

European Union Studies Association

19th Biennial Conference

May 8-10, 2025

Philadelphia PA
Sonesta Philadelphia Rittenhouse Square

2025 EUSA LEADERSHIP

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2025 EUSA CONFERENCE EXHIBITORS

SPECIAL EVENTS

THURSDAY MAY 8, 2025

12:00 pm - 1:00 pm

**Address by EU Ambassador to the US
Jovita Neliupšienė**

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

**Panel Honoring Liesbet Hooghe and
Gary Marks**

**EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award
recipients**

Chair: **Dan Kelemen**

Participants:

Catherine De Vries

Seth Jolly

Tanja A. Börzel

Hussein Kassim

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

Lifetime Achievement Award Reception

Sponsored by:

The University of North Carolina

European University Institute

FRIDAY MAY 9, 2025

12:00 pm - 1:30pm

**EU Law and Politics: The Court of Justice of
the EU and its Evolution**

Chair: **Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges,
University of London)

Participants:

Dan Kelemen (Georgetown University)

Katerina Linos (UC Berkeley)

Roberto Mastroianni (University of
Naples "Federico II" and General Court of
the EU)

Fernanda Nicola (American University)

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

**Journal of European Integration
Annual Lecture**

*A European Military-Industrial Complex?
Security and Market Logics in Today's EU*

Speaker: **Kate McNamara**

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

2025 EUSA Conference Reception

Sponsored by:

The Journal of European Integration

The Joseph H. Lauder Institute of

**Management & International Studies,
University of Pennsylvania**

University of Wisconsin

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 2025

Registration desk: 7:30am-5pm

Session 1 – Thursday – 8:30-10am

1B The Regional Dimension of the European Union: Forging an “open” Europe

Chair: **Liesbet Hooghe** (University of North Carolina)
Discussant: **Stephanie Shady** (Washington University)

Who runs the Committee of the Regions? A study of the autonomy of the CoR administrative staff

Jarle Trondal (University of Agder and University of Oslo)
Stefan Gänzle (University of Agder)

Expanding de facto the institutional mandate? The role of the Committee of the Regions in EU enlargement policy

Spyros Blavoukos (Athens University of Economics and Business)
Giorgio Oikonomou (Hellenic Open University)

The EU Strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Region (EUSAIR) - an effective governance tool helping to prepare for enlargement of the Western Balkan?

Marco D’Attoma (University of Agder)
Stefan Gänzle (University of Agder)

1C An Open European Identity? Challenging Conventional Wisdom About the Content and Symbolic Boundaries of European Identity

Chair: **Theresa Kuhn** (University of Amsterdam)
Discussant: **Theresa Kuhn** (University of Amsterdam)
Discussant: **Alec Cali** (Heidelberg University)

What does it take to be European: A Conjoint Experiment on the Subjective Perception of “Europeanness”

Isabela Zeberio (University of Amsterdam)
Armin Seimel (University of Amsterdam)
Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

The Honest, the Efficient, and the Hardworking: What Stereotypes Europe Needs to Increase Support for Redistribution

Adina Akbik (Leiden University)
Christina Luise Toenshoff (Leiden University)

The Limits of Diversity in European Unity: European Identification and Migration Attitudes

Aleksandra Sojka (University Carlos III of Madrid)

That’s (Not) Our Europe! Unpacking the Facets of European Identity and Their Influence on Euroscepticism in Germany

Philipp König (Saarland University)

Healing with Friends? Twin Survey Experiments on Supranational Identity and Global Vaccine Solidarity During Pandemics.

Francesco Nicoli (Politecnico di Torino)
Alec Cali (Heidelberg University)

1D EU Rule of Law Policy I: Enforcement Strategies through Spending Conditionality

Chair: **Andreína Hernández-Ross** (IPP-CSIC)
Discussant: **Tommaso Pavone** (University of Toronto)

Hungary’s approach to rule of law spending conditionality procedures: cost calculation strategies on compliance

Pauline Thinus (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Flexible Firewalls? Selective Cooperation and Strategic Demarcation Between Center-Right and Far-Right Parties in the EU

Michael Blauberger (University of Salzburg)
Ulrich Sedelmeier (LSE)

Protect my money! Enforcement of the Rule of Law in the Conditionality Regulation

Gisela Hernández (IPP-CSIC)

1E European Integration in the Geopolitical Age (I)

Chair: **Lucas Schramm** (LMU Munich)
Discussant: **Michele Chang** (College of Europe)

Integrating or disintegrating under external influence? The “China effect” on the inner workings of the European Union

