



CEP NEWSLETTER

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CEP 2012

The Centre for European Politics has had a busy and very interesting year with a lot of activities and publications. CEP has organised several successful national and international conferences and hosted debates and meetings with politicians, ambassadors and EU-diplomats. The researchers at CEP have throughout the year been productive and published numerous articles and books as well as participated in the public debate. The activities have not only contributed to the field of European studies in different ways, but have also been thought-provoking and laid the ground for further research and debate. You can read all about these events and publications at www.cep.polsci.ku.dk. We at CEP hope and believe that next year will be just as successful as 2012!

CEP wishes all our readers, friends and collaborators a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!



Workshops at Centre for European Politics

CEP organises many interesting workshops and this winter is no exception. With PhD Ruxandra Dinesen's successful workshop in November we are already looking forward to Postdoc Mads Dagnis' in December, and Assistant Professor Rebecca Adler-Nissen's workshop in February 2013. Read more about all three workshops below.

The EU and the Issue of Power in Times of Uncertainties



PhD fellow Ruxandra Dinesen organised in cooperation with Roskilde University and the Nordic International Studies Association a workshop, which brought together a highly interesting and motivated group of scholars from Nordic universities and research centres. Among the questions discussed were:

The intertwining of internal coherence and the external powerfulness of the EU and how the balance between the two spheres are increasingly blurred. How the mobilization among civil society has affected the issues linked to EU affairs, and at the theoretical level how to move beyond the normative power ideas and claims and to engage in broader explorations of EU power and actorness.

Coping with Power Dispersion

This workshop will look at the shifts in competences in the European Union and the challenges these pose for the member states and the EU in general. Firstly, competences have shifted upwards from the national level to the supranational level. Secondly, competences have been transferred downwards from the central government to subnational units. Thirdly, competences have moved sideways to arm's length bodies and organisations in the private and voluntary sector. The workshop is organised by Postdoc Mads Dagnis Jensen from CEP and the programme includes both presentations by researchers from CEP and from universities abroad. The workshop is open to all and will take place on the 13th-14th of December 2012. Further details about the programme can be found on the CEP website.

Making Europe: The Social Sciences and the Production of European Integration

How is Europe made? How have particular ideas and social scientific enquiries on Europe shaped political, economic, and cultural integration in Europe since World War II? How do particular practices of European integration inform the social sciences' choice of theories, methods and research questions? These are some of the questions this workshop, organised by Assistant Professor Rebecca Adler-Nissen from CEP and Assistant Professor Kristoffer Kropp from the Department of Sociology at the University of Copenhagen, will explore on the 4th-5th of February 2013.

LATEST RESEARCH

Rebecca Adler-Nissen & Noel Parker have published the article 'Picking and Choosing the Sovereign Border: A Theory of Changing State Bordering Practices', in *Geopolitics*, 17(4).

Mads Dagnis Jensen & Peter Nordergaard have published the article "Intergrupper – et overset fænomen i Europa-Parlamentet", in Peder Andersen, Ingrid Henriksen, J.H. Petersen & Henrik Zobbe (eds.) *Hvordan ser verden ud? 73 bidrag om økonomi, institutioner og værdier*. Copenhagen: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, p. 363-367.

Martin Marcussen has edited the latest edition *Økonomi og Politik*, 85(3) on the Danish EU Presidency. Three articles were written by CEP researchers: **Rebecca Adler-Nissen** "Formandskabets prioriteter: Når EU's dagsorden bliver en national ambition"; **Caroline Grøn** "Et lille men smart formandskab? Det danske EU-formandskab på Erhvervs- og Vækstministeriets område" and **Mads Dagnis Jensen & Peter Nordergaard** "Organiseringen af det danske EU-formandskab i 2012".

NEWS FROM CEP

The spring term 2013 offers several **EU-related courses** for students. Among others Prof. Ben Rosamond will teach the course "Theorizing European Integration" and Prof. Marlene Wind will give the course "Law and Politics in EU".

New website design. With the aim of making it easier for our visitors to navigate and find the information they are looking for the CEP website's design will be changed in the near future. The new website also introduces an **EU-theme page** with ideas for BA- and Master thesis subjects proposed by CEP researchers. We hope the page will serve as an inspiration for all students interested in EU studies.

THE RESEARCHER COLUMN

European Foreign Policy: Beyond National Diplomacy?

Based on current research Rebecca Adler-Nissen addresses the controversial nature of the EU's External Action Service and argues for the importance of the symbolic struggles involved in the establishment of this new diplomatic body and the effects on the future of European and national diplomacy and sovereignty.

