolds in three stages: societal dynamics and experiences of crisis-struck EU migrants in Norway; how their presence and experiences are dealt at institutional level (by state authorities and non-governmental organisations); and how their presence and experiences are reconstructed and debated in the Norwegian public sphere.

Objectives

EU citizenship has been mostly applicable to mobile elites and the realization of their cosmopolitan life projects. However, this project tests the proposition that in the current conditions of socio-economic transformation and uncertainty, EU citizenship and the rights stemming from it becomes a potential resource of resilience for citizens in their various attempts to cope with the negative consequences of crisis.

The distinctive features of EU citizenship lie in the possibilities of recombining exit (as measured through mobility across borders) with entry (rights of access and participation), voice (political



Schengen visa in passport (photo: Colourbox)

mobilization), and loyalty (the multiple allegiances of mobile citizens). Citizens' resilience can then be studied through the various ways exit, entry, voice and loyalty are enacted, extended and asserted by crisis-struck citizens.

The research is based on a survey of migrants, interviews with policy makers in Norway and at the EU level as well as with NGOs, and a media analysis.

Outcomes

A quantitative survey on the experiences of EU labour migrants in Norway was conducted in the autumn of 2013, resulting in approx. 350 replies from citizens from 25 EU member states. Publications are forthcoming in 2014.

The project organised the public debate 'Escaping the crisis' in December 2013, where preliminary findings were presented to a large audience (see pp. 48-49).

Funding

Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Project period

01.01.2013-31.12.2013

Project coordinators

Asimina Michailidou and Espen D. H. Olsen

ARENA project members

Hans-Jörg Trenz and Helga Rognstad

More: arena.uio.no/crisis-mobility

Other projects

In addition to the ARENA-coordinated projects on 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. Many of these conflicts can be equated with the development of industrial society. Since then, social and political alignments have experienced a great change. What could be deemed the simple diversity of industrial societies has given place to a new, complex diversity in which a variety of social, political and cultural cleavages overlap and compete for political legitimacy at a national and supranational level.

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

diversity; religious diversity, and; diversity and redistribution.

Project type

Research Networking Programme financed by the European Science Foundation

Project period

01.06.2010-01.06.2014

ARENA project members

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

More: http://www.recode.fi

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

As of December 2009, the Lisbon Treaty has become the EU's new fundamental framework for the foreseeable future. The analysis of altered or novel treaty provisions has consequently become a high priority for interdisciplinary research-based teaching curricula in EU studies. LISBOAN promotes synergies

between research and teaching, highlights innovative approaches and establishes best practices in teaching this key issue to present and future generations of students. It also includes an annual 'Lisbon Watch'.

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

Project type

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

Project period

01.10.2010-30.09.2013

ARENA project members

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

More: http://www.lisboan.net/

Parliamentary Democracy in **Europe (PADÉMIA)**

The motivation of PADEMIA is to establish a Europewide 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 ongoing 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

Project period

01.10.2013-01.10.2016

ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord

More: http://www.pademia.eu/

Publications



New books 2013

Practices of Inter-parliamentary Coordination in International Politics: The European Union and Beyond

Edited by John Erik Fossum and Ben Crum ECPR Press, ISBN 9781907301308

Parliaments risk becoming the main losers of internationalisation; a process that privileges executives and experts. Still, parliamentarians have developed a range of responses to catch up with international decision-making: they coordinate their actions with other parliamentarians; engage in international parliamentary forums; and some even opt to pursue political careers at the supranational level, such as in the European Parliament.

This volume provides a thorough empirical examination of how an internationalising context drives parliamentarians to engage in interparliamentary coordination; how it affects their power positions vis-à-vis executive actors; among themselves; and in society in general.

Furthermore, building upon these empirical insights, the book assesses whether parliamentary democracy can remain sustainable under these changing conditions. Indeed, if parliaments are, and remain, central to our understanding of modern democracy, it is of crucial importance to track their responses to internationalisation, the fragmentation of political sovereignty, and the proliferation of multilevel politics.

Contesting Europe: Exploring Euroscepticism in Online Media Coverage

Edited by Asimina Michailidou, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde ECPR Press, ISBN 9781907301513

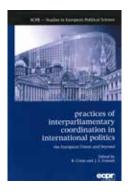
Contesting Europe investigates the way politicians and citizens evaluate the European Union and the process of European integration in public debates during the 2009 EP elections. It presents detailed and rigorous content analysis of online media where citizens directly and voluntarily respond to news stories posted by journalists.

New evidence is presented about the dynamic nature of contestation about Europe on the internet and the degree of convergence towards Euroscepticism across EU member states. Such convergence provides new challenges for democratic representation in the EU and provides insight into the public basis for a legitimate European Union.

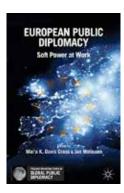
Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work

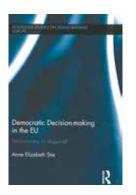
Edited by Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 9781137343291

The European region – especially given the existence of the EU – necessarily encompasses multiple levels of public diplomacy: subnational, national, transnational, and supranational. But do the various aspects of Europe's multi-leveled public diplomacy











form a coherent overall image, or do they work against each other to some extent?

The book pushes the literature on public diplomacy forward through a multifaceted exploration of the European case. In so doing, it fills an important gap in the international relations literature on the mechanisms behind soft power.

Democratic Decision-making in the EU: **Technocracy in Disquise?**

Anne Elizabeth Stie Routledge, ISBN 9780415525756

This book examines the democratic legitimacy of the European Union (EU) and evaluates the democratic credentials of the EU's main decision-making procedure. It finds that though there is potential for democratic decision-making in the EU, the actual process is dominated by technocrats and secret meetings.

The book assesses and discusses the conditions for democratic input in decision-making with five empirical chapters each addressing the ordinary legislative procedure from different dimensions: democratic deliberative forums, inclusion, openness, power neutralising mechanisms and decision-making capacity.

The analytical framework provides for an in-depth assessment of the ordinary legislative procedure's potential democratic qualities and examines whether

it fulfils democratic criteria, how the procedure works in practice and whether it has the necessary democratic clout. The author provides both a theoretical discussion and an empirical assessment of what role the principle of democracy could play in the EU.

Rethinking the Public Sphere through Transnationalizing Processes: Europe and Beyond

Edited by Hans-Jörg Trenz, Armando Salvatore and Oliver Schmidtke Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 9781907301513

This book discusses the extent to which the theoretical relevance and analytical rigor of the concept of the public sphere is affected (or undermined) by current processes of transnationalization. The contributions address fundamental questions concerning the viability of a socially and politically effective public sphere in a post-Westphalian world. To what degree are the theoretical presuppositions regarding the critical function and democratic quality of public deliberation still valid in contemporary societies that adhere decreasingly to the Westphalian logic of closed national political communities and modes of communication? Under what conditions is the critical impetus of the public sphere still applicable in a world that is increasingly responding to processes of trans-border interaction and communication?

Publications 2011-2013

	2011	2012	2013
Monographs	1	1	1
Edited books	2	4	4
Special issues of journals	2	_	_
Book chapters	21	31	16
Journal articles	24	15	30
ARENA Working Papers	15	7	8
ARENA Reports	9	4	1
PhD theses	1	1	_
MA theses	3	2	2

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Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'Conceptualizing European Public Diplomacy', in Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen (eds) European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work, Palgrave Macmillan.

Egeberg, Morten, 'The European Commission', in Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borragan (eds) European Union Politics, Oxford University Press, 4th edition.

Fossum, John Erik and David Laycock, 'Democratic Governance and the Challenge of Executive Dominance in International and National Settings', in

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Fossum, John Erik and Ben Crum, 'Practices of Inter-parliamentary Coordination in International Politics: The European Union and Beyond', in Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum (eds) Practices of Inter-parliamentary Coordination in International Politics, ECPR Press.

— 'Toward a Democratic Multilevel Parliamentary Field?, in Ben Crum and John Erik Fossum (eds) Practices of Inter-parliamentary Coordination in International Politics, ECPR Press.

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Gornitzka, Åse and Peter Maassen, 'University Reform and the Nordic Model', in Marek Kwiek and Peter Maassen (eds) National Higher Education Reforms in a European Context. Comparative Reflections on Poland and Norway, Peter Lang.

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- 'The European Union: Parliamentary Wasteland or Parliamentary Field?', in John Erik Fossum and Ben Crum (eds) Practices of Inter-parliamentary Coordination in International Politics, ECPR Press.
- Menéndez, Agustín José, 'The Constitutional Dérapage of European Integration: The Dark Side of the Last Two Decades of European Integration, in Sonja Puntscher Riekmann, Alexander Somek and Doris Wydra (eds) *Is There a European Common Good?*, Nomos.
- Sjursen, Helene, 'A Foreign Policy without a State? Accounting for the CFSP', in Fredrik Bynander and Stefano Guzzini (eds) *Rethinking Foreign Policy*, Routledge.
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- Trondal, Jarle, 'International Bureaucracy: Organizational Structure and Behavioural Implications', in Bob Reinalda (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, Routledge.
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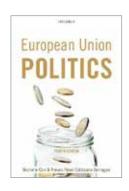
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- Egeberg, Morten, 'En ny statsvitenskap? Replikk til Helge Strand Østtveiten', *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, 29(1): 72–4.
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- 'Virker det?', editorial, Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, 1: 2-4.
- 'Selvbedrag', editorial, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 2: 114-16.











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ARENA Report

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

ARENA Report 13/01

Mats Petter Sydengen

Norges deltakelse i Schengen-samarbeidet: En studie av embetsverkets beslutningsatferd i EUs komitesystem

ARENA working papers

The ARENA Working Paper Series publishes pre-print manuscripts by ARENA researchers or from external researchers presenting their research at ARENA seminars. The series is part of the European Research Paper Archive (ERPA), which is a common access point and database for online series in the field of European integration research.

