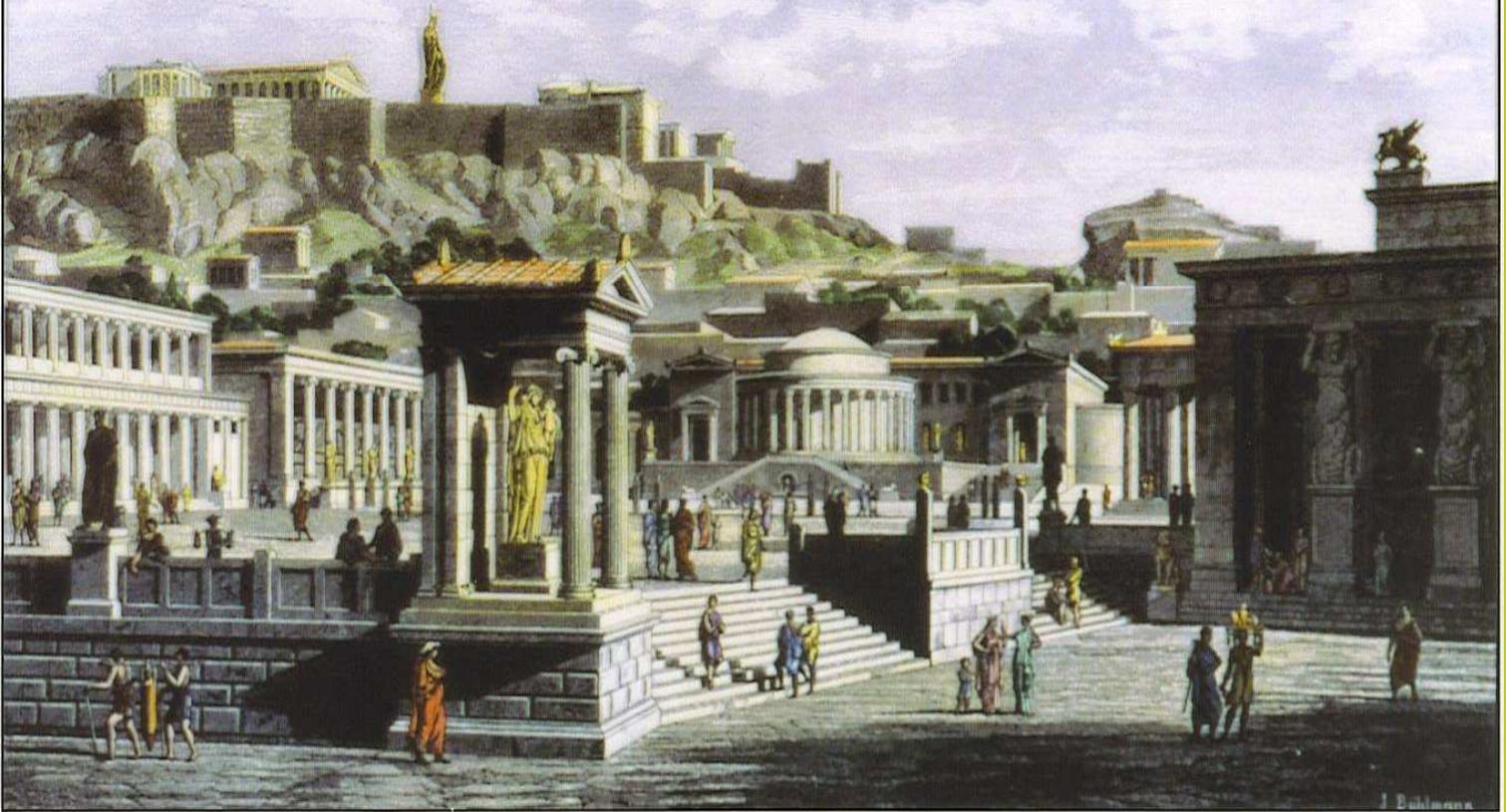


**THE PUBLICS OF EUROPE & THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE**  
**Tracing the Architects and Trespassers of Borders and Boundaries in Europe**

