

**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe
RECON**

**Coordinator:
Erik O. Eriksen**

Input for Full Proposal – WP6

**Partner 19
University of Bath**

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B.4 OUTLINE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

Bath (19) Contribution to WP6 Foreign and Security Policy (Directors: Helene Sjursen and Wolfgang Wagner)

Project Summary	<p style="text-align: center;">Dialogue for Democracy: A Bifocal Approach to Foreign and Security Policy Analysis</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener</i></p> <p><i>RECON Framework and Research Question</i></p> <p>The project draws on the general consensus expressed in the theoretical framework of the overall IP regarding the powerful input of <i>dialogue</i> in the policy process. In tune with the main democratic principle of equal access to participation based on equal rights for all citizens, we hold that dialogue under conditions of equal access is the main source of democratic legitimacy in contexts of governance <i>beyond the state</i>. Following the main research purpose of RECON, it remains to be demonstrated whether and if so how dialogue is better developed on the supranational, national or transnational level of interaction in beyond the state contexts. This goal implies two research dimensions including an empirical and a normative one. The former will need to engage in stock-taking to assess existing practices and institutions that inform and guide dialogue, the latter normative perspective will need to elaborate on which institutions ought to be put in place in order to warrant a constitutional framework for democracy.</p> <p><i>Research Object</i></p> <p>With a view to pursuing both dimensions, the Bath team examines the role of fundamental norms such as ‘democracy’ and ‘the rule of law’ in contexts of governance beyond the state. To that end, it conducts a comparative analysis of elite groups of different national background who operate in transnational and in domestic settings in the sector of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The goal is to assess the degree of divergence, diffusion or convergence in the interpretation of the meaning of constitutional norms. The norms under investigation are ‘democracy’ and ‘the rule of law’ following RECON’s focus on the process of <i>constitutionalisation</i> and its input on doable and desirable models of democracy in Europe. To do this, the case studies build on the <i>three models</i> of democracy including (1) reconstitution of democracy at the national level, (2) establishing the EU as a federal state based on a strong European collective identity, and (3) developing a postnational Union with a cosmopolitan vocation based on the principle of deliberative supranationalism.</p> <p>RECON expects research to demonstrate that processes, procedures and practices in different policy sectors ranging from economic policy to foreign and security policy reveal potential for establishing <i>cross-linkages</i> between the three models of democracy. These cross-linkages notwithstanding, it is expected however that the third cosmopolitan model provides the strongest institutional and normative blue-print for European democracy in a globalised world. The argument is sustained by two observations which follow a pilot project on the invisible influence of normative meanings on governance in beyond-the-state contexts. <u>First</u>, despite an overall continuous progress towards the constitutionalisation of modern norms in European governance, foreign and security policy has remained a strongly intergovernmental policy sector. That is, constitutionalisation proceeds at a different pace in this sector than in other policy sectors. That difference in speed notwithstanding, we suggest, however, that progress is being made towards further constitutionalisation in the CFSP sector as well. <u>Secondly</u>, and parallel to the process of constitutionalisation in Europe, CFSP has been subject to an</p>
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increasingly growing and consistent structural power of norms from a global level. Studying the globalisation of norms and the transnationalization of policy practices as inter-linked practices, we expect to identify this sector's current and potential contribution to the reconstitution of democracy.

Projected Outcome

In detail, the project makes an innovative contribution to studies of complex multilevel governance processes in composite democratic settings. It applies an approach which links a pragmatic and efficiency-oriented policy perspective with a normative and participatory-oriented theoretical perspective. We argue that constitutionalisation is a desired innovation in the area of foreign and security policy because it ultimately allows to avoid conflict. It does so based on the institutionalisation of the organising principle of equal access to dialogue. This proposal for constitutional change is based on experience in the sector of financial policy (keyword: the Eurogroup), on the one hand, and on normative approaches to democratic governance (keyword: contestation), on the other. We thus argue that establishing equal access to dialogue is not only the *normatively* more desirable choice, it is also the *politically* more efficient choice of procedure. Both dimensions contribute to enhance the potential for democratic legitimacy in the field of CFSP. At the same time this output will feed back into the conceptual discussions of WP1 and WP3.