13/01

Zuzana Murdoch, Jarle Trondal and Stefan Gänzle

The Origins of Common Action Capacities: Observations on the Recruitment of Member States' Diplomats and Officials to the European External Action Service (EEAS)

13/02

Johanne Døhlie Saltnes

The EU's Human Rights Policy: Unpacking the literature on the EU's implementation of aid conditionality

13/03

Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Xinru Ma
EU Crises and the International Media

13/04

Bruno De Witte

Using International Law in the Euro-Crisis: Causes and Consequences

13/05

Espen D.H. Olsen and Hans-Jörg Trenz

The Micro-Macro Link in Deliberative Polling: Deliberative Experiments and Democratic Legitimacy

13/06

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Reason-Based Decision-Making: On Deliberation and the Problem of Indeterminacy

13/07

Helene Sjursen

A Mere Irrelevance? Assessing the EU's Foreign and Security Policy

13/08

Jarle Trondal and Frode Veggeland

The Autonomy of Bureaucratic Organisations: An Organisation Theory Argument

Events



Europe in crises, Europe as the crisis?

The conference 'Europe in crises, Europe as the crisis?' at Blindern campus on 14-15 March 2013 was organised by ARENA's **John Erik Fossum** and **Agustín José Menéndez** as part of the project The Norwegian Constitution in a Changing European Context (NORCONE). The conference aimed at clarifying the nature of the imbricated crises that the EU is facing, what kind of action the Union has taken to govern the crises, and the changes brought about in the EU and its member states.

The event gathered prominent international scholars from a number of disciplines (political science, sociology, political economy, law and legal philosophy, and history) as well as experts with first-hand experience of working with the common monetary policy.

Defining the crises

Europe is in crisis, but is it just one crisis or several overlapping ones? The conference started by conceptualising the present crisis and discussing its structural roots. **Dennis Smith** (Loughborough University) focused on dynamic disequilibrium, the dynamics of debt and demand, and the dynamics of displacement when exploring the socio-political origins and consequences of the current crisis. **Jeremy Leaman** (Loughborough University) discussed the outcome of the budget summit of the February 2013 European Council. He claimed that the general conclusions as well as the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) both represent serious causes for concern.

Their intellectual 'logic' defies both the evidence of the last 30 years of European economic history and the last four years of crisis-'management', he argued. **Fritz W. Scharpf** (Max Planck Institute for the Studies of Societies) argued that the capacity of democratic member states to legitimate the exercise of European governing functions is being destroyed in the present euro crisis, and discussed the implications of this new constellation.

How did we get there?

The next session addressed the historical account of European integration. **Mark Gilbert** (Johns Hopkins University Bologna) looked at the implications of the crisis for the EU and Norway. He argued that European integration is not irreversible; on the contrary, it is 'a process that could unravel very quickly if the will of major nation states wavered'. **Morten Rasmussen** (University of Copenhagen) offered a historical interpretation of the political economy of the European nation state and how it was linked to the process of European integration.

Professor Emeritus **Giandomenico Majone** (European University Institute, Florence) proposed a 'genetic approach' in order to identify the deeper roots of the complex EU crisis. He argued that the attempt to solve the euro crisis by greater centralisation only aggravates an already serious legitimacy problem, to the point of 'transforming the EU's democratic deficit into a democratic default'. **Kaarlo Tuori**









From left: Agustín José Menéndez, Fritz W. Scharpf, Giandomenico Majone and workshop participants

(University of Helsinki) rounded up this session by focusing on the constitutional aspects and implications of the European financial crisis.

How has the Union changed?

The conference proceeded by addressing questions of how the reforms of the last five years have changed the EU in structural terms and looked at crisis government as a vehicle of constitutional mutation. Christopher Lord (ARENA) discussed the legitimacy of monetary union, understanding legitimacy as providing a moral justification for the exercise of political power that, in turn, creates a right to exercise political power and an obligation to comply with it. Klaus Tuori (University of Helsinki), who has previously worked in the financial markets as well as the European Central Bank (ECB), contributing to designing and operationalizing the common monetary policy, presented his research on the ECB's role between being an independent expert and a democratically controlled actor of the EU. Finally, Álvaro de Elera (Council of the EU's Legal Service) discussed the evolution of the EU's legal order. He analysed how legal experimentalism stretching the boundaries of the EU legal order has taken place, largely unnoticed, in the field of financial regulation.

Does the EU have a future?

The EU's future was also discussed, and whether it is compatible with the democratic political project of European integration. **Pedro Teixeira** (ECB), with experience from financial supervision and financial stability arrangements, assessed the establishment of the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM). He examined to what extent the underlying trends of previous responses to the crisis are present in this new institutional construction. Finally, **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria) examined the origins of the current problems, by looking at why the European Monetary Union was created, what purpose it had, and what compromises were made during its creation. She also reviewed whether the path to solve current problems would necessarily undermine Europe's social model.

A panel debate with **Asimina Michailidou** (ARENA), **Bent Sofus Tranøy** (Hedmark University College/Oslo School of Management) and **Mark Gilbert** discussing the EU's future and democratic legitimacy rounded up the event. A podcast from this session is available from ARENA's website.

The conference proceedings were published as ARENA report 2/14: 'The European Union in Crises or the European Union as Crises?', edited by John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menendez.

EPISTO kick-off conference

The five-year EPISTO project (Why not epistocracy? Political legitimacy and 'the fact of expertise') lead by ARENA's **Cathrine Holst** was kicked off at a conference at Blindern campus on 4-5 April 2013. The project enquires into the role of knowledge and expertise in modern democracies with a particular focus on epistocratic developments in the European Union.

The role of expert knowledge

Developments in the EU and elsewhere raise fundamental normative questions about the limits, but also of the legitimate role, of knowledge and expertise in decision-making. On the one hand, modern societies' rely intimately on expert knowledge and judgment, and thus on a division of labor between experts and non-experts. On the other hand, democratic procedures arguably have an inherent moral value: citizens have a right to equal participation.

How are these concerns to be reconciled? Where are we to draw the line between legitimate expertise arrangements and an illegitimate expert rule at odds with democratic standards? Normatively speaking, what are proper and acceptable uses of expertise, and when do expert arrangements turn illegitimate?

The task of EPISTO is to contribute to answering such normative questions, and to shed light on the empirical characteristics of the 'fact of expertise' in an EU context. The kick-off conference included papers addressing EPISTO questions explicitly, as well as papers dealing with related problems and gathered

around 60 participants to discuss three core themes: expert rule and democratic legitimacy; the role of knowledge and expertise in EU governance; and the European Commission's use of expertise.

Epistocracy in an EU context

Cathrine Holst opened the event, which was organised around plenary speeches and several parallel sessions. Discussions around the first theme focused on implications of modern democracies' knowledge and expertise dependence for political and democratic theory, with a particular focus on epistemic approaches to deliberative democracy. Speeches and papers addressing the second theme discussed general trends and developments in the EU with regard to the role of expertise and experts in political decision-making, the implications for the EU's democratic legitimacy, and analytical strategies for studying expertise and democratic legitimacy in an EU context. The final theme was the European Commission's use of expertise, and its expert group system in particular.

Knowledge and power in democracies

As part of the plenary sessions, **John Parkinson** (University of Warwick) discussed knowledge and power in deliberative systems, and **Fabienne Peter** (University of Warwick) elaborated on the epistemic circumstances of democracy. **Christina Lafont** (Northwestern University) rounded up the first day with an analysis of deliberative polls, asking whether











From left: Christina Lafont, Fabienne Peter, Deirdre Curtin, Bryan Wynne and Cathrine Holst

they should shape public policy. **Deirdre Curtin** (University of Amsterdam) kicked off the second day by outlining the challenges for an information democracy'. **Bryan Wynne** (Lancaster University/University of Oslo) held the last plenary speech, asking 'if Europe is an epistemic question, why is scientism a dominant answer?'

Multi-disciplinary approaches

Eight parallel sessions allowed for the discussion of numerous research papers by scholars coming from different disciplines; political science, philosophy, law, sociology, and science studies. John Moodie (ARENA) and Cathrine Holst investigated the European Commission's justifications for democratizing expertise, examining the way in which the Commission has formally responded to the need to 'democratise' expertise through the development of a more open and transparent expert group system. They distinguished between a democratic justification, an epistemic justification and an effectiveness justification for giving privilege to expertise and expert knowledge in EU decision-making, and argued that the Commission's reliance on these different justifications reflects a conflicting institutional environment and competing normative pressures. Holst also presented a paper with Anders Molander (Oslo

and Akershus University College) on the conditions for the legitimacy of expert arrangements. They discussed which institutional mechanisms could contribute to ensuring that experts are really experts and use their competencies in the right way.

A number of ARENA's staff contributed with papers. Åse Gornitzka discussed societal inclusion in expert venues, with emphasis on the participation of interest groups and corporate actors in EU policy-making. Marianne Riddervold aimed to contribute to making communicative action theory more applicable in descriptive and explanatory studies of EU decision-making processes. Hans-Jörg Trenz and Espen D. H. Olsen discussed how deliberative experiments taking place in a transnational and pluri-lingual setting can claim to generate democratic legitimacy. Erik O. Eriksen looked at the interface between expertise and participation. In light of the proliferation of depoliticised bodies he proposed strategies for remedving legitimacy deficits. Asimina Michailidou presented the case for a 'discursive representation' approach of epistocracy in times of crisis. Her aim was to understand the public legitimacy of euro-crisis epistocracy.

The conference proceedings were published as ARENA report 1/14: 'Expertise and Democracy', edited by Cathrine Holst.