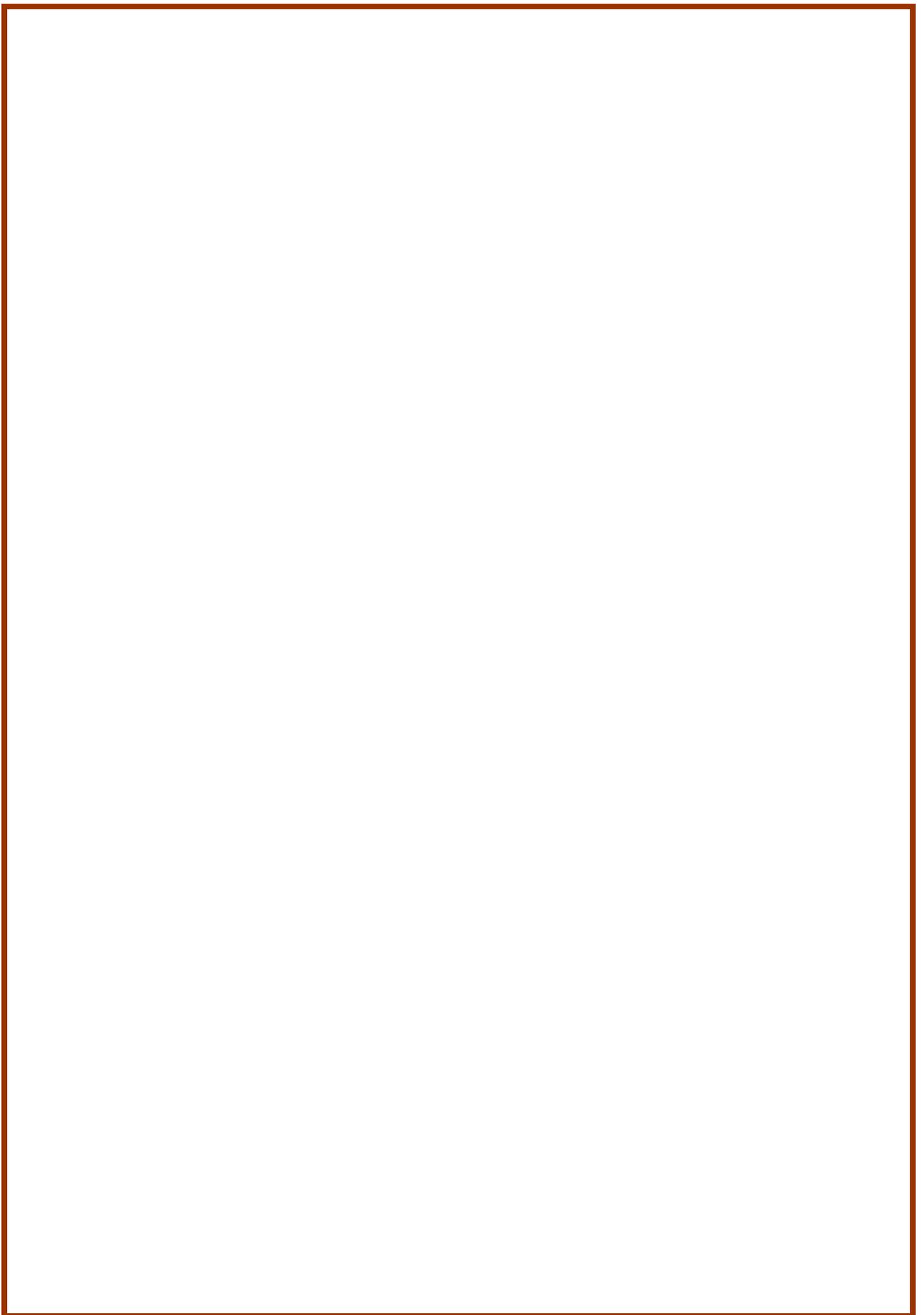


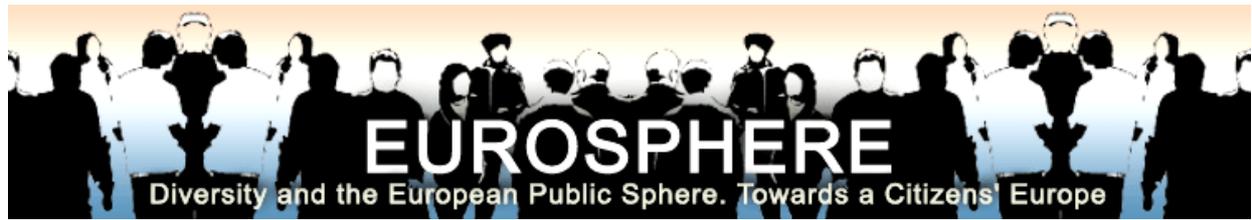
**EUROSPHERE Mid-Term International Conference**  
**Brussels, 11-12 November 2010**



**CITIZENS AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY**

EUROSPHERE is an integrated project which is funded by the European Union's  
6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme and coordinated by the University of Bergen





## **THE PUBLICS OF EUROPE & THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE**

### **Tracing the Architects and Trespassers of Borders and Boundaries in Europe**

There are few widely recognized facts to help explain processes of change in today's Europe – but what are established as facts depict a remarkable picture: The European territory is owned and politically structured by nation states. The relations between the European states are to a significant extent characterized by an unprecedented degree of intergovernmental and supranational institutionalization through the European Union and other European organizations and treaties. Although these international institutions shape their lives increasingly more, citizens continue to play a miniscule role in European level decision-making. Next, Europe is inhabited by a complex diversity of historical and new publics. These publics – e.g., minority publics, national publics, transnational publics, European publics, and new publics that are more challenging to categorize – create their distinct, internal discursive and interactive spaces. In spite of indirect restrictions, the institutional and other collective actors emerging from and operating in these spaces, and voicing the publics inhabiting these spaces, interact increasingly more beyond their own and other boundaries.

Some of these trans-boundary communications and interactions – be they collaborations, conflicts, exchanges, or contestations – can be explained by common past, shared cultural heritage, collective identities, geographical proximity, practical suitability, exit/voice possibilities, political opportunity structures, and elite initiatives. This conference is about the ingredients of this reality that cannot be explained exclusively by such factors, but primarily with the increasing physical and mental mobility, or immobility if one will, of European elites and citizens that enables and motivates them to transgress and transcend the boundaries of their immediate surroundings, something which allows them to identify also with more distant political entities, hard-to-imagine collectivities, and less tangible ideas about their own belongings. Thus, the social and political dynamics of the emergence of a European public sphere must be sought in the tension between the architects, gatekeepers, transgressors, and transenders of borders and boundaries within the existing and newly emerging European publics. Through submission, compliance, endorsement, resistance, and opposition; through boundary-making, gate-keeping, transgression, and transcendence; the architects and trespassers create multiple poles and polarizations in the very same European political space.

To what extent can these phenomena be regarded as the beginnings of a shared, multi-level, multi-pole, multi-public European public sphere? Whom does such a diverse European public sphere include, emancipate, empower or exclude, repress, marginalize? What are the citizens' attitudes, social and political elites' visions, and national media's images of the European Union, European diversity, and European integration? Are there important alignments and misalignments between these levels? If so, what explains the qualitative variation in congruencies and mismatches? Most importantly, what are the implications of such alignments and misalignments for the structuring of a European public sphere?

This conference is a forum for dissemination of the mid-term findings from EUROSPHERE, also bringing together the relevant stakeholders and users of knowledge to discuss these important questions. EUROSPHERE researchers will provide new, interesting perspectives and empirical findings about the increasing interconnectedness between different types of publics and public spaces, their discursive orientations, the new ways of transnational political communication and collaboration in Europe, and their consequences for individuals, groups, publics, and diversity. In this conference, we will put our ideas and perspectives under international academic scrutiny; in order to do so, we have invited prominent scholars of public sphere and European studies and many stakeholders to both reflect on our findings and present their own perspectives.



