



**ARENA**

Centre for European Studies  
University of Oslo

**Annual report**  
**2015**



# Introduction

ARENA Centre for European Studies is an internationally regarded research centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oslo. The centre conducts theoretically oriented, empirically informed basic research on the dynamics of the evolving European political order. Our research is organised along four key dimensions of European political order: the democratic dimension; the EU's executive dimension; the knowledge dimension and the external dimension.

This report extensively outlines ARENA's activities in 2015, which proved a remarkable year in several regards.

The 2015 publication rate exceeded that of previous years. Our staff continuously succeed in disseminating high-level research through peer-reviewed publications. Amongst these were two special issues of academic journals and the *Palgrave Handbook of the European Administrative System*. Against the backdrop of the upcoming Brexit referendum, the book *The European Union's Non-members* also gained increased relevance outside academia.

Moreover, in stark competition, ARENA succeeded in attracting several new project grants. The GLOBUS project funded by the EU's Horizon 2020 is one of the most extensive ones in ARENA's history. The project is led by Helene Sjørusen and will analyse the concept of global justice and examine the EU's role as a global actor. It brings together expertise from eight partner universities worldwide and will be launched in 2016. Another project that won through in 2015 is Cathrine Holst and Johan Christensen's EUREX project, which is to assess the role of expertise in policy-making. Funded by the Research Council of Norway, EUREX will also start in 2016.

ARENA's participation in the international research networks ANTERO, PACO and TARN all commenced in 2015, and we are looking forward to fruitful partnerships in the years to come.

Last, but certainly not least, Professor Emeritus Johan P. Olsen was elected fellow of the US National Academy of Public Administration. This is a recognition of ARENA's founder's outstanding record of public administration scholarship.



Oslo, June 2016  
Prof. Erik O. Eriksen  
ARENA Director



# Content

## Research projects

EuroDiv .....	2
EPISTO .....	4
FLAGSHIP .....	6
Other projects .....	8

## Publications

New books .....	14
Publications 2011-2015 .....	19
Special issues .....	20
Journal articles .....	22
Book chapters .....	24
ARENA Reports .....	26
ARENA Working Papers .....	28
Other publications .....	29

## Events

The Meaning of Partisanship .....	32
Security and Governance in the Globalised Arctic .....	32
ANTERO workshop .....	33
Public defences .....	34
Democracy, expertise and power workshops .....	36
Erik O. Eriksen 60 years .....	38
ARENA Tuesday Seminars .....	40
Is constitutional pluralism still relevant? .....	42
Other conferences and events .....	43

## Outreach

Europeanisation of gender equality policies .....	50
An evolving EU administration .....	52
Europe in Transition .....	53
Independence under hegemony? .....	54
Will Britain end up like Norway? .....	56
What is the EU good for? .....	56
Reclaiming the normative foundations of the EU .....	58
Other outreach activities .....	58
Media contributions .....	60
Prizes and nominations .....	66

Organisation and staff .....	67
------------------------------	----





# **Research projects**

## Integration and division Towards a segmented Europe?

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

### About

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

### Objectives

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

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

### Sub-projects

EuroDiv consists of four sub-projects, studying various aspects of differentiation in Europe. **Law and democracy** investigates the characteristics, scope and implications of the Eurozone crisis and its democratic and constitutional implications. **The European executive order** analyses the impact of the crisis on administrative systems at the EU and national levels. **Economic development as segmentation** studies important changes in the design of the monetary union and if these developments contribute to further segmentation. The fourth sub-project studies differentiated integration in the domain of **foreign, security and defence policy**.

### Activities in 2015

Members from all four sub-projects presented their research at national and international academic events, produced a number of academic publications and gave media contributions. Several research seminars were staged at ARENA. The research activities and preliminary findings, with a particular focus on the executive order and foreign and security policy, were presented at the annual meeting of the *Europe in Transition* projects staged by the Research Council of Norway (see p. 53).

Key project publications in 2015 include a special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* on





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

differentiated integration. In this issue EuroDiv researchers focus on the democratic challenges of patterns of integration and disintegration actualized by the euro crisis, and develop a systematic normative analysis of where differentiated integration may need justification, and by what standards (see p. 20). Moreover, the edited volume *The European Union's Non-Members: Independence under hegemony* was published. A key question in the book is whether states closely affiliated with the EU, but which have chosen not to be full members, experience negative effects on their legal and political self-governing abilities, or whether they manage their independence with few such effects (see p. 14).

### Funding

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

### Project period

01.12.2013–01.12.2018

### Project coordinator

Erik O. Eriksen

### ARENA project members

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

### Cooperation

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

More: [arena.uio.no/eurodiv](http://arena.uio.no/eurodiv)

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

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

### About

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

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

### Objectives

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

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

### Activities in 2015

A typology for the classification and evaluation of expertise-based arguments has been developed, and project leader Cathrine Holst has discussed solutions in terms of ‘mechanisms for holding experts to account’. The European Commission’s use of expertise has been analysed by project members, and a range of interviews and analyses of key documents on the Commission’s use of research and expertise has been undertaken. The project’s database with information on the Commission’s expert group system has been completed.

The project team has published a range of articles, in journals such as *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, *Acta Sociologica*, and *West European Politics*, as well as a special issue of *Politics and Governance* (see p. 20). EPISTO’s research was presented at a number of seminars and conferences, and participants were invited to several workshops, nationally and internationally. Cathrine Holst has established strong ties to the Quality of Government (QoG) institute at the University of Gothenburg, and preparations are under way for two



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

EPISTO workshops in 2016: One panel in cooperation with Bo Rothstein (QoG Göteborg and Oxford University) entitled 'Was Plato Right? Should the Experts Rule?' at the ECPR Joint Sessions in Pisa in April 2016, and one workshop on 'Expertise and Democratic Accountability in Courts and Public Administration' in Rome, May 2016. The latter is organised in cooperation with the Centre of Excellence PluriCourts and the University of Oslo's Programme on Democracy as Idea and Practice.

### 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 H. 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](https://arena.uio.no/episto)

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

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

### About

*European Flagship Universities: Balancing Academic Excellence and Socio-Economic Relevance* (FLAGSHIP) examines the ways in which European flagship universities have adapted over the last ten years to far-reaching changes in their political and socio-economic environments, and the extent to which these adaptations are initiated and implemented by the institutional leadership or as a consequence of external change drivers.

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

### Objectives

FLAGSHIP's overall objective is to produce relevant insights into the way in which selected flagship universities in Europe interpret and use their institutional autonomy in creating an effective balance between strengthening the excellence and securing the socio-economic relevance of their

academic activities.

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

The project contributes to a better understanding of how the organisational adaptations of Norwegian universities compare to those of universities in other small Western European countries. FLAGSHIP further contributes to the discussion on the autonomy of Norwegian universities and university colleges, as well as to the strengthening of the knowledge basis of Norwegian knowledge area policies, especially in the areas of research and innovation.

### Activities in 2015

The first project phase (2011-12) was dedicated to analysing European-level policy developments as well as national-level legal, financial-economic, and political traditions and realities. The strategic room to manoeuvre for flagship universities were then examined in eleven selected universities: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Leuven, Vienna, Zurich, Warsaw and Melbourne. These institutional reports are available from the project website.





Opening ceremony at Universitetsplassen, University of Oslo

In the second phase (2013-14), detailed case studies at the departmental level were undertaken in four fields: Chemistry, Psychology, Public Health, and Teacher Education. Investigating the practices of institutional autonomy at the shop-floor level, the project observed how formal changes through reforms and regulations intertwine with managerial intentionality (e.g. strategic planning) and institutional settings (structures, routines, cultures and identities), both in the area of personnel policies and research management.

As the project came towards an end in 2015, project members were particularly active in their outreach to stakeholders and held presentations at major international conferences such as the *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference* and the *European Educational Research Association's ECER 2015 Conference*. Several peer-reviewed articles in academic journals and books were published.

### 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](http://arena.uio.no/flagship)

## Other projects

**In addition to projects coordinated by ARENA, the centre's researchers participate in a number of other international projects and networks.**

### Parliamentary Democracy in Europe (PADEMIA)

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

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

#### Project type

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

#### Coordinator

Wolfgang Wessels, University of Cologne

#### Project period

01.10.2013–01.10.2016

#### ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord

**More:** [www.pademia.eu](http://www.pademia.eu)

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

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

PACO aims to discover and explain if and why inter-parliamentary cooperation in the field of external relations (CFSP/CSDP, human rights, development, trade, etc.) has contributed towards increased scrutiny by the EP and national parliaments; and if and why parliamentary diplomacy can add to the diplomatic tool set (i.e. public diplomacy) in the EU's co-



*The PADEMIA and PACO networks both study the European Parliament (photo: European Union)*

operation with third partners via its own delegations at the bilateral and multilateral levels. PACO further aims to contribute to a new understanding of the role of European parliaments (EP, national parliaments) in EU external action.

### Project type

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

### Coordinator

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

### Project period

01.09.2014–31.08.2017

### ARENA project members

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

**More:** [ghum.kuleuven.be/ggs/projects/paco-project/](http://ghum.kuleuven.be/ggs/projects/paco-project/)

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

One of the challenges the EU is confronted with is that of internal and external legitimacy. On internal legitimacy, the Union has been faced with a clear decline in popularity among its citizens. In terms of

its external legitimacy, survey figures show that the EU is a largely unknown actor among the citizens of many third countries. Moreover, those who know the EU are far from unanimously positive about its impact on their country or on international affairs.

ANTERO studies the effectiveness, coherence, and success of the EU as an international actor where both internal and external legitimacy play critical roles. It aims to strengthen the interaction between research in the field of EU foreign policy and the translation of that research through innovative, research-led teaching.

### Project type

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

### Coordinator

Ben Tonra, University College Dublin

### Project period

01.09.2014–31.08.2017

### ARENA project members

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

**More:** [www.eufp.eu/antero](http://www.eufp.eu/antero)

## The Academic Research Network on Agencification of EU Executive Governance (TARN)

TARN is a Europe-wide network of nine academic partners including a multidisciplinary group of scholars from law, social and political sciences and public administration. It aims to contribute to a better understanding of agencification of EU executive governance and to foster dialogue between academics and practitioners to improve scholarship and practice. TARN addresses the many facets of the problems posed by the process of agencification in the EU. It concentrates on three pressing concerns: constitutionality, powers and legitimacy of EU agencies; the role of EU agencies as global actors, and; EU agencies' functional operation and effectiveness.

### Project type

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

### Coordinators

Prof. Ellen Vos, Maastricht University  
Prof. Michelle Everson, Birkbeck University of London

### Project period

01.10.2015 – 01-10.2018





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

### ARENA project members

Morten Egeberg, Jarle Trondal

**More:** [tarn.maastrichtuniversity.nl](http://tarn.maastrichtuniversity.nl)

## Research and Expertise in Society

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

The specialization is an innovative combination of theory and practical set of skills. Courses are led by academic specialists as well as experts from the private and public sectors. It will allow the students

to learn about the mechanism of how the scientific research can be transferred into actions conducive to the development of economy, society and democracy which they will then be able to implement during their internship in NGOs, public or private institutions and companies. The aim is to educate top experts in the field, conscious of their role and responsibilities as researchers.

### Project type

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

### Coordinator

Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University

### Project period

01.08.2014–31.07.2016

### ARENA project members

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

**More:** [ces.uj.edu.pl/academics/main-european-studies/central-eastern-european-studies-research-track](http://ces.uj.edu.pl/academics/main-european-studies/central-eastern-european-studies-research-track)

## Democratic Governance and Differentiation in Europe

Slovakia and Norway are examples of countries with various degrees of integration into the EU's political order. A comparative approach using the two country contexts as a point of departure and extending the research scope towards other country contexts in Europe and beyond provides a fertile ground for the study of differentiation and democratic governance in today's Europe.

The current project addresses this issue area and seeks to establish lasting cooperation between Comenius University as the leading political science milieu in Slovakia and ARENA at the University of Oslo as a leading European centre of research excellence on democratic governance in Europe.

The project sets up frameworks for the transfer of

a successful set of best practices in managing research and teaching excellence on the PhD level in the field of democratic governance. Project activities include lectures, PhD courses, common publications and a guest researcher's scheme at ARENA.

### Project type

Inter-institutional cooperation project, EEA Grants Scholarship Programme Slovakia.

### Coordinator

Jozef Bátora, Comenius University, Bratislava

### Project period

01.09.2015 – 31.08.2016

### ARENA project members

John Erik Fossum, Christopher Lord, Johan P. Olsen, Jarle Trondal, Espen D. H. Olsen

**More:** [teritoria.sk/english](http://teritoria.sk/english)



# **Publications**

## New books 2015

### **The European Union's Non-Members: Independence under Hegemony?**

*Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (eds)*  
Routledge, ISBN: 9781138922457

The EU is a supranational organization, whose reach and influence extends well beyond its member states, especially to the many states that have signed various forms of association agreements with it.

This book asks whether qualifying states who have eschewed EU membership experience negative effects on their legal and political self-governing abilities, or whether they manage their independence with few such effects. It explores the idea that the closer the affiliation a non-member state has with the EU, the more susceptible to hegemony the relationship appears to be. In addition, the book provides an overview of the total range of agreements the EU has with non-member states.