The constitutional innovation required follows a three-fold distinction of types of norms. This approach distinguishes between fundamental norms (most general & least specific), organising principles (less general, more specific & experience based) and standardized procedures (least general and most specific). To achieve the implementation and compliance with fundamental norms, such as i.e. the modern constitutional norms of 'democracy' and the 'rule of law', we argue, it is necessary to investigate the possibilities of scrutinizing, revising and improving organising principles such as the Habermasian ideal of enabling actors to critically discuss the rules that govern their activities. Following a 'contemporary constitutionalist' approach, we build on the principles of equal access to participation and mutual recognition in foreign and security policy deliberations. The comparative research will seek to identify procedures that are fit to provide an institutional framework for both a more effective and a more legitimate process in CFSP decision-making. To that end, the organising principle of *informal intergovernmental deliberation* within transnational settings will be discussed.

Research Plan

The project consists entails *three periods*. The first period includes the elaboration of the theoretical framework. It builds on normative approaches to constitutionalism and IR theories, on the one hand, and on policy studies, on the other (months 1-6 Puetter & Wiener). The second period involves a case study which compares the contestation, diffusion, and/or convergence of the meaning of two the two fundamental norms of 'democracy' and 'the rule of law' in four European political arenas that differ according to domestic context and type including Germany, the UK and Sweden as well as the transnational arena in Brussels. The third period evaluates the results of the comparative case study with a view to potential constitutional innovation. Following prior work on the divergence, diffusion and convergence of the meanings of modern constitutional norms in the EU, we hypothesise that in the absence of all encompassing transnationalization, more diversity in the interpretation of meanings is to be expected. Subsequently, there is little chance of sustaining the expectation of shared fundamental norms, rules and values – which is a core condition for smooth and effective foreign policy decision-making. To overcome this hurdle, we argue, it is necessary to deal with diversity. Importantly, this need will increase rather than decline.

The question we seek to debate within the larger RECON project is, whether or not, and if so how, changes can fruitfully be introduced in the process of constitutionalisation so as to embrace diversity towards achieving more legitimacy rather than more conflict. According to the twofold, normative and institutional approach, successful institutional change must be both normatively desirable according to the condition of reconstituting democracy, on the one hand, and politically efficient according to the condition of reducing conflict and enhancing cooperation, on the other. We expect that the third approach to the reconstitution of democracy offers the most potential due to its diversity-oriented approach which is most compatible with the requirements of contemporary constitutionalism. This 'fit' will be tested, however. And the comparative case study is particularly designed to test all three models of reconstitutive democracy based on its focus on nation-state identity positions, supranational Europeanisation options, and transnational diffusion positions. All three models are examined for their respective influence on the interpretation of fundamental norms.

We ask how constitutionalisation does and should contribute to a more effective supranational structure of decision-making which is subject to enhanced democratic control. We propose to analyse this question pursuing a two-fold approach which *first* stresses the inability of governments to rally domestic support for decisions at the intergovernmental level because of a lack of democratic control of EU level decision-making. *Secondly*, we focus on inability to garner support because of unconnected domestic discourses over policy, which are dominated by elites. The research would therefore include a comprehensive comparative empirical study detecting the differences in domestic policy discourse and the connecting lines between them. Two policy recommendations (*deliverables*) would follow addressing the problem of coordination failure: a) improved intergovernmental coordination plus strengthening of democratic procedures in foreign policy in the domestic arena; and b) supranationalisation of CFSP and strengthening of democratic procedures at the EU level.

