

Efficient and Democratic Multilevel Governance in Europe

Newsletter - Fifth Issue © July 2007

Editorial

Welcome to the 5th edition of the CONNEX newsletter, where we will be taking a look back at the last 6 months and present the main network activities coming up for this work period.

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Professor Deirdre Curtin, coordinator of the CONNEX Research Group 2, received this year's Spinoza Prize from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research for her outstanding contribution to the development and promotion of international and European law.

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Notice

Barbara Finke, who was manager of Research Group 4 will leave Mannheim at the end of September 2007 for another position at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. We wish Barbara all the best for her new start. Christine Quittkat, who was already part of the management team, will take over and manage the RG4 activities until the end of the year.

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www.connex-network.org

Editorial

by *Fabrice Larat*

CONNEX has once again reached a milestone: the end of our 2nd work period as well as the end of the 3rd reporting period, which means that the last spurt to the finish line has begun.

There are now only 12 months remaining for implementing the joint programme of activities and for us to achieve our objectives, which were set at the beginning of the project. Consequently, the coming months, especially leading up to the CONNEX Final Conference (6-8 March 2008), will be intensive and challenging. All Research Groups are preparing for their final activities which include the wrapping-up conferences. These conferences should complete the cross-cutting dimension and ask and answer questions on the scientific achievements of the Research Groups in view of the general CONNEX problematic.

At the Executive Committee meeting in Florence on Friday the 28th of June the work programme and budget for the new period, started on the 1st of July, were also decided and agreed upon (available at www.connex-network.org).

Taking a look at the past few months, one can see that CONNEX really is a maturing project and that this conclusive period is bound to be fruitful thanks to the accomplishments up to date. During these months, there have been a considerable number of workshops and conferences dealing with captivating issues and with high level contributors, many of which will result in promising publications. On pages 7 – 9 of this newsletter there are examples of recent CONNEX publications. In this issue, you will also find reports on the two impressive cross-cutting conferences held in Florence, in May and June, as well as an article on the successful Research Group 1 meeting, held in Barcelona from the 7th to the 9th of June.

Unfortunately, despite the academic achievements and promising work, CONNEX has also had to deal with persisting difficulties with the financial management during the past 12 months. The submission of the management report for July 2005 – June 2006, as well as the approval by the Commission, was considerably delayed. This had to do with two problems; on the one hand, the administration of several partner universities was

either terribly late in completing the required documents or completed them incorrectly. On the other hand, there were also organisational problems within the Commission, which meant that it took ages for them to finally check the report.

The result of these complications is that we are still awaiting the transfer of money from Brussels. Serious cash-flow problems have also meant that some partners have also not been able to receive the funding allocated for either past or forthcoming activities. We apologise for this frustrating delay and thank you once again for your patience. As we now begin the preparation of the report for July 2006 – June 2007, we can only hope that the paperwork will be completed quicker and smoother.

To end off, I would like to just convey some good news. Firstly, Deidre Curtin, the coordinator of Research Group 2 (Democratic governance and multilevel accountability) has received the distinguished Spinoza prize from the Netherland Organisation for Scientific Research. We are very proud to have such a reputable scholar in our network and would like to congratulate her once again. Secondly, the CONNEX partner institute, ARENA at the University of Oslo has received a huge grant from the Norwegian Research Council for research on the political transformation of Europe. Once again, we are honoured to acknowledge this achievement and to have ARENA participating in our network. ■

Announcement

The CONNEX Final Conference will take place in Mannheim on the 7th and 8th of March 2008. The arrival date will be Thursday the 6th of March.

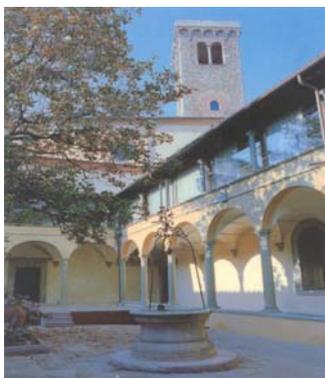
The official invitations will be sent out to all CONNEX participants in autumn this year, but please already note the dates in your calendars!

