APPLICATION FORM FOR PROSPECTIVE WORKSHOP DIRECTORS

Title of proposed workshop:
Legitimate Federation? Normative political theory and institutional design in the EU.

Abstract
The workshop will bring normative political theory to bear on pressing issues of EU constitutional and institutional design. Existing legitimation and democratic deficits are intensifying under the impacts of mounting integration (CFSP/CESDP, EMU), while the EU’s imminent enlargements to accommodate states with greatly varying characteristics raise profound challenges to pervasive democratic values such as equality and solidarity. An unprecedented constitutional process is underway, intended to allocate powers over the EU’s multiple political levels, simplify its constitutional basis, include national parliaments, and decide the status of its Charter of Fundamental Rights. The workshop addresses this process from the standpoints of normative political theory/analytical political philosophy and the empirical analysis and theory of institutions, focusing on the interplay of normative principles and institutional proposals. It seeks to delineate zones and rankings of legitimate choice over alternatives and offer argued resolutions to competing normative principles of institutional assessment. Contributions will be organised around the central constitutional topic: a legitimate federal constitution. They will explore the possibilities for establishing a fair and democratic multi-level political order against the backdrop of large socio-economic divergence and diversity. Germane issues include: deliberative democracy; representation, participation, and accountability; defensible ideals of citizenship; equality, solidarity, and fairness between citizens; appropriate quality of life indicators; rights-constraint; majoritarianism and its alternatives; relevant principles and considerations re dividing and pooling functions and responsibilities; normative re-evaluation of the nation state.

Name of workshop director(s): (1) Lynn Dobson (maximum of 2 persons) (2) Andreas Føllesdal

Name and address of institution(s):

(1) Department of Politics
University of Edinburgh
Adam Ferguson Building
George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9LL
United Kingdom

(2) ARENA
PO Box 1143
University of Oslo
N-0317 Oslo
Norway

Telephone number/s: (1) +44 (0) 131 651 1285 (2) +47 22 85 76 79
Fax number/s: (1) +44 (0) 131 650 6546 (2) +47 22 85 78 32
e-mail address/s: (1) l.dobson@ed.ac.uk (2) andreas.follesdal@filosofi.uio.no
Rationale for the Workshop

Between March 2002 and the end of 2004 the EU is undertaking an unprecedented constitutionalisation addressing the allocation of competences over levels of governance in the EU, the role for national parliaments, the status of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and simplification of the Treaties. Among the drivers of these processes are the expanding impacts of the EU on its citizens (including CFSP/CESDP and EMU), increasing its need for democratic legitimation; and the shadow of enlargement to accommodate states whose political and material resources span vast differences, so raising profound questions of the institutional implications of ideals of equality, liberty, solidarity, democracy and citizenship. The workshop seeks to bring normative political theory systematically to bear on these pressing issues of institutional design.

Aims and method

Our primary aim and value is academic: to bolster the interdisciplinary debates between political theory and institutional design regarding the future of Europe, drawing on cutting edge research directed to the core questions of European integration in the 21st century. The workshop will explore a range of plausible normative political theories together with empirical accounts and explanations of the institutional challenges facing the EU, attending carefully to how normative theories can best inform deliberations concerning these constitutional and institutional choices. Criticisms of insufficient argumentative stringency often levelled against work in this field - namely theoretical and analytical imprecision, vague institutional claims, and selection biases – will be precluded. In generating high quality and pertinent discussion the workshop will build on and extend recent contributions to scholarship and aid empirical research design - for example by providing the frameworks within which salient questions about action oriented to valued purposes can be posed and answered (Barry 1965). Papers will assess competing relevant normative theories; identify competing institutional proposals for the EU that are claimed to secure or promote certain normative principles; and/or seek to bring these normative theories to bear on such institutional proposals. Rather than yield determinate institutional prescriptions, contributions will seek to clarify and delineate zones of legitimate choice over alternatives and offer argued resolutions among conflicting normative principles to facilitate assessment of alternative proposals.

Topic and sub-topics

The central constitutional topic investigated is federalisation and its practical and normative challenges: in particular of establishing a fair and democratic multi-level political order in the EU with sub-units at drastically different levels of economic development and with a variety of political cultures. Issues addressed will include:

Federal Constitution

Principles and considerations regarding the dividing and/or pooling of functions and powers among a centre and its sub-units: scrutiny of the grounds and criteria for non-unitary political orders, particularly where their aims are so contested that doctrines such as ‘subsidiarity’ offer insufficient guidance; whither the nation state, if legitimacy requires the abolition of states’ veto of decisions in areas ranging from pensions to foreign policy; the political theory of multi-level governance, i.e. the institutionalised inclusion of political agents at various territorial levels,
and between political bodies such as the Commission and private actors within networks (Abromeit 1998; Weale & Nentwich 1998; Lehning & Weale 1997; Vibert 2001; Nicolaidis & Howse 2001; Bellamy & Warleigh 2000; Bellamy, Bufacchi & Castiglione 1995; Neunreither & Wiener 2000; Banchoff & Smith 1999).

**Democracy**

Reasons for and pitfalls of ‘deliberative democracy’ in the form of institutionalised public reason-giving; “post-deliberative” arrangements: representation, participation and accountability within multi-level structures with different demographic features and resources, and with non-public participants in decision-making processes; tensions between trustee and delegate conceptions of representation, and defensible ideals of participatory citizenship (Lord 2001; Scharpf 1999; Føllesdal & Koslowski 1998; Eriksen & Fossum 2000; Schmitter 2000; Andersen & Eliassen 1996; Laffan 1996; Schmitt & Thomassen 1999; Katz & Wessels 1999; Hayward 1995).

**Social justice**

Reconceptualising ideals of equality, solidarity, and fairness among citizens of different, partially autonomous sub-units with diverse political cultures; ways of resolving conflicts between equality (of life chances, capabilities or resources) and respect for local democratic diversity that are able to inform choice and development of quality of life indicators appropriate for political action and accountability; standing and potential consequences of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Scharpf 1999; Rothstein 1998; Koslowki & Føllesdal 1998; Føllesdal 2001; Leibfried & Pierson 1995).

**Indicative list of Participants**

Well-regarded active researchers of experience and seniority will be brought together with promising researchers of less experience, including PhD students.

Heidrun Abromeit, Darmstadt  
Jos de Beus, Netherlands  
Simon Caney, Newcastle  
John Fossum, ARENA, Oslo  
Thomas Hueglin, Canada  
Cees van Kersbergen, Netherlands  
Cecile Laborde, London  
Christopher Lord, Leeds/EUI  
Agustin Menendez, ARENA, Oslo  
Joao Rosas, Portugal  
Andrea Sangiovanni, Harvard  
Myrto Tsakatika, (PhD candidate) Essex  
Albert Weale, Essex (interest confirmed)

**Funding**

An application by Dobson to the Small Projects Fund of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh, is in train. Some applications for research funding to the European Commission underway by Føllesdal may also yield funds able to go towards covering expenses for some participants.
Biographical note:

Lynn Dobson is Lecturer in EU/International Politics at the University of Edinburgh and PhD candidate at the University of Essex. Current research: citizenship, representation, constitutionalism, and legitimacy and governance, in the EU; and morality and international institutions. Most recent publications:


Andreas Føllesdal is Research Professor at ARENA - Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State, at the Research Council of Norway, and Professor at the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo. He is Founding Series Editor, with Johan P. Olsen, of *Themes in European Governance*, Cambridge University Press. Recent publications include


References - indicative


References