By Assistant Professor Rebecca Adler-Nissen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen



The rise of non-state actors on the global scene appears to transform diplomacy. These new actors, ranging from transnational companies to global media, over non-governmental organisations to multilateral organisations, challenge the image of national diplomats as 'custodians of the idea of international society'. Also domestically, national foreign services (in most Western countries) are under pressure from other ministries and a greater concentration of foreign policy activities around prime ministers and presidents, thereby side-lining the foreign ministries themselves. Symbolically, new articulations of collective representation such as the 'No Logo' movement, the Seattle demonstrations, and various attempts to create a cosmopolitan public sphere challenge territorial-based diplomacy.

In my current research I examine what has been called the greatest rival to national diplomacy in Europe to date: a diplomatic service of the European Union. The creation of a High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and an External Action Service (EEAS), as it is officially called, remains one of the Treaty of Lisbon's most divisive inventions. Since 1 December 2010, the EEAS has been given the task to serve the EU's common foreign policy, represent the EU around the world, and develop common strategies on everything from EU peacekeeping missions to development aid and possibly consular affairs for EU citizens abroad. The EEAS will only have about 3,700 diplomats and is thus comparable in size to the foreign service of a medium-sized member state. Yet the creation of a fully integrated European foreign service has been met with great anxieties by observers in the EU member states, fearing that it will eventually replace national diplomacy. Former head of the UK Diplomatic Service Sir Anthony Acland sees the EEAS as an 'enormous transfer of national sovereignty'. However, decisions on EU foreign policy are still taken unanimously, and Europe remains divided over important foreign policy issues. Why is the EEAS so controversial?

Studies of diplomacy and EU foreign policy have tended to focus on institutional or material changes and have ignored or downplayed the symbolic changes that are also in progress. IR realists have regarded the EU's foreign policy as 'naïve' or even 'tragic' due to the EU's lack of military capabilities. Constructivists have seen the

EU as representing a 'normative power', but fail to address the crucial relationship between the EU and national foreign services. While institutionalists see the EEAS as finally providing the EU with the single telephone number that Henry Kissinger (mythically) asked for in the 1970s, critics would point to the continuation of institutional turf-wars. These perspectives differ in their fundamental assumptions about what drives international politics and more specifically about the nature of the EEAS, but they are all based on the assumption that material or institutional resources are decisive for international politics. Few scholars discuss the symbolic struggles involved in the establishment of this new diplomatic body and their effects on the future of European and national diplomacy and sovereignty.

My research shows that the institutional and material dimensions of the EU's new diplomatic service have been vastly exaggerated by its critics. Why is the EEAS then met with such anxiety? The positive thesis is an answer to this question. I argue that, just as the institutional and material dimensions have been exaggerated, both critics and supporters have underestimated the symbolic struggles over the EEAS, which concern the role of the state in diplomacy. This argument builds on a Bourdieu-inspired framework conceptualising a diplomatic field where different state- and non-state actors struggle for dominant positions. The framework is used to analyse, first, the constitutional struggle to establish new diplomatic body, the struggle to define the 'genuine' diplomat and disputes over the appointment of Heads of Delegations and whether the EEAS should take over consular affairs. The analysis demonstrates that the EEAS is not just innovating or supplementing (as other new diplomatic actors) but potentially subversive. The EEAS questions the state as 'a central bank for symbolic credit'. This explains its controversial nature and the counter-strategies adopted by national foreign services and domestic constituencies to delegitimise the EEAS. The struggles to define the 'genuine' diplomat reveal a rupture in the European diplomatic field, pointing towards the emergence of a hybrid form of diplomacy.

The researcher column is written in turn by the researchers at the Centre for European Politics. The column does not represent a common CEP-position.

Rebecca Adler-Nissen receives 14.000 euro in funding from The European Science Foundation (ESF) for the research project "Making Europe: The Social Sciences and the Production of European Integration"

Dr. Ulrik Sedelmeier from LSE and **Dr. Markus Haverland** from Erasmus University Rotterdam visited CEP as guest professors at the PhD Seminar 'Europeanisation - the dynamic interaction between the European Union and its Member States' organised by CEP researcher **Mads Dagnis Jensen** in cooperation with Polforsk.

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For more information go to the CEP website: www.cep.polsci.ku.dk

ABOUT THE NEWS-LETTER

Editor: Marlene Wind,

mwi@ifs.ku.dk

Contributors to this edition:

Rebecca Adler-Nissen, Majka Holm and Eva Maria Gram.

The newsletter is published four times a year and includes the latest updates on activities and European research at the Centre for European Politics.

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