“Political Representation” and “Accountability”

Second and Third Thematic Cross-cutting Conferences
held in Florence on May and June 2007 at the European University Institute

The problem of political representation in contemporary democracies and in the EU polity has been one of the major themes developed within the Network of Excellence CONNEX. To mark the half-way stage in the development of the network, and to discuss the first fruits of this cooperation, Peter Mair (RG2) and Jacques Thomassen (RG3) on the one hand, Deirdre Curtin, Peter Mair and Yannis Papadopoulos (all RG2) on the other hand organised two cross-cutting thematic conferences, which both took place at the European University Institute. One was on political representation, held on 25-26 May, 2007 and the other dealt with accountability and was held on 29-30 June, 2007.

The objective of the first conference on “Political Representation” was to confront different conceptions of political representation with each other, in particular with respect to their applicability to the system of multi-level governance in the European Union. Political representation is an essentially contested concept. Its meaning has evolved with the development of representative democracy, and normative theories of political representation often evolved as a reflection on developing practices rather than the other way around. It is therefore no surprise that the development of forms of multi-level governance, in the EU in particular, hardly meeting the requirements of classic theories of representative democracy, has led to the development of alternative theories of political representation.



One of the main questions with regard to the development of alternative theories and practices of political representation is how legitimate they are in light of normative theories of democracy. The main purpose of

this conference was to discuss the feasibility and legitimacy of various theories and models of political representation in the context of the European Union.



During the course of the conference, 6 main papers were presented by key speakers, followed by well prepared comments by discussants. Other participants at the conference were also afforded ample opportunity to participate in the general discussion.

Programme Conference on Political Representation

- 1) *Electoral democracy as a model of political representation*
Peter Mair (Florence) and Jacques Thomassen (Twente)
Discussant: Gabrielle Ilonszki (Budapest)
- 2) *Political representation and civil society*
Beate Kohler-Koch (Mannheim)
Discussant: Hans-Jeorg Trenz (Arena, Norway)
- 3) *Political representation, public opinion, and the public sphere: the role of the media*
Thomas Risse (Berlin)
Discussant: Mark Franklin (EUI)
- 4) *Democratic governance without political representation?*
Richard Bellamy (London)
Discussant: Johannes Pollak (Vienna)
- 5) *Representation in a multi-level political system: the lessons from federalism*
Glyn Morgan (Harvard)
Discussant: Rainer Eising (Jena)
- 6) *The European Parliament: One parliament, several models of political representation?*
David Farrell (Manchester) and Roger Scully (Aberystwyth)
Discussant: Anne Rasmussen (Copenhagen)

The scope and reach of accountability and its conceptualisation has been from the very beginning one of the principal themes of CONNEX. Thus,

Florence continued ...

during the June conference on "Accountability" six major themes were addressed which link discussions on accountability with each of the other core research areas in the CONNEX network. For each theme a senior keynote speaker was invited, who looked at the general parameters of the topic, exploring the state of the art and mapping the field and the issues involved.

Each of these paper givers presented not only the state of the art in terms of current thinking/research but also dealt with the reform panorama as well as with directions for future research. These presentations was followed by two shorter presentations which addressed more concrete research problems and where important questions were raised.

In the first session, questions were asked such as what the relationship is between transparency and accountability and whether or not transparency alone can guarantee accountability. During the accountability and administration session it was questioned whether administration still has a collectively binding power: does, for instance, this involve changes in notions of accountability? As far as accountability and civil society are concerned, participants looked at organisations of civil society as a whole and to whom they are accountable, and how accountability can be ensured.



Then it was asked how the different meanings of accountability may be related to the changing capacity of parties and political leaders to represent their constituencies.

Finally, in the session on accountability and juridification, participants discussed the accountability of actors involved in multi-level networks, as well as the concrete forms of operation these networks take.