Christian Freudsperger (ETH Zurich)
Pit Rieger (ETH Zurich)
Lucas Schramm (LMU Munich)

The EU’s resource integration dilemma. A competence-control perspective on the rise of joint capacities

Philipp Genschel (University of Bremen)
Markus Jachtenfuchs (Hertie School)

EU Collective Security Beyond NATO

Veronica Anghel (European University Institute)
Erik Jones (European University Institute)

Geopolitical Rebordering? Threats, dependencies, and external boundary formation in the European Union

Buket Buse Demirci (ETH Zurich)
Christian Freudsperger (ETH Zurich)
Mohamed Nasr (ETH Zurich)
Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

1G Technology and the Transatlantic Relationship: New Challenges for the 21st Century

Chair: **Stephanie Anderson** (University of Wyoming)
Discussant: **Marco Amici** (Univ. of Rome -- Tor Vergata)

From Traditional to 21st Century Policies: How Transatlantic Relations have Evolved

Federiga Bindi (Univ of Rome -- Tor Vergata & CU-Boulder)

Privatizing Defense: The Rise of Industry-Funded R&D and Its Impact on Transatlantic Relations

Kaija Schilde (Boston University)

Coordinating Cybersecurity in the Transatlantic Relationship

Stephanie Anderson (University of Wyoming)

1H Panic, neglect, and creativity in European Union Health Law

Chair and Discussant: **Janet Laible** (Lehigh University)

EU Pandemic Preparedness: legal and policy dimensions

Tamara Hervey (City St George's University of London)

The EU as a Global Health Actor

Scarlett McArdle (University of Nottingham)

The politics of vaccines and vaccinations in the EU after COVID-19

Scott Greer (University of Michigan)

The European Union and Planetary Health Politics

Ian Manners (Lund University)

Navigating Regime Complexity in Global Health: The Role of the European Union

Óscar Fernández (Maastricht University)

1J Crises and European Integration

Chair and Discussant: **Stella Ladi** (Queen Mary University of London)

Integration/Disintegration in the European Union: the global impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict

Nuno Gama Pinto (Centre for International Studies, Iscte - University Institute of Lisbon, ISG - Business & Economics School)

Different crises, same measure: the institutionalisation of joint purchasing in the European Union

Giorgia Castiello (Scuola Normale Superiore and Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

Failing back into place: Constitutional abeyance management in the governance of EU crises

Achim Hurrelmann (Carleton University)

Constant Turbulence: How Persistent Crises Define the European Union

Mads Dagnis Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)
Michael Kluth (Roskilde University)
Kennet Lynggard (Roskilde University)

Shifts in EU's security and defence: Sustainable? Desirable?

Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis (University of Galway)
Kyriakos Revelas (EU Official, EEAS (former))

1K Financing Sustainability in the European Union

Chair and Discussant: **Martijn Huysmans** (Utrecht University)

Sustainable finance in development assistance - the European Union perspective

Karina Jędrzejowska (University of Warsaw)

Of Carrots and Sticks in Clubs: How CBAM Influences EU Trade Partners' Climate Policies

Scott Hamilton (University of Antwerp)
Dirk De Bièvre (University of Antwerp)
Toon Van Os (University of Antwerp)

Incompatibility inside regime complex and normative unmaking of the international regime: EU withdrawal from the Energy Charter Treaty

Ihor Moshenets (Central European University)

Does the Intensifying "Brussels Blaming Game" Affect Implementation of EU Policies? The Case of Opposition to the Green Deal in the Czech Republic

Robert Zbiral (Masaryk University)

1L Cities and Regions - the subnational level as promoter or challenger for an open EU?

Chair: **Elisabeth Donat** (University of Continuing Education KREMS)

Discussant: **Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj** (University of Continuing Education KREMS)

A comprehensive analysis of local governments' Europeanisation

Hans Vollaard (Utrecht University School of Governance)

Croatian Border Regions and Processes of Europeanization

Nikola Petrović (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)
Lana Peternel (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)
Josip Bilić (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)
Filip Fila (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

Implementation of the Europeanization Process in Selected Croatian Urban and Rural Settlements

Andelina Svirčić Gotovac (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

Jelena Zlatac Gamberožić (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

Anamaria Klasić (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

Managing Overtourism in EU Cities: Cultural Identity and the Limits of Economic Freedoms

Rana Sami Touseef (University of Antwerp)

Session 2 – Thursday 10:15am-11:45am

2A The Deep Structure of Transatlantic Relations Part I

Chair: **Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt** (Technical University of Munich)