## THEMATIC FOCI OF THE CONFERENCE

EUROSPHERE’s third international conference has five thematic foci:

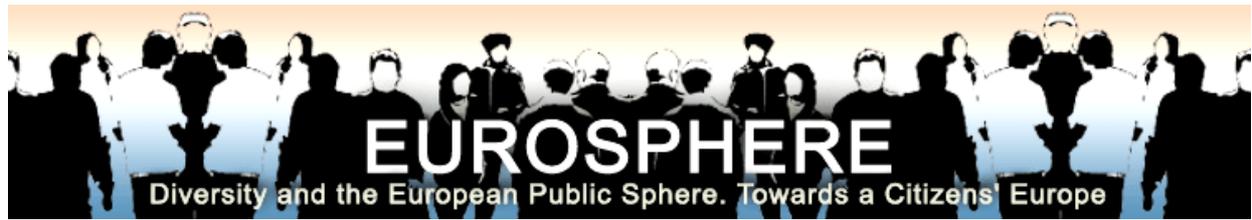
- The integrative (unraveling), inclusionary (exclusionary) and emancipatory (repressive) potentials of the emerging European public spheres
- The discourses / framings that are created in different types of European public spaces (about diversity, public sphere, and the EU)
- The trans-national linkages and interconnectedness between different types of public spaces in Europe
- The contributions of different types of social and political actors to the creation of the trans-European public spheres
- The policy areas relevant to the analysis of European public spheres (citizenship, mobility, diversity, minorities, gender, migration, enlargement)

These themes will be addressed in three different types of settings:

- **PLENARY** sessions with keynoters and roundtables
- **EUROSPHERE** sessions, where we present our mid-term results from the project
- **EUROFORUM** sessions, where we invite the EU institutions, other European projects, and the organizations that we interviewed to talk about the further challenges they see

	PLENARIES	EUROSPHERES	EUROFORUMS
Integrative, inclusionary, emancipatory potentials of the emerging European public spheres			
Transnational connectedness between European public spaces			
Discourses / Framings about diversity and EU in European public spaces			
Contributions of actors to the creation of trans-European public spheres			
Policy areas relevant to the analysis of European public spheres			

We will send special invitations to participate in the discussions to related European projects and to some of the organizations that we have interviewed. Other projects and stakeholders can also actively participate in our discussions after online registration for the conference and approval of the Conference Organization Committee (see “Call for Proposals to Participate in Euroforums” on page 3).



## **CALL FOR PROPOSALS TO PARTICIPATE IN EUROFORUMS**

With the EUROFORUMs being organized in this conference, the EUROSPHERE Consortium aims to interact with the relevant stakeholders as well as inquire into the possibilities of collaboration with other European projects and scholars on EUROSPHERE related themes. In addition to the representatives of the European Union institutions who will be invited by us, the following types of organizations are welcome to participate:

- European Research Projects / Research Consortiums
- European Party Federations, European Parliament Party Alliances
- National governments and national political parties
- European and national umbrella networks of NGOs and social movement organizations
- European and national umbrella networks of think tanks
- European and national umbrella networks of news agencies/newspapers/TV-broadcasters

Under each category, the travel and accommodation expenses of two or three organizations (1 person per organization) will be covered by the EUROSPHERE Consortium. Networks of organizations will be given priority in the selection process.

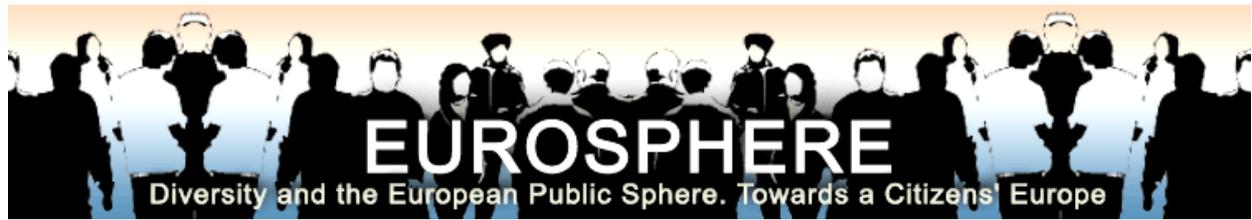
### **The conditions for reimbursement are:**

1. The proposal must come from an organization or project
2. The proposal should include clear information about which conference sessions are of interest
3. The organization's / the project's representative should contribute to the respective EUROFORUM with a short, prepared intervention discussing the use value of the EUROSPHERE research for his/her organization and possible ways of collaborating with EUROSPHERE
4. The conference organization committee's approval for reimbursement should be obtained prior to participation

The EUROSPHERE Consortium will provide information to the discussants about our research results, which can be used as a basis for the organizations and project representatives' prepared interventions.

Those European organizations and projects whose expenses cannot be covered by EUROSPHERE are invited to participate with their own resources after online registration on the conference website. If such participants also wish to present prepared interventions, they too are welcome to do so after the approval of the conference organization committee.

To participate with a prepared intervention, please send an inquiry to [eurosphere@uib.no](mailto:eurosphere@uib.no) as well as ticking the relevant box in the registration form at <http://eurospheres.org>.



## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME, Day 1

<b>11 NOVEMBER 2010</b>			
08:00 – 09:00 <i>PATIO</i>	<b>Registration and Coffee</b>		
09:00 – 09:30 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Hakan G. Sicakkan</b> EUROSPHERE Scientific Coordinator <i>Welcome and Introduction</i>		
<b>KEYNOTE ADDRESSES</b> Moderator: Acar Kutay			
09:30 – 10:10 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Donatella Della Porta</b> <i>Another Europe: Social Movements and the Construction of European Public Spheres</i>		
10:10 – 10:50 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Slavko Splichal</b> <i>National Publics in Transnational Public Sphere</i>		
10:50 – 11:20 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Stefano Bartolini</b> <i>Is There an Emerging European Party System?</i>		
11:20 – 11:30	Coffee Break		
11:30 – 13:00 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>ROUNDTABLE</b> <b>National Discourses of Co-existence and the European Public Sphere</b> Moderator: Monika Mokre		
	<b>Della Porta, Bartolini, Splichal, Sicakkan, Siim, EU Representative</b>		
13:00 – 14:30 <i>PATIO</i>	Lunch and Networking		
<b>EUROSPHERE SESSIONS</b>			
14:30 – 16:00 <i>MEETING R. 2 CONSILIUM</i>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">European Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Hakan G. Sicakkan</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i></td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">National Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Mikko Lagerspetz</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i></td> </tr> </table>	European Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Hakan G. Sicakkan</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	National Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Mikko Lagerspetz</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>
European Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Hakan G. Sicakkan</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	National Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Mikko Lagerspetz</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>		
16:00 – 16:15	Break		
<b>EUROFORUM SESSIONS</b>			
16:15 – 17:30 <i>MEETING R. 2 CONSILIUM</i>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">National NGOs and Social Movements in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Acar Kutay/Alberto Arribas</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i></td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">National Broadcast and Print Media in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Bülent Küçük</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i></td> </tr> </table>	National NGOs and Social Movements in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Acar Kutay/Alberto Arribas</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	National Broadcast and Print Media in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Bülent Küçük</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>
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19:30 – 22:00	Conference Dinner (All speakers and registered conference participants are invited)		