Programme Conference on Accountability

1) Accountability and Transparency

Keynote speech: Christopher Hood (Oxford)
Gijs Jan Brandsmaand and Deirdre Curtin (Utrecht):
Towards a Transparent Comitology
Thomas Christiansen (EIPA, Maastricht): *Accountability, Transparency and Informal Governance in the EU: The Case of Comitology Committees*
Discussant: Tony Bunyan (State Watch)

2) Accountability and Administration

Keynote speech: Renaud Dehousse (Paris)
Luc Verhey (Maastricht): *Agencies and accountability from a national perspective. An assessment of Justice and Home Affairs related agencies in terms of polity building and democratic control,*
Sonja Puntscher Riekmann (Salzburg, Vienna): *Agencies and accountability*
Discussant: Niamh Hardiman (Dublin)

3) Accountability and Civil Society

Keynote speech: Beate Kohler Koch (Mannheim)
Didier Chabanet (Triangle - Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon): *The regulation of interest groups in the EU*
Stijn Smismans (Trento): *Civil society and accountability in risk regulation*
Discussant: Kenneth Armstrong (Law OMC)

4) Accountability and Representation

Keynote speech: Bernard Manin (NYU-Paris)
Katrin Auel (Oxford): *'Just Another Link in the Chain? Delegation, Agency Theory and Parliamentary Accountability in EU Affairs'*
Berthold Rittberger (Mannheim): *The historical trajectory of representation in the EU*
Discussant: Madeleine Hosli (Leiden)

5) Accountability and Multi-Level Governance

Keynote speech: Yannis Papadopoulos (Lausanne)
Rachel Chapman (De Montfort University) : *Democracy through Multi-level Governance*
Discussant: Mark Bovens (Utrecht)

6) Accountability and Juridification

Keynote speech: Neil Walker (EUI)
Andre Nollkaemper (Amsterdam): *Accountability mechanisms and the rule of international law*
Carol Harlow (LSE): *Community courts as an accountability network*
Discussant: Michelle Everson (Birkbeck)

There was much interest in the conferences and a high participation rate amongst members of various Research Groups. The papers presented at the conference on political representation will be edited by Jacques Thomassen and Peter Mair, whereas, the convenors of the accountability conference are considering publishing a jointly edited book after a follow-up workshop in Utrecht to discuss papers further. ■

Institutional Dynamics and the Transformation of Executive Politics in Europe

By Ana Mar and Ragnar Lie (Photos)

In the beautiful city of Barcelona the CONNEX Research Group 1 met for the third time 7 - 9 June 2007. The topic for the gathering was "Institutional Dynamics and the Transformation of Executive Politics in Europe" connected to the common focus of RG1: How the executive branch of government actually works in a multilevel system like the European Union with regard to the formulation and implementation of EU policies.



The conference hosted 25 participants, including one representative from the Commission. 16 papers were presented and discussed from lunch on Thursday until lunchtime Saturday. Most of these were new contributions to the field, and both senior scholars, younger researchers and PhD-students took part actively.

All papers were circulated in advance, and the plan is to publish proceedings from the conference in the Connex-Report Series before the end of the summer 2007.

While ARENA in Oslo was the responsible organiser, the local hosting was performed by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. They did an excellent job, both regarding the venue (which was conveniently in the city centre at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI)), the meals and the accommodation.

Research Group has now met at three occasions as a group, first in Oslo in 2005, then in Vienna in 2006 and now in Barcelona in 2007. In addition, parts of

the group have met on another two occasions; at the thematic conference 'Towards a European Administrative Space' in London (November 2006), and at the workshop 'EU-level Agencies: Development and Implications' in Oslo (March 2007).

Regarding scientific achievements, one common insight is that in dealing with administrative bodies and networks within the EU it could be wise to separate more clearly between at least two different roles that national executives play. When they contribute to the Commission's policy preparation work and are made responsible for the implementation of EU policies they, can arguably be seen primarily as 'partners' in the 'Community (or Union) administration'. When, on the other hand, national administrations participate in the Council's legislative activities they are not part of what we reasonably can denote as the 'Community (or Union) administration'.