Discussant: **Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

Discussant: **Michael Smith** (University of Warwick)

Mapping the Legal Form and Outcomes of the EU-US Trade and Technology Council: Legal Convergence in an Era of Delegalisation

Elaine Fahey (City St. Georges, University of London)

The Transatlantic Commons and The Constitutive Effect of the Transatlantic Relationship

Veronica Anghel (European University Institute)

Erik Jones (EUI)

Shared Goals, Separate Paths in Global Development Financing: The Shift from Transatlantic Coordination to Geopolitical Competition

Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical Univ. of Munich)

Tony Mueller (Technical University of Munich)

Transatlantic cooperation and conflict in space

Lars Gjesvik (NUPI)

Marianne Riddervold (NUPI)

The Domestic Politics of European Reactions to the Trump 2.0 Transatlantic Challenges in Defense and Trade

Stefan A. Schirm (Ruhr University Bochum)

2C Roundtable: The EU five years after Brexit: What has been the impact of Brexit on the EU?

Chair: **Tamara Hervey** (City University, London)

Discussant: **Janet Laible** (Lehigh University)

Transatlantic Relations and Security After Brexit

Federiga Bindi (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

European social policy after Brexit

Scott Greer (University of Michigan)

EU law after Brexit

Jessica Guth (Leeds Trinity University)

Citizenship and migration policy after Brexit

Willem Maas (York University)

2D The EU's Roles in Times of International Crisis: Between Limited Openness and Willful Closure

Chair: **Michele Chang** (College of Europe)

Discussant: **Ana E. Juncos** (University of Bristol)

Discussant: **Roberta Guerrina** (University of Bristol)

Turning away from the negotiation table: the EU's transatlantic roles in the face of civil war in Syria

Marie Ketterlin (College of Europe)

Ian Lesser (German Marshall Fund of the United States)

Through the Looking Glass: Uncovering the EU's gendered foreign policy to Afghanistan

Luis Matos (College of Europe)

Virginie Van Ingelgom (UC Louvain)

EU values on the frontline: Access to Sexual and Reproductive Health in Ukraine as a Test of the European Union's Normative Power

Nina Guibère (College of Europe)

Re-bordering Schengen? The Politicization of Migration and the Erosion of Europe's Internal Open Borders

Luís Matos (College of Europe)

Sofía Torres Bizou (College of Europe)

Climate Leadership or Green Protectionism? The External Dimension of the European Green Deal: Examining the case of the Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM)

Paula Álvarez Vidal (College of Europe)

2E Open EU - Decolonising EU Law for an Open EU

Chair and Discussant: **Iyola Solanke** (University of Oxford/ Somerville College)

Decolonization in Africa and EU Law

Akasemi Newsome (University of California Berkeley)

Decolonising EU Migration Law: A New Direction for European Integration?

Janine Silga (Dublin City College)

2F Dynamics of Euroscepticism

Chair and Discussant: **Steve Jurek** (SUNY Brockport)

The Conditional Nature of European Union Support: Insights from a Difference-in-Differences and Multilevel Regression Analysis

Anders Ejrnæs (Roskilde University)

Mads Dagnis Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)

Suen Wang (Aalborg University)

Public Support for Putin in Western and Eastern Europe: Populism, Euroscepticism, and Ideology

Anna Brigevid (Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU))

Andrea Wagner (MacEwan University)

Dissatisfied Voters or Alienated Abstainers? Abstention and Party-Voter Incongruence

Almila Basak (Syracuse University)

Seth Jolly (Syracuse University)

Support for Eurosceptic Parties Among Young Voters

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

Pietro Galeone (Bocconi University)

Climate Policy Scepticism and Euroscepticism: Exploring the Link in the European Parliament Elections

Aleksandra Sojka (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid)

Ilke Toygur (Carlos III University of Madrid & IE University)

2G Implementing the Recovery and Resilience Facility: determinants, effects and lessons

Chair: **Markus Haverland** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Discussant: **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

Re-centralisation in the shadow of Europeanisation? The of subnational authorities in the implementation of the Recovery and Resilience Facility in four decentralised member states

Marie-Thérèse Wilhelm (Pompeu Fabra University)

Joan Miró (Pompeu Fabra University)

Northern "Saint" or Northern "Sinner"? Does the Recovery and Resilience Facility make a difference for Dutch compliance with European Semester recommendations

Markus Haverland (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Lea Becher (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

EU Economic Governance between Executive Dominance and Parliamentary Scrutiny: Assessing the Implementation of NGEU in Southern Europe

Andrea Capati (LUISS Guido Carli University)

Thomas Christiansen (LUISS Guido Carli University)

Ana Mar Fernández-Pasarín (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Rethinking the Governance of the Cohesion Policy Funds: Is the Recovery and Resilience Facility a Model?