Representation in multi-level governance

The Research Programme on Democracy organised the 4th International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice in Oslo on 10-11 January 2013. This year's conference had the title 'Problems of Representation in Modern Democracies'. Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum are members of the organising committee of the University of Oslo's interfaculty research programme.

As in previous years, the conference was inter-disciplinary, with humanities, social sciences and law as the primary disciplines. The event combined plenary sessions and panels on topics such as representation in the arts, constitutional change, the Norwegian Parliament, democracy building and direct representation. **Hans-Jörg Trenz** (ARENA/University of Copenhagen) was one of three keynote speakers. His contribution addressed 'mediated representative politics' and discussed the euro crisis, the 'return of the public', and the politicisation of the EU system of political representation.

Workshop on representation

As part of the conference, **John Erik Fossum** and Trenz convened the workshop 'Representation in multi-level governance'.

Increased globalization, Europeanisation and interstate interaction and imbrication introduce new decision-making arenas (such as the EU) that alter or reconfigure relationships among executives,

experts and legislators. These processes have deep implications for the way in which representation is structured, for the nature of constituency, for patterns of authorisation and accountability and for the relationship between elected and non-elected representatives. They raise questions about our established conception of representative democracy and of how we understand the very notion of representation. Important efforts at reconsidering representation are underway. They open up new avenues of thinking about representation, what it is and what it signifies, not only in political but also in cultural and aesthetic terms.

The workshop saw contributions by a number of external researchers as well as several ARENA researchers. **John Erik Fossum** discussed the challenge of representation in the EU. **Christopher Lord** proposed an experimental and deliberative approach to democratic auditing. **Ian Cooper** investigated the role of national parliaments in an EU 'founded on representative democracy'.

Asimina Michailidou presented a paper co-authored with Hans-Jörg Trenz on mediatised representative politics in the EU, asking if we see a move towards audience democracy. **Espen D. H. Olsen** presented another paper co-authored with Hans-Jörg Trenz, on deliberative experiments and democratic legitimacy.

Differentiated integration

ARENA's **Christopher Lord** and guest researcher **Benjamin Leruth** organised a workshop at ARENA on 11-12 November 2013, gathering contributors to a forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* to discuss different visions of Differentiated Integration (DI).

The aim was to contribute towards a clear, complete and concise definition of the notion of DI. Often employed interchangeably with the notion of 'flexible integration', diverging views on its nature have led to the emergence of various definitions and, to some extent, a semantic confusion. A lack of consensus characterizes the academic literature; some authors even avoid putting an explicit definition on the term. Among the questions addressed were if DI should be considered as a process, a concept, a system, or a theory; if DI should be considered as a temporary or a well-established phenomenon; as well as the causes and effects of differentiated integration.

Frank Schimmelfennig (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich) and Dirk Leuffen (University of Konstanz) looked at patterns and explanations of the EU as a system of differentiated integration in a paper co-authored with Berthold Rittberger. They distinguished two types of differentiation in their theory: vertical (time dimension) and horizontal (territorial dimension) differentiation. John Erik Fossum (ARENA) investigated the forms and shapes of EU differentiation in the realm of representative democracy, and what differentiation entails for the

theory and the practice of democracy.

Christopher Lord stressed the need to develop a normative analysis of differentiated integration that makes explicit use of philosophical methods to identify where DI may need justification, and by what standards.

Alex Warleigh-Lack (University of Surrey) examined three global regions beyond Europe (ASEAN, NAFTA and APEC) which have used forms of differentiated integration as a means to solve problems and/or export their policy preferences, ideals and bargains to key external actors. Sieglinde Gstöhl (College of Europe, Bruges) asked how and to what extent the EU is expanding its economic community to its neighbouring countries and under what conditions this allows for differentiated integration.

Benjamin Leruth (University of Edinburgh) presented a comparative analysis to understand why Nordic governments have adopted various positions on differentiated European integration, and why some cabinets composed of Eurosceptic parties still decided to deepen their country's relationship with the EU. Tatiana Fumasoli, Åse Gornitzka (both ARENA) and Benjamin Leruth elaborated on the relevance of the concept 'multilevel differentiation' for explaining the dynamics of European integration within societal sectors, providing an analytical framework to be employed in the specific case of the emergence of the European Research Area (ERA).

Complex diversity

The interdisciplinary, comparative research programme RECODE aims to explore to what extent the processes of transnationalisation, migration, religious mobilisation and cultural differentiation entail a new configuration of social conflict in post-industrial societies.

ARENA's **John Erik Fossum** co-organised the 2013 RECODE Summer School on 'The Challenge of Complex Diversity: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives from Europe and Canada' at University College Dublin on 10-14 June 2013.

The summer school examined the challenge of complex diversity, through theoretical and empirical perspectives from Europe and Canada. The week-long programme consisted of lectures and seminars on the following four thematic areas: Linguistic diversity; de-territorialized diversity; religious diversity; and solidarity beyond the nation state.

Participating lecturers and seminar leaders included Gianni D'Amato (University of Neuchâtel), Rainer Bauböck (EUI, Florence), Anette Borchorst (Aalborg University), Susanne Brauer (Paulus-Akademie Zürich), Linda Cardinal (University of Ottawa), John Erik Fossum (ARENA), Alain Gagnon (UQAM), François Grin (University of Geneva), Riva Kastoryano (CNRS-CERI-Sciences Po, Paris), Peter A. Kraus (University of Augsburg), Jocelyn Maclure (Laval University), Michel Seymour (U. Montréal), and Birte Siim (Aalborg University).

Europe's prolonged crisis

The contributors to the book *Europe's prolonged* crisis: The making or the unmaking of a political Union, edited by **Hans-Jörg Trenz** (ARENA/University of Copenhagen), Virginie Guiraudon (Sciences Po Paris) and Carlo Ruzza (University of Leicester/University of Trento), were invited to ARENA on 5 December 2013 to discuss their contributions to the forthcoming volume.

The book's main objective is to investigate the multiple dimensions of the current crisis in Europe and the ways it challenges the sustainability of political order at national, European and global level from a perspective of political sociology. The contributions use different empirical angles to analyse how the current crisis affects patterns of social exclusion and conflict, but also how it activates social networks and new forms of solidarity and social cohesion, locally and transnationally.

A number of contributions from ARENA researchers were discussed at the workshop. Hans Jörg Trenz and Asimina Michailidou presented a paper on the European crisis in the media, discussing media autonomy, public perceptions and new forms of political engagement. John Erik Fossum analysed the challenges posed by the crisis for EU representative democracy. Espen D. H. Olsen discussed crisis resilience through EU citizenship, and Mai'a K. Davis Cross analysed the EU crises and the international media'.

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.

29 January 2013

Driven by Expertise or Pursuing Interests? The Internal Operation of EU Agencies

Christoph Ossege, Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences

12 February 2013

A Yellow Card for the Striker How National Parliaments Defeated an EU Regulation on the Right to Strike

Ian Cooper, ARENA

19 March 2013

Absent Yet Popular?

Sofia Vasilopoulou, University of York

16 April 2013

Negotiating a New World Order The EU and Multilateral Diplomacy at a Time of Change

Ole Elgström, Lund University

30 April 2013

Using International Law in the Euro Crisis Causes and Consequences

Bruno de Witte, European University Institute

14 May 2013

Emergency Europe

Jonathan White, London School of Economics and Political Science

28 May 2013

European Communion in Global Politics Ian Manners, University of Copenhagen

27 August 2013

Interdependence Challenges Technocratic and Democratic Policies **Richard Rose**, University of Strathclyde.

22 October 2013

The Politics of Crisis in Europe Integrational Panic and the Role of the Media

Mai'a K. Davis Cross, ARENA







From the Tuesday Seminar with Ian Manners on 28 May 2013

29 October 2013

Industry and European Integration: Institutional Feedback Trumping National Economic Power Elin Lerum Boasson, Center for International

Climate and Environmental Research - Oslo

5 November 2013

A Reticent Court?
Policy Objectives and the Court of Justice
Marise Cremona, European University Institute

12 November 2013

Circles and Hemispheres Differentiated Integration in Europe

Frank Schimmelfennig, Centre for Comparative and International Studies at ETH Zurich

26 November 2013

The Quality of Deliberation in Two Committees of the European Parliament: The Neglected Influence of the Situational Context and the Policymaking Stage

Léa Roger, Helmut Schmidt University

3 December 2013

Holding EU Experts to Account The Case of Economic Expertise

Cathrine Holst, ARENA

10 December 2013

Who is Making the Rules? Bureaucratic Influence on Formal Rule-making in Multi-institutional Settings

Kutsal Yesilkagit, Utrecht University School of Governance

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.

- Cooper, Ian, 'The Role of National Parliaments in a European Union: Founded on Representative Democracy', paper presented at the 4th International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, Oslo, 10–11 January 2013.
- 'Early Reflections on the Early Warning Mechanism: Assessing National Parliaments' Influence On EU Legislation After Lisbon', paper presented at the 20th International Conference of Europeanists 'Crisis and Contingency: States of (In)stability', Amsterdam, 25–27 July 2013.
- 'Early Reflections on the Early Warning Mechanism: Assessing National Parliaments' Influence on EU Legislation after Lisbon', paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference, Baltimore, 9–11 May 2013.
- 'A Yellow Card for the Striker: How National Parliaments Defeated EU Strikes Regulation', paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference, Baltimore, 9–11 May 2013.
- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'Public Diplomacy & Smart Power: The Case of Europe', paper presented at

- the Global Governance & Diplomacy Public Speaker Series at Oxford University, Oxford, 6 February 2013.
- "Common Security and Defence Policy", Visiting Professor lectures at Sciences Po, Grenoble, 1–30 March 2013.
- 'EU Diplomats and Crises: Invisible or Inconsequential?', paper presented at the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 3–6 April 2013.
- 'Norm Resistance and the European Defence Agency', paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference, Baltimore, 9–11 May 2013.
- "The Eurozone Crisis and the Future of CSDP",
 paper presented at the European Union Studies
 Association (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference,
 Baltimore, 9–11 May 2013.
- 'The Military Dimension of European Security: An
 Epistemic Community Approach', paper presented at the European Union Studies Association
 (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference, Baltimore, 9–11
 May 2013.