Research Method

In detail, the comparative research begins from foreign policy coordination under conditions of crisis. The assumption is that while norms are contested by default, the expectation of diverging interpretations is enhanced by three conditions of governance beyond the state, contingency and crisis. This contestation, we hold, is a major obstacle in the process of supranational policy coordination, even in countries which enjoy multiple memberships in supranational communities. The objective is to identify possibilities of enhanced policy cooperation in the EU. The project proceeds in two steps. First, it will identify commonly shared assumptions among Germany and the UK as two long-term EU member states based on their approval of a) treaty language and b) domestic policy programmes. Secondly, we compare the reactions displayed by both in situations of international crisis taking the Iraq crisis as an example. Following this snap-shot on policy coordination in a situation of crisis, the project engages in long-term comparative research. To this end, a case study including three domestic 'nation-state' settings, and one transnational 'EU' setting in which the interpretation of normative meaning is examined, is carried out. In concluding, the project develops an alternative approach to CFSP coordination based on *dialogue* referring to the concept of 'deliberative intergovernmentalism' which has been successfully applied in the area of economic policy coordination in the euro area, so far. The methodology of the case study is interdisciplinary, building on ethno-methodology and critical discourse analyses, respectively, and their application to research in IR.

B.5 DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSORTIUM

RECON partner	19
Team members and contact details	<p><u>Team Leaders</u></p> <p>Prof Antje Wiener, aw309@bath.ac.uk (months 1-60) Dr Uwe Puetter, puetteru@ceu.hu (months 1-60)</p> <p><u>Researchers</u></p> <p>Michael Clarke, mc330@bath.ac.uk (months 14-26) Hannes Hansen-Magnussen, hbm20@bath.ac.uk (months 10-34) Tomas Adell, jadell01@qub.ac.uk (affiliated from QUB)</p>
Organisation	University of Bath Department of European Studies and Modern Languages Chair in Politics and International Relations
Responsibilities	<p><u>Professor Antje Wiener</u> will be responsible for the scientific leadership of the project. She will take on the role of coordinating the proposal and linking the research expertise produced by the team with networks of researchers throughout Europe and beyond so as to disseminate the main research findings. In addition she will draft the theoretical framework and contribute to the evaluation and publication of the research results.</p> <p><u>Dr Uwe Puetter</u> will be co-responsible for the research conceptualisation and work towards completion of the proposed RECON project. This will involve developing the theoretical framework and methodology and contribution to the evaluation and publication of the research results.</p> <p><u>Michael Clarke</u> will be responsible for preparing and carrying out expert interviews in the UK (English language proficiency).</p> <p><u>Hannes Hansen-Magnussen</u> will be responsible for preparing and carrying out expert interviews in Germany and Brussels and for project administration (German, Swedish and English language proficiency; admin expertise).</p> <p><u>Tomas Adell</u> will be responsible for preparing and carrying out expert interviews in Sweden (English and Swedish language proficiency).</p>

B.8 DETAILED IMPLEMENTATION PLAN – FIRST 18 MONTHS*Summary of activities:*

Reference to the three models:

- 1) reconstitution of democracy at the nation-state level (strong national identity)
- 2) reconstitution of democracy through federal EU state model (strong EU identity)
- 3) reconstitution of democracy through developing supranational Union based on deliberative Supranationalism

Goal and output: link between normative framework and empirical case study – with a view to policy innovation (dissemination)

DELIVERABLES LIST [months 1-18]

No	Type of Deliverable	Month
1	Paper presentation at opening conference of the RECON project	1
2	Journal article elaborating on conceptual framework to connect literature on ‘contested’ norms in international relations/international law with policy literature based on proposal to institutionalise ‘deliberative intergovernmental’ approach to EU Foreign and Security Policy	8
3	Presentation of conceptual framework: lectures at international conferences (ISA, BISA, SGIR, ECPR, PSA) Subject: Democracy and the Rule of Law - Contested Norms and Deliberative Practices in Foreign Policy Coordination	12
4	User conferences: London (Chatham House), Berlin (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik)	17
5	Summary report at RECON mid-term conference: first research outcomes	18

Research Plan [months 1-60]

Months 1-12	13-24	25-36	37-48	49-60
developing the theoretical framework; identifying the research methodology; deliverables (refereed journal publication; conferences); interview preparation; dissemination	expert interviews: UK, Germany, Sweden, Brussels; dissemination; further deliverables (publications; conference presentations)	expert interviews; transcription; evaluation; dissemination	evaluation; international conferences; further deliverables	Publication of results; follow-up research (proposal/s); dissemination

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