Jonathan Zeitlin (University of Amsterdam/EUI/Scuola Normale Superiore)

David Bokhorst (European University Institute)

Edgars Eihmanis (University of Tartu)

2H Gender Mainstreaming in EU Political Economy

Chair: **Mary Anne Madeira** (Lehigh University)

Discussant: **Henriette Mueller** (New York University Abu Dhabi)

Gendering EU Trade Agreements: a Holistic Analysis

Mary Anne Madeira (Lehigh University)

Gender equality and fiscal policy-making: gender mainstreaming in the EU pandemic recovery

Matilde Ceron (University of Salzburg)

Gender budgeting in the European Union: progress and pitfalls

Costanza Hermanin (European University Institute)

EU Free Trade Agreements and Gender Equality

Gesa Kubek (University of Groningen)

2I EU Rule of Law Policy II: Enforcement Strategies and their Implications Within and Beyond the Union

Chair: **Gisela Hernández** (IPP-CSIC)

Discussant: **Daniel Naurin** (University of Oslo)

Friends or foes? The (failed) partnership between the European Commission and the European Parliament in Rule of law enforcement

Andreína Hernández-Ross (IPP-CSIC)

Democratic Frontsliding in the European Union: Political, Normative and Legal Paths Forward

Christophe Hillion (University of Oslo)

Tommaso Pavone (University of Toronto)

Antoinette Scherz (Stockholm University)

The EU's Democratic Backsliding and Its External Costs: Fueling Illiberalism in the Neighborhood

Soso Makaradze (University of Salzburg)

Ana Andguladze (ULB)

2K Migration, Citizenship & Identity

Chair and Discussant: **Isabella Trombetta** (New York University)

Caucasus in Europe, Europe on the Caucasus: how Europeanisation changes local communities and how local communities change Europe

Evgeny Romanovskiy (Charles University)

V4 countries: Not pro-family and anti-immigration but labor migration champions

Zsolt Gál (Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University Bratislava)

Fragmentation or catalyst? The impact of EU Member States' competition for talents on the EU's legal migration approach

Fanny Tittel-Mosser (University of Minho)

Cross-national solidarity in Europe: Does EU membership matter?

Maurits van der Veen (William & Mary)

2L Nuclear Zeitenwende: Increased salience of nuclear weapons in Europe

Chair: **Michal Onderco** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Discussant: **Niklas Helwig** (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Permissive Dissensus: The Nuclear Dimension of the German Zeitenwende

Tobias Bunde (Hertie School)

Michal Onderco (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Breaking the silence: explaining the dynamics behind Poland's desire to join NATO nuclear sharing in light of Russian aggression against Ukraine

Monika Sus (Hertie School)

Lukasz Kulesa (RUSI)

Polarization and support for nuclear weapons use in Europe

Tom Etienne (University of Pennsylvania)

Consistency Over Change: Pakistan's Nuclear Policy Amidst the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

Rabia Akhtar (University of Lahore & Harvard University)

Session 3 – Thursday - 2:00-3:30pm

3B The Normative Power Question

Chair and Discussant: **Dominika Harasimiuk** (University of Warsaw)

A vanishing EU normative power? Trade, Geopolitics, and Ethics in Arms Export

Chiara Bonaiuti (Newcastle University and IRES CGIL Toscana)

Luca Bortolotti (University of Bologna- Faculty of Political Science)

Sovereignty of the European Union: Between norm and practice

Josip Bilić (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

The Polity-Building Role of Mobility Rights

Turkuler Isiksel (Columbia University)

3C Roundtable on Arrival of Normative Power in Planetary Politics

Chair: **Ian Manners** (Lund University)

Chair: **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (European University Institute)

Discussant: **Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)

Arrival of Normative Power in Planetary Politics

Ian Manners (Lund University)

The Third Democratic Transformation: From Europe to Planetary Politics

Kalypso Nicolaïdis (European University Institute)

Nakedly Normative: A Feminist (Re-)Imagination of Planetary Politics

Roberta Guerrina (University of Bristol)

Maxine David (Leiden University)

Katharine Wright (Newcastle University)

3D Recent developments in the law, politics and practices of EU-US relations

Chair: **Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges, University of London)

Transatlantic Trade: Challenges and Opportunities

L. Johan Eliasson (East Stroudsburg University)

Evolution of the European Parliament Liaison Office in Washington DC - seeking attention from and engagement with the US Congress