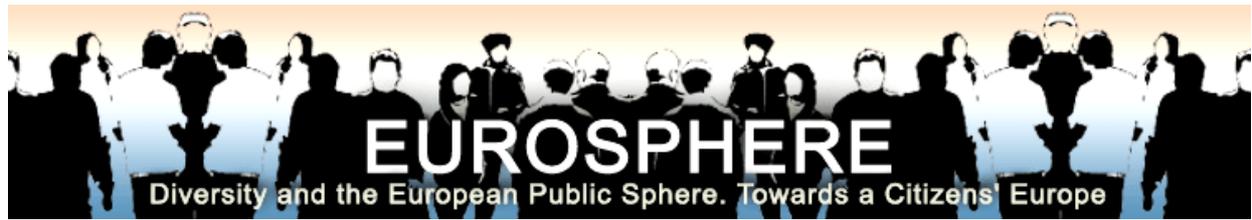
## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME, Day 2

<b>12 NOVEMBER 2010</b>			
08:00 – 09:00 <i>PATIO</i>	<b>Registration and Coffee</b>		
<b>KEYNOTE ADDRESSES</b> Moderator: Helene Pristed Nielsen			
09:00 – 09:40 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Judith Squires</b> <i>Gender and Inclusion in the European Public Sphere</i>		
09:40 – 10:20 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Rainer Bauböck</b> <i>Compound Citizenship in Europe: How to Reconcile Equality, Inclusion and Pluralism?</i>		
10:20 – 11:00 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>Costas Douzinas</b> <i>The Death of Europe</i>		
11:00 – 11:15	Coffee Break		
11:15 – 12:30 <i>FORUM A</i>	<b>ROUNDTABLE</b> <b>Is Europeanization and the European Public Sphere Bad for Diversity?</b> Moderator: Birte Siim		
	<b>Alvarez, Bauböck, Douzinas, Kraus, Squires, EU Representative</b>		
12:30 – 13:30 <i>PATIO</i>	Lunch		
<b>EUROSPHERE SESSIONS</b>			
13:30 – 15:00 <i>MEETING R. 2</i> <i>CONSILIUM</i>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">           Transnational Publics in the European Public Sphere            Lead: <b>Peter Kraus</b>   <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i> </td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">           Ethnic/Minority Publics in the European Public Sphere            Lead: <b>Floris Vermeulen</b>   <i>CONSILIUM</i> </td> </tr> </table>	Transnational Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Peter Kraus</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	Ethnic/Minority Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Floris Vermeulen</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>
Transnational Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Peter Kraus</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	Ethnic/Minority Publics in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Floris Vermeulen</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>		
15:00 – 15:15	Break		
<b>EUROFORUM SESSIONS</b>			
15:15 – 16:30 <i>MEETING R. 2</i> <i>CONSILIUM</i>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">           National Political Parties in the European Public Sphere            Lead: <b>Andras Bozoki</b>   <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i> </td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">           Policy Research Institutes and Think Tanks in the European Public Sphere            Lead: <b>Luca Barani</b>   <i>CONSILIUM</i> </td> </tr> </table>	National Political Parties in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Andras Bozoki</b>  <i>MEETING ROOM 2</i>	Policy Research Institutes and Think Tanks in the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Luca Barani</b>  <i>CONSILIUM</i>
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16:30 – 16:45	Break		
<b>EUROFORUM SESSIONS</b>			
16:45 – 18:00 <i>FORUM A</i>	Gender, Intersectionality and the European Public Sphere Lead: <b>Birte Siim</b>		



## KEYNOTE SPEECHES (Venue: Forum A)

	<p><b>Prof. Donatella Della Porta</b> <b>11 November 09:30-10:10</b> <i>“Another Europe: Social Movements and the Construction of European Public Spheres”</i></p>
	<p><b>Prof. Slavko Splichal</b> <b>11 November 10:10-10:50</b> <i>“National Publics in Transnational Public Sphere”</i></p>
	<p><b>Prof. Stefano Bartolini</b> <b>11 November 10:50-11:20</b> <i>“Is There an Emerging European Party System?”</i></p>
	<p><b>Prof. Judith Squires</b> <b>12 November 09:00-09:40</b> <i>“Gender and Inclusion in the European Public Sphere”</i></p>
	<p><b>Prof. Rainer Bauböck</b> <b>12 November 09:40-10:20</b> <i>“Compound Citizenship in Europe: How to Reconcile Equality, Inclusion and Pluralism?”</i></p>
	<p><b>Prof. Costas Douzinas</b> <b>12 November 10:20-11:00</b> <i>“The Death of Europe”</i></p>



## **ROUNDTABLES (Venue: Forum A)**

This year's EUROSPHERE Conference offers two roundtable discussions. The first one seeks to identify the challenges that Member States' different approaches to diversity pose to the development of a European public sphere, and how different national visions of co-existence may shape the emerging European public sphere. The second roundtable discussion inquires into whether the EU's policies to develop a common European public sphere from above is diversity-friendly, and how such policies may affect the participation of different groups in policy-making.

***11 November: "National Discourses of Co-existence and the European Public Sphere"***  
**Donatella Della Porta, Stefano Bartolini, Slavko Splichal, Hakan Sicakkan, Birte Siim**

**Moderator: Monika Mokre**

Contemporary societies are shaped by different approaches to the co-existence of groups of different ethnic origin, socio-economic status, ideological position, sexual orientation etc. At least, in mainstream discourses, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity is understood as one of the greatest challenges to societal cohesion. EU member states' historically different ways of dealing with diversity have been brought forth also within the European political scene.