It seems to be a widespread experience that participants have learnt from group activities; people have come across people and work they wouldn't otherwise have become acquainted with and the number of references to other group members' work has probably increased. Clusters of researchers working on related topics and issues are starting to be identified. Also the PhD students have been included fully into the group's activities. One concrete consequence has been the expressed intention at our meeting in Barcelona to *sustain* (parts of) the RG 1 network beyond June 2008. ■



Good News from our Partner Institutions

Spinoza Prize for Curtin

Professor Deirdre Curtin, coordinator of CONNEX Research Group 2, received this year's Spinoza Prize from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research for her outstanding contribution to the development and promotion of international and European law.

(From the NRG website)

Deirdre Curtin studied law at the University College Dublin and Trinity College Dublin and after several years of working as a Legal Secretary (Référéndaire) to the Irish judge at the Court of Justice of the European Communities, Luxembourg, she was awarded her doctorate. At the age of 32, Curtin was appointed as professor of Law of International Organisations at the Faculty of Law and director of the Europa Institute at Utrecht University. In 2003 she moved to the professorship of International and European Governance and the multidisciplinary Utrecht School of Governance (USBO). In that same year she was the first woman to be appointed a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) for law.



Deirdre Curtin is the leading Dutch expert in the area of law and governance of the European Union. Together with her colleagues from USBO she has further developed the term accountability into a phenomenon that can be empirically investigated. With this

approach she demonstrated how the EU suffers from shortcomings in accountability. In addition to the jurisprudential angles she also draws upon public administration concepts in her analyses. Cross-fertilisation between these two perspectives led amongst other things to important, innovative insights into the governability of international organisations.

Curtin exerts an enormous influence on her research field and is a highly sought after speaker as well as a member of numerous national and international advisory committees. She is the author of a large number of publications, which are not only of exceptional quality but for a lawyer also extremely extensive. Her article about the constitutional structure of the European Union published in 1993 is still one of the most cited articles about the European Union. She has exerted a considerable influence on the European legislation (2001) granting public access to documents of certain European institutions, for which she wrote part of the draft. Her multidisciplinary view on the EU as a political and administrative entity has clearly shaped the current debate about the EU. These achievements are particularly impressive, as since the late 1990s she has only worked part-time (0.6 fte) due to the care for her four children.

Deirdre Curtin is a first-rate and leading player in the field of European law. Long before anyone else she warned of the insidious growth in the number of independent governing bodies that threaten to become a wide-ranging and unwieldy European administrative apparatus. In this area in particular the Spinoza committee expects to hear a lot more from her in the future. ■

ARENA receives major grant

Under a new research effort, ARENA has been granted 26 mill NOK to do research on the basic foundations of the political order in Europe. Out of 31 applications, the Research Council approved three. "This is a major recognition of ARENA's theoretically founded empirical research on the new political order in Europe", says Professor Morten Egeberg, research director at ARENA.

The project is named "The transformation and sustainability of European political order" and focuses on the European Union's status as political experiment: as a possible vanguard in a larger post-Westphalian restructuring of political order in Europe. The challenge for Europe is to ensure a modicum of unity whilst also allowing for and sustaining internal diversity and differentiation. ■

Latest Publications

CONNEX Report Series No. 02

The CONNEX Report Series will launch its second volume, the proceedings of a Connex/ASCoR conference by RG3 held in Amsterdam in December 2005: **"A European Public Sphere: How much of it do we have and how much do we need?"**, edited by Claes de Vreese and Hermann Schmitt. The print copies are in production, the single chapters can already be accessed online via the CONNEX website.



When studying the public sphere the media are an inevitable component as they can be seen as a market place of ideas, statements and images of Europe, nations in Europe and the process of European integration. Research on the emergence and nature of a European public sphere is accumulating and diverse.