Contributions by ARENA's staff:

Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, 'National administrative sovereignty – under pressure'.

Erik O. Eriksen, 'Despoiling Norwegian democracy'.

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, 'Introduction: asymmetry and the problem of dominance?'.

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, 'Hegemony by association?'.

John Erik Fossum, 'Representation under hegemony? On Norway's relationship to the EU'.

Christopher Lord, 'The United Kingdom, a once and future (?) non-member state'.

Helene Sjørusen, 'Reinforcing executive dominance: Norway and the EU's foreign and security policy'.

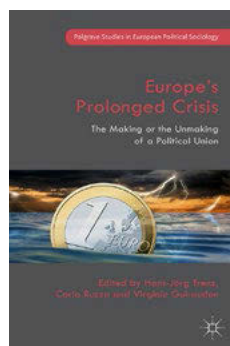
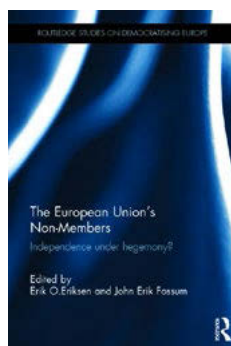
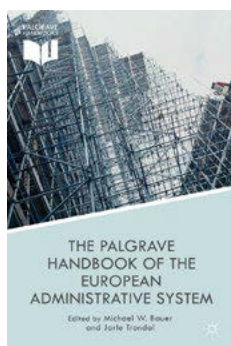
### **The Palgrave Handbook of the European Administrative System**

*Michael W. Bauer and Jarle Trondal (eds)*  
Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN: 9781137339881

This volume examines the emerging bureaucratic framework which underpins the European Union and in doing so constitutes a primer on the administrative system of the EU.

Drawing on the latest research from the administrative sciences and using organizational, institutional, and decision-making theories, this volume highlights that analyzing the patterns and dynamics of the administrative capacities of the EU is essential in understanding how the EU shapes European public policy. Accordingly, this study does not examine administrative capacities in isolation but rather analyzes them as structures that mobilize systematic bias in the production of public policy.

This layout allows the chapters to tackle pressing questions about the nature of the EU's emerging



bureaucracy such as to what extent, how, and under what conditions do administrative systems change and complement pre-existing public administration systems? Can new administrative systems profoundly transform pre-existing ones? And, what are the principled implications of an emergent new European administrative system?

Contributions by ARENA's staff:

Morten Egeberg, Maria Martens and Jarle Trondal, 'The EU's subordinated agency administration and the rise of executive power at European level'.

Morten Egeberg, 'EU administration: center formation and multilevelness'.

Morten Egeberg, Åse Gornitzka, Jarle Trondal and Mathias Johannessen, 'The European Parliament administration: organizational structure and

behavioural implications'.

Åse Gornitzka and Ulf Sverdrup, 'The expert-executive nexus in the European administrative system: expert groups and the European Commission'.

Jarle Trondal, 'The European administrative system reassessed'.

Jarle Trondal and Michael W. Bauer, 'The administrative system of the European Union'.

Jarle Trondal and Zuzana Murdoch, 'The temporary Commission bureaucrat'.

Jarle Trondal and Guy B. Peters, 'A conceptual account of the European administrative space'.

Nina M. Vestlund, 'Exploring EU Commission-agency relationship: partnership or parenthood?'.

## Europe's Prolonged Crisis: The Making or the Unmaking of a Political Union

*Hans-Jörg Trenz, Carlo Ruzza and Virginie Guiraudon (eds)*  
*Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN: 9781137493675*

This volume outlines a political sociology of crisis in Europe, focusing on state and society transformations in the context of the 2008 financial and monetary crisis and its aftermath in Europe. Dysfunctions of the market and the European economic and monetary system pose severe challenges to the legitimacy of political order at national, European and global level.

In this collection, the contributors investigate how the crisis undermines the integrity of political institutions and democratic government at EU and member state level, and analyse how the experiences of social deprivation are translated into political conflict and cleavages across the European space. Evidence is provided for how the return of redistributive conflicts correlates with a 'new politics of identity', nationalism, regionalism and expressions of Euroscepticism. Crisis affects patterns of social exclusion but, as this book reveals, it can also activate social networks and impacts on new forms of solidarity, which are emerging locally and transnationally.

Contributions by ARENA's staff:

Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Xinru Ma, 'A media perspective on European crises'.

John Erik Fossum, 'The crisis and the question of de-parliamentarization in Europe'.

Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz, 'The European crisis and the media: media autonomy, public perceptions and new forms of political engagement'.

Espen D.H. Olsen, 'Eurocrisis and EU citizenship'

Hans-Jörg Trenz, Virginie Guiraudon and Carlo Ruzza, 'Introduction: The European crisis. Contributions from political sociology', in Hans-Jörg Trenz, Carlo Ruzza and Virginie Guiraudon (eds) *Europe's prolonged crisis: The making or the unmaking of a political union*, Palgrave Macmillan.

## Hva er EU godt for?

*Erik Oddvar Eriksen*  
*Cappelen Damm Akademisk, ISBN: 9788202494506*

After World War II, European countries joined forces in a committed relationship, which it is now difficult to withdraw from. The EU is here to stay. How was this possible? And what is the EU good for?

The book reconstructs the European integration process and identifies the normative commitments that the EU is founded on: human rights, impartiality, democracy, and dignity. The goal has always been

a peaceful and united Europe – a Europe without humiliation. With the financial and sovereign debt crisis, however, humiliation is brought back in. This is due to the structural defects of the Eurozone: the Union does not have the competence to decide in social and economic matters, which remains within the remit of the member states. Further integration is therefore necessary to resolve the crisis and to realize Europe's unfulfilled obligation of solidarity.

*I kjølvannet av andre verdenskrig ble de europeiske landene knyttet sammen i et forpliktende samarbeid det nå er vanskelig å tre ut av. EU er kommet for å bli. Hvordan ble dette mulig? Og hva er EU godt for?*

*Boka rekonstruerer den europeiske integrasjonsprosessen, samtidig som de normative forpliktelsene EU er tuftet på identifiseres: menneskerettigheter, upartiskhet, demokrati og verdighet. Målet har hele tiden vært et fredelig og forent Europa – et Europa uten ydmykelse. Med finanskrisen og statsgjeld er imidlertid ydmykelsen tilbake. Dette skyldes eurosoneens strukturfeil, nemlig at fellesskapet ikke har kompetanse og myndighet til å bestemme i sosiale og økonomiske saker. Nye integrasjonssteg er derfor nødvendig for å løse krisen og for å realisere Europas uinnskrivede forpliktelse om solidaritet.*

## A Different Kind of Democracy? Debates About Democracy and the European Union

Christopher Lord (ed.)

Open Society Foundations, ISBN: 9781940983295

Democracy is the only legitimate form of political power in societies that regard individuals as free and equal. Yet many have doubted whether the European Union is, can be, or should be democratic. Is the EU unsustainable in its present form? Must it either take a precarious gamble on forming a full democratic political system of its own or, as some have argued, downsize so that it can be controlled by its member state democracies?

*A Different Kind of Democracy?* helps answer these questions by bringing together some of the most important contributions to the literature on democracy and the European Union. It includes arguments for and against the claim that the EU is in democratic deficit; reflections on the possibilities and problems of forming an EU demos (democratic political community); and proposals for how the Union might be made democratic.

Each of these topics is introduced by a careful analysis of the normative and practical questions it poses. As well as being of interest to scholars of European integration, the reader is indispensable to all with an interest in prospects for democracy beyond the state.

The contributors to the volume are Richard Bellamy, Erik Oddvar Eriksen, John Erik Fossum,



Dieter Grimm, Ulrich Haltern, Christopher Lord, Neil MacCormick, Peter Mair, Giandomenico Majone, G. Frederico Mancini, Franz Mayer, Andrew Moravcsik, Fritz W. Scharpf, and Joseph H.H. Weiler.

### **Rett og politikk: nye perspektiver på demokratiets forutsetninger, utforming og grenser**

*Jan Fridthjof Bernt, Cathrine Holst and Steinar Stjernø (eds)*  
*Pax Forlag, ISBN: 9788253037905*

What is the relationship between law and politics, today and in historical perspective? Where are the limits of democracy, and where are the limits of juridification and expert rule? How do politics and society influence the judiciary, and how does the judiciary constrain democracy and social development? What are the qualities of our present system, and what can be criticized?

The book 'Law and Politics: New Perspectives on the Prerequisites for Democracy' encourages debate about the constitution, government and fundamental traits of our state and society. It is dedicated to Prof. Rune Slagstad for 'his long-lasting, comprehensive and multi-faceted contribution to intellectual discussion and Norwegian research and society'.

*Hva er forholdet mellom rett og politikk - i dag og*

*i et historisk perspektiv? Hvor går grensene for demokratiet - og hvor går grensene for rettsliggjøring og ekspertstyre? Hvordan påvirker politikk og samfunn retten - og hvordan legger retten rammer for demokrati og samfunnsutvikling? Hvilke gode kvaliteter har vårt styresett slik det fungerer i dag - og hva er kritikkverdig?*

*Bokas artikler inviterer til prinsipiell debatt om styreform, konstitusjon og grunnleggende trekk ved stat og samfunn. Temaene spenner fra likestilling, religion og ytringsfrihet til strafferett, trygd og helse. De beveger seg fra det interne livet på Stortinget og i Høyesterett før og nå til krisen i Europa, EØS og menneskerettighetenes «sakralisering», fra Eidsvoll og Kristiania til Strasbourg og Brussel.*

*Redaktørene har dedikert boken til professor Rune Slagstad «for hans langvarige, omfattende og mangesidige bidrag til intellektuell diskusjon, norsk forskning og samfunnsliv».*



## Publications 2011-2015

	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
Monographs	1	1	1	4	1
Edited books	2	4	4	5	6
Special issues of journals	2	–	–	–	2
Book chapters	21	31	16	47	37
Journal articles	24	15	30	21	39
ARENA Working Papers	15	7	8	13	5
ARENA Reports	9	4	1	2	4
Publication points (total)*	54.3	47.6	49.7	70.0	81.5
Publication points (per academic person-year)*	3.4	2.8	2.5	4.1	5.1

*\* Note that the numbers for 2015 are not directly comparable with previous years due to the introduction of a new publication indicator. The new calculation of publication points results in higher scores for co-authorship and international cooperation.*

## Special issues

### Differentiated integration in the European Union

*Journal of European Public Policy*  
Vol. 22, no. 6

*Christopher Lord and Benjamin Leruth (eds)*

Differentiation has been a feature of European integration for more than two decades. More than half of EU policies are implemented in different ways. Recent debates over a potential British exit from the EU revived discussions on the future of European integration, offering a potential case for disintegration. Yet scholars and practitioners still find it difficult to define the notion.

This collection offers a survey of the literature on differentiated integration, its most recent developments and justifies why the study of differentiation needs to move up the research agenda of European integration. The editors suggest that studying differentiated integration as a concept, a process, a system and a theory is the minimum needed to understand it, and demonstrate the necessity to study differentiation as a permanent and 'normal' feature of European integration.

Contributions by ARENA's staff:

Benjamin Leruth and Christopher Lord,  
'Differentiated integration in the European Union: a concept, a process, a system or a theory?'

Christopher Lord, 'Utopia or dystopia? Towards a normative analysis of differentiated integration'.

John Erik Fossum, 'Democracy and differentiation in Europe'.

Benjamin Leruth, 'Operationalizing national preferences on Europe and differentiated integration'.

### The role of expert knowledge in EU executive institutions

*Politics and Governance*  
Vol. 3, no. 1

*Åse Gornitzka and Cathrine Holst (eds)*

Expertise has played a pivotal role in EU executives since the Union was established, but its significance is arguably increasing and takes on new shapes. This issue explores the role and use of expert knowledge in decision-making in and by EU executive institutions.

Developments in the EU are decisive for executive organisation and politics in Europe, in particular due to the position of the European Commission as the EU's executive centre, but also because of the growing number of EU-level agencies. What characterizes EU's executive organizations' reliance on expert advice and judgment? How is the use of expertise organized? And what are the implications of expertise organisation for experts' performance and interactions, policy outcomes, institutional dynamics



and democratic legitimacy?

Contributions by ARENA's staff:

Åse Gornitzka and Cathrine Holst, 'The expert-executive nexus in the EU: an introduction'.

Jarle Trondal, Zuzana Murdoch and Benny Geys, 'Representative bureaucracy and the role of expertise in politics'.

Cathrine Holst and John R. Moodie, 'Cynical or deliberative? An analysis of the European Commission's public communication on its use of expertise in policy-making'.

Meng-Hsuan Chou and Marianne Riddervold, 'The unexpected negotiator at the table: how the European Commission's expertise informs inter-governmental EU policies'.

Mai'a K. Davis Cross, 'The limits of epistemic communities: EU security agencies'.

Åse Gornitzka and Ulf Sverdrup, 'Societal inclusion in expert venues: participation of interest groups and business in the European Commission expert groups'.

Cathrine Holst and Silje H. Tørnblad, 'Variables and challenges in assessing EU experts' performance'.