We aim to compare national and European level discourses on the co-existence of different groups according to their (national or European) outlook and their origin in different EU Member States or on a transnational level, and whether and how different approaches to diversity affect the process of public sphere formation in the EU. We hope to find preliminary answers to the questions:

- a) Are there any indications of the existence of a European public sphere, and is it possible to identify the emergence of one or more European public sub-spheres around specific issues. If so, what is the character of these public spheres, how can they be described and understood from an analytical, political and normative perspective?
- b) Do the different national and European level discourses on co-existence and diversity affect the structuring of a European public sphere, and if so, how?

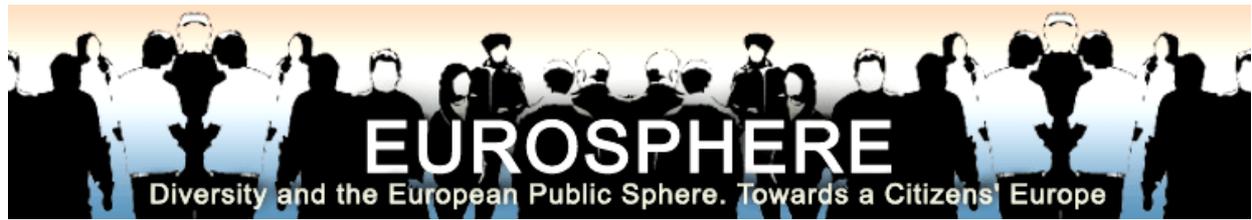
***12 November: "Is Europeanization and the European Public Sphere Bad for Diversity?"***  
**Aurora Alvarez, Rainer Bauböck, Costas Douzinas, Peter Kraus, Judith Squires**

**Moderator: Birte Siim**

The European integration process and political attempts to develop a European public sphere "from above" is highly contested. Although the EU provides a variety of direct channels for communication with European civil society organizations and individual citizens, it is argued that the European public sphere favors the strong and powerful elites and excludes minority groups, certain civil society actors and third-country nationals.

We aim to confront different theoretical, political and normative perceptions of Europeanization and European public sphere in relation to diversity and to compare the activities, discourses and identities of civil society organizations struggling to be represented and included in the European Public Sphere/Polity, for example European Women's Lobby (EWL), European Network Against Racism (ENAR), Black European Women's Council (BEWC), and several others. We hope to explore:

- a) What is the meaning of diversity in the EU context, and how does this relate to the EU's notions and policies of Europeanization and European public sphere?
- b) What are the potentials and barriers in the EU policy process for the (substantial) representation of different kinds of diversity?



## **EUROSPHERE SESSIONS**

In these sessions findings from the most recent research of the Eurosphere Consortium are presented. In each session, a EUROSPHERE lead-researcher will present the research report from his/her workpackage, and then a few comparative papers and case studies are presented.

### ***EUROSPHERE 1*** **“European Publics in the European Public Sphere”**

**11 November 14:30-16:00, Meeting Room 2**  
**Convener: Hakan G. Sicakkan**

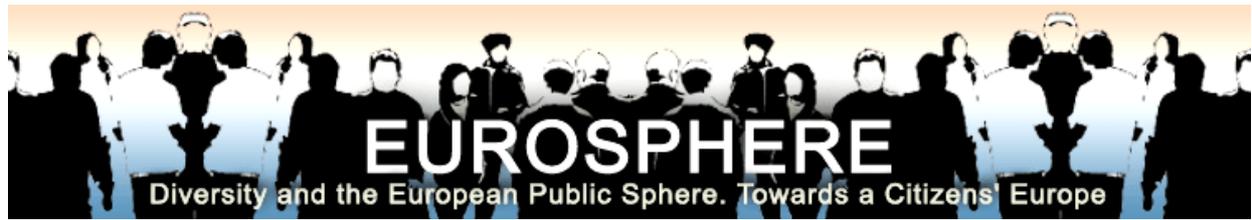
In this session, the political parties, think tanks, social movements, and media actors that are found to exhibit an explicit affiliation with eurospaces will be focused on, and their roles in the articulation of European public spheres will be analyzed comparatively. “Affiliation with eurospaces” is understood as being a member/participant of a trans-European or European network no matter what these actors’ orientations towards the EU polity or the European integration processes are. In this, also the central administrative/operative units of the trans-European networks are included, the majority of which are located in Brussels. Our comparative analyses of the relationships between organizations’ different forms of involvement in eurospaces (defined as trans-European networks of different types) as well as their views on the European polity and on the limits of diversity in the public sphere will reveal their contributions to the articulation of larger European public spheres.

Instead of searching for the regular attitude types, action patterns, and methods of social and political actors in their trans-national existence, it is imperative to search for the new attitudes and the new methods, and actions types that are being used in a trans-European context. The nationalist parties’ European-level institutionalization of the preference of the Europe of nations in the body of the *Union for the Europe of Nations* and in the *Alliance of European Nation*; the network-building strategy and the opportunity-structure-based behavior of non-governmental and social movement organizations; and the emergence of think tanks / policy research institutes that do research with a European comparative perspective; the combination of these can be understood as the beginnings of common cleavage formations in a European political space and an emerging tendency to institutionalize and freeze them at the European level. At this point, it is justified to pose the question: “Is there a trans-European institutional basis in-the-making, which may catalyze the development of a European public sphere?”

### ***EUROSPHERE 2*** **“National Publics in the European Public Sphere”**

**11 November 14:30-16:00, Consilium**  
**Convener: Mikko Lagerspetz**

In this session, the political parties, think tanks, social movements, and media actors which are found to exhibit an explicit affiliation with national spaces will be focused on and their features will be analyzed in one frame. We aspire to identify the dominant discourses relating to different public spaces and the European Public Sphere, discourses about the four issues of EUROSPHERE’s focus as well as the interrelationships and patterns of interaction and networking between the different kinds of social/political actors that are operating within this space.



The role of the nation state in formulating various types of policies is still considerable, and one of the roles of the public sphere within any democratic community is to provide a space for discussion on those political decisions that influence it and that the community has a possibility to decide upon. Despite the growing importance of decision making on the level of the EU, and despite the fact that the nation state can be said to be a context “too small for solving the large, and too large for solving the small problems of life”, much of even the decisions essentially made elsewhere are still mediated and modified through the institutions of the nation state. Another circumstance adding to the importance of the national public sphere is the language. The fact that each European state has its own national language(s) creates a filter for discourses present in other European countries and on the EU level. Even when disregarding the differences arising from the structures of meaning of the languages themselves, the choice of communicative spaces in which the institutional actors participate is heavily influenced by the languages in which they operate. Notwithstanding their stances in questions about diversity, citizenship and an emerging European public sphere, the actors are likely to participate in the discourses available in their national languages, and to refer to elements present in those discourses. Finally, it should be recognized that the discourses used in different national spaces of communication heavily rely on interpretations of historical experiences and present-day social realities held to be common for members of the nation states.