- 'The Public Diplomacy Role of the EEAS', guest lecture at the European Integration Summer School, University of Agder, 30 July 2013.
- 'Epistemic Communities and Internal Security Integration', paper presented at the 75th Anniversary Conference of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs 'Global Power Shifts?', Stockholm, 28–30 August 2013.
- 'Epistemic Communities and European Security Integration', Keynote speech delivered at the Belgrade Security Forum conference, Belgrade, 19–21 September 2013.
- 'The EU as a Military Soft Power', paper presented at the Joint Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section, and Independent Schools Association of the Central States, Washington DC, 4–6 October 2013.
- 'European Foreign Policy and Security', guest lecture at Princeton University, 7 October 2013.
- 'The Public Diplomacy Role of the EEAS: Crafting a Resilient Image for Europe', paper presented at the workshop 'European Diplomacy post-Westphalia and the European External Action Service: Taking Stock and Looking Forward', London School of Economics and Political Science, 19–20 November 2013.

- Egeberg, Morten, 'A not so Technocratic Executive? Observations on the Everyday Interaction between the European Commission and Parliament', paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) 7th General Conference, Bordeaux, 5–7 September 2013.
- 'People who run the European Parliament: Staff Demography and its Implications', paper presented at the High-level Seminar on Multi-level Governance 'The Missing Linkages', Northumbria University, Newcastle, 17–18 October 2013.
- Eriksen, Erik O., 'Global Governance Constrained: The View from Deliberative Institutionalism', paper presented at the Global Governance Programme, Florence, 24–26 January 2013.
- 'Reason-based Decision-making: On Deliberation and the Problem of Indeterminancy', paper presented at the conference 'Die Idee deliberativer Demokratie in der Bewährungsprobe', organised by the German Political Science Association (DVPW), Hannover, 20–22 March 2013.
- On the EU's Democratic Innovations', lecture,
 Institute of Philosophy, Johann Wolfgang Goethe
 University, Frankfurt am Main, 22 April 2013
- 'Future Democracy Beyond Westphalia: On the Political Theory of a State-less Political Union', book draft presented at the Kosmopolis-Sympo-

- sium 'Die Normativität der Europäischen Union', Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, 23 April 2013.
- 'Grunnloven som kritisk standard', presentation at 'Forum for vitenskapsteori: Hvordan forske på Grunnloven?', Oslo, 13 November 2013.
- 'Beyond Representation? On the Tension between Epistocracy and Democracy', paper presented at the 3rd ACELG Annual Conference 'Postnational Democracy Beyond Representation in the EU', Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance, 22 November 2013.
- Fossum, John Erik, 'New Representation-Deliberation Interface?, paper presented at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) 13th Biennial Conference, Baltimore, 9–11 May 2013.
- 'Demokratiets kår og forutsetninger i Europa –
 200 år etter 1814', paper presented at the conference 'Statsviterkonferansen 2013', organised by the Norwegian Political Science Association, Oslo, 23–24 May 2013.
- 'Democracy in Europe', lecture at the PhD course
 'Democracy in Europe', Comenius University,
 Bratislava, 17–19 June 2013.
- 'Still a Constitution for Europe?', paper presented at the panel 'Ways to Conceptualise EU-Disintegration', European Consortium of Political Re-

- search (ECPR) 3rd Research Sessions, University of Essex, 9–12 July 2013.
- 'On Federalism' paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) 7th General Conference, Bordeaux, 4–7 September.
- 'Subnational Parliaments in a "Multilevel Parliamentary Field": A New Deliberative Space?', paper presented at the international workshop 'Subnational Parliaments in the EU Multilevel Parliamentary System: Taking Stock of the Post-Lisbon Era', Eisenstadt, 6–9 November 2013.
- Discussant, 'Complex Diversity: The Social and Cultural Interpretations of Changing European and Global Order', EuroChallenge Opening Conference, Copenhagen, 20–21 November 2013.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, 'Academic Recruitment: The Room to Manoeuvre of Heads of Departments', paper presented at the Korporatismus als ökonomisches Gestaltungsprinzip für Universitäten (KORFU) conference 'The Dean in the University of the Future', University of Saarbrücken, 26–28 June 2013.
- 'The Role of Organizational Routines in Academic Recruitment: Strategic Devices or Institutional Constraints?', paper presented at the European Association for Institutional Research (EAIR) 35th Annual Forum 'The impact of Higher Education', Rotterdam, 28–31 August 2013.

- Balancing Excellence of Research and Relevance to Society: The Impact of European Policies on Flagship Universities', paper presented at the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) 26th Annual Conference 'The Roles of Higher Education and Research in the Fabric of Societies', Lausanne, 9–11 September 2013.
- 'Dynamics of (Dis-)integration: The Role of the European Research Council in the Emerging European Research Area', paper presented at the Higher Education: Institutional dynamics and Knowledge Cultures (HEIK) seminar, Oslo, 19 September 2013.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, Åse Gornitzka and Peter Maassen, 'System Integration and Institutional Autonomy: Resilience and Change in Reforming the Governance of the University Sector', paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) 7th General Conference, Bordeaux, 4–7 September 2013.
- Gornitzka, Åse, 'The European Institute of Innovation and Technology – the context, process and effects of establishing an unlikely institution', presentation at a Research Seminar at LH Martin Institute, University of Melbourne, 26 March 2013.
- 'European Institution-building under Inhospitable Conditions: The Case of Distributive Agencies', paper presented at the International Conference

- on Public Policy, Grenoble, 26-28 June 2013.
- Holst, Cathrine, 'Comments to Gösta Esping-Andersen', discussant, midterm conference of the Research Programme on Welfare, Working Life and Migration VAM, The Research Council of Norway, Oslo, 20 March 2013.
- 'Martha Nussbaum's Theory of Justice', guest lecture at the Faculty of Law, University of Oslo, 21 May 2013.
- 'Hva er likestilling?', paper presented at the Centre for Research on Gender Equality Seminar, Oslo, 28 May 2013.
- 'Equal Pay and Dilemmas of Justice', paper presented at the conference 'Institutional Change in Welfare State and Working Life', Åsgårdstrand, 11 June 2013.
- 'The EU Crisis and the Accountability of Economic Expertise', paper presented at the 8th Pan-European Conference on International Relations 'One International Relations or Many', Warsaw, 17–18 September 2013.
- Global Changes and Future Frameworks of Equality', paper presented at the Ida Blom Conference 'Gendered Citizenship: History, Politics and Democracy', Bergen, 14–15 October 2013.
- 'Feminist Perspectives in Science', guest lecture at

- the PhD course 'Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences', University of Oslo, 23 October 2013.
- 'Epistemic Democracy and Accountability of Expertise', paper presented at the workshop 'Factual Disagreement and Political Legitimacy', University of Copenhagen, 16–17 December 2013.
- Menéndez, Agustín José, 'The Existential Crisis of the European Union', guest lecture at European Public Law Theory Seminar, London, 5 February 2013.
- 'Democratic Legitimacy in EU Governance', paper presented at the Conference 'European Citizenship 20 Years On', Uppsala, 21–22 March 2013.
- Michailidou, Asimina, 'Online Media and Crisis: What Public Sphere Europe?', keynote lecture at the Graduate School in Social and Political Sciences, University of Milan International Conference, Milan, 10 May 2013.
- 'Rethinking Euroscepticism: How to Capture the Spirit of Online Contestation', paper presented at the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) 43rd Annual Conference, Leeds, 2–4 September 2013.
- "The Germans are Back: Euroscepticism and Anti-Germanism in Crisis-stricken Greece', paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) 7th General Conference, Bordeaux, 4-7 September 2013

- 'Communicating the EU: Social Media, Crisis and the Elusive Public', guest lecture at the Department of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen, 18 November 2013.
- Riddervold, Marianne and Meng-Hsuan Chou, 'How the Commission Influences EU Foreign Policy', paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) 7th General Conference, Bordeaux, 4–7 September.
- Rosén, Guri, 'In for a Penny, in for a Pound?', paper presented at the panel 'The European Parliament as an International Actor', Festival d'Europa, Florence, 8 May 2013.
- Saltnes, Johanne Døhlie, 'The EU's Foreign Policy Instruments: Assessing Incoherency in the EU's Implementation of Aid Conditionality', paper presented at the 5th European Graduate Network Conference, London School of Economics and Political Science, 24–27 March 2013.
- 'The EU's Human Rights Policy: Unpacking the Literature on the EU's Implementation of Aid Conditionality', paper presented at the seminar 'EU's Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective', Freie Universität Berlin, 18–19 April 2013.
- Seibicke, Helena, 'Argumentation and Influence: A Deliberative Approach to Interest Group Advocacy in EU Policy-making', paper presented at the

- conference 'Influencing EU Politics: Mobilization and Representation of European Civil Society', Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen, 29 May–1 June 2013.
- Sjursen, Helene, 'Overcoming the Bias of Sovereignty? Integration, Stability and Democracy in Foreign and Security Policy in Times of Crisis', paper presented at the workshop 'The Euro Crisis A Catalyst for Change? Examining the Effects of the Financial Crisis in European Union Policy', Stockholm University, 18–19 April 2013.
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Qualitative Methods in European Identity Research', lecture at the Young Scholars School 'European Identity', University of Jena, 19–21 March 2013.
- 'Mediated Representative Politics: The Euro-crisis and the Politicization of the EU', paper presented at the American Sociological Association General Conference, New York, 9–12 August 2013.
- 'Activating European Citizenship in Times of Crisis: From Elite Project to New Redistributive Struggles', paper presented at the European Sociological Association's Biannual Conference, Turin, 27 August—1 September 2013.
- 'Europe after Crisis: The Making or the Unmaking of a Political Union?', paper presented at the conference 'Whither Europe? European Integration in

- Transformation', Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 19–20 September 2013.
- 'Media Representations of Crisis in Europe', lecture at the Faculty of Sociology, University of Bern, 14 November 2013.
- Vestlund, Nina M., 'EU Commission-Agency Relationships: Governing the European Medicines Agency?', paper presented at the workshop 'European and Transnational Rulemaking', University of Amsterdam Jean Monnet Chair in European and Transnational Governance and Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance (ACELG), Amsterdam, 1–5 July 2013.
- 'EU Commission-Agency Relations: Governing the European Medicines Agency?', paper presented at the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) 43rd Annual Conference, Leeds, 2–4 September 2013.
- 'Exploring EU Commission-Agency Relationship: Partnership or Parenthood?', paper presented at the European Group for Public Administration (EGPA) Annual Conference, Edinburgh, 11–12 September 2013.