*Politics and Governance is a peer-reviewed open access journal. All articles are available free of charge.*

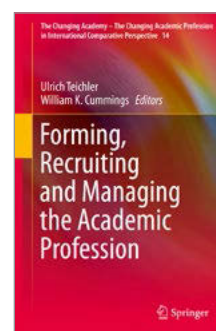
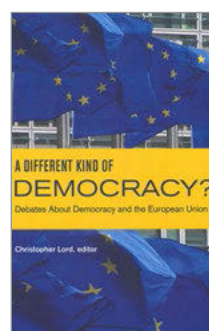
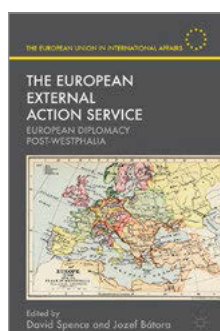
## Journal articles

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'The European Defence Agency and the member states: public and hidden transcripts', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 20(2/1): 83-102.
- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis and Xinru Ma, 'EU crises and integrational panic: the role of the media', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(8): 1053-1070.
- Egeberg, Morten, Jarle Trondal and Nina Merethe Vestlund, 'The quest for order: unravelling the relationship between the European Commission and European Union agencies', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(5): 609-629.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, Romulo Pinheiro and Bjørn Stensaker, 'Handling uncertainty of strategic ambitions: the use of organizational identity as a risk-reducing device', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 38(13/14): 1030-1040.
- Gornitzka, Åse and Carl Henrik Knutsen, 'A note from the new editors of Scandinavian Political Studies', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 38(1): 1-3.
- Gornitzka, Åse, Antigoni Papadimitriou and Bjørn Stensaker, 'Designed diffusion? The impact on an EU instrument for public management reform in the Western Balkans', *Journal of European Integration*, 37(6): 629-647.
- Holst, Cathrine and Anders Molander, 'Jürgen Habermas on public reason and religion: do religious citizens suffer an asymmetrical cognitive burden, and should they be compensated?', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 18(5): 547-563.
- Holst, Cathrine, 'Hva er galt med ekspertstyre?', *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, 31(4): 357-368.
- Menéndez, Agustín José, '¿Constitución o camisa de fuerza? De las nuevas reglas fiscales al "Estado amortizador"', *Teoria Politica*, 5: 189-219.
- 'Hermann Heller NOW', *European Law Journal*, 21(3): 285-294.
- Michailidou, Asimina, 'The role of the public in shaping EU contestation: Euroscepticism and online news media', *International Political Science Review*, 36(3): 324-336.
- Moodie, John R., 'Resistant to change? The European Commission and expert group reform', *West European Politics*, 39(2): 229-256.
- Olsen, Espen D.H. and Hans-Jörg Trenz, 'The micro-macro link in deliberative polling: science or politics?', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2014.983363.
- Olsen, Johan P., 'Lorenzettis utfordring og demokratiets århundre', *Statsvetenskaplig Tidsskrift*, 117(1): 207-229.

- ‘Et demokratiprojekt? Grunnlovsjubileet og folkestyrets organisatoriske basis’, *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, 21(2): 83-117.
- ‘Democratic order, autonomy and accountability’, *Governance* 28(4): 425-440.
- ‘Utfordringer for skandinavisk demokrati og statsvitenskap’, *Statsvetenskaplig Tidsskrift*, 117(2): 281-299.
- Riddervold, Marianne, ‘(Not) in the hands of the member states: how the Commission influences EU foreign and security policies’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1-17, DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12288.
- Rosén, Guri and Marianne Riddervold, ‘Beyond intergovernmental cooperation: the influence of the European Parliament and the Commission on EU foreign and security policies’, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 20(3): 399-417.
- Sjursen, Helene, ‘Enighet for enhver pris? Om legitimitetsgrunnlaget for norsk utenrikspolitikk’, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 32(3): 219-232.
- Trenz, Hans-Jörg and Paul Statham, ‘Understanding the mechanisms of EU politicization: lessons from the Eurozone crisis’, *Comparative European Politics*, 13(3): 287-306.
- Trondal, Jarle and Anne Elizabeth Stie, ‘Blir handlingsrommet større med egen europaminister?’, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 32(2): 123-134.
- Trondal, Jarle, Zuzana Murdoch and Benny Geys, ‘On Trojan Horses and revolving doors: assessing the autonomy of national officials in the European Commission’, *European Journal of Political Research*, 54(2): 249-270.
- Trondal, Jarle, ‘Flernivå-administrasjon på statistikkområdet’, *Nordisk Administrativ Tidsskrift*, 92(3).
- ‘Det europeiske administrative systemet: en begrepsramme’, *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, 31(1): 29-49.
- ‘Ambiguities in organizations and the routines of behavior and change’, *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 23(1): 123-141.
- Trondal, Jarle and Thomas Henökl, ‘Unravelling the anatomy of autonomy: dissecting actor-level independence in the European External Action Service’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(10): 1426-1447.
- Vestlund, Nina Merethe, ‘Changing policy focus through organizational reform? The case of the pharmaceutical unit in the European Commission’, *Public Policy and Administration*, 30(1): 92-112.

## Book chapters

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'Epistemic communities', in Jean-Frederic Morin and Amandine Orsini (eds) *Essential Concepts of Global Environmental Governance*, Routledge.
- 'The public diplomacy role of the EEAS: crafting a resilient image of Europe', in David Spence and Jozef Batora (eds) *The European External Action Service: European Diplomacy Post-Westphalia*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eriksen, Erik O., 'The Eurozone crisis in light of the EU's normativity', in Serge Champeau, Carlos Closa, Daniel Innerarity and Miguel P. Maduro (eds) *The Future of Europe: Democracy, Legitimacy and Justice after the Euro Crisis*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- 'Europeisk demokrati – er det mulig?', in Raino S. Malnes and Dag E. Thorsen (eds) *Demokrati – historien og ideene*, Dreyer.
- Fossum, John Erik, 'Reflections on the role of subnational parliaments in the European multilevel parliamentary field', in Gabriele Abels and Annegret Eppler (eds) *Subnational Parliaments in the EU Multi-Level Parliamentary System: Taking Stock of the Post-Lisbon Era*, Studienverlag.
- Fossum, John Erik and Johannes Pollak, 'Which democratic principles for the European Union? What deficit?', in Simona Piattoni (ed.) *The European Union – Democratic principles and institutional architectures in times of crisis*, Oxford University Press.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, 'Multi-level governance in higher education', in Jeroen Huisman, Harry de Boer, David D. Dill and Manuel Souto-Otero (eds) *The Palgrave International Handbook of Higher Education Policy and Governance*, Palgrave.
- 'Strategic management of academic human resources: a comparative analysis of flagship universities in Norway, Finland, Switzerland, and Austria', in Filipa M. Ribeiro, Yurgos Politis and Bojana Culum (eds) *New voices in higher education research and scholarship*, IGI Global.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana and Gaële Goastellec, 'Recruitment of academics in Switzerland: e pluribus unum?', in Ulrich Teichler and William K. Cummings (eds) *Forming, recruiting and managing the academic profession*, Springer.
- Holst, Cathrine, 'Diskriminering – hva er det, og er det noe mer?', in Raino Malnes and Dag Thorsen (eds) *Demokrati – historien og ideene*, Dreyer.
- 'Likestillingspolitikk, eksperter og folk flest', in Cathrine Holst, Steinar Stjernø and Jan F. Bernt (eds) *Rett og politikk: nye perspektiver på demokratiets forutsetninger, utforming og grenser*, Pax Forlag.



Michailidou, Asimina and Hans-Jörg Trenz, 'Mediatized transnational conflicts: Online media and the politicization of the European Union in times of crisis', in Mikkel F. Eskjær, Stig Hjarvard and Mette Mortensen (eds) *The Dynamics of Mediatized Conflicts*, Peter Lang.

Sjursen, Helene, 'Normative theory: an untapped resource in the study of European foreign policy', in Knud E. Jørgensen, Åsne K. Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie V. Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, SAGE.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Europeanising the public sphere: meaning, mechanisms, effects', in Ulrike Liebert and Janna Wolff (eds) *Interdisziplinäre Europastudien: Eine Einführung*, Springer.

— 'The saga of Europeanisation: On the narrative construction of a European society', in Stefanie Börner and Monika Eig Müller (eds) *European integration, processes of change and the national experience*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Trondal, Jarle and Zuzana Murdoch, 'The advance of a European executive order in foreign policy? Recruitment practices in the European External Action Service', in David Spence and Jozef Batora (eds) *The European External Action Service: European Diplomacy Post-Westphalia*, Palgrave Macmillan.

## ARENA Reports

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

### The British self and the continental other: a discourse analysis of the United Kingdom's relationship with Europe

#### ARENA Report 15/01

*John Todd*

This report provides an accessible yet comprehensive analysis of how the British discourse on Europe has evolved over the past forty years.

Prime Minister David Cameron's commitment to hold a referendum on European Union membership in 2017, should his party win the next general election, was a major political milestone. The report examines the changes and continuities in this discourse over three key periods: the 1975 EEC membership referendum, the 1992-3 Maastricht ratification process and the proto-referendum debates of 2013.

The consistent divide between a British self and Continental other over the forty years under analysis has been strongly reinforced by the increasing prominence of anti-immigration rhetoric within the discourse. Overall, Todd notes that the impact of the Eurosceptics' discursive campaign will have a significant impact should a referendum take place in 2017.

### Striving for influence: the European Parliament in EU foreign policy

#### ARENA Report 15/02

*Guri Rosén*

How can we explain the increase in the European Parliament's (EP) influence in EU foreign policy? Why would member states, in such a sensitive area, be willing to share their powers with Members of the EP over whom they have little, if no, control?

This report studies three cases in detail: one aiming to explain how the EP got access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defense, another on the EP's increasing participation in the CFSP budgetary process, and a third on the EP's new powers in the area of EU external trade policy.

Two mechanisms are key to understand the increase in the EP's influence. Firstly, the Council has accepted the EP's argument that more democratic legitimacy in the area is needed and that the EP therefore should have more influence in foreign policy. Secondly, the EP uses a bargaining strategy as means to arrive at concrete agreements. Linking concessions to areas where it has formal powers has proven successful for the EP.



## När smart specialisering kom till Norge: en organisationsteoretisk analys av flernivåinteraktion och EU:s mjukare sida

### ARENA report 15/03

*Linn Tomasdotter*

This report (in Swedish) analyses the interaction between the regional and European level in the implementation of ‘smart specialisation’, an EU strategy for science and innovation at the regional level.

Why do regional authorities respond to changes within the framework of the European Union?

Tomasdotter analyses the interaction between the Norwegian county administration Nordland and the European Union in the implementation of ‘smart specialisation’. She finds that the national and supranational organisational structure has increased the scope of interaction between the regional and European level, making it less dependent on the national level.

## Between centralization and decentralization: decision behaviour in the EU's multilevel administrative system

### ARENA report 15/04

*Nina Merethe Vestlund*

What characterizes decision-making in the EU administrative system? This report studies the emerging multilevel EU administration, composed of the European Commission, a growing number of EU agencies and national regulatory authorities. These actors are increasingly connected and integrated across levels of governance and national borders.

What are the effects of these institutional developments? Do they contribute to preserving executive power as decentralized and anchored within member states, or do they contribute to centralizing executive power at the EU level?

Vestlund finds that decision-making in the system increasingly embodies many of the organizational and behavioural patterns that are typical of executives from national settings. Furthermore, executive decision-making behaviour is gradually becoming more centralized, with the European Commission as a core executive. The findings thus challenge existing images that portray the European administrative system as *sui generis* and executive power as being mainly decentralized.