The underlying assumption of this research is that a shared European space, a European public sphere, may contribute to the (public) legitimacy of the EU polity, in much the same ways as has been suggested for national public spheres ■

Volume 1 and Volume 2 of the CONNEX Report Series are both available online at:
www.connex-network.org/series

New EUROGOV working paper:

EUROGOV No. N-07-03 / July 17, 2007

Christian Joerges:

"Integration through de-legislation? An irritated heckler"

Abstract:

This paper is about the difficult relationship between law and governance in the European Union. The turn to governance which the Prodi Commission has forcefully propagated is a continuation of much older developments. By means of these developments the European Community (now Union) has sought to compensate for the inadequacies found within its institutional design (in particular, within the Community Method); a design which has had constantly to be adapted to the ever more intense and complex regulatory needs of the integration project. These constant institutional innovations were functional necessities and the turn to governance seems to be irresistible and irreversible. Such innovation, however, is not easily reconcilable with the Union's commitment to the rule of law, or with the very idea of law-mediated, politically accountable rule. These tensions are addressed in two steps. The first concerns the national level and is a mainly methodological reminder: many of the governing techniques that are today defined as governance can also be found within national systems and were, furthermore, the subject of intensive debate in the 80s within discussion on proceduralizing and reflexive methodologies which sought to capture the specifics of a – then so perceived – post-interventionist law. The second step concerns the European Union. Here, a methodological approach is insufficient. It must instead be accompanied by a re-conceptualisation of European law as a new type of supranational conflict of laws. This law seeks to realize what the Constitutional Treaty had called the "motto of the Union", namely a reconciliation of "unity and diversity". It is submitted that a re-conceptualisation of European law in terms of conflict-of-laws would not only help to rescue the rule of law but would also increase our capacity to cope with the unresolved substantive tensions within the European polity.

Christian Joerges

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Publications continued ...

Research Group 4:

"Bibliography on National Movements and their Engagement with the EU"

by:

Laura Cram and Eilidh McPhail
University of Strathclyde

Contents:

1. National Movements in Member States
2. Europeanisation of National Movements in the EU Countries
3. National Identity in the EU Countries
4. The Europeanisation of National Identity in the EU Countries
5. The Concept of a European Identity.

The bibliography can be downloaded as PDF from the CONNEX website.

European Law Journal Special Issue, Vol. 13 Issue 4, July 2007:

"Accountability in EU multilevel Governance"

edited by:

Arthur Benz, Carol Harlow and
Yannis Papadopoulos



Contents:

Mark Bovens: Analysing and Assessing Accountability: A Conceptual framework

Yannis Papadopoulos: Problems of Democratic Accountability in Network and Multilevel Governance

Katrin Auel: Democratic Accountability and National Parliaments

Arthur Benz: Accountable Multilevel Governance by OMOG?

Deirdre Curtin: Holding (Quasi-)Autonomous EU Administrative Actors to Public Account

Carlo Harlow and Richard Rawlings: Promoting Accountability in Multilevel Governance: A Network Approach

Journal of Comparative European Politics: Special Issue, Vol. 5 Nr 1, Apr 2007:

"Contested Meanings of Norms - The Challenge of Democratic Governance Beyond the State"

guest edited by:

Antje Wiener



Contents:

Antje Wiener: Contested Meanings of Norms: A Research Framework FREE Antje Wiener

Uwe Puetter: Providing Venues for Contestation: The Role of Expert Committees and Informal Dialogue among Ministers in European Economic Policy Coordination

Iain Begg: Contested Meanings of Transparency in Central Banking

Jane Jenson: The European Union's Citizenship Regime. Creating Norms and Building Practices

Christopher Lord: Contested Meanings, Democracy Assessment and the European Union

Johannes Pollak: Contested Meanings of Representation

Mark Bovens: New Forms of Accountability and EU-Governance

Sonja Puntcher-Riekmann: In Search of Lost Norms: Is Accountability the Solution to the Legitimacy Problems of the European Union?