Outreach



Financial crisis = political chaos?

Southern Europe has been severely struck by the financial crisis, in social as well as political terms. How has the crisis been handled, and could it have been done differently? These questions were discussed at an open seminar staged by ARENA.

ARENA organised the seminar 'Financial crisis = political chaos?' on 18 September 2013 as part of National Science Week. The event gathered interested citizens, practitioners, journalists, students and academics at the House of Literature in Oslo. The panellists discussed what could have been done differently in handling the current financial crisis and pointed to the centralisation of power as one of the political consequences of the crisis.

A divided Europe

In the opening note ARENA director **Erik O. Eriksen** emphasized that the crisis has divided Europe and reshaped the political landscape. The rich countries are dictating the poorer ones by imposing an austerity cure to regain the trust of the financial industries, he claimed.

Blaming and intimidation

Asimina Michailidou (ARENA), discussed the crisis and change in Greece, asking 'what price for democracy?' She explained that the 'fatal blow' to democratic standards in Greece originates from the way in which the counter-measures to the crisis have

been justified to the public. For instance, common tactics include intimidation of the Greek people ('if we don't take these measures, chaos will ensue') and transposing of the blame (and thus the responsibility) for the crisis on society as a whole.

Five overlapping crises

Agustín José Menéndez (University of León/ARE-NA) emphasized that there are five overlapping crises: economic, financial, fiscal, macroeconomic, and political crises. He argued that there has been a major change in the EU – introduction of new competencies and centralisation of power to the European Central Bank, European Council and to the Commissioner of Economic and Monetary Affairs. The member states are left with only two leverages to rebalance the economy – labour and tax policy, which in reality translates into reduction of salaries and brings social misery.

Too much, too soon

Bent Sofus Tranøy (Hedmark University College/ Oslo School of Management), noted that there was 'too much and too soon' austerity without enough focus on how the cuts should be distributed. This has resulted in an unfortunate effect of reduced demand as those who have the least have been hit hardest by the austerity measures. He remarked that the current euro crisis is without precedent, which makes it difficult to draw parallels with previous crises, except





Agustín José Menéndez, Asimina Michailidou and Bent Sofus Tranøy at the House of Literature

perhaps with the Great Depression of the 1930s. He concluded that given the ineffective counter-crisis 'recipe' that is currently being followed, it is inevitable that the euro currency area will undergo reforms and the debts of the weaker members will be further restructured or waived altogether.

Germany's role

During the discussion several questions were raised regarding Germany's role. It was pointed out that it is important to the Eurozone that Germany remains committed to it. Not only internal factors or dynamics inside the Eurozone are important to Germany, but also the global context: Germany is a major exporter. At the same time, Tranøy remarked, the euro crisis is

holding the German nominal exchange rate low - if Germany had been outside the Eurozone, Germany's economic strength would have made exports more expensive.

The role of ideas

The panel was also asked to reflect upon the economic philosophy and the role of ideas, including the role of neo-liberalism. Commenting upon the ideological dimension, the panel participants were mainly puzzled by the persistent belief in neo-liberalism and its key component – the conviction that there exist economic rational actors.

Norway's Constitution in international perspective

The bicentennial celebration of the Norwegian Constitution in 2014 represents an important milestone and an opportunity to reflect on the role and status of the constitution and of democracy. ARENA invited to a one-day seminar for teachers with a focus on international perspectives.

On 25 October 2013, **John Erik Fossum** (ARENA) in cooperation with **Alf Tomas Tønnessen** (American Studies Association of Norway, ASANOR) organised the seminar 'Grunnloven i internasjonalt perspektiv' [The Norwegian Constitution in international perspective]. The seminar was aimed at teachers of social studies and history who wanted to learn more about the effects of Norway's affiliation with the EU for Norwegian constitutional democracy, and about the ideas underlying the world's second oldest written constitution still in existence, ahead of the 2014 celebrations.

The auditorium in Domus Media was filled with teachers from middle and upper secondary schools in Southern Norway, but also participants from the Norwegian Parliament, ministries, social partners and the academic community were among the audience.

Ideas that founded the constitution

The first part of the seminar focused on the history of ideas in the making of the Norwegian Constitution and the historical context in which it occurred. **Ola**

Mestad (Centre for European Law, University of Oslo), who is the leader of the Norwegian Research Council's committee on the Constitution's bicentennial, looked specifically at the role models for Eidsvoll and where their ideas came from.

Bård Frydenlund (Institute of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo) compared liberation and constitutional processes in the US and Norway. In line with Mestad, he pointed to the US Constitution and state laws as an inspiration for Norway. These processes however differed in several areas, including the terms of the revolutions. Ole O. Moen, Professor Emeritus of North American Studies at the University of Oslo and former vice president of ASANOR, took a different approach when he looked at the current American political system and asked whether the United States remains a major source of inspiration.

2013 saw the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage. **Helga Hernes** (Peace Research Institute Oslo) showed that the same arguments were used in advance of 1913 and in the 1970s, when women's rights were fully recognised. She classified them into three categories: justice arguments, resource arguments and interest arguments.

Norway's EU affiliation

The second part of the seminar discussed the effects of Norway's association with the EU for Norwegian constitutional democracy. **Christoffer C. Erik-**







John Erik Fossum, Erik O. Eriksen and Ola Mestad discussing the Norwegian Constitution

sen (Department of Public Law, University of Oslo) looked at whether the way Norway relates to the EU has set the Constitution aside. Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA) picked up this thread by emphasizing that the constitution must not only be seen formally, but as an expression of a particular 'constitutional idea'. He described Norway's relations with the EU as 'democratic self-harm' and argued that the EEA Agreement is in breach with the constitutional idea of self rule, as Norwegian citizens are subject to laws on which they have no influence.

John Erik Fossum focussed on the parliamentary chain, and emphasized that if people are not linked to the political system they can no longer be considered as autonomous. The lack of political representation in the EU is highly problematic for Norway, he concluded, as this entails a loss of sovereignty comparable to pre-democratic representation.

The Norwegian paradox

The hall was filled with an enthusiastic audience and the debate afterwards revolved around alternative forms of association between Norway and the EU and democratic aspects of the EU.

The seminar was organized within the framework of the project 'The Norwegian Constitution in a European Context' (NORCONE). The topics discussed at the seminar's second part are studied in depth in the book *The Norwegian Paradox* (in Norwegian), edited by Eriksen and Fossum, which was released in January 2014.

Exit, Voice and Loyalty

In cooperation with The Freedom of Expression Foundation Oslo (Fritt Ord), ARENA organised two seminars at the House of Literature in the autumn of 2013 on the crises of democracy. The seminar series was entitled 'Exit, Voice, and Loyalty'.

Intellectuals and the crisis of democracy

Prof. **Jeremy Adelman** (Princeton University) held the public lecture 'Intellectuals and the crisis of democracy in the 20th century: The odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman' on 24 October 2013.

Adelman presented the book *Wordly Philosopher*, his intellectual biography of the writer and economist Albert O. Hirschman. He started by presenting the challenge of piecing together the political economist and intellectual historian with a century of struggles. Adelman characterized Hirschman as a pioneer and important social science theorist.

Hirschman is perhaps best known for the book *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (1970), which was deeply formed by Hirschman's own life and experiences as an intellectual in 20th-century Europe. Among other things the book is a strong call for intellectuals to use their voice in times of crisis.

John Erik Fossum (ARENA) and **Bernt Hagtvet** (Department of Political Science, University of Oslo) acted as commentators. They both noted the relevance of Hirschman's life and work to the analysis of crises of democracy, and also how important Hirschman was as a source of inspiration to Stein Rokkan.

Building on Rokkan's application of Hirschman's framework, Fossum added 'entry' as a fourth category and then went on to note that the nation state can be considered as a distinct constellation of exit, entry, voice and loyalty. The framework is useful to the analysis of crisis but also to how crises may be handled and positive changes detected. For one, Fossum argued that this conceptual framework can be unpacked and further developed so as to understand cosmopolitan constellations and cosmopolitanisation processes in more general.

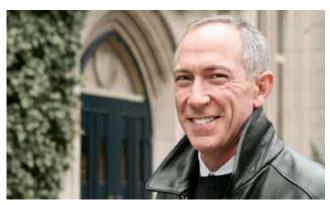
Rethinking Europe

The future of European integration formed the overarching theme of the lecture by Prof. **Timothy Garton Ash** (Oxford University) on 12 November 2013.