## 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.

15/01

**Ian Cooper**

The Nordic parliaments' approaches to the EU: strategic coordinator, comprehensive scrutinizer, reluctant cooperator and outside-insider

15/02

**Tatiana Fumasoli, Åse Gornitzka and Benjamin Leruth**

A multi-level approach to differentiated integration: distributive policy, national heterogeneity and actors in the European Research Area

15/03

**Eva Krick**

Consensual decision-making without voting: the constitutive mechanism, (informal) institutionalisation and democratic quality of the collective decision rule of 'tacit consent'

15/04

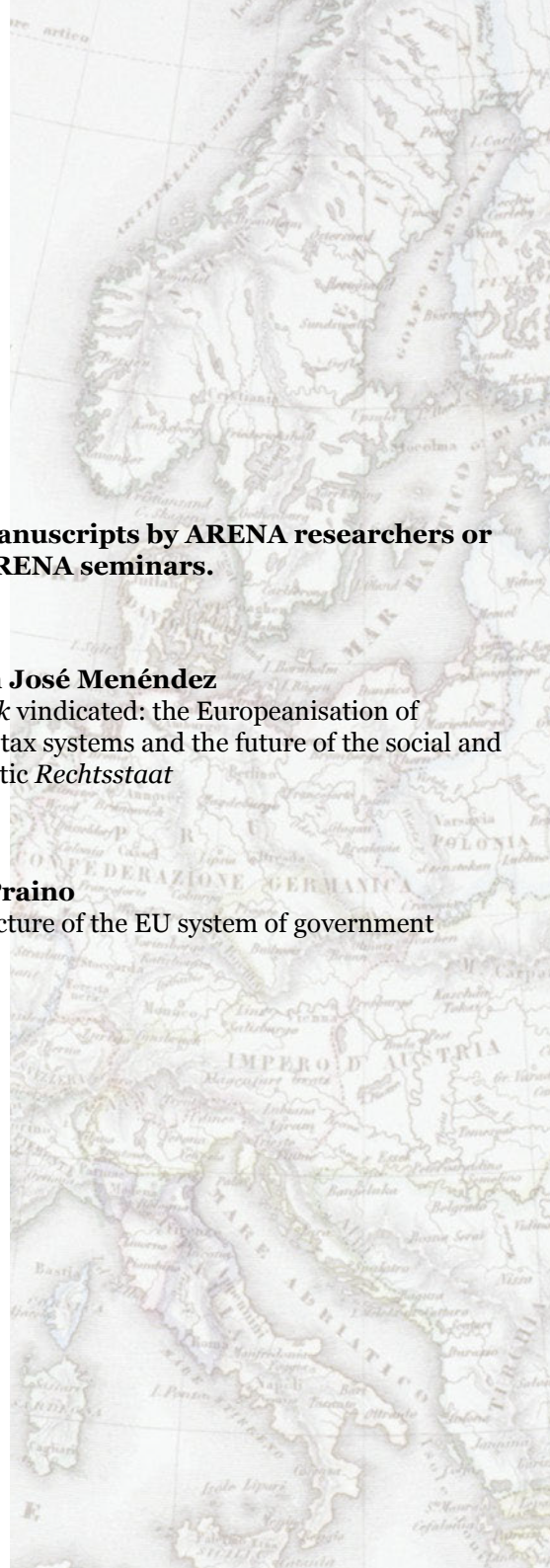
**Agustín José Menéndez**

*Neumark* vindicated: the Europeanisation of national tax systems and the future of the social and democratic *Rechtsstaat*

15/05

**Diego Praino**

The structure of the EU system of government



## Other publications

### Book reviews

Fossum, John E., 'Review of Jeremy Webber's *The Constitution of Canada: a contextual analysis*', *No Foundations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Law and Justice*, 12: 154-161.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'Towards a cognitive sociology of the public sphere', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 18(2): 221-226.

### Editorials

Holst, Cathrine, 'Dypsindighet', editorial, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 4: 314-316.

— 'Myter', editorial, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 2: 106-108.

— 'Velferd og relevans', editorial, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 1: 2-4.

— 'Verdien av en viss påtatt naivitet', editorial, *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 3: 202-204.

Menéndez, Agustín J., 'In this issue', editorial, *European Law Journal*, 21(6): 703-818.

— 'In this issue', editorial, *European Law Journal*, 21(5): 569-571.

— 'In this issue', editorial, *European Law Journal*, 21(4): 431-565.

— 'In this issue', editorial, *European Law Journal*,

21(2): 139-140.

— 'In this issue', editorial, *European Law Journal*, 21(1): 1.

### Encyclopedias

Egeberg, Morten and Jarle Trondal, 'Agencification', in Elisabeth Abdelgawad and Helene Michel (eds) *Dictionary of European Actors*, Larcier.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg, 'The public sphere', in Gianpietro Mazzoleni (ed.) *The international encyclopedia of political communication*, Wiley-Blackwell.





# Events

## The Meaning of Partisanship

ARENA and the University of Oslo's Democracy Programme organised a research seminar on Blindern campus on 27 October 2015. The theme for discussion was political parties and the place of partisanship in current democracies.

**John Erik Fossum** and **Anders Ravik Jupskås** had invited **Jonathan White** and **Lea Ypi** (London School of Economics and Political Science) to present their forthcoming book 'The Meaning of Partisanship', which aims to rejuvenate the theoretical study of partisanship. They had also invited participants from Stanford University, the University of Amsterdam, KU Leuven, the Arctic University of Norway, Oslo and Akershus University College, as well as the University of Oslo's Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas (IFIKK), the Centre for the Study of the Legitimacy of the International Judiciary (PluriCourts), Department of Political Science and ARENA.

The scholars discussed subjects such as the relation between the partisan and the political community at large, the contribution of partisanship to political life, the relation between the partisan and their party, including the value of commitment and the ethical and organisational ties that underwrite it, and the complex relationship between partisans and political institutions.

## Security and Governance in the Globalised Arctic

The international conference *Security and Governance in the Globalised Arctic: Nordic and International Perspectives* took place in Aarhus on 12-13 November 2015. The MatchPoint Seminar is referred to as the most important Danish foreign policy conference of the past decade.

The goal of the conference was to contribute to reinforcing and developing the existing international collaboration in relation to the Arctic and to help ensure that joint efforts to ensure peace and stability in the region are not undermined by conflict. Danish Minister for Higher Education and Science Esben Lunde Larsen, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs Kristian Jensen, several ambassadors, American and Russian diplomatic representatives, and prominent researchers from the Arctic coastal states participated in the conference.

The conference was hosted by Aarhus University and the City of Aarhus. It was organized by a number of Nordic universities and academic research academies, including ARENA, University of Oslo. **John Erik Fossum** chaired the concluding panel debate with international scholars. Among the institutional partners of MatchPoint were the Danish ministries of foreign affairs, defence and research, the Folketing and the Nordic Ministerial Council.

*Videos and selected speeches, photos and a Twitter roundup are available at [www.matchpoints.au.dk](http://www.matchpoints.au.dk)*



Researchers, ministers, politicians and diplomats from all over the world travelled to Aarhus to discuss the political, economic and environmental challenges facing the Arctic at the 2015 MatchPoints Seminar (photos: Aarhus University/Flickr)

## ANTERO workshop

**The education and research network on EU foreign policy, ANTERO, held its first workshop in December.**

The first ANTERO event took place in Brussels on 9-11 December 2015. It combined research and teaching sessions on European foreign policy.

The workshop was jointly organised by the University of Leuven, the University of Tampere and the University of Kent, and took place at the premises of the University of Kent's Brussels Campus.

ARENA's foreign policy group contributed with several papers in the research session 'The quest for internal legitimacy of EU external action': **Helene Sjørusen** presented a paper on the legitimacy basis of the EU's foreign and security policy, entitled 'The democratic surplus of deficit?'; **Guri Rosén** discussed accountability and transparency in the area of security and defense policy in the paper 'A secret

worth keeping?'; **Tine E. J. Brøgger** presented her research on Franco-British security and defence cooperation in her paper 'Inside and outside the EU'; **Johanna Strikwerda**'s approach focused on the European Commission's proposal for a Defence and Security Procurement Directive in the paper 'Sovereignty at stake?'; and finally, **Mai'a K. Davis Cross** discussed the European External Action Service and counter-terrorism.

The teaching sessions were dedicated to mapping and integrating syllabi on European foreign policy, working towards an ANTERO Syllabus, and a roundtable discussing the needs and objectives of teaching in this field.

The event also included a panel with EU officials identifying blind spots in European foreign policy teaching and research analysis from practitioners' view. Julia De Clerck-Sachsse and Joëlle Hivonnet from the European External Action Service and Gerrard Quille from the European Parliament Mediation Support Service contributed to the panel.



## Public Defence: Guri Rosén

**On 15 January 2015, Guri Rosén defended her PhD thesis: ‘Striving for influence: the European Parliament in EU foreign policy’.**

In her thesis, Guri Rosén analyses how the European Parliament (EP) has gradually increased its influence in the field of EU foreign and security policy. The conduct of this policy remains largely sheltered from standard democratic procedures. The EP’s claim for more powers in EU foreign policy has been opposed with the argument that national parliaments are equally powerless. At the same time, EU foreign policy, and in particular its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), is often regarded as an exclusive domain for the member states.

How can we then explain the increase in the EP’s influence in EU foreign policy? Why would member states, in such a sensitive area, be willing to share their powers with Members of the European Parliament, over whom they have little, if any, control? Three cases form the backbone of Rosén’s thesis, aiming to explain how the EP got access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defence, the Parliament’s increasing participation in the CFSP budgetary process, and its new powers in the area of EU external trade policy.

The analyses demonstrate how two mechanisms are key to understanding the EP’s increased influence: its appeal to democratic principles, and the bargaining strategy it has pursued by linking



*Berthold Rittberger, Guri Rosén and Helene Sjursen*

concessions to areas where it has formal powers.

### Committee

Berthold Rittberger, *University of Munich*  
Ben Tonra, *University College Dublin*  
Janne Haaland Matlary, *University of Oslo*

### Supervisor

Helene Sjursen

### Trial lecture

‘The added value of communicative rationality in explaining and understanding EU foreign policy’

*The PhD thesis is published as ARENA Report 2/15*



## Public Defence: Nina Merethe Vestlund

**On 3 September 2015, Nina Merethe Vestlund defended her PhD thesis ‘Between centralization and decentralization: decision behaviour in the EU’s multilevel administrative system’.**

Vestlund has studied decision behaviour within the multilevel EU administration composed of the European Commission, a growing number of EU agencies, as well as networks of national regulatory authorities. These actors are increasingly integrated across levels of governance and national borders, and Vestlund investigates to what extent, how and why organizational factors shape decision-making within and between them. Do the institutional developments contribute to preserve executive power decentralized among member states or do they promote centralized EU executive power?

Overall, her findings suggest that executive decision-making behaviour at the core of the system is gradually becoming normalized; increasingly, it embodies many of the organizational and behavioural patterns highly typical of national executives. Moreover, executive decision-making behaviour is gradually becoming more centralized; it contributes to executive centre formation at the European level by strengthening the capacity of the European Commission.

Vestlund’s thesis consists of three journal articles in *Public Policy and Administration* and *Journal of*



*Michelle Cini, Nina M. Vestlund, Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal*

*European Public Policy* (one co-authored with her supervisors), and one book chapter in the ‘Palgrave Handbook of the European Administrative System’.

### Committee

Thomas Gehring, University of Bamberg  
Michelle Cini, University of Bristol  
Åse Gornitzka, University of Oslo

### Supervisors

Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal

### Trial lecture

‘The role of expertise in EU governance’

*The PhD thesis is published as ARENA Report 4/15*

## Democracy, expertise and power

**As part of the project Research and Expertise in Society (see p. 11), the Centre for European Studies at Jagiellonian University in cooperation with ARENA organised two schools in Cracow for postgraduate students.**

### Winter School

#### The role of experts in modern European societies

The Winter School was held on 7-15 February 2015 and took as its point of departure the increasing role of experts and expertise in democracies. Among the questions it dealt with were: Who is an expert? What is knowledge? How can we reconcile expertise with various types of democracy? What is the role of academia in contemporary society and what are the implications of public-private partnership? What is the role of mass/social media in developing social movements and democracy?

**Cathrine Holst** held lectures on the concept of knowledge-based society, the role of expertise in policy-making and the performance and behaviour of experts. She also discussed the economic crisis and its ensuing political and social problems, and potential ways out of the recession in light of knowledge-based society, democracy and policy-making.

The lectures by **Hans-Jörg Trenz** focused on digital democracy and the transformation of the public sphere as well as on deliberative democracy

and how it can be brought together with mass democracy. A final line of research was provided by **Åse Gornitzka**, whose two lectures dealt with universities and their role as knowledge institutions, as well as the role of expertise in European policy-making and the link between executive politics and professional expertise in the EU.

### Summer School

#### Making a new Europe in the era of globalisation

The Summer School on 15-24 June 2015 was devoted to analysing the complex relation between globalisation, democracy and power. The students participated at lectures, presentation sessions, debates, and workshops on these themes, as well as on more practically oriented themes such as journalistic editing.

Across Europe, the economic, political, social and cultural spheres are undergoing unrestrained globalisation, which leads to varied consequences within each of these spheres. Developing economies, circulation of goods, services, information and knowledge, diversity, transnational political networks, global social movements and global civil society, are only a few examples of the positive effects of globalisation brought by its supporters. On the other hand, globalisation presents a number of challenges such as fiscal austerity, liberalising



*Cathrine Holst and students at the 2015 Winter School in Cracow (photos: Robert Nartowski)*

capital markets, increasing social inequalities both between the global North and global South and within countries, loss of cultural uniqueness, and human rights violations. The composite reality of a globalised economy, politics and culture has effects on democracy and the concept of power. However, there is little consensus what these effects are.

The Summer School thus asked: How can democracy be built and sustained in Europe? How do we exert power in a global context? What is the role of Europe in new power relations?

**Chris Lord** held the opening lecture ‘Democracy, expertise and power: making Europe in the era of globalisation’. He also lectured on the overall quality, sustainability and legitimacy of democracy in

contemporary Europe, and on the nature of the EU’s democratic deficit. As part of the latter lecture, he introduced students to different methods of assessing the democratic quality of political systems, and how they can be adapted to the case of the EU.

The link between the Euro crisis and the citizens was reviewed and discussed by **Espen Olsen**. He also made students familiar with the distinct characteristics of deliberative theory, its contributions to our thinking on democracy, and the latest debates on a so-called systemic turn in the field.

**Tatiana Fumasoli** in her lecture analysed the challenges for the governance of higher education and research coordination in Europe with a particular focus on the role of universities.

## Erik O. Eriksen 60 years

**The 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ARENA director Erik O. Eriksen was celebrated with a surprise seminar on 22 January 2015.**

The seminar gathered a range of Eriksen's friends and colleagues from his time in Tromsø, Bergen and Oslo. It had been planned in secret by ARENA colleagues, who had invited James Bohman from St. Louis University in the US and Rainer Smalz-Bruns from Leibniz Universität Hannover to talk about Eriksen's scholarly merits. His friend and colleague Anders Molander, former PhD student Anne Skevik Grødem and son Andreas Eriksen were also on the list of invited speakers.