Joseph Dunne (George Washington University)

The US, Brexit and Irish Influence

Mary C. Murphy (Boston College)

The New US-EU Relationship: Unintended Implications for Business

Terrence Guay (Pennsylvania State University)

12:00 pm -1:00 pm Address by EU Ambassador to the US **Jovita Neliupšienė**

1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Afternoon Break

3E Four Traits of the Italian Influence on European Law: Judges and Advocates General at the CJEU (1952-2000)

Chair and Discussant: **Daniela Caruso** (Boston University)
Discussant: **Bill Davies** (American University)

Three shades of "Italian Style"

Fernanda Nicola (American University, Washington College of Law)

Who are the Italian jurists "landing" on the Kirchberg plateau?

Lorenzo Cecchetti (Luiss University)

How can the "transmission belt" between the national legal system and the EU legal order be enhanced?

Roberto Mastroianni (University of Naples "Federico II" and General Court of the EU)

The quest for the effectiveness of EU law-derived rights

Daniele Gallo (Luiss University)

3F Borders, enlargement and the future of the EU

Chair and Discussant: **Steve Jurek** (SUNY Brockport)

Enlargement and the Western Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities for EU Decision Making

Christophe Crombez (Stanford University)
Matthieu Vanderschommen (KU Leuven)

Accession, Withdrawal, and Values Enforcement in the European Union: Lessons from the EU membership crises for 'Big Bang 2.0' enlargement

Oliver Garner (Central European University Democracy Institute)

Acceding to 'social Europe'? Montenegro and the social dimension of EU enlargement

Sven Schreurs (European University Institute)

A European Union open to new members? Prospects for Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia

Maurits van der Veen (William & Mary)

3H Intercontinental Climate Finance Cooperation

Chair: **Sarah Bracking** (King's College London)

Discussant: **Ruyuan Liu** (King's College London)

Discussant: **Silvia Zinolli** (Pisa University)

Expanding liquidity for climate finance: beyond traditional public and private forms of delivery

Sarah Bracking (King's College London)

Ethics-based Climate Impact Finance. Mechanisms of Innovative Governance

Tomasz Braun (Lazarski University)

Using Natural Language Processing for Measuring the Effectiveness of Climate Finance Policy Diffusion: A Computational Approach to Public Policy Analysis

Ruyuan Liu (King's College London)

Zhenzhu Li (Imperial College London)

Hanqi Yan (King's College London)

Reclaiming Value Beyond GDP: Labor and Social Sustainability

Silvia Zinolli (Pisa University)

EU Development Banks' Influence on Commercial Bank Rate of Return: A Difference-in-Difference Analysis

Ruyuan Liu (King's College London)

Fangyuan Kou (Exeter University)

3I Rethinking Europe's East-West Divide and European Integration

Chair: **Eli Gateva** (University of Oxford)

Discussant: **Monika Sus** (Hertie School & Polish Academy of Sciences)

Attitudes towards democracy: East and West divide among young men and women

Lenka Bustikova (University of Florida)

Katarzyna Grzybowska-Walecka (EUI)

Payton Capes-Davis (U of Florida)

East-West Divide in the European strategic autonomy debate

Monika Sus (Hertie School & Polish Academy of Sciences)

Rethinking Europe's East-West Divide and European Integration

Eli Gateva (University of Oxford)

Russia's Lawfare on the EU: Twisted Inclusion and Exclusion Strategies in the European Security Agenda

Sergii Glebov (University of California-Irvine)

3J EU Rule of Law Policy III: (Non-)Compliance Strategies in the Member States

Chair: **Pauline Thinus** (ULB)

Discussant: **Michael Blauburger** (University of Salzburg)

The Politics of Intercurrence: Political Cleavages and Lawfare in the European Union

Sivaram Cheruvu (University of Texas - Dallas)

Tommaso Pavone (University of Toronto)

Talking About the Frozen EU Funds: The Hungarian Government's Framing Strategies

Kinga Koranyi (Hertie School)

Political parties' preferences on judicial governance: The Battle Over Spain's Council for the Judiciary

Pablo Castillo-Ortiz (University of Sheffield)

Gisela Hernández (IPP-CSIC)

Juan Antonio Mayoral (UC3M)

3K Migration, Citizenship & Identity - Challenges for Integration

Chair: **Megan Brown** (Swarthmore University)

Discussant: **Helga Luku** (University of Antwerp)