Garton Ash explained European integration using the analogy of the 'Nike-swoosh' to describe the trajectory from 1913 to 2013. The trajectory went down in the first part of the 20th century but from the late 1940s it went steadily up, culminating in EU enlargement and in the attempt to make a constitutional treaty. At the top of the trajectory we find ourselves confronted with a question mark concerning the future of European integration. He proposed to look at the great drivers of European integration



Timothy Garton Ash held the lecture 'Rethinking Europe'



Jeremy Adelman held a lecture on Hirschmann's legacy

since the late 1940s and asked where they are now, and whether they have been weakened or have even disappeared. He suggested four drivers, with personal memory of historic evils being the single most important one. It is followed by the Cold War and Germany's transformation post-World War II.

Scenarios out of the crisis

Garton Ash then sketched five possible scenarios (and their caveats) out of this existential crisis. Firstly, there could be direct elections of the Commission president. He argued, however, that this would do little to seriously change discontented voter minds. Secondly, there could be a genuine constitutional debate and treaty. Garton Ash argued that it will become essential to explain the system with some sort of constitutional document in the future but not today. Thirdly, there have been calls for more 'Europe from below'. European citizen movements could inject some spirit, however as he pointed out, one cannot organize Europe from below from above. Fourthly, the Habermasian notion of a public sphere is an interesting possibility. Garton Ash argued that we have elements of this online but for the wider public media is still nationalist, and that the media has

not developed alongside European integration. Fifth, he stated the need for a new narrative. Garton Ash concluded that he is left with optimism of the will but pessimism of intellect. In his view, the EU continues to exist as a complex structure but the

Public intellectuals as controversial analysts

reality will increasingly be shaped elsewhere.

Cathrine Holst (ARENA) raised three main points as commentator. The first concerned the intellectual and rhetorical climate in which we are to re-think Europe, and the role of realism in the current 'Zeitgeist'. She then raised the question whether the problem of Europe is one of political leadership. Finally, she brought up the role of public intellectuals and their potentially controversial role in analysing the crisis.

Christopher Lord's (ARENA) comments concerned the fiscal compact and its consequences for EU member states. He argued that Europe cannot just be rethought by collectivising and constitutionalising elements of economic policy in sometimes rather coercive ways. Europe also needs to rethink concepts of good neighbourliness, fair co-operation and historic responsibility for shared policies, and past mistakes, in order to find a way forward.

Escaping the crisis

ARENA invited to a public debate at the House of Literature on 5 December 2013 to discuss findings from a project on crisis-induced migration, as well as hearing from journalists, researchers and representatives from civil society with close experience of the European crisis and its consequences.

The number of EU citizens migrating to other European countries has risen considerably since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008. The project 'The European crisis and the citizens' investigates the experiences of EU migrants in Norway, as well as what they know about their rights. Rather than focusing on numbers, the researchers look into the human face of the crisis, and their findings were presented to a large audience in Oslo.

Broken expectations

Espen D. H. Olsen (ARENA) emphasized that Norway is seen as a prosperous country, but that migrants experience difficulties in becoming integrated in the Norwegian labour market. Based on interviews with state officials and civil society, he pointed to some even being exploited by employers in this vulnerable phase. EU migrants prove to be a difficult category for state agencies such as NAV (the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration), Olsen further claimed. EU citizens can travel freely also to the EEA country Norway. But they encounter lan-

guage problems, and they have no right to language education as opposed to e.g. refugees. Many also find the Norwegian system difficult to navigate.

'A lot of information is available from state authorities as to what to do, their rights, where to go etc.', **Asimina Michailidou** (ARENA) explained. But the project reveals that when meeting with state officials in person, many either get contradictory information, or not very helpful attitudes.

Migrants leave their jobs to come to Norway

Among the most surprising findings in Michailidou's view, was that most of the migrants were actually employed in their home country when deciding to come to Norway. She explained this with the situation in some Southern European countries being so bad that many people are not paid for their job, or at least not enough to survive. The study further reveals that although most people are aware of their rights as EU citizens to free movement and to look for a job, not everyone is aware of this. More worrying to Michailidou, however, was that not everyone is aware of her/his rights to protection, such as welfare and health services, as well as the right to establish a business.

Party-driven media debate

The project has also analysed how Norwegian media portray EU migrants. Here, the researchers found that it is not the media but political parties who drive the agenda, and they tend to focus on the economic consequences of migration. Articles typically address





An eganged audience asked questions to the panel: Asimina Michailidou, Espen Olsen, Hege Moe Eriksen and Line Eldring

how EU migrants exploit the Norwegian system or how the welfare system may collapse. At the same time, the benefits for the economy of extra workforce are also acknowledged.

Migrants from the East vs. South

Line Eldring (Fafo) was concerned that the financial crisis in Europe has been seriously overlooked in the Norwegian debate. But although the percentage increase from Southern European countries has been huge since 2008, a greater number of migrants still come from Eastern European countries, she reminded. Eldring also suggested that Norway not being an EU member might affect the knowledge among EU citizens about their rights.

The lost generation

Former Europe correspondent for the Norwegian Broadcasting (NRK), Hege Moe Eriksen, painted a bleak picture of the current situation. Young people in Southern Europe are no longer seen as a progress for their country. They are slowly becoming the lost generation of Europe', she warned. She questioned if we are really capable of grasping the seriousness of the problems, with alarmingly high figures of unemployment. And the problem is not only one of extreme numbers, she emphasized, but also of persistency. In the long term, the brain drain from crisis-struck countries can be devastating for countries in need of innovation to make a path forward, she concluded.

Vulnerable citizens from the South

Morten Stensberg, leader of Caritas' infocentre for labour migrants in Oslo started by asking why not many more people are coming to Norway. Nearly 50 per cent of those coming to Caritas are on the move from the European crisis, and they do not come to benefit from the Norwegian welfare system. He had met people with bad contracts, bad housing conditions, and who are not being paid the wages they have been promised. Immigrants from Southern Europe are more vulnerable than those from Eastern Europe. he underlined, as they do not come because we need them, but because they need us to create a better future.

The seriousness of the crisis

The theme sparked a lot of debate, and the questions asked by the audience displayed a variety of views. The five panelists engaged in discussions on the gravity and seriousness of the crisis, the comparability of groups and the experiences of migrants in Norway.

Book launches

Contesting Europe

With the European parliamentary elections just one year ahead, can we expect Euroscepticism to become dominant? Are there any lessons to be learned from the 2009 campaign? ARENA invited to a book launch of *Contesting Europe: Exploring Euroscepticism in Online Media Coverage* with **Asimina Michailidou** and **Hans-Jörg Trenz** (co-author Pieter de Wilde) on 10 October 2013.

Analysing public debates prior to the 2009 elections to the European Parliament (EP), the authors demonstrate how elections are turned into a moment of critical reflection about the EU as a political entity. The new EP will have extended rights and competences, and will for the first time elect the EU executives. The party coalitions will have the opportunity to nominate candidates for the Commission presidency and a much more personalized election campaign will probably be the result. This will confirm a trend of change over time in the character of EP elections, from being secondary in the first years towards becoming primary elections. EP elections have become increasingly contested by political parties, and voters are mobilised not only on domestic issues but increasingly also on European choices.

However, the more EP elections have become publicly debated, the more voters have also turned away from Europe. Not only has the voter turnout been in steady decline, Euroscepticism has also increasingly gained ground, as many voters opt for protest vote or

wish to express their fundamental opposition with the EU political system. The authors expect the 2014 elections to become more heavily politicisised than ever.

Communicating Europe

Mai'a K. Davis Cross co-organised a seminar at the Committee of the Regions in Brussels on 21 October 2013, promoting her new co-edited book (with Jan Melissen) *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*. The seminar was directed at policy makers, Brussels-based officials, media, academics and students with an interest for European public diplomacy.

Main topics for discussion with the public were European soft power, sub-national actors' public diplomacy, and challenges of member states and the European External Action Service in the field of European public diplomacy.

Cross and Melissen argued that the EU devotes too much of its public diplomacy resources to communicating with its own citizens. As far as the EU does engage with with the rest of the world, communication is too often based on one-way informational practices rather than true dialogue. They presented ideas as to how the EU communication with external publics could be improved and indeed take center stage. Europe, and particularly the EU, is often misunderstood and seen in unnecessarily negative terms, they claim. The Eurozone crisis exacerbated the existing image of prevailing self-doubt.

It is important to bridge the existing gap between

the intra-EU and international communication spheres. Communicating Europe in other parts of the world will become increasingly important to Europeans and to business interests. Member-state governments should be more conscious of the strengths of Europe's pluralistic and multi-level governance environment. Sharing excellence in public diplomacy practices is in their own interest as well as of other international actors in Europe.

See also Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen, 'Communicating Europe: At Home in Tomorrow's World', Clingendael Policy Brief 24, October 2013.

Practices of inter-parliamentary coordination

What role do and could national parliaments of EU member states play in the EU framework? How do the Treaty of Lisbon reforms, which aim to generate more influence for national parliaments in EU decision-making processes, work in practice?

John Erik Fossum presented the co-edited volume (with Ben Crum) Practices of inter-parliamentary coordination in international politics: The European Union and beyond at the 7th ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux on 4-7 September 2013. The book includes contributions from eighteen European political scientists who provide a thorough examination of these issues.

Representation through national parliaments is one of two channels for representative bodies to influence EU decision-making, the other channel running though the European Parliament. National parliaments play an indispensable role in the EU's multilevel configuration. Even if decision-making powers are shifted to the EU level, national parliaments remain the main repository of political allegiance and the focal point for democratic will-formation.

National parliaments are however challenged by internationalisation, a process which privileges executives and experts. In this context, national parliamentarians increasingly engage in inter-parliamentary coordination. Through cooperation they can determine the direction of EU politics. The big question is, however, to determine how parliaments can effectively collude to (re-)gain power in the EU rather than being played off against each other.