### Combining many roles

**John Erik Fossum**, who has worked closely with Eriksen for many years, introduced the seminar by stating that 'Erik is one of the most prolific political scientists in Norway, and also among the most productive ones in Europe. He has the capability of filling and combining a variety of roles: scientist, public intellectual, networker, teacher, entrepreneur, research coordinator, evaluator and administrator', Fossum explained. He emphasized the inner drive and conviction, which for Eriksen make research a way of life.

### Habermas as an ideal

Many speakers emphasized Jürgen Habermas as a crucial role model in Eriksen's academic work.

**Anders Molander** told about study groups in the early 1980s, debating Habermas' most comprehensive work 'The theory of communicative action'. Communicative rationality has since been a recurring theme in Eriksen's authorship, from professional studies and management theories to political theory and supranational democracy.

**Rainer Schmalz-Bruns** turned to the academic interplay between Habermas and Eriksen, and how Eriksen has tried to make deliberative democratic theory empirically applicable.

'He has tried to complement Habermas' theory of communicative action with the term "working agreement", which is a weaker but more realistic form of agreement between parties. Erik's contributions are crucial in showing how the force of the better argument and the quality of dialogue are critical to reaching agreement', Schmalz-Bruns explained.

It is difficult to fulfill the criteria for achieving rational consensus according to Habermas' theory. Actors must be equally convinced and support the result of the same reasons. With his modification of the theory of communicative action, Eriksen 'discreetly confronted his role model', according to Molander.

### Family quarrels

Schmalz-Bruns further outlined another 'family quarrel' that has arisen between the two thinkers in recent years, concerning the democratisation of the EU. 'Habermas has faced the criticism by Erik and the



Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, Erik O. Eriksen and James Bohman



A selection of Eriksen's many books

other "Arenians", Schmalz-Bruns said, 'and in his latest work he tries to respond to this criticism. In sum, Habermas must himself succumb to "the force of the better argument"', the German professor noted.

**Andreas Eriksen** has partly followed in his father's footsteps. He presented the books 'The black hole of democracy' and 'The normativity of the EU' as examples of their common interest. In his doctoral thesis, he examines how professional roles provide actors with moral reasons. 'My father's work is a great source of inspiration and discussion', Eriksen said.

### The oracle from Vesterålen

**Anne Skevik Grødem** told about her encounter with Eriksen as a PhD supervisor. 'He did not try to hide the fact that my empirical data about policies towards single mothers were not particularly interesting', she said. More rewarding however, was his theoretical contribution, where he contributed to what she called a 'massive light-bulb moment'. As a supervisor, he was genuinely interested in creating

a room for rational deliberation. 'To me, at first, he was simply "that Habermas guy", but he would live up to his nickname "the oracle from Bø in Vesterålen"', Grødem said.

### The Dean's hero

'We've heard a lot about your talent and expertise here today, and your admirable academic activities. Erik, you didn't know this, but you are also my hero', the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, **Fanny Duckert** revealed. As the new Head of Department of Psychology she discovered his book 'Communicative leadership' by coincidence, while looking for literature on public sector leadership. Eriksen here explains how rational communication is critical to success for any leader in government organisations. 'The book has proven to be a great advantage for me as a leader, most notably in strategic work and processes of change. You can see that I have made frequent use of it', Duckert said, holding up a copy showing clear signs of wear and tear.



## 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.**

### 27 January 2015

*Are Icelanders not good Europeans?*

**Baldur Thórhallsson**, University of Iceland

### 3 February 2015

*Constitutionalizing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) through judicial control: institutional prerogatives, consistency and fundamental rights*

**Christina Eckes**, University of Amsterdam

### 3 March 2015

*Euroscepticism as EU polity contestation: from normative assessment to cognitive framing*

**Hans-Jörg Trenz**, ARENA and University of Copenhagen

### 17 March 2015

*The new intergovernmentalism: states and supranational actors in the post-Maastricht era*

**Uwe Puetter**, Central European University in Budapest

### 28 April 2015

*Is constitutional pluralism still relevant to make sense of the constitution of the European Union?*

**Neil Walker**, Edinburgh Law School

**Julio Baquero**, The European Commission

*This extended Tuesday Seminar was also the **European Law Journal's For and Against Series #2** (see further details on p. 42)*

### 5 May 2015

*Responsive technocrats? Public politicisation of European integration and policy-making in the European Commission*

**Christian Rauh**, WZB Social Science Center Berlin

### 12 May 2015

*Assessing the depoliticization of European citizens in a more politicized Union: integrating indifference*

**Virginie Van Ingelgom**, Université catholique de Louvain and Sciences Po Paris



Left: Baldur Þórhallsson from the University of Iceland with Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum at ARENA in January 2015



## 22 September 2015

*Representatives of whom? Party group coordinators in the European Parliament*

**Michael Kaeding**, University of Duisburg-Essen

## 13 October 2015

*What type of power has the EU exercised in the Ukraine-Russia crisis? A framework of analysis*

**Mai'a K. Davis Cross**, ARENA and Northeastern University in Boston

## 20 October 2015

*Putting your money where your mouth is: how cosmopolitanism promotes willingness to*

*redistribute transnationally*

**Theresa Kuhn**, University of Amsterdam

## 3 November 2015

*From the social and democratic Rechtsstaat to the authoritarian and consolidating state of governance: the triple crisis of law in Europe*

**Agustín J. Menéndez**, ARENA and University of León

## 8 December 2015

*Re-envisioning crisis: a comparative discourse approach to EU institutional change*

**Holly Snaith**, University of Copenhagen

## Is constitutional pluralism still relevant to make sense of the constitution of the European Union?

**The European Law Journal's For and Against Series #2 was devoted to constitutional pluralism as a theory to understand the legal system of the EU and its member states.**

The seminar took place as an extended ARENA Tuesday Seminar on 28 April 2015. It was staged as a debate where two speakers gave short opposing lectures on constitutional pluralism as a theory to understand EU law, followed by a discussion.

The seminar was organised by ARENA in cooperation with the European Law Journal and Editor-in-chief **Agustín José Menéndez**. He had invited **Neil Walker** from Edinburgh Law School and **Julio Baquero** from the European Commission's Legal Service to discuss the relevance and salience of constitutional pluralism as an analytical and conceptual tool to understand European constitutional law.

### Constitutional pluralism

The theory of constitutional pluralism has been the most prominent theory to understand the relationship between national and supranational (EU) legal systems. It assumes that European law is grounded in an overlapping set of legal social practices, which presuppose different understandings of the validity basis of Community law.

While Baquero presented a criticism of the established theory in light of historical experience, Walker

offered a defence of constitutional pluralism in his paper 'Constitutional pluralism in Europe: growing pains, geriatric infirmity or mature condition?'.

The two papers were published in the *European Law Journal* in 2016, where Menéndez sums up their contributions as follows: 'What the two papers render evident is that it is high time European legal scholarship transcends 'constitutionalisation' talk and actually engages with the deep constitutional issues at the core of Europe's present pledge. That may require seriously revisiting the *sui generis* and *exceptionalist* characterisations of EU law that have dominated both the pluralist and non-pluralist camps of integration and constitutional theory'.

### The ELJ's For and Against Series

Most academic writing comes in the form of a long monologue. But all fundamental problems are by definition complex both in factual and in normative terms. The *For and Against Series* of the European Law Journal aims at thinking problems in between two opposite views. Each session is organised around one topic and two speakers who engage with each other and encourage the audience and later the readership to look at the two (or more) sides of each fundamental question being debated.

*The papers are published in European Law Journal, volume 22, no. 3, May 2016*



## Other conferences and events

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

- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, 'Crying wolf: the EU and image resilience in times of crisis' and 'The Iraq crisis & transatlantic relations', *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Meeting*, New Orleans, 18-23 February 2015.
- 'The European External Action Service and the European Foreign and Security Policy architecture', *Conference on the emerging coherence of Europe's foreign and security policy architecture*, University of Texas-Austin, 23 February 2015.
  - 'Crisis and catharsis in EU integration' and 'The EU and image resilience in times of crisis', *EUSA 14<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference*, Boston MA, 5-7 March 2015.
  - 'European security integration: the role of a military epistemic community', *Economy of Security Studies Speakers Series*, Boston University, 9 April 2015.
  - 'UK general elections and implications for the EU', *British Consulate*, Boston, 13 April 2015.
  - 'The power of knowledge-based networks', guest lecture, *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)*, 29 April 2015.
  - 'EU climate diplomacy and the challenges of norm entrepreneurship', *Governance Innovation Week conference*, University of Pretoria, 1-5 June 2015.
  - 'The politics of crisis in Europe', guest lecture, *ACCESS Europe*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 9 September 2015.
  - 'European security integration: the power of knowledge-based networks', *European Security Culture project conference*, University of Amsterdam, 10 September 2015.
  - 'European security', guest lecture, *Princeton University*, 10 November 2015.
  - 'The politics of crisis in Europe', guest lecture, *Tufts University*, 19 November 2015.
  - Eriksen, Erik O., 'Krise og solidaritet i EU', guest lecture, *Nordic Summer University winter session*, Oslo, 10 April 2015.
  - 'Segmented differentiation – differentiated citizenship', *bEUcitizen conference*, Zagreb, 29 May 2015.
  - Fossum, John Erik, 'Conceptualising political parties: different theoretical perspectives', 43<sup>rd</sup> Joint

- Sessions of Workshops, *European Consortium for Political Research*, University of Warsaw, 29 March–2 April 2015.
- ‘Partisanship as a political identity’, guest lecture, ACCESS Europe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 11 May 2015.
  - ‘Competing Euro stories: integration, disintegration and accommodation’, guest lecture, ACCESS Europe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 19 May 2015.
  - PhD workshop, ACCESS Europe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 27 May 2015.
  - ‘The complex interplay of integration and accommodation in Europe’, *General Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association*, Ottawa, 2–4 June 2015.
  - ‘Democratic federalization’, Hertie School of Governance’s Workshop on Comparative Federalism, Berlin, 18–19 June 2015.
  - ‘Competing stories? Integration, disintegration and accommodation’, *22nd International Conference of Europeanists*, Council for European Studies, Paris, 8–10 July 2015.
  - ‘The Arctic Contested’, *Nordic Association for Canadian Studies Triennial Conference*, Turku, 12 August 2015.
  - ‘The crisis and prospects for rescuing democracy in Europe’ and ‘Democratic federalism’, *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Montreal, 26–29 August 2015.
  - ‘Europe as a cultural and historical entity: European identity – is there such a thing?’, guest lecture, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Oslo, 1 October 2015.
  - ‘Political Parties: Representation as Conflict Handling in a European Context’, workshop, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard, 29 October 2015.
  - ‘Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU: Challenges and Options’, Governing Europe seminar, Istituto Affari Internazionali and Centro Studi Sul Federalismo, Turin, 10 December 2015.
- Fumasoli, Tatiana, ‘Qualitative method, coding and NVivo software in comparative research’, APROFRAME workshop, Rijeka, 29 April 2015.
- ‘A multi-level approach to the European Research Area: Equal competition among unequal states national research systems, universities and research groups’, *Second International Conference on Public Policy (ICPP)*, Milano, 1–4 July 2015.
  - ‘Leveraging Europe to protect professional interests: European academic associations and

their institutional settings', 9<sup>th</sup> *ECPR General Conference*, University of Montreal, 26-29 August 2015.

Fumasoli, Tatiana, Bojana Culum and Terhi Nokkala, 'Reputation game and networking for careers: early career female scholars as strategic and organic networkers', research seminar, Institute of Education, University of Jyväskylä, 13 May 2015.

- 'Reputation game and networking for academic careers: early career female scholars as strategic and organic networkers', 28<sup>th</sup> *Annual CHER Conference*, Lisbon, 7-9 September 2015.

Fumasoli, Tatiana and Rachelle Esterhazy, 'Institutionalizing strategic behavior in higher education: the case of a German flagship university', *ECER 2015 Conference on Education and Transition: Contributions from Educational Research*, European Educational Research Association, Budapest, 7-11 September 2015.

Holst, Cathrine, 'Public justification and the strategic use of expertise', seminar, Oslo network for research on science and expertise, Oslo, 7 January 2015.

- 'Fører demokrati til menneskelig velferd?' seminar organised by *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* and the Democracy Programme, University of Oslo, 26 February 2015.

- 'Rett og politikk', seminar *Rett og politikk* at the occasion of Rune Slagstad's 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Pax Forlag and Institute for Social Research, Oslo, 27 February 2015.

- 'Ekspertise og deliberativt demokrati', *Vitenskapsteoretisk forum*, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 17 March 2015.

- 'Forskning og akademisk kultur', seminar, *Universitetsfinansiering och vetenskaplig utveckling*, The Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Uppsala, 25 March 2015.

- 'Ekspertiser mellom forskning og politikk', seminar on *institutional theory and institutional change*, Fafo and Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 8 April 2015.

- 'Parity of participation in Norwegian public policy', seminar on Nancy Fraser in a Norwegian Context, Centre for Gender Research, Oslo, 7 May 2015.