Moral-Emotional Politics on TikTok

Marcos Echevarria-Eirea (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Regionalist Strategies for Migrant Inclusion Positions

Stephanie Shady (Washington University in St. Louis)

Fit4EU? Fostering teachers' competencies for civic education on the European Union" - findings from empirical studies

Monika Oberle (Goethe University Frankfurt)

Lisa Beck-Vogt (Goethe University Frankfurt)

The Ambivalence of Solidarity and the Language of Law

Isabella Trombetta (New York University)

Jaya Ramji-Nogales (Temple University)

Seán Binder

3L The European Union's cooperation with third countries in the era of geopolitics

Chair and Discussant: **Ed Fogarty** (Colgate University)

A struggle for recognition? The EU, third state partnerships and international security

Helene Sjursen (ARENA Centre for European Studies)

Defense Regulation as Statecraft: The EU's Strategic Autonomy and Market Control in Relations with Third Countries

Kaija Schilde (Pardee School of Global Studies)

The Clash over Securitization of EU Energy Policy and Which Third Country Partners to Rely Upon

Mitchell Orenstein (University of Pennsylvania)

Nicholas Beauchamp (Northeastern University)

The EU's Response To Russia's War of Aggression: social learning and informal patterns of cooperation with third countries

Ana Juncos (University of Bristol)

Marianna Lovato (Jagiellonian University)

Karolina Pomorska (Leiden University)

Session 4 – Thursday - 3:45p-5:15pm

4A Roundtable: From multilevel governance of cohesion to identity politics of integration: EU polity formation in the work of Hooghe and Marks

Chair: **Waltraud Schelkle** (European University Institute)

Participants: **Markus Jachtenfuchs** (Hertie School)

Kathleen McNamara (Georgetown Univ.)

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria)

Liesbet Hooghe (UNC and EUI)

Gary Marks (UNC and EUI)

4B The EU addressing migrant labor realities: reconceptualizing traditional migration management

Chair: **Willem Maas** (York University)

Discussant: **Alec Cali** (Heidelberg University)

The EU Talent Pool: An online tool caught in a complex policy mix to fix labour shortages

Tesseltje De Lange (Radboud University)

The proposed EU Platform Work Directive and supranational regulation of platformization: Care work and the Dutch case study as a starting point

Colleen Boland (Radboud University)

Informal EU third country agreements and the informality of care work: Power dynamics of labour migration management and intersectional assumptions

Annette Schrauwen (University of Amsterdam)

Dina A. Fattah (The American University Cairo)

Tesseltje De Lange (Radboud University, Netherlands)

Nicholas Jacobs (Colby College)

Craig Parsons (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

Markets and Challenges of De-Federalization in Europe and the United States

John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo)

Nicholas Jacobs (Colby College)

Craig Parsons (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

4C The Struggle for Europe's Geoeconomic Future

Chair and Discussant: **Sophie Meunier** (Princeton University)

Taiwan's Industrial Policies Under External Pressure: How EU Policies Shape Policy Choices

Pawel Frankowski (Jagiellonian University)

From Rules to Tools: The Struggle for Europe's Geoeconomic Future

Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Economic statecraft and state autonomy: the deviant case of the European Union (EU)

Salih Isik Bora (Brussels School of Governance, Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

A Digital Divide? Principles of Digital Market Governance in the EU and the US

Jonas Heering (Georgetown University)

Guillaume Beaumier (ENAP)

Abraham Newman (Georgetown University)

Variations Around The "Beyond the EU regulatory state" Theme: Longitudinal and Comparative Analysis of Policy Mixes in EU Electricity and Digital Infrastructure Policies.

Emmanuelle Mathieu (University of Lausanne)

Noel Lócse (University of Lausanne)

Colin Pache (University of Lausanne)

4D Comparative Federalism of Single Markets in the US and the EU

Chair: **Craig Parsons** (Univ. of Oregon/University of Oslo)

Discussant: **Philipp Genschel** (EUI)

Comparing U.S. and EU Single Markets in Goods: The Unusual but Revelatory Case of Spirits Drinks

Katarzyna Andrejuk (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Trym Fjørtoft (University of Oslo)

Craig Parsons (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

Susanne Schmidt (University of Bremen)

Andy Smith (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

What Pushes the EU Single Market Agenda into Tough Sectors? The European Project and Construction Services

Katarzyna Andrejuk (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Tobias Bach (University of Oslo)

Craig Parsons (Univ. of Oregon/University of Oslo)

Susanne Schmidt (University of Bremen)

Andy Smith (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

Jarle Trondal (University of Oslo)