Journal of Public Policy
Special Issue, Volume 27, Jan-Apr 2007:

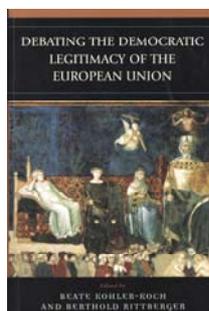


Articles:

- Andreas Dür and Dirk de Bièvre:** The Question of Interest Group Influence
- Sebastiaan Princen:** Advocacy Coalitions and the Internationalisation of Public Health Policies
- Christine Mahoney:** Lobbying Success in the United States and the European Union
- Cornelia Woll:** Leading the Dance? Power and Political Resources of Business Lobbyists
- Andreas Dür and Dirk de Bièvre:** Inclusion without Influence? NGOs in European Trade Policy

Other Relevant Publication

Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union



edited by:

Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger

Published in the United States of America
 by Rowmann & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007

Forthcoming Events

Task 2 Activities

- RG4 Workshop
"Social Movements, Interest Groups and Political Parties as Intermediators in the Multilevel System of Europe and elsewhere"
 20-21 September 2007, Antwerp
- RG2 Workshop
"Connections between Accountability mechanisms and the international Rule of Law"
 28 September 2007, Amsterdam
- RG2 Wrapping-up Conference
"Lessons Learned on Meaning and Practice of Accountability in the EU Multi-Level Context"
 11-12 October 2007, Utrecht
- RG4 / RG5 Wrapping-up conference
"Opening EU governance to civil society: Gains and challenges"
 25-27 October 2007, Piran Slovenia

Past Activities

Workshops and Conferences carried out since January 2007:

- 2nd NEWGOV-CONNEX Training Course:
"Research Design and Methods"
 1-7 July 2007, EUI Florence, Italy
- European Research Colloquium
"The Transnationalization of States, Economies and Civil Societies: New Challenges for Governance in Europe"
 13-17 June 2007, Warsaw
- 3rd Thematic Conference
"Accountability"
 29-30 June 2007, EUI, Florence
- RG6 Workshop
"Governing the EU: Policy instruments in a multi-level polity"
 21-22 June 2007, Paris
- RG5 Workshop
"Social capital as catalyst of civic engagement and quality of governance"
 22-24 June 2007, Piran
- RG6 Workshop
"European Risk Governance: its Science, its Inclusiveness and its Effectiveness"
 14-16 June 2007, Maastricht



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RG1 Workshop

"Institutional Dynamics and the Transformation of Executive Politics in Europe"

7-9 June 2007, Barcelona

RG6 Workshop

"Private Corporations as Norm Entrepreneurs in the EU and Beyond: Investigating Political, Societal and Economic Driving Forces of Private Self-Regulation"

1-2 June 2007, Darmstadt

2nd Thematic Conference

"Political Representation"

25-26 May 2007, EUI, Florence

RG4 Workshop

"Participative Governance beyond Borders? Civil Society Engagement in Comparative Perspective"

14-15 May 2007, Brussels

RG 4 Workshop

"EU – Civil Society Relations: The Impact of the EU on National Movements and National Identity"

23-25 April 2007, Ross Priory, University of Strathclyde

RG5 Workshop

"Democracy promotion before and after the "electoral revolutions": Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine compared"

12-15 April 2007, Mannheim

RG3 Conference

"The multi-level electoral system of the EU"

19-22 March 2007, Cadenabbia, Italy

RG1 Workshop

"EU level Agencies: Development and Implications"

15-16 March 2007, Oslo

RG2 Workshop

"Delegation and Mechanisms of Accountability in the EU"

8-9 March 2007, Uppsala

RG2 Workshop

"Political Accountability"

8-10 February 2007, Maastricht

Job Offers

➔ **Graduate researcher (half-time):**

In a large EU project focusing on the empirical analysis of Community legislation and implementation starting on 01. August 2007 at the Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES).

In addition to the opportunity to complete doctoral studies, the participation in international workshops, the distinguished American EITM summer school for highly-qualified political science researchers and diverse conferences will be encouraged.

More details on the Internet: www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/stellen/stellen_wis_e.html

➔ **PhD.-position/Research fellow:**

in Public Policy and administration, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences Agder University College in Norway is pleased to announce that we have 1 open position as research fellow (PhD.-candidate) at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Management, at present located in Kristiansand.

Application deadline: 15th August

A more detailed description of the post and further information are available on request to Head of Department, Hans Kjetil Lysgård, phone no. 38 14 14 96, email: hans.k.lysgard@hia.no, as well as on the Internet: www.hia.no/stilling/ ■

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