- 'Is democracy good for gender equality?', *Democracy and Social Institutions in Change Conference*, University of Oslo, 4-5 June 2015.

- 'The costs and benefits of descriptive representation: women's quotas, variations in state feminism and the fact of reasonable pluralism', workshop seminar on political theory, Oslo-Gothenburg Network, University of Oslo, 17-18 June 2015.

- Holst, Cathrine and Anders Molander, 'From epistemic democracy to epistocracy?', *Nasjonal fagkonferanse i statsvitenskap 2015*, Oslo, 5-7 January 2015.
- Holst, Cathrine, Hege Skjeie and Mari Teigen, 'Failed state feminism', *4<sup>th</sup> European Conference on Politics and Gender*, Uppsala, 11-13 June 2015.
- Holst, Cathrine and Helena Seibicke, 'Gender expertise in the EU: the case of the European Women's Lobby', *4<sup>th</sup> European Conference on Politics and Gender*, Uppsala, 11-13 June 2015.
- Holst, Cathrine and Silje A. Langvatn, 'Expertise and democratic accountability in courts and public administration', seminar, *Challenges to Democracy Today*, Rome, 16-17 April 2015.
- Holst, Cathrine and Åse Gornitzka, 'The role of expert knowledge in EU executive institutions', seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, 10 March 2015.
- Lord, Christopher, 'Externalities and representation beyond the state: lessons from the European Union', workshop organised by the Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna at the University of Harvard, 31 October 2015.
- 'Which parliaments should exercise control over a changing Monetary Union?', *PADEMIA workshop*, University of Cambridge, 27 November 2015.
  - 'The European Parliament and the indirect legitimacy of the European Union', guest lecture, Comenius University, 1 December 2015.
- Michailidou, Asimina, 'The European crisis and the citizens: the role of social media', *EU migrants and the Eurocrisis workshop*, University of Trento, 22 May 2015.
- 'Greece and the Eurocrisis: Is Europe losing its democratic soul?', keynote speech, *IPSA Conference: Democracy and social institutions in change*, University of Oslo, Fafo and Institute for Social Research, Athens, 4-5 June 2015.
  - 'European Union politics, legitimacy and mediatization', *Annual NORDMEDIA Conference*, University of Copenhagen, 13-15 August 2015.
  - 'The medium makes the public? Convergent EU audiences in divergent online spheres', *ECREA Political Communication Section interim conference Changing political communication, changing Europe?*, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, 27-28 August 2015.
  - 'The social consequences of the Eurocrisis', keynote speech, *Comparative Politics Conference*, University of Bergen, 29-30 September 2015.
  - 'Politics, crises and online media in the European Union: rethinking power and legitimacy in the era of mediatization', *ECREA Communication and Democracy conference on Political Agency in the*

*Digital Age*, Copenhagen Business School, 9-10 October 2015.

- ‘What is there to rethink about EU politics in the social media era?’, *Brian McNair half-baked seminar*, University of Oslo, 9 December 2015.

Michailidou, Asimina and Hans-Jörg Trenz, ‘Leaderless populism? Social media and popular discontent’, *Democracy as Idea and Practice Final General Conference*, University of Oslo, 5-6 November 2015.

Olsen, Johan P., ‘Folkestyrets varige spenninger og grunnlovsdebatten’, guest lecture, Volda University College, 17 February 2015.

- ‘Democratic order, autonomy and accountability’, guest lecture, University of Bergen, 18 February 2015.
- ‘Democratic accountability and the terms of political order’, guest lecture, University of Utrecht, 8 October 2015.
- ‘Democratic accountability and the terms of political order’, guest lecture, Comenius University, 15 October 2015.

Rosén, Guri, ‘Supranational (co)sponsors? Explaining the Commission’s growing support for empowering the European Parliament in trade policy’, *EUSA 14<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference*, Boston MA, 5-7 March 2015.

- ‘Parliamentarisation of EU foreign policy: what kind of influence?’, *Conference on powers under external pressure*, Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance, 24 April 2015.
- ‘Secrecy and its democratic challenges in the European Union: the cases of security and economic governance’, *2015 Council for European Studies Conference*, Paris, 8-10 July 2015.
- ‘Supranational (co)sponsors? Explaining the Commission’s growing support for empowering the European Parliament in trade policy’, *UACES 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Bilbao, 7-9 September 2015.
- Sjursen, Helene, ‘Reinforcing executive dominance? Norway and the EU’s foreign and security policy’, *CERGU Seminar*, Gothenburg, 24 February 2015.
- ‘Integration and democracy in the EU’s foreign and security policy’, *EUSA 14<sup>th</sup> biennial Conference*, Boston, 5-7 March 2015.
- ‘Hegemony by Default: Norway and EU’s Foreign and Security Policy’, *Transatlantic Seminar*, University of Edinburgh, 20 March 2015.
- ‘A duty to expand? The question of obligations towards “the other” in a European context’, *8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Cluster of Excellence ‘The formation of Normative Orders’*, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, 19-20 November 2015.

2015.

- ‘Not so weak and divided after all? Making sense of the EU’s responses to the crisis in Ukraine’, *Workshop on Europe’s parallel foreign policy: the Ukraine crisis*, Willy Brandt Centre, University of Wrocław, 27 November 2015.
- ‘On practice and principle: the example of Norway’s relations with the EU in foreign and security policy’, *European diplomatic practices: contemporary challenges and innovative approaches workshop*, London School of Economics and Political Science, 15 December 2015.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg, ‘The playground of identities: online media as cultural mediators’, *ISA Annual Convention: Global IR and Regional Worlds: A New Agenda for International Studies*, New Orleans, 18-21 February 2015.

- ‘The Internet and European integration: a public sphere perspective’, *European Institute’s Europa Seminar Series*, Columbia University, New York, 12 March 2015.
- ‘Conflicts and dissonances as a reaction to transnationalization of communication’, workshop, Freie Universität Berlin, 23-24 March 2015.
- ‘Mediatized transnational conflicts: online media

and the contestation of the legitimacy of the European integration project in times of crisis’, Symposium, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, 30 April 2015.

- ‘Accommodating complex diversity: intra EU mobility and international migration in times of economic recession: the case of Denmark’, *Workshop on EU mobility in times of crisis*, University of Trento, 22 May 2015.
- ‘Mediating complex diversity: migrant accommodation in Denmark’, *12<sup>th</sup> Conference of the European Sociological Association*, Charles University Prague, 25-28 August 2015.



**Outreach**



## Europeanisation of gender equality policies

### Is the EU's gender equality policy deteriorating? And what are the implications for Norway?

The EU's gender equality policy and its implications for the EEA country Norway were discussed at a public conference jointly organised by the Centre for Research on Gender Equality (CORE) and ARENA at the House of Literature in Oslo on 5 November 2015.

The audience were informed by scholarly lectures, and key actors from civil society, labour organisations, public administration and politics were invited to a panel debate in order to shed light on different aspects of Norway's relations with the EU in the gender equality field. State Secretary **Elsbeth Tronstad** (Foreign Ministry) held a keynote on Norwegian and EU gender policies with comments by **Jan Erik Grindheim** (European Movement) and **Anne Beathe Tvinnereim** (Centre Party).

### Standstill and crisis

'The EU's gender equality policy is characterized by downscaling, cutbacks and marginalization', **Johanna Kantola** (Helsinki University) argued in her introductory keynote speech. Kantola painted a rather pessimistic picture of the development and current challenges of the EU's gender equality regime, and claimed that the regime is beginning to deteriorate due to a lack of a clear vision and distinct commitments.

The EU's gender equality policy rests on five pillars: anti-discrimination legislation, affirmative action, gender mainstreaming, action programmes, and funding. Kantola explained that these management tools have been of varying importance to EU member states because of their different starting points and policy traditions. Anti-discrimination legislation has for instance contributed to strengthening the protection against discrimination in the Nordic countries, while funding has been important for member states in Southern Europe.

All five pillars have according to Kantola been weakened over the last decade, with fewer equality directives being put forward, less allocation of money and a general lack of gender considerations in the development of EU policies. Women are also most severely hit by the economic crisis. 'The gender perspective is absent when developing the EU's austerity measures', Kantola argued.

### A progressive Court

A more positive account of the EU as a gender equality promoter was given by **Kirsten Ketscher** (Universities of Copenhagen and Oslo). In her talk on the European Court of Justice (ECJ)'s practice and impact on gender equality, she presented a number of examples of how the ECJ has been very progressive in its interpretation of anti-discrimination law and paved the way for greater gender equality.



*Cathrine Holst (left); Panel with Anita Rahore, Frøydis Patursson, Synnøve Konglevoll, Anne-Cathrine Hjertaas and Petter Sørlien at the Europeanisation of gender equality policies conference*

‘The European Court of Justice is both creative and innovative, and often demonstrates an unexpected interpretation style. It strengthens individual rights, and rejects interpretations that are to the detriment of the individual. The Court is, simply put, a good friend for women’, Ketscher concluded.

### Gender research at ARENA

**Helena Seibicke** (ARENA) presented some insights from her PhD project on the European Women's Lobby, while **Cathrine Holst** (CORE and ARENA), who organised the event, discussed the EU and gender equality policy in Norwegian government reports.

### The way forward

The conference revealed that the EU's influence on Norway's gender equality policy is significant. At

the same time, the Norwegian form of EU affiliation makes it difficult to influence EU policies. The lack of participation rights entails that other channels must be used if Norway is to put its mark on the European gender equality policy.

However, the conditions for lobbying are challenging. **Frøydis Patursson** from the organisation Legal Aid for Women (JURK) was of the opinion that lobbying at the EU level is very resource-demanding. ‘With limited resources we rather prioritize the UN system, where civil society has a much more obvious place than at the EU level’, Patursson said.

**Mari Teigen**, head of CORE, concluded that regardless of the development, it is important to make use of every available room for maneuver if Norway wants to influence the direction of European gender equality policy.

## An evolving EU administration

**Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal presented research on the development of a European administrative space to public servants, with the active participation of state secretaries.**

The Delegation of Norway to the EU, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation invited to a seminar on ‘a new European administration?’ in Oslo on 23 April 2015. **Ingvild Næss Stub**, State Secretary to the Minister of EU/EEA affairs and **Paul Chaffey**, State Secretary to the Minister of Local Government and Modernisation held introductions and participated actively at the one-day seminar, which was held in a crowded auditorium in the government buildings.

### Towards a European administration?

ARENA’s **Morten Egeberg** and **Jarle Trondal** held lectures on the proliferation of new administrative systems in the EU. Through comprehensive empirical studies they find evidence that a European administrative space is developing under the direction of the European Commission. This is taking place through the establishment of agencies, networks and other kinds of close and extensive cooperation between the Commission and national agencies.

National ministries on the other hand, are often not part of this cooperation. In this way, national

directorates and supervisory authorities acquire a ‘two-hatted’ role as part of a national as well as a European administration. The cooperation encompasses, to a large extent and in different ways, the development of new regulations and policies, which means that subunits acquire a more prominent role in EEA-related work.

The impact of this development is further strengthened by increased freedom of national agencies and the use of new forms of regulations, with less use of binding regulations (hard law) and more use of non-binding regulations (soft law).

### Great interest with the public administration

‘The active and enthusiastic discussions at the seminar confirmed that this is a very important issue for the public administration, and pointed to weaknesses as well as good examples of how to organise the cooperation’, the government wrote in its summary of the seminar.

State Secretary Chaffey wrote the following on his blog after the event: ‘Late April I attended a full seminar on Norway’s relations with EU institutions. This is more peculiar than it may sound, for although I open or introduce quite a few seminars and conferences, I can rarely spend several hours listening to introductions by experts and discussions between ministries and directorates about how they work together on European issues on a daily basis’.



*State Secretaries Paul Chaffey and Ingvild Næss Stub (left) received academic input from Morgen Egeberg and Jarle Trondal (far right) (left photo: regjeringen.no)*

## Europe in Transition

**On 4 November, the Research Council of Norway organised the seminar 'Europe in Transition: Developments in the EU and impacts for Norway'.**

The seminar was part of the Research Council's Europe in Transition initiative, which seeks to promote high-quality Europe-related research, generate new knowledge about Europe in crisis as well as to promote effective management of Norway's relations with the EU.

The seminar was set up as a venue where

researchers from the three projects funded under this programme presented their research to different stakeholder groups. From ARENA, **John Erik Fossum** presented a status report on the EuroDiv project (see p. 2).

Two research areas of the project were presented in more detail: **Helene Sjursen** discussed how Norway's affiliation with the EU in the domain of foreign and security policy is problematic from a democratic point of view; and **Morten Egeberg** gave a presentation on national administrative sovereignty embedded in a multilevel administrative architecture, and how national sovereignty is under pressure.

## Independence under hegemony?

**A collective volume investigating the relationship between the EU and neighbouring states affiliated with the Union was released in 2015.**

The 2014 Norwegian constitutional bicentennial served as a catalyst to investigate the state of democracy in Norway. As a follow-up, Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum wanted to investigate the state of affairs of other EU-associated non-members.

The EU has a range of associations with its neighbouring countries, either because these do not want full EU membership, or because they do not qualify for it. The results of the cross-national study are published in the book 'The EU's non-members: independence under hegemony?' (see p. 14).

