



VALTIOTIETEELLINEN YHDISTYS
STATSVETENSKAPLIGA FÖRENINGEN
FINNISH POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

1. Conceptualisations of European polity

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Työryhmän kuvaus:

European Union can be seen as a “polity-in-the-making” in which democracy and citizenship are accommodated in a transnational framework. Its fundamental principles have always been contested and in transition, but current developments in Europe have further put them into question. One of the disputes pertains to the confrontation of the intergovernmental and supranational dimensions which has defined the dynamics of the European integration since its inception. In addition, the common defense and immigration policies, pan-EU border control and data surveillance are current concrete examples of these disputes and the political tensions related to the changing power divisions between citizens, states and the EU.

In this panel we are interested in the conceptualisations of Europe or European Union as a polity. We aim at exploring different narratives and conceptions related to the construction of European polity. The panel welcomes papers focusing on the contestations related to this construction in past and recent discussions. Panel also discusses: What are the key concepts used in the construction of European polity? As what kind of entity it has been understood and advocated? What kinds of meanings have been given to it?

Abstraktit:

Types of parliament in the European parliament's rules of procedure

In both common and academic language representative, legislative and deliberative assemblies are equally called parliaments. The concepts refer, however, to completely different ideal types of political assemblies, and it would be heuristically important to present these ideal types in their *einseitige Steigerung* (Weber) before applying them to the actual parliamentary assemblies. In this paper I would read the European Parliament's Rules of Procedure from the perspective of this triad. Obviously the direct elections since 1979 served to strengthen its representative powers, the treaties since Maastricht have strengthened its legislative powers, whereas, despite the Francophone procedural tradition of the EP, the rules of debate form its deliberative core. My reading will focus both on their presence and the political conflicts between them, with the one-sided *Wertbeziehung* of chances of strengthening the deliberative character.

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Europeanism, the shared legal heritage and the reconceptualization of Europe after WWII

It is strange to think that Europe and Europeanism were more or less utopian concepts as late as before the Second World War. Like the idea of human rights, enthusiasts of European tradition were considered to be odd characters, often slightly suspicious leftists. This relative marginalization makes the rise of Europe and European legal heritage as a concept all the more astonishing. Like the concept of human rights, Europe emerged as a transformational idea that would lead to a reconceptualization of much of the political and legal landscape. My aim is to study the curious emergence of Roman law as the foundation of European legal unity during the afterwar period. Central characters in this transformation are scholars like Franz Wieacker and Paul Koschaker, who would, based on very different positions, be instrumental in the coming resurgence of both Roman law tradition and the idea of a shared European heritage in law. By using the past as a common denominator, scholars of opposing sides of the liberal/conservative spectrum could find common ground on the foundational role of the rule of law in the European unification. Utilizing the language of culture and ideals, legal conceptions were stated as inherent, beyond political discussion.

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“Ålandization” of Finland’s security and defence policy – How is the Åland Islands demilitarization justified in a militarizing Europe?

This article discusses the evolution of the Finnish security and defence policy in the Europeanization period and analyses how the demilitarization of the Åland Islands, a self-governed Swedish-speaking area of the Finnish state, sit in this context. Inspiration for the theoretical orientation is provided from the interplay of the logic of Europeanization as national adaptation, national projection, and identity reconstruction (Wong 2006). I will focus on the discursive justification of demilitarization in the Europeanized context, utilizing moral theories corresponding to the approaches: deontology, utilitarianism and virtue ethics. The demilitarization of the Åland Islands could be primarily national adaptation if the international legal obligations were accepted as they are. This corresponds to deontological ethics whereby agreed principles provide the main justification for right action. In contrast, national projection would mean more emphasis on the special position of the Åland Islands with regard to the outside world, e.g. concerning the (allegedly) changed security situation. Therefore, this is a utilitarian idea, where the expected outcome determines the right action. In contrast, identity reconstruction would mean socialization of the demilitarization identity alongside the national one in the security and defence policy, which relates to the idea of a person’s virtuous character as the justification.