Horizontal, vertical or something in between? Economic and human capital and support for single markets in the EU and the US

Martin Moland (Hertie School)

4E Revisiting National EU Coordination in an era of Crisis and Reform: Panel 1

Chair and Discussant: **Thomas Christiansen** (LUISS)

Revisiting National EU Coordination after Lisbon and an era of Crisis

Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)

Eva Heidbreder (Otto-von Guericke Universität)

National EU Coordination in Germany: Managing EU Relations in a System of Cooperative Federalism

Eva Heidbreder (Otto-von Guericke Universität)

"France must speak with one voice only in Brussel": a model or an exception? Explaining the concentration of EU Affairs" coordination on top of the French Executive

Jean-Michel Eymeri-Douzans (Sciences Po Toulouse)

National coordination of EU policy in Belgium: from de iure competitive to de facto cooperative under European pressure.

Peter Bursens (University of Antwerp)

4F Navigating Complexity: The Role of Informal Practices in European Security Architecture

Chair: **Monika Sus** (Polish Academy of Sciences & Hertie School)

Discussant: **Brice Didier** (Sciences Po & IRSEM)

Organizing Nuclear Policies in Europe: Of Bricoleur Plurality, Architect Absence, and Spoiler Disruption

Michal Onderco (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Ulrich Kühn (University of Hamburg)

The EU's fragmented defence governance: Different rationales, different logics

Niklas Helwig (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Tuomas Iso-Markku (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Organizing European Security through Informal Groups: Insights from the EU response to the Russian war in Ukraine

Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré (LUISS)

Monika Sus (Polish Academy of Sciences & Hertie School)

4G Latest issues as to Social Europe, labour law, rights and practice in law and practice

Chair: **Michael Blauburger** (University of Salzburg)
Discussant: **Pietro Galeone** (Bocconi University)

Converging on social investment? Policy entrepreneurship, learning and the limits of socialization in EU economic governance

Sven Schreurs (European University Institute)

A broader understanding of the "social" in European social constitutionalism: comparative reflections on the constitutionalization of European fiscal constraints.

Maria Kotsoni (Princeton University)

Privacy vs. Virtual World: Protection of Individual Rights in the Internet Age and the Role of AI Regulation

Katarzyna Clapinska (Warsaw University)

Constantin Ciorba (Paris Pantheon Assas)

Commodification and the protection of labour rights in the EU

Konstantinos Alexandris Polomarkakis (Royal Holloway, University of London)

4H Misusing Legal Comparison: Challenges for the European Rule of Law

Chair: **Fernanda Nicola** (American University)
Chair: **Daniela Caruso** (Boston University)

Participants: **Maria Catanzariti** (University of Padova)

Jessica Guth (Trinity Leeds University)

Roberto Mastroianni (Naples University,

General Court CJEU)

Lorenzo Cecchetti (KU Leuven, LUISS)

4I The New Eastern Enlargement. Changing leadership and emerging patterns of contestation in the EU enlargement.

Chair and Discussant: **Karolina Pomorska** (Leiden University)

EU institutional leaders toward the 2030 Enlargement Agenda: Case of Ukraine

Vadym Zheltovskyy (University of Warsaw)

Fields of Contestation? Ukrainian Accession and the Future of the Common Agricultural Policy

Doris Wydra (Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies)

Andrea Gawrich (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

Value-based EU Enlargement? Understanding of democracy, its support and contestation in Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia

Anna Osyphchuk (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)

Anton Suslov (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)

4J Europe and beyond: EU influence and reach

Chair and discussant: **Spasimir Domaradzki** (University of Warsaw)

The carrot or the stick? Comparing the effectiveness of EU safeguard mechanisms against democratic backsliding

Giada D'Andrea (University of Surrey)

The Two Geopolitical Models of Autocratization in the European Union

Daniel Hegedus (Regional Director, Central Europe, The German Marshall Fund of the United States)

In Search of a New Neighbour: Constructing Central Asia as the EU's Neighbourhood

Marek Neuman (University of Groningen)

Senka Neuman Stanivukovic (University of Groningen)

National identity as a cultural filter: External perceptions of the EU in Israel

Hila Zahavi (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and The Open University of Israel)

Gal Arieli (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

4K EU Governance in Transition: Parliamentary and Theoretical Perspectives on Democratic Innovations, Treaty Changes, and the Rule of Law

Chair and Discussant: **Lucy Kinski** (University of Salzburg)

How can EU decision-making be more open to ordinary citizens? On random selection of participants in democratic innovation