Among the book's findings are that two conditions need to be met for the successful influence of national parliaments on EU decisions. First, some of the stronger parliaments must be involved, where strength may reflect both the size of the member state involved and the EU scrutiny powers of the parliament. Second, one or more parliaments must take the lead in seeking to mobilise others.

Based on findings from the book, John Erik Fossum and Ben Crum also presented a report on the role of national parliaments in EU decision-making as Evidence for the House of Lords European Union Committee in December 2013.

The Faculty of Social Sciences 50 years

As part of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the University of Oslo's Faculty of Social Sciences, its departments and institutes moved out into a tent camp for one week. The tents were situated on the square outside the faculty building on Blindern campus on 2-6 September 2013.

ARENA's tent offered a chance for guests to test their knowledge on Europe in an online quiz 'Europaeksperten', as well as meeting with ARENA's staff to discuss European Studies research as and consulting recent publications by ARENA's staff.

The week-long celebration included a number of lectures, debates and concerts on campus. Cathrine Holst contributed with a talk on positivism, universalism and the social sciences at the event 'Kritisk samfunnsvitenskap - den gang og nå', which discussed former and current critical streams in the social sciences.

Oslo Research Fair

For the fifth year in a row, ARENA invited 9th graders to participate in the competition 'Europaeksperten' [the European expert]. This is an online quiz that tests 14-year olds' knowledge of the European Union. The purpose is to put European integration on the agenda and increase the knowledge of European issues among middle-school pupils.

There was a great variation in the themes of the quiz, which included topics such as Norway-EU relations, the EU's institutional structure, member states, economy and the euro, history, and EU in the world. The schools had been invited to participate in an online qualifying round, and the three best teams met in the live final at the Oslo Research Fair at Universitetsplassen downtown Oslo on 20 September 2013, as part of the National Science Week.

The winning team 2013 came from the class 9b at Hakadal ungdomsskole outside Oslo. They team won a prize of 25,000 NOK which is to be spent on a study trip for the whole class to Europe.

Why are we celebrating the Constitution?

The Norwegian Research Council organised a discussion at the House of Literature in Oslo on 25 October 2013, where ARENA's **John Erik Fossum** challenged the Member of the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) **Michael Tetzschner**.

Fossum asked why we should celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Norwegian Constitution in 2014, and whether the celebrations could strengthen popular support and involvement in democracy.

Fossum based his contribution on findings from his co-edited book *Det norske paradoks: Om Norges forhold til Den europeiske union* [The Norwegian paradox], which was published in January 2014. This book was developed as part of the NORCONE project, funded by the Norwegian Research Council's initiative for the Constitutional Bicentennial and investigates the democratic implications of Norway's relations with the EU.

Europe in Transition

The Norwegian Research Council organised the annual meeting for the research programme 'Europe in Transition' at their premises in Oslo on 8 November 2013.

At the information and discussion meeting two new large-scale projects financed within the programme were presented. The purpose of the projects, with start-up in December 2013, is to generate new knowledge about a Europe in crisis as well as to promote effective management of Norway's relations with Europe. ARENA's EuroDiv project was presented by Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord and Helene Sjursen (see more on the project on pp. 2-3).

The meeting served 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 dissemination 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.

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, talk at the public debate 'Europe for Tomorrow' on the transatlantic relationship, organized by students as part of a series of events on the future of the EU, Sciences Po, Grenoble, 18 March 2013.
- Egeberg, Morten, 'Sentraladministrasjonens beslutningsdilemmaer' [The government administration's decision dilemmas], paper presented at the Partnerforum seminar 'Jakten på "good governance", Oslo, 27 August 2013.
- Fossum, John Erik, 'Nasjonalisme eller føderalisme?' [Nationalism or federalism?], introduction to discussion at the Europakafé, organised by Europabevegelsen and Europeisk Ungdom, Litteraturhuset, Oslo, 26 February 2013.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, 'The Flagship Project: Analytical Framework and Preliminary Findings', presentation at the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU), Bergen, 23 May 2013.
- Gornitzka, Åse, 'Norsk høyere utdanning i et internasjonalt perspektiv'[Norwegian Higher Education in an international perspective], keynote speaker at the conference 'Ti år med

- kvalitetsreformen: Tilstanden i høyere utdanning i dag og i morgen', organised by the Ministry of Education and Research and the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, Oslo, 7 May 2013.
- Panel participation in the workshop 'Et godt kunnskapsgrunnlag for fremtidens forskninginnovasjonspolitikk?, organised by the Forfi Programme of the Norwegian Research Council, Oslo, 27 September 2013.
- 'Erasmus+ i kontekst: Om Europa og moderniseringen av høyere utdanning' [Erasmus+ in Context: Europe and the Modernisation of Higher Education], paper presented at the Erasmus Seminar 2013, organised by the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU) and the University of Nordland, Bodø, 26 November 2013.
- Holst, Cathrine, chair at the debate 'Er norsk EUtilpasning i strid med grunnloven?' [Is Norway's EU adaptation in breach with the Constitution?], organised by the European Movement, the No Movement and Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, Oslo, 29 August 2013.



Helene Sjursen at a debate on Norway's EU affiliation and its constitutional implications in August (photo: Nei til EU)



- 'Politikk for likestilling?' [Politics for equality?], panel discussion organised by Centre for Gender Research at the University of Oslo, Litteraturhuset, 4 June 2013.
- 'Har venstresiden en fremtid i Norge? [Does the Left have a future in Norway?], panel discussion organised by CIVITA, 11 December 2013.
- Commentaries to Lars Svendsen and Gunnar Aakvaag, comment at book launch organised by Universitetsforlaget, 29 January 2013.



Cathrine Holst at a breakfast seminar organised by the liberal think tank Civita in December (photo: FriFagbevegelse/LO)

Sjursen, Helene, 'Er norsk EU-tilpasning i strid med grunnloven?' [Is Norway's EU adaptation in breach with the Constitution?], panel discussion organised by the European Movement, the No Movement and Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, Litteraturhuset, Oslo, 29 August 2013.

Trondal, Jarle, 'Flernivåstyring og norsk statsstyre' [Multi-level governance and Norwegian state rule], EEA course for the municipality of Kristiansand, 4 June 2013.

— 'Statlige tilsyn på flyttefot' [National agencies on the move], presentation at the leadership conference 2013 of the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 9-10 January 2013.

Media contributions

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

- Camerons europeiske knipe [Cameron's European Pinch], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 18 January 2013
- And they didn't fall down, Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Indian Express [op-ed], 19 January 2013
- Politikk bak lukkede dører [Politics behind Closed Doors], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 28 February 2013
- Hvem sin krise er det, egentlig?, Agustín José Menéndez, Klassekampen [op-ed], 14 March 2013.
- Europas fem dype kriser, Agustín José Menéndez, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 15 March 2013
- Send inn klovnen! Agustín José Menéndez,
 Aftenposten [op-ed], 16 March 2013 (kun på nett?)
- Dalla Norvegia [From Norway], Tatiana Fumasoli [radio interview as a Swiss researcher in Norway], Rete Uno, 29 March 2013
- Ledigheten i Spania stiger til over 27 prosent, Agustín José Menéndez, e24.no [interview], 25 April 2013
- Professor frykter en omfattende sosial eksplosjon i Spania, Agustín José Menéndez, e24.no [interview], 25 April 2013

- EØS til besvær i Brussel [EEA Troubles in Brussels], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 26 April 2013
- Refleksjon i UDs favntak [Reflections in the arms of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [comment], 31 May 2013
- Debatt er demokrati, Erik Oddvar Eriksen [interview], *Levende Historie*, no. 5, May 2013
- EUs minste utvidelse kan få stor effekt, Helene Sjursen, Mandag Morgen [interview], 7 June 2013
- Debate on Norway's foreign policy with Norwegian Foreign Minister Espen Barth Eide, Helene Sjursen, NRK Dagsnytt Atten [radio debate], 10 June 2013.
- Hellas statsminister tar opp kampen med fagforeningene, Asimina Michailidou, Nyhetene24.no [interview], 13 June 2013
- Sauser sammen begreper [Jumbled Concepts], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [comment], 14 June 2013
- Et evig reformarbeid, Åse Gornitzka, Forskerforum [interview], 11 June 2013









Helene Sjursen in a radio debate with Foreign Minister Barth Eide on NRK in June and a selection of press clippings

- Historien rettferdiggjør ingenting, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten [comment], 12 June 2013
- Statsministeren gjør som Thatcher og Reagan,
 Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten [interview], 13
 June 2013
- Skyves ut i kulda, Helene Sjursen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 19 June 2013
- Barn som politisk virkemiddel, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten [comment], 20 June 2013
- Interview on Canada Day, John Erik Fossum, NRK Ekko [radio interview], 1 July 2013.
- Tror på et enda høyere EØS-tempo, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Nationen [interview], 16 July 2013
- Militante motsetninger [Militant Contradictions], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 26 July 2013

- De tapte generasjoner, Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten.no [interview], 14 August 2013
- Færre departementer? Morten Egeberg, Aftenposten [comment], 14 August 2013
- Hellas trenger mer krisehjelp, Asimina Michailidou, Dagsavisen [interview], 28 August 2013
- Eivind Smith refser Stortinget for slapp holdning til Grunnloven, Helene Sjursen [article], ABC Nyheter, 30 August 2013
- Norge mest reformivrig, Åse Gornitzka, Forskerforum [interview], 2 September 2013
- 'EU er et enormt spennede prosjekt', Erik Oddvar Eriksen [interview], *Samfunnsviteren* (Tidsskrift for samfunnsviterne), 3, September 2013
- Makt ut av Stortingets sal [Power out of Parliament],

- Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [op-ed], 6 September 2013
- Debate on the German elections and consequences for a crisis-ridden EU, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, NRK Dagsnytt Atten [radio debate], 20 September 2013
- Krisa er på ingen måte over / Får ikke mildere Merkel, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Klassekampen [interview], 24 September 2013
- Norgesmestere i kunnskap, Varingen [article], 26 September 2013
- Når de store går bilateralt [When the Great go Bilateral], Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 11 October 2013
- EU leaders should change tone when talking to rest of the world, Mai'a K. Davis Cross (with Jan Melissen), EUobserver.com [op-ed], 22 October 2013
- Debate on US surveillance of Europe, Helene Sjursen, NRK Dagsnytt Atten [radio debate], 28 October 2013
- The Norway option: Re-joining the EEA as an Alternative to Membership of the EU, John Erik Fossum, Peter Troy the Publicist Ltd [dvd/video interview] (The Bruges Group), 30 October 2013
- Forskere blir latterliggjort, Cathrine Holst, Universitas [interview], 13 November 2013
- Kunnskap til besvær [Bothersome Knowledge],

- Helene Sjursen, Morgenbladet [foreign policy analysis], 15 November 2013
- Debate on Norwegian Prime Minister Solberg's meeting with Angela Merkel, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, NRK Dagsnytt Atten [radio debate], 20 November 2013
- Sveits skal stemme over borgarløn, Tatiana Fumasoli, Framtida.no [interview], 21 November 2013
- Hellas i skvis før EU-formannskap, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Nationen [interview], 3 December 2013
- Ingen lønn å leve av, Asimina Michailidou, Klassekampen [interview], 6 December 2013
- Norsk system forvirrer, Espen D. H. Olsen, Nationen [interview], 6 December 2013
- Byråkratiet forvirrer arbeidsinnvandrere, Espen D. H. Olsen, Utrop.no [interview], 6 December 2013
- Arbeidsinnvandrere forvirret over norsk system, Espen D. H. Olsen, StockLink.no and bygg.no [interview], 5 December 2013
- Hvem er etniske nordmenn? Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Aftenposten [comment], 13 December 2013
- 'Tenkerom til venstre', Cathrine Holst, Klassekampen [op-ed], 17 December 2013.
- Debate on a European banking union, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, NRK Dagsnytt Atten [radio debate], 19 December 2013

Policy papers, commentaries and blogs

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis (with Jan Melissen). 'Communicating Europe: At Home in Tomorrow's World', Clingendael Policy Brief No. 24, October 2013.
- Fossum, John Erik, 'Grunnlovsjubileet i 2014: Feiring med bismak?', Vox publica, 19 September 2013.
- Fossum, John Erik and Ben Crum, 'The role of national parliaments in European Union decisionmaking', Evidence for the House of Lords European Union Committee, 18 December 2013.
- Holst, Cathrine, 'Frihetens apostler', Minerva, 8 February 2013.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, 'Autonomy of Universities', Interview with the Higher Education Development Association, Hedda podcast series, Episode 42, 24 October 2013.
- Todd, John, 'UKIP A very British insurgency?, British Politics Review No. 3, Summer 2013.

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'The CSDP and the Transatlantic Partnership', euforum.nl, 19 March 2013.
- Egeberg, Morten, The European Commission is a unique 'laboratory' for supranational institution building, London School of Economics European Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 20 March 2013
- Eriksen, Erik O., 'EuroTrans: Europa i endring', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog, 18 February 2013.
- 'Tyskland i fella', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 9 October 2013.
- 'Grunnlov og demokrati', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 13 December 2013.
- 'The Normativity of the European Union', Erik O. Eriksen's Blog (also published on forskning.no), 30 August 2013
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, System Integration and Institutional Autonomy in Research and Higher Education: Dynamics of Change at European, National and University Levels, Europe of Knowledge Blog, 15 September 2013.
- Grimmel, Andreas, 'The difficulties in negotiating a joint European energy policy might ultimately help drive the transition to renewable energy sources', London School of Economics European

- Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 31 July 2013
- 'The European Court of Justice's growing role in the domain of fundamental rights is not a sign of judicial activism, but political insufficiencies', London School of Economics European Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 16 August 2013.
- Leruth, Benjamin, 'Eurosceptic attitudes are widespread in the Nordic states, but there is a high level of variation between countries', London School of Economics European Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 12 February 2013
- 'Iceland's election results are not a vote against the EU', London School of Economics European Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 30 April 2013.
- Menéndez, Agustín José, 'Nationalism is the last refuge of the bankers' [also published in Norwegian as 'Nasjonalisme er finanselitens nye tilflukt'], ARENA blog post, 14 March 2013
- Moodie, John R., 'Concerns over the European Commission's use of expert groups are misplaced', London School of Economics European Politics and Policy Blog (LSE EUROPP blog), 1 October 2013.
- Michailidou, Asimina, 'Case ERT: a [failed?] Attempt

- to Manufacture Consent', ARENA blog post, 14 June 2013, also published in Greek as Ύπόθεση EPT: μια [αποτυχημένη;] προσπάθεια κατασκευής κοινωνικής συναίνεσης', Greeklish.info, 13 June 2013.
- One crisis, Two Conferences, Two Completely Different Conclusions, Greeklish.info, 22 May 2013.

Organisation and staff

Personnel and economy

As a research centre based at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo, a substantial part of ARENA's funding is allocated from the University.

The main part of the budget is financed by external funding sources. In 2013, the centre's main sources of external funding included the Research Council of Norway, the European Union's Framework Programme for Research, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs, and the Ministry of Defence.

Key figures 2013

Professors including research professors (work years)	5.2
Senior researchers and post docs (work years)	7.9
PhD fellows	7.0
MA students	4.0
Administrative staff (work years)	3.5
Total budget (NOK million)	21
Externally financed part of budget	70 %

The ARENA Board

Chair

Tor Saglie

Department of Political Science, University of Oslo

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John Mikal Kvistad

Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Inger Johanne Sand

Department of Public and International Law, University of Oslo

Carlo Thomsen

Norwegian Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs

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. lan Cooper
Research: Constitutionalism, legitimacy
and democracy in the EU, IR theory,
catholic social philosophy
Until November



Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross
Research: European foreign and security policy (CFSP/CSDP), diplomacy, public diplomacy, soft/smart power



Prof. John Erik Fossum
Research: Political theory, democracy
and constitutionalism in the EU and
Canada, Europeanisation, nation-state
transformation



Dr. Tatiana FumasoliResearch: Higher education research, management sciences, 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: EU constitution-making, European citizenship, citizen deliberation, political theory, European identity and political community



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 Siursen

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





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. 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. 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



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. 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



Guri Rosén
PhD project: 'The Role of the European
Parliament in the EU's Foreign Policy'
On leave January – May



Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger
PhD project: 'The EU in Crisis: Implications for the Common Security and Defence Policy'
From March



Johanne Døhlie Saltnes
PhD project: 'Political Conditionality in
the EU Cooperation Agreements with
the ACP States'
On leave from October



Silje H. Tørnblad
PhD project: 'The European Commissions's Expert Groups: More than Expertise?'



Helena Seibicke
PhD project: 'How Influential is the European Women's Lobby on EU
Policy-Making?'
On leave January – February



Nina Merethe Vestlund
PhD project: 'Decision-Making in a
Compound European Context'



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

Guest researchers



Michael Buess

PhD student, Department of Political Science, University of Lucerne and National Center of Competence in Research (NCCR) -Challenges to democracy in the 21st century

Project: 'European Union Agencies and Their Relationships with Their National Counterparts' April – June



Andreas Grimmel

Project: 'The Role of Law and the European Court of Justice in the European Integration Process' Stay funded by the Research Council of Norway's Yggdrasil (MOBIL-IS) programme (2012/2013) and E.ON Ruhrgas (2013) September 2012 – August 2013



Aliaksei Kazharski

PhD student, Comenius University, Bratislava

Project: European Union/Eurasian Union: A Critical Perspective on Isomorphism of Regional Institutions Stay funded by the Erasmus programme February – May



Benjamin Leruth

PhD student, University of Edinburgh Project: 'Consociational Democracy and Nordic Differentiated Integration in the European Union' Stay funded by the Research Council of Norway's Yggdrasil (MOBIL-IS) programme



Christoph Ossege

PhD student, Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences

September 2012 - September 2013

Project: 'Explaining Agency Autonomy in the EU - Is Expertise the Driving Force?'

Stay funded by E.ON Ruhrgas January – March



Astrid Wolter

PhD student, Department of Political Science, Free University Berlin Project: 'Bringing Europe to its Citizens - Exploring the Contribution of the Plenary and the Parliamentary Committees to the Communication Function of National Parliaments in EU' September – October

Administration



Marit Eldholm Research and Communications Advisor Back from leave in March



Sindre Eikrem Hervig Higher Executive Officer Until May



Ida Hjelmesæth Finance and Personnel Management On leave from September



Kent Inge Grødem Higher Executive Officer *From August*



Ragnar Lie Senior research advisor Part-time



Kadri Miard Higher Executive Officer *From September*

Research assistants

Rachelle Esterhazy

Part time from October

Philipp Friedrich

Part time August to October

Kadri Miard

Full time until September

Linn-Hege Lauvset

Part time

Helga Rognstad

Part time

Anders Sondrup

Part time April to September

Veronica Thun

Part time from August

MA students

Spring 2013



Mats Petter Sydengen
'Norges deltakelse i Schengensamarbeidet: En studie av
embetsverkets beslutningsatferd i EUs
komitesystem' [Norwegian involvement
in the Schengen Agreement: A study of
bureaucratic decision-making behavior
in the EU committee system]



Stefan Runfeldt 'An Organisational Perspective on the Staff in the European Parliament – Why and How Change Occur' Supervisor: Åse Gornitzka

Supervisor: Morten Egeberg

Fall 2013



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



Annual report 2013 ARENA Centre for European Studies

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