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A Conceptual History of Multi-Level Governance: The Case of “Integrated Action”

This tentative paper maps the conceptual development of EU’s multi-level governance (MLG) practises through reading policy documents on regional and agricultural policies and literature on integrated development. MLG is currently “a key concept” for understanding governance in the emerging European polity. It denotes the extensive use of non-judicial modes of action, public-private-partnerships, and collaboration of a wide range of actors for producing better policies. The concept of MLG was introduced by Marks in his influential study into European governance in the early 1990s. However, similar governance practices were already developed in different EC policy fields years or decades earlier. One such instance was the introduction of the integrated policy, -action, or -development model into EC’s structural policy. Integrated development is an older policy paradigm that has roots in colonial and third world development co-operation, where integration meant combining economic, political, sociologic, psychological and cultural analyses in explaining development problems, territorial/cross-sectoral approach, and co-operation between all relevant actors. Even if European problems and contexts were different, integrated action had similar meaning also in structural policy. With it, the Commission was able to build an explicitly European mode of governing, argue for “endogenous” development and transform distributive funding into structural adjustment policies.

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The Influence of Participants in the Environmental Policy of the European Union

Interest groups influence is a debated subject in the field of political science, including diverging opinions considering how powerful they are, and if they are equally equipped to influence the political decision-making process. According to Kluver (2013), it is crucial to examine interest group influence in order to explain policy outcomes and in assessing the democratic legitimacy of the European Union. She points out that only few have studied it due to methodological difficulties in operationalizing influence. This article investigates how different participants take part in the consultations of DG Environment, by an analysis of comments made in connection to 3 Directives: The Environmental Liability Directive, the Floods Directive and the ROHS Directive. The analysis was made quantitatively as well as qualitatively; Susan Webb Yackees (2011) measure "desired rule shift" was combined with Leif Lewin's (1984) rational choice theory concerning political decision-making processes. The analysis yielded that the stand member states take concerning the issue of more or less governmental involvement on a member-state level seems to vary depending on the issue. Keywords: Interest group influence, consultations, DG Environment, Directives, desired rule shift, rational choice theory"

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The Foundations of the EU as a Polity

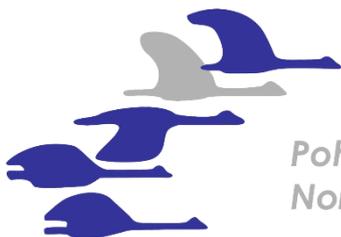
The traditional narrative depicts the liberal project of European integration as the gradual and progressive development from an economic community, without concern for fundamental rights, to a fully-fledged polity, founded on the respect for fundamental rights and individual freedoms. The final achievement of European integration would be an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, which is, in the words of the Treaty of Lisbon, "offered" by the EU to its citizens. This paper questions this received narrative and argues instead that, right at the core of the EU, security and fundamental rights operate as self-justifying discourses of power. The papers claim is that the history of Europe as a polity is marked by the discourses of security and fundamental rights much more than may seem at first sight. The rhetoric of harmonious European integration employs them to justify its own existence and deny conflict. The reality is that conflict cannot be denied, because it is constitutive of the relationship both between the EU and its Member States and between the EU and the rest of the world. The overall aim of this paper is thus to argue that Europe strives to emerge as a space in which normative and imperialistic claims contradict each other.

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The European External Action Service as a diplomatic actor and its political significance in relation to the EU Member States' diplomacies

This paper relates to my PhD, in which I'm analyzing the European External Action Service (EEAS) as a diplomatic actor and its political significance in relation to the EU Member States' diplomacies. The EEAS, established in 2011, consists of the Council, the Commission and Member State officials and is led by the High Representative. Its task is to ensure the consistency and efficiency of the EU's external action. Because the service is such a new innovation, it's still a diplomatic system in the making. The structure of the EEAS resembles the structure of national MFAs, since it has its "Minister of Foreign Affairs", it implements geographical and functional tasks, and it has delegations around the world. However, the service has features of development and defence ministries, and the personnel comes from different institutional backgrounds, which makes it a new kind of diplomatic actor that doesn't fit into the old categories. Even though it's often said that the EEAS gives an added value to national foreign policies, the relationship between the EEAS and national MFAs is quite vague and ambiguous. The Treaty says that the EEAS' shall work in cooperation with the diplomatic services of the Member States'. This leaves much room for interpretation. The discussion over the EEAS' competences illustrates the tension between the intergovernmental and supranational aspects of the European integration.

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