### The EEA Agreement as a blueprint

Norway, Switzerland and Iceland are studied in-depth, as well as the range of agreements between the EU and associated countries. The book indicates that the different agreements have become more complex as European integration covers ever more sectors. The EU increasingly refers to the dynamic EEA as the ideal model for neighbours seeking access to the European market. It has effective solutions for a dynamic adaptation to the evolving EU legislation. The other neighbourhood models of deep economic integration have reached their limits, as they lack efficient arrangements for ensuring market homogeneity.

### Sovereignty lost regardless of model

The volume further asks whether states closely affiliated with the EU, but which have chosen not to be full members, experience effects on their legal and political self-governing capabilities. Eriksen and Fossum conclude that the reality on the ground is quite similar despite important formal differences between these countries. Regardless of the association model with the EU, non-members experience a loss of sovereignty.

The EU's closely associated non-members exist under a form of 'self-inflicted hegemony'. This problem becomes more manifest the closer and more formalised the association is, the editors argue.

### The UK, a once and future (?) non-member

The book also offers an analysis of the historical factors which have contributed to tensions between the UK and the EU in a chapter by Christopher Lord. In light of the current debate on the UK's EU membership and the upcoming Brexit referendum in 2016, the book proved to be of great current interest.

The lessons from associated non-members offered in the volume were highly relevant and contributed to enlighten the issues at stake for Britain. Findings were discussed at several events in Norway, Iceland and the UK throughout the year.

*Read more at [arena.uio.no](http://arena.uio.no):*

- *'Democracy lost for non-members', 21 Dec 2015*





*Will Britain end up like Norway? John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord at a crowded public debate in Oslo (left)  
Lessons for Britain from non-members were also discussed at the University of Oxford (right)*

*(also available at [scienordenordic.com](http://scienordenordic.com))*

- ‘What options for EU non-members?’ 26 Oct 2015
- ‘Brexit and the UK’s future’, 22 June 2015 (also available at [scienordenordic.com](http://scienordenordic.com))

### Book presentations and events

‘Is living under the EEA Agreement akin to “independence under hegemony”?’, John Erik Fossum, ‘EEA: State of Play and Future Challenges Conference’, Institute of International Affairs, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, 10 April 2015

‘The European Union’s non-members: independence under hegemony?’, Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, book launch at

Birkbeck University of London, 22 June 2015

‘Will Britain end up like Norway?’, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, panel discussion, House of Literature, Oslo, 26 October 2015 (see p. 56)

‘Is Brexit akin to independence under hegemony?’, Erik O. Eriksen, John Erik Fossum and Christopher Lord, European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, 10 November 2015

### The book in the media

Oslo-forskere gir britene råd om livet utenfor EU, Christopher Lord, ABC Nyheter [interview], 24 June 2015.

## Will Britain end up like Norway?

### What are the alternatives to full EU membership for the UK? What can Britain learn from current non-members?

On 26 October 2015, ARENA hosted a public event in association with the British Politics Society. Around 60 people met at the House of Literature in Oslo to engage in a panel discussion on Britain's future.

Britain is often identified as an 'awkward' and reluctant EU member state. The relationship is now at a crossroads, following Prime Minister David Cameron's promise to renegotiate the terms for Britain's EU membership and to hold a national referendum. But what are the British alternatives to full membership and what can Britain learn from current non-members?

The discussions revolved around analyses from the recent book 'The EU's non-members: independence under hegemony?' (see p. 14), which is co-edited by **John Erik Fossum**, who also chaired the event.

In this book, **Christopher Lord** analyses the UK's troubled relationship with the EU since the 1950s. He started out by outlining four possible futures for Britain after the EU referendum, which he called: (a) completely in; (b) in but not completely in; (c) out but not completely out; and (d) completely out. He went on to show how (b) and (c) have claims to historical continuity with previous British relationships with European integration.

In the panel was also **Isabelle Hertner**

(University of Birmingham), who discussed Germany's view on the UK referendum and Chancellor Angela Merkel's key role in the British government's attempt to renegotiate the UK's membership terms.

Two prevailing 'tales of Norwegian outsidership' were found by **Kristin M. Haugevik** (NUPI) in the current British political discourse. She also looked at potential implications for Norway of a Brexit.

All panelists had contributed to the August issue of *British Politics Review*, bearing the title 'Still with Europe, but not of it? Taking stock of Britain's European debate'.

## What is the EU good for?

### What makes the EU keep on working when confronted with crises and conflicts, disappointments and setbacks?

**Erik O. Eriksen** sheds light on the EU as an idea and concept in his newest book, which is published in Norwegian with the title 'What is the EU good for?' (see p. 16). The book was launched at a fully-packed debate organised by the publisher Cappelen Damm in Oslo on 23 September 2015.

The event 'Hvorfor klikker ingen på EU?' [Why doesn't anyone click on the EU?] also discussed a





*Christopher Lord (left); Erik O. Eriksen with journalist Alf Ole Ask and EU/EEA Minister Vidar Helgesen (right)*

second book written by journalists **Alf Ole Ask** and Dag Yngland. The two books were discussed by authors Eriksen and Ask, as well as Norwegian Minister for EU and EEA affairs **Vidar Helgesen**.

Among the themes discussed by the panelists were the lack of openness and debate on Norway's ongoing EU adaptation, and whether media contribute to the democratic deficit by giving less priority to the EU. Norway has refused EU membership twice, yet thousands of EU laws have been implemented through the EEA Agreement.

'We are living in a lobby democracy', Eriksen argued. 'The politicians have to take responsibility. Brits state that they should by no means end up in the same situation as Norway'. Minister Helgesen

admitted that the EEA Agreement represents an uncomfortable situation for Norwegian politicians. 'This is why we don't like to talk about it that much. However, the prospect of a new EU debate is even more uncomfortable', he said.

Eriksen provided some explanations on the rationale behind European integration, and why it is difficult for member states to withdraw from this 'locked-in cooperation'. He identified the normative commitments that the EU is founded on: human rights, impartiality, democracy, and dignity.

*See more at [arena.uio.no](http://arena.uio.no):*

- *'The 'musts' of European integration', 9 May 2014*
- *A video of the debate is also available*

## Reclaiming the normative foundations of the EU

**Erik O. Eriksen** was invited to discuss his latest book *The Normativity of the European Union* at a seminar in Brussels on 23 February 2015.

In November 2014, **Erik O. Eriksen** published the book in German 'Die Normativität der Europäischen Union' with Verlag Karl Alber. At the seminar *Reclaiming the Normative Foundations of the EU*, he presented his analyses and ideas to the Brussels public. The event was organised by the Minister for Federal and European Affairs of the State of Hessen and the Goethe University Frankfurt.

The European Union is currently in a major crisis, maybe the greatest crisis since its inception. Against this backdrop, it is important to reassess and redefine the normative foundations of this transnational political organisation. In his talk, Eriksen critically reconstructed the principles that formed the basis of the European integration process so far.

Eriksen's pragmatist approach allows for a new dynamic understanding of this process. This approach no longer draws on classic and stiff categories like sovereignty or political self-determination, but understands the gradual formation of the European Union as a process of reflexive integration. Eriksen demonstrated how the principles of democracy, deliberation, justice, rule of law and solidarity are combined in a normative structure that drives the process of integration.

At the same time he pointed to the threat that in the course of the current crisis, a lasting arbitrary rule develops, in which the economically strong states force far-reaching structural adjustment programmes on the weaker ones. Eriksen concluded by pointing out where the normative resources of European integration are that can be brought into position against such a reversion to the interest-driven politics of single states.

**Mark Weinmeister**, the State Secretary for European Affairs of the State of Hessen and **Matthias Lutz-Bachmann**, Vice President for Research at Goethe University Frankfurt held welcoming remarks. **Jo Leinen**, Member of the European Parliament, commented on Eriksen's scholarly presentation.

## Other outreach activities

Egeberg, Morten, 'Nasjonale direktorater og tilsyn – også styrt av EU-kommisjonen?', course on agency management, Oslo, 4 December 2015.

Fossum, John Erik, 'Et differensiert Europa? Mellom integrasjon og Nasjonal suverenitet', *The Nils Klim Dialogue*, Bergen, 8 June 2015.



Nils Klim Prize Laureate Rebecca Adler-Nissen in conversation with John Erik Fossum (photo: Ole K. Olsen)



Jarle Trondal at the European Ombudsman's 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Colloquium (video: European Ombudsman)

Holst, Cathrine, 'Grunnleggende og anvendt forskning i samfunnsvitenskap', seminar, Research Council of Norway, Son, 21 April 2015.

Holst, Cathrine, 'Hva er utfordringene for likestillingen nå?', seminar, Norwegian Parliament, Labour Party, Oslo, 7 May 2015.

Michailidou, Asimina, '#Greececrisis: the mechanics', keynote speech, Research Council of Norway's Society and Health Division Seminar, Holmsbu, 27 August 2015.

Olsen, Johan P., 'Hvordan står det til med det norske demokratiet?', *Young Ambassadors' Politics and Power Seminar*, Oslo, 25 February 2015.

Trondal, Jarle, 'The European Ombudsman: a resilient institution in a turbulent administrative system', *European Ombudsman 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Colloquium*, Brussels, 22 June 2015.

Trondal, Jarle, 'Passiv europapolitikk og betydningen for kommunene', Seminar for the Europe Network, Municipality of Oslo, 21 October 2015.

John Erik Fossum 'European integration in crisis: origins, challenges, and visions', *Swedish Institute of International Affairs Seminar Series*, Stockholm, 20 August 2015.

## Media contributions

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

### Op-eds

Enighet for enhver pris?, Helene Sjursen, Klassekampen, 1 October 2015.

Hvem skal løse Europas problemer?, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten, 16 December 2015.

### Interviews based on own research

How to give the next generation of scholars a career boost, Tatiana Fumasoli, Times Higher Education, 15 January 2015.

Academic work and careers in Europe, Tatiana Fumasoli, Ideas on Europe, 27 April 2015.

Norsk EU-politikk er ikke aktiv, men dominert av direktorater, Jarle Trondal, Ukeavisen Ledelse, 9 October 2015.

Mener EU blir en stadig sterkere utenrikspolitisk aktør, Marianne Riddervold and Guri Rosén, Ukebladet Ledelse, 6 November 2015.

### Blogs and comments

Federica Mogherini's first seven months in office: a balancing act between supranational and

intergovernmental decision-making, Tine E. J. Brøgger and Johanne D. Saltnes, EUROPP blog, 24 June 2015.

From internal to external EU diplomacy, Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Border Crossing Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 6-8, 1 February 2015.

'Norway entrapped in the EU', Erik O. Eriksen, ARENA blog, 9 November 2015.

Who will solve the Europeans' problems?, Erik O. Eriksen, ARENA blog, 15 December 2015.

Britain and the European Union: four futures, Chris Lord, British Politics Review, No. 3, Summer 2015.

Spanish elections: most left unsettled, Agustín J. Menéndez, ARENA blog, 21 December 2015.

The Commission exerts far more influence over EU foreign and security policy than is commonly recognised, Marianne Riddervold, EUROPP blog, 10 September 2015.

National officials working for the Commission display a surprising amount of independence from their own governments, Jarle Trondal, Zuzana Murdoch and Benny Geys, EUROPP blog, 12 February 2015.



- 27 January 2015.
- Hellas har beveget seg fremover, Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten.no [interview], 28 January 2015.
- Hellas i forhandlinger med EU, Asimina Michailidou, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 28 January 2015.
- Revitalisering av demokratiet, Erik O. Eriksen, Vårt Land [interview], 28 January 2015.
- Tsipras kan lukkast med mykje, Asimina Michailidou, Vårt Land [interview], 28 January 2015.
- Tror ikkje Hellas vil stå alene, Asimina Michailidou, NTB [interview], 29 January 2015.
- Tror på utvidede sanksjoner mot Russland, Johanne D. Saltnes, NRK Dagsnytt 18 [radio interview], 29 January 2015.
- Mindre kameraderi med ny regjering, Asimina Michailidou, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 30 January 2015.
- Syriza viktig for spanske Podemos, Agustín J. Menéndez, Ny Tid [interview], 30 January 2015.
- Sped optimisme i Hellas etter valget, Asimina Michailidou, Silkebækken, NRK P13, [radio interview], 31 January 2015.
- Fra kriseløsning til ideologisk krig, Asimina Michailidou, Klassekampen [interview], 2 February 2015.
- Eriksen om Merkels utfordringer, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK Dagsnytt 18 [radio interview], 3 February 2015.
- Nekter å kutte, Agustín J. Menéndez, Dagsavisen [interview], 18 February 2015.
- EU-krav på rekke og rad, Erik O. Eriksen, Klassekampen [interview], 1 April 2015.
- Den feministiske våren, Cathrine Holst, Universitas [interview], 22 April 2015.
- Risky research, Erik O. Eriksen, Universitas [interview], 14 May 2015.
- Euroen, fredsprosjektet som ble en bombe, Agustín J. Menéndez, Adresseavisen [interview], 5 June 2016.
- Betaler dyrt for krisen, Asimina Michailidou, Dagsavisen [interview], 24 June 2015.
- Gjentatte reforhandlinger svekker tillit, Asimina Michailidou, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 24 June 2015.
- Katastrofe hvis Hellas går konkurs, Erik O. Eriksen, E24.no [interview], 24 June 2015.
- Velgere protesterer mot innholdsløse valg, Agustín J. Menéndez, Stavanger Aftenblad [interview], 26 June 2015.
- Krisens ansikter, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 3 July 2015.