### ***EUROSPHERE 3***

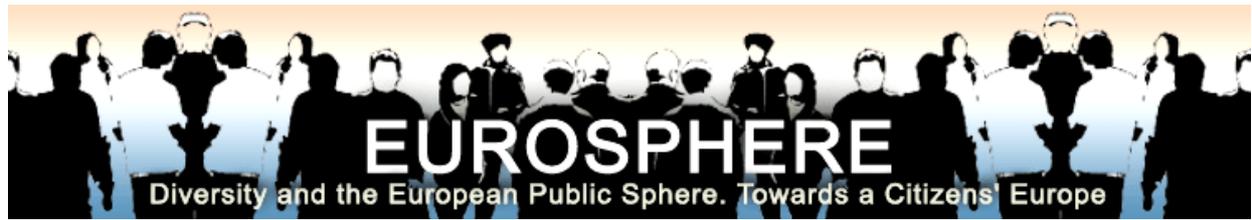
#### **“Transnational Publics in the European Public Sphere”**

**12 November 13:30-15:00, Meeting Room 2**

**Convener: Peter A. Kraus**

In this session, the political parties, think tanks, social movement organizations, and media actors which are found to exhibit an explicit affiliation with transnational spaces will be focused on and their features will be analyzed in one frame. The analysis will identify the dominant discourses relating to different public spaces and the European Public Sphere, discourses about the four issues of EUROSPHERE’s focus as well as the interrelationships and patterns of interaction between the different kinds of social/political actors that are operating within these spaces. The point of departure for this session is the assumption that the importance of social spaces defined by patterns of economic, territorial and cultural mobility which transcend the national has been growing over the last decades, as is shown in recent studies of immigration and transnationalism.

It can be argued that such patterns have attained particular importance in the European Union. Thus, the mobility of labor within the Union should, in principle, not be affected by the existence of national borders anymore. At the same time, Union citizenship, introduced with the Maastricht Treaty, may be understood as a particularly strong legal framework for articulating transnational concerns across European borders. Seen from this angle, European citizenship may give an expression to an identity layer that cuts across other (local, regional, national) identity dimensions. On the other hand, ‘Europeanness’ is not developing smoothly from a set of rules institutionalized in the transnational realm, or reflecting some shared historical or cultural legacies, but rather shaped in contingent political processes. To capture the complex relationship between views on transnationalism and views on diversity and the public sphere, this session will rely primarily on a number of qualitative methods. These will be connected to the framework of discourse analysis. When applied in the social sciences, discourse analysis stresses the political issues and the power dimension underlying the use of language. Language thereby both articulates and reproduces social and political positions. The approach to discourse analysis places special emphasis both on the political context of Europe and on the context of a limited set of countries which represent specific public approaches towards diversity (ideal types).



***EUROSPHERE 4***

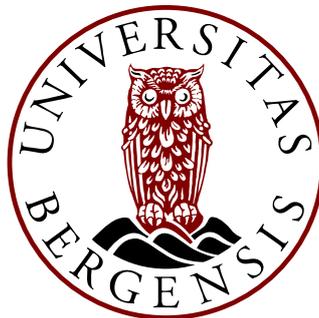
**“Ethnic/Minority Publics in the European Public Sphere”**

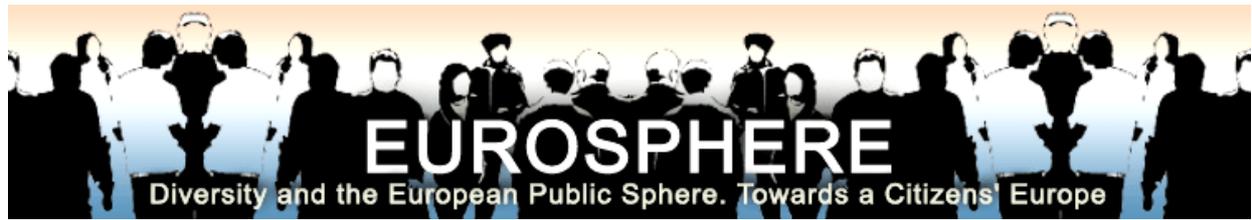
**12 November 13:30-15:00, Consilium**

**Convener: Floris Vermuelen**

In this session, the political parties, think tanks, social movements, and media actors which are found to exhibit an explicit affiliation with ethnic/religious minority public spaces will be focused on and their features will be analyzed in one frame. We aim to identify the dominant frames relating to different public spaces and the European Public Sphere, discourses about the four issues of EUROSPHERE’s focus: European Constitution; (European) citizenship and identity; mobility, migration and asylum policies; European enlargement as well as the interrelationships and patterns of interaction and networking between the different kinds of social/political actors that are operating within this space.

The idea of this session is to look at how the different actors try to create an ethnic / minority space within the larger European public spheres. We understand ethnic/minority spaces as particular discursive frames in which visions on diversity are of crucial importance. These discursive frames are strongly influenced by the way in which the actors value the European Union and an emerging European public sphere. These spaces are mainly articulated through the national public spheres. It is therefore of importance to compare the different positions of different organizations in national public spheres. As the literature on this topic mainly focuses on why specific and diffuse interests become active at the EU institutions and on lobbying tactics and methods of influence, this session includes collective identities and ethnic discursive frames in its theoretical models. It also pays additional attention to the position and strategies of immigrants and ethnic groups in the European public sphere, groups that often are not included in the research on the European public sphere. Thus, this session focuses on the ethnic aspect of the European Public Sphere and inquires whether a European public sphere is emerging in which ethnic organizations and ethnic constituencies can participate in.





## **EUROFORUM SESSIONS**

The purpose of the EUROFORUM sessions is to provide the relevant stakeholders in the European public sphere with an opportunity to talk and interact with EUROSPHERE researchers about the future challenges and the process of creating trans-European public spheres. Findings from the most recent research of the EUROSPHERE Consortium are presented. In each session, a EUROSPHERE lead-researcher will present the research report from his/her workpackage, and then one or two comparative papers and case studies will be given by EUROSPHERE researchers. Finally, a small panel of invited organizations and projects will take the floor to present their prepared interventions.

### ***EUROFORUM 1***

#### **“NGOs and SMOs in the European Public Sphere”**

**11 November 16:15-17:30, Meeting Room 2  
Conveners: Acar Kutay and Alberto Arribas**

This session aims to explain why social movement organizations (SMOs) / non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are open or skeptical to diversity, the European polity, and the European public sphere and why they involve more or less in trans-European collaboration / communication and in European-level public debates. Crucial to this research orientation will be the assumption that SMOs/NGOs are not only social and political actors but also public spaces communicatively linking both from within and without a range of publics. Unlike the other social and political actors studied in Eurosphere (namely, broadcast and print media, political parties, and think-tanks) SMOs/NGOs are considered “non-established public actors” within civil society. Because of this they embody a possible emergence and formation of a European public sphere “from below”, and hence represent a significant instance of citizens’ attempt to respond to the “democratic deficit” stemming from the construction of a European polity by the official/institutional actors of the European Union.

Against this background, this session will problematize whether the discourses and actions of SMOs/NGOs facilitate the articulation and shaping of a European public sphere by scrutinizing their orientation and openness toward diversity, the European polity and European public sphere. Related to this major concern will be the questioning of the mechanisms, processes and relations that are setting off trans-European collaborations between SMOs/NGOs, and whether these can be taken as evidences of an emerging civil society in the European Union.

### ***EUROFORUM 2***

#### **“Broadcast and Print Media in the European Public Sphere”**

**11 November 16:15-17:30, Consilium  
Convener: Bülent Küçük**

This session aims to depict and explain the role of national print and broadcast media in the structuring of the emerging European public sphere. Through the combination of a large-scale content analysis of media news (approximately 12,000 news items and 20,000 news sources), and a more focused set of qualitative case studies, this session seeks to move beyond the simple question of whether there is such a thing as a European public sphere, to examining issues around the representation of Europe, the European Union, and also the internal cohesion and boundaries of the European public sphere. Further, we – in both the content analysis and qualitative case studies – take a particular and innovative approach to accessing the voices of citizens in the European public sphere. Finally, we also take an interest in the views and practices of media actors in relation to collaboration at trans-European level.



### ***EUROFORUM 3***

#### **“Political Parties in the European Public Sphere”**

**12 November 15:15-16:30, Meeting Room 2**

**Convener: Andras Bozoki**

This session aims to explain why political parties are open or skeptical to diversity, the European Union, and the European Public Sphere (EPS) and why they involve more or less in trans-European collaboration / communication and in European-level public debates. Along the lines of the four policy issues included in the project, we will map the statements and views expressed by political parties (a) in their official party programmes (b) in their statements during election campaigns, (c) in their voting patterns and preferences in both national and European parliaments. Their orientation and openness towards diversity, the EU, and the EPS are measured with a view to assessing how their discourses and involvement contribute to articulating and shaping a European public sphere.

Communication about the EU is most obviously shaped by national political and cultural frameworks. While many important social processes cut across national borders and have transnational institutions to regulate them, democratic participation still occurs almost exclusively within individual nation states. While in the last decades society has experienced a shift from government to governance; a move towards a practice of problem-solving which involves multiple actors, political parties remain key players because citizens form their views about which policy options they prefer through the processes of deliberation and party contestation that are essential elements of all democracies. This session is primarily concerned with the extent to which ‘Europe’, however defined, plays a role in party programs, party ideology and party competition at the national level.

### ***EUROFORUM 4***

#### **“Think Tanks in the European Public Sphere”**

**12 November 15:15-16:30, Consilium**

**Convener: Luca Barani**

This session aims to explain why think tanks are open or skeptical to diversity, the European Polity, and the European Public Sphere (EPS) and why they involve in trans-European collaboration / communication and in European-level public debates. The statements and views expressed by think tank leaders during our interviews with them and in their publications, including also the organizational statements of objectives, will be mapped comparatively. Their orientation and openness towards diversity, the EP, and the EPS will be depicted with a view to assessing how their discourses and transnational networking contribute to the articulation of a European public sphere. An additional key is which factors make think tanks more or less responsive/open to citizens’ concerns when they create research agendas, disseminate or open their results to end-users’ exploitation.

Although most think tanks have legitimacy as technical experts and their technical expertise seems to have a large influence on the European decision-making mechanisms, they may not be suitable actors to help bridging the gaps between EU institutions and the European citizens. It is our hypothesis that certain think tanks have little interest in the needs and preoccupations of citizens. Looking at the main themes dealt with by think tanks, we will see that they mainly deal with security and external relations issues (rather than social issues). It is our hypothesis that think tanks have few links with those political actors who may represent the interests of the citizens like political parties or social movements. Hence, they are unlikely to represent the diversity of the European societies. On the other hand, if we look at it from a medium-term perspective, think tanks are important actors of the political web around the European Union, both as opinion leaders and channels of information, helping to build the infrastructure for discussion around European issues. Moreover, some think tanks target specifically the general public as part of their strategy of agenda formation and as a collateral obligation of their EU funding.



***EUROFORUM 5***

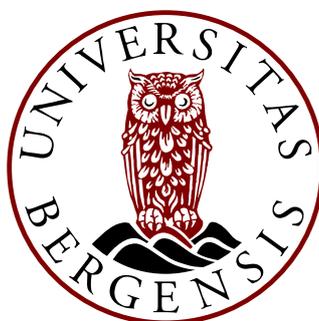
**“Gender, Intersectionality and the European Public Sphere”**

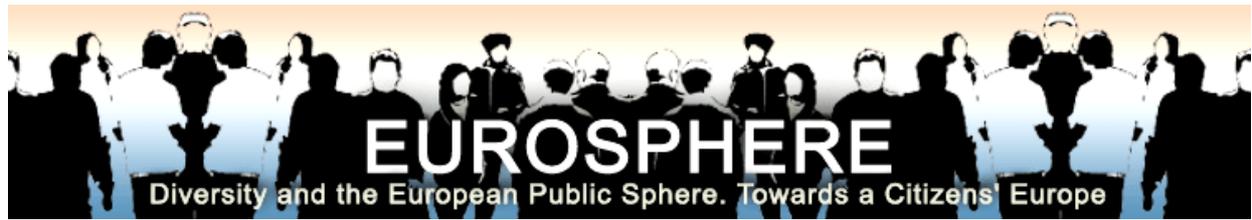
**12 November 16:45-18:00, Forum A**

**Convenor: Birte Siim**

This session addresses relations between gender and ethno-national diversity within and across the different political arenas in the emerging European public spheres, with a special focus on the attitudes of social and political actors in political parties and social movement organizations. The session aims to discuss first the role of gender (and women’s) groups in the articulation of European public sphere, and how they cooperate and negotiate with ethnic minority groups in the emerging European civil society. Secondly it aims to explain the role of gender-related concerns in the formation of the European Public Sphere, and how they relate to issues of diversity, especially to ethno-national concerns.