*Johanne Døhlie Saltnes and Erik O. Eriksen in NRK's Dagsnytt Atten studio, and Asimina Michailidou interviewed about the election in Greece on NRK's 'Urx'.*

Grekere hamstrer penger og mat før folkeavstemning, Erik O. Eriksen, Nettavisen [interview], 4 July 2015.

Det er umulig å si noe om utfallet, Erik O. Eriksen, E24.no [interview], 4 July 2015.

Statsvitere oppgitte over dagens folkeavstemning i Hellas, Erik O. Eriksen, VG [interview], 5 July 2015.

Kan være nederlag for Merkel, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK.no [interview], 6 July 2015.

Professor understreker alvoret, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 6 July 2015.

Hellas-krisen: – Tyskland har aldri betalt tilbake sin gjeld, John Erik Fossum, Nettavisen [interview], 6 July 2015.

Ikke bare Hellas som har lånt over pipa, Erik O. Eriksen, NRK.no [interview], 9 July 2015.

Fire myter om Hellas og forklaringen på hvorfor de er feil, Erik O. Eriksen and Asimina Michailidou, Aftenposten.no [interview], 10 July 2015.

Stemmeseddel uten verdi, Erik O. Eriksen, Klassekampen [interview], 13 July 2015.

Professor om Hellas-avtalen: – Utislørt maktbruk fra kreditorene, John Erik Fossum, NRK [interview] 14 July 2015.

London må gå konkurs før britene går inn i euroen, Erik O. Eriksen, E24.no [interview], 15 July 2015.

Kan gjøre familiegjenforening vanskeligere, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 22 July 2015.



Tre grunner til at EUs popularitet stiger til værs, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 11 August 2015.

Klar for tøff tid, Asimina Michailidou, Klassekampen [interview], 12 August 2015.

Skal vi tilbake til situasjonen før andre verdenskrig, så vær så god, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 15. august 2015

Har uttømt sitt utopiske potensial, Erik O. Eriksen, Vårt Land [interview], 19 August 2015.

Flyktninger presser EUs grensesamarbeid, Espen D.H. Olsen, Vårt Land [interview], 26 August 2015.

The European Union's refugee crisis, Espen D.H. Olsen, NRK Radio P2 Søndagsavisa [radio interview], 30 August 2015.

The European Union's refugee crisis, Espen D.H. Olsen, NRK Radio P2 Nyhetsmorgen [radio interview], 3 September 2015.

Flyktningkrisen: Frykter økt nasjonalisme bremses EU, Erik O. Eriksen and Espen D.H. Olsen, Ukeavisen Ledelse [interview], 4 September 2015.

Flyktningene tar beina fatt, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagsavisen [interview], 5 September 2015.

EUs ansvar å ta imot flyktninger, ikke Tysklands, Erik O. Eriksen, Dagbladet [interview], 11 September

2015.

Flyktningkrisen vil endre Europa, Erik O. Eriksen, NTB [interview], printed in Dagsavisen, Dagens Næringsliv, Agderposten, Avisa Hordaland and ABC Nyheter, 14-15 September 2015.

Gir ikke opp, Espen D.H. Olsen, Dagsavisen [interview], also printed in Rogalands Avis and Moss Dagblad, 16 September 2015.

Professor: – Ikke lenger utenkelig at EU går opp i limingen, Johan P. Olsen, Aftenposten [interview], 18 September 2015.

Ekspert om historisk flyktningvedtak: – Landene i Øst-Europa har fått seg en lærepeng, Erik O. Eriksen, Aftenposten [interview], 23 September 2015.

EU ligner mer og mer på en føderalstat, Erik O. Eriksen, Ukeavisen Ledelse [interview], 16 October 2015.

Valg i Canada, John Erik Fossum, NRK Urix [TV interview], 19 October 2015.

Flere av Schengen-landene gjør ikke jobben sin, Erik O. Eriksen, Nettavisen [interview], 26 October 2015.

Defekt krisehåndtering?, Jarle Trondal, Fædrelands-vennen [comment], 2 November 2015.

Erik O. Eriksen on EU's refugee policy, NRK Dagsnytt

atten [radio interview], 13 November 2015.

Norge leder an i forskning på EU, forskningsradet.no  
[Norway rules in EU research], 13 November 2015.

Forsterker bare spenningene og skillene, Erik O.  
Eriksen, Dagens Næringsliv [interview], 15  
November 2015.

Skjerper kontrollen ved grensene, Espen D.H. Olsen,  
Dagsavisen [interview], 20 November 2015.

Fri bevegelse blir neppe ofret, Espen D.H. Olsen,  
Aftenposten [comment], 27 November 2015.

Norsk EU-professor: – EU kan beslutte  
flyktningekvoter til hvert land, Erik O. Eriksen,  
ABC Nyheter [interview], 5 December 2015.

Baudet føreslår kontrarevolusjon, Erik O. Eriksen,  
Dag og Tid [interview], 11 December 2015.

EU vil patruljere Norges grenser, Erik O. Eriksen,  
Ukeavisen Ledelse [interview], 11 December 2015.

## Videos

All makt i denne sal? Helene Sjursen, Saturday  
Lecture ‘Er Stortinget satt på sidelinjen?’, NRK2  
(aired 31 January 2015).



*Helene Sjursen giving the lecture 'Er Stortinget satt på sidelinjen?' on NRK2 (aired 31 January 2015).*

## Weblectures on parliamentary democracy:

A number of academic experts from the PADEMIA network were invited to give a ‘signature talk’ to lay out the key ideas of the Erasmus Academic Network PADEMIA. The lectures were given at a workshop on ‘Multilevel Democracy’ hosted by VU University Amsterdam in the fall of 2014.

- John Erik Fossum, ‘EU Democracy in Light of Different Conceptions of the EU Political System’ (12:54).
- Christopher Lord, ‘An Indirect Legitimacy Argument for a Directly Elected European Parliament’ (8:21).

## Prizes and nominations

### **Professor Emeritus Johan P. Olsen was elected fellow of the US National Academy of Public Administration.**

Professor emeritus Johan P. Olsen has been elected fellow of the US National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) in Washington, DC. He is the only European in the latest class of NAPA fellows, who were formally inducted on 3 December 2015 at the Academy's annual conference in Crystal City in Arlington, Virginia.

Established in 1967, NAPA consists of professional and academic leaders in public management, and is chartered by the US Congress to assist federal, state and local governments in improving their effectiveness, efficiency and accountability.

The academy names only a limited number of fellows each year. The fellows include former cabinet officers, Members of Congress, governors, mayors, state legislators, as well as prominent scholars, business executives, and public administrators.

The distinguished fellowship is a recognition of Johan P. Olsen's outstanding record of public administration scholarship. Olsen was the founding director of ARENA, which was established on his initiative as the research programme 'Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State' by the Norwegian Research Council in 1994. Since 2007, he has been professor emeritus at ARENA.



*Johan P. Olsen (left) and Hans-Jörg Trenz (right)*

### **Hans-Jörg Trenz received a best-article prize from the Journal of Common Market Studies.**

The 2013 Best Article Prize of the Journal of Common Market Studies was awarded to Hans-Jörg Trenz and Paul Statham in 2015 for their article: 'How EU politicisation can emerge through contestation: the constitution case'. The article was published in the journal's September 2013 issue.

The jury considered this to be 'a very impressive empirical work that is well presented and that makes a clear contribution to our knowledge in this field. The topic is highly relevant, both from a scientific and policy perspective. The approach employed in this paper is considered highly innovative and very well executed.'



# **Organisation and staff**

# Personnel and economy

As a research centre based at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oslo, the main part of ARENA’s budget is financed by external funding sources. In 2015, the centre’s main sources of external funding were the Research Council of Norway, the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation.

## Key figures 2015

Professors including research professors (work years)	6
Senior researchers and post docs (work years)	5.6
PhD fellows	6.0
MA students	5.0
Administrative staff (work years)	3.0
Total budget (NOK million)	18
External financing	65 %

## The ARENA Board

### Chair

**Tor Saglie**

Ministry of Justice and Public Security

### Board members

**Inger Johanne Sand**

Department of Public and International Law,  
University of Oslo

**Steinar Stjernø**

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

**Carlo Thomsen**

Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and  
Modernisation

**John Erik Fossum**

Staff representative, ARENA

**Nina Merethe Vestlund**

**Cathrine Holst** (from February)

Staff representatives, ARENA

*Deputy members for staff representatives:*

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** (Jan-Aug)



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.

**Ida Hjelmesæth** (Sep–)

## Academic staff



### Prof. John Erik Fossum

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

*ACCESS EUROPE Amsterdam (May)*



### Dr. Tatiana Fumasoli

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

*Until May*



### Prof. Cathrine Holst

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



### Prof. Christopher Lord

Research: Democracy, legitimacy and the EU, political parties in the EU, the history of Britain and 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

*Until September*



### Dr. Espen D. H. Olsen

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



### Prof. emeritus Johan P. Olsen

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



### Dr. Marianne Riddervold

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

*Research stay at the Institute of European Studies, University of California, Berkeley (From July)*





**Dr. Guri Rosén**

Research: EU's external trade policy, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the European Parliament  
*Based at the University of Gothenburg in 2015*



**Prof. Helene Sjursen**

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

## Part-time



**Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross**

*Professor, Political Science, Northeastern University*

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



**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



**Tine Elisabeth Johnsen Brøgger**

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



**Johanna Strikwerda**

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



**Guri Rosén**

PhD project: 'The Role of the European Parliament in the EU's Foreign Policy'  
*Thesis defended in January*



**Silje H. Tørnblad**

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

*Research stay at the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley from July*



**Johanne Døhlle Saltnes**

PhD project: 'Political Conditionality in the EU Cooperation Agreements with the ACP States'

*On leave July – December*



**Nina Merethe Vestlund**

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

*Thesis defended in September*



**Helena Seibicke**

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

*On leave from June*

## Guest researchers



### Morgane Gertz-Roger

*PhD student, Centre for International Studies, Sciences Po Paris*

Project: 'Europeanisation through delegation? Mobilising non-state actors in the implementation of the EU's external policy in the southern neighbourhood'

*From October*



### Eva Krick

*Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences, Humboldt University Berlin*

Project: 'Participatory governance in knowledge-intensive fields – reconciling epistemic and political authority in energy policy'

*Stay funded by E.ON Stipendienfonds and German Research Council*

*From April*



### Maria Gajarska Kucerova

*PhD student, Comenius University Bratislava*

Project: 'Who are the spoilers of the peace processes and their influence on the stability of peace'

*November*



### Heidi Mercenier

*PhD student, Université Saint-Louis Bruxelles*

Project: Legitimisation of the EU from the citizens' point of view

*Stay funded by IDA scholarship  
March – June*



### Diego Praino

*PhD*

Project: 'Which system of government? Defining the structure of the EU model'

*From April*



### Dovile Rimkute

*PhD student, Geschwister-Scholl Institute of Political Science, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich*

Project: 'Explaining differences in scientific expertise use: The case of food safety regulation'

*August – September*



### Bent Sofus Tranøy

*Professor, Hedmark University College and Oslo School of Management*

Project: Political economy and the Eurocrisis.

*All year (part time)*

## Administration



**Marit Eldholm**  
Research and Communications Advisor



**Ida Hjelmecæth**  
Finance and Personnel Management  
*Until August*  
*Administrative Director from September*



**Geir Ove Kværk**  
Senior Advisor  
*From September*  
*Administrative Director until September*



**Nina Merethe Vestlund**  
Higher Executive Officer  
*May*

## Research assistants



**Trym Nohr Fjærtøff**  
*Part time from November*



**Tor Kristian Overå Haldorsen**  
*Part time from November*



**Veronica Thun**  
*Part time until July*

## MA students

### Spring 2015



#### **Kjersti Varpe Nørgaard**

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

*Supervisor: Espen D. H. Olsen*



#### **Linn Tomasdotter**

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

*Supervisor: Åse Gornitzka*



#### **Veronica Thun**

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

*Supervisor: Espen D. H. Olsen*

### Fall 2015



#### **Eilev Hegstad**

‘Moral experts in the European Union: Assessing the European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies (EGE) experts’ performance’

*Supervisor: Cathrine Holst*



#### **Astrid Lie Olsen**

‘The participation of Norwegian public administrative bodies in overlapping EU-networks and Nordic networks – a Case study of the Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection’

*Supervisor: Morten Egeberg*





**Annual report 2015**  
**ARENA Centre for European Studies**

University of Oslo  
P.O.Box 1143 Blindern  
0318 Oslo  
Phone: +47 22 85 87 00  
Fax: +47 22 85 87 10  
[arena@arena.uio.no](mailto:arena@arena.uio.no)  
[www.arena.uio.no](http://www.arena.uio.no)

© ARENA Centre for European Studies 2016

This publication can be downloaded from  
[www.arena.uio.no](http://www.arena.uio.no)  
or ordered by e-mail to [arena@arena.uio.no](mailto:arena@arena.uio.no)

Graphic design: Marit Eldholm/ARENA  
Print: o7 Media AS Oslo  
Photos © University of Oslo (unless otherwise specified)

Oslo, August 2016