The session will discuss the inclusion/exclusion of women from the European public sphere in order to understand variations in women’s position across the different arenas/contexts and explore the relative importance of gender issues and gender-related concerns for different types of social and political actors. One question is to what extent gender (or concerns with gender issues) can explain open or skeptical attitudes towards diversity, the European polity and the European public spheres, if and in what way gender interacts with other factors, for example belonging to specific organizations or political families? How do different social and political actors understand and articulate ‘gender-related’ concerns; and to what extent do gender issues still have the potential to mobilize women citizens to participate in the emerging European civil society and the formation of a European public sphere? Finally the session wants to discuss to what extent women’s organizations and gender groups as ‘non-established actors’ within civil society have been empowered and represent a potential to respond to the ‘democratic deficit’ ‘from below’; and whether they cooperate with other social movement organizations in the formation of an emerging civil society in the European Union?





## REGISTRATION AND ACCOMMODATION

Online conference registration opens on *15 September 2010*. **Registration** and the conference committee's **official approval letter** are required for participation.

Register at <http://eurospheres.org>

The participants will arrange lodging individually in their preferred hotels. Suggestions will be sent to registered participants if requested.

## CONFERENCE VENUE

The conference takes place at Hotel Bloom, Brussels.

### Hotel BLOOM

Rue Royale 250 Brussels

Belgium

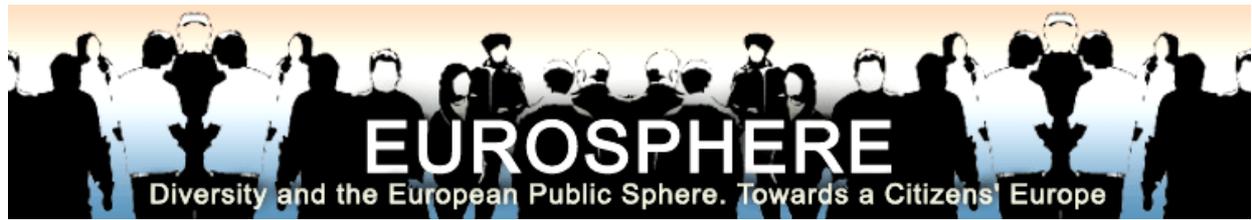
T: +32 (0)2 220 66 11

F: +32 (0)2 217 84 44

[www.hotelbloom.com](http://www.hotelbloom.com)



*\* For room allocations for the individual sessions please see pp. 4-5.*



## **ABOUT EUROSPHERE**

### **Diversity and the European Public Sphere. Towards a Citizens' Europe?**

EUROSPHERE is an integrated project which is funded by the European Union's 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (SSH) and is coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan G. Sicakkan, on behalf of the **Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen**.

The EUROSPHERE Consortium comprises 17 European universities and research institutes, and around 150 researchers participate in the project's different parts and phases.

The main objective of EUROSPHERE is to create innovative perspectives on the European public spheres and to identify the conditions that enable or undermine the articulation of inclusive democratic European Public Spheres.

The EUROSPHERE research plan entails synchronized data collection activities and single country studies in 16 countries, as well as creation of a Eurosphere Knowledgebase and cross-country comparative analyses of the conditions for the articulation of a European public sphere in the European context of diversity. In addition to regular research and academic dissemination activities, EUROSPHERE organizes four large-scale conferences, two European Forums with several sub-sessions appealing to different types of stakeholders, and four researcher training and PhD courses.

*The project started 1 February 2007 and will be completed by 31 January 2012.*

## **EUROSPHERE CONSORTIUM**

### ***Partner Institutions and Lead Scientists:***

University of Bergen (Coordinator)	<b>Norway</b>	Hakan G. Sicakkan
Austrian Academy of Science	<b>Austria</b>	Monika Mokre
University of Amsterdam	<b>Netherlands</b>	Floris Vermeulen
Sabancı University	<b>Turkey</b>	Ahmet Öncü
Aalborg University	<b>Denmark</b>	Birte Siim
University of Helsinki	<b>Finland</b>	Peter A. Kraus
Academy of Sciences	<b>Czech Rep.</b>	Martina Klicperova-Baker
University of Osnabrück	<b>Germany</b>	Michael Bommers
Tallinn University	<b>Estonia</b>	Mikko Lagerspetz
Université Libre de Bruxelles	<b>Belgium</b>	Eric Remacle
University of Granada	<b>Spain</b>	Aurora Alvarez Veinguer
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences	<b>Bulgaria</b>	Yolanda Zografova
University of Trento	<b>Italy</b>	Guiseppe Sciortino
Central European University	<b>Hungary</b>	Andras Bozoki
Norwegian Social Science Data Services	<b>Norway</b>	Bjørn Henriksen/Atle Alvheim
Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme	<b>France</b>	Wanda Dressler
Cardiff University	<b>UK</b>	Karin Wahl-Jorgensen



## CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE AND SPONSORS

This EUROSPHERE International Conference is organized by the University of Bergen, on behalf of the EUROSPHERE Consortium and with financial contributions of the **Norwegian Research Council**, the **European Commission (FP6, SSH)**, and the **University of Bergen**.

The EUROSPHERE kick-off conference was held in **Bergen** (Norway) on 13-14 February 2007. The second conference was held in **Osnabrück** (Germany) on 13-14 November 2009. This mid-term conference is the third in the EUROSPHERE international conference series. The fourth and last EUROSPHERE conference will be held in **Brussels** in autumn 2011.

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