Joanna Podgórska-Rykała (Univ. of the Commission of National Education in Krakow)

Marcin Kępa (Univ. of the Commission of National Education in Krakow)

Parliamentary discursive stances towards democratic innovations in EU policy-making

Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka (University of Wrocław)

Interparliamentary Cooperation on Democracy and the Rule of Law in the European Union: Challenges and Prospects

Ioanna Christodoulaki (University of Wrocław)

4L Migration, Citizenship & Identity - the External Dimension

Chair and Discussant: **Isabella Trombetta** (New York University)

From legislative harmonization to practice divergence: exploring the main factors leading to variations in asylum recognition rates

Angela Tacea (Sciences Po Grenoble)

Beyond Solidarity: The New Dynamics of Migration Politics and Policies in the EU

Ernesto Fiocchetto (Florida International University)

Europe's many shades of migration diplomacy: intentional and unintentional impacts.

Juliette Tolay (Penn State Harrisburg)

Session 1: 8:30-10a • Session 2: 10:15a-11:30a • Session 3: 2:00p-3:30p • Session 4: 3:45p-5:15p

THURSDAY EVENING SPECIAL EVENTS

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

**Panel Honoring Liesbet Hooghe and
Gary Marks**

**EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award
recipients**

Chair: **Dan Kelemen**

Participants:

Catherine De Vries

Seth Jolly

Tanja A. Börzel

Hussein Kassim

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

Lifetime Achievement Award Reception

Sponsored by:

The University of North Carolina

European University Institute

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 2025

Registration desk: 7:30am-5pm

Session 5 – Friday - 8:30am-10:00am

5A Community and Governance Beyond the Nation-State in the 21st Century. The Legacy of Ernst B. Haas

Chair: **Tanja A. Börzel** (Freie Universität Berlin)

Discussant: **Thomas Risse** (Freie Universität Berlin)

Ernst B. Haas, liberal nationalism and the double-edged nature of European identity

Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

Regionalism and liberal nationalism in the European Union. A case Sui Generis?

Tanja A. Börzel (Freie Universität Berlin)

Crisis and polity formation in the European Union

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich)

5B Book Panel: EU Trade and Investment Treaty-Making Post-Lisbon - Moving Beyond Mixity

Author: **Gesa Kübek** (University of Groningen)

Discussant: **Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges, University of London)

Participants:

Gabriel Siles-Brugge (University of Bristol)

Alexandros Bakos (Hamad Bin Khalifa University)

Tobias Lock (Maynooth University)

5C EU Digital Diplomacy and Strategic Governance

Chair and Discussant: **Dominika Harasimiuk** (University of Warsaw)

EU Digital Public Diplomacy in Southeast Asia: Crisis Management and Image Building during the COVID19 Pandemic

Xiangdong Chen (Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)

Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis (University of Galway)

The EU strategic approach to digital diplomacy

Lea Diaz

Beyond the Brussels Effect: Transforming EU Digital Policy Through Strategic Digital Diplomacy

Zhe Ma (Kobe University)

5D EU Enlargement and Strategic Challenges in Ukraine and Moldova

Chair: **Costanza Hermanin** (European University Inst)

Discussant: **Erik Jones** (EUI)

The Impossible Buffer: Why Ukraine Could Not Balance between East and West-And What It Means for NATO and the EU

Anne Ingemann Johansen (University of Southern Denmark)

Searching for Actorness at the Borders: Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova as Sites of Interdependence and Autonomy of the EU and Russia

Mila Mikalay (University College Freiburg)

The external actor theory of EU referendum voting: attitudes towards Ukrainian EU accession.

Tom Etienne (University of Pennsylvania)

Talking shop or Powerhouse? The Role of the European Parliament in EU Enlargement Negotiations

Magdalena Frennhoff Larsén (University of Westminster)

5E European Union Latin America Relations

Chair and Discussant: **Jan Wouters** (KU Leuven)

The European Union, Chile and Lithium: value-based agreements or simply competing against China?

Arantza Gomez Arana (Northumbria University)

Progressive Power Europe: A New Framework for the European Union's Trade and Sustainable Development Agenda

Caroline Bertram (University of Cambridge)

EU Critical Materials Diplomacy to Latin America

Roberto Dominguez (Suffolk University)

5F Interoperability in the EU: a multidisciplinary perspective I

Chair: **Chloé Béruit** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

Discussant: **Mariavittoria Catanzariti** (University of Padua and European University Institute)

A Digital Horizon for Integration? Interoperability and the Transformation of the Public Sector in the EU

Laurène Le Cozanet (European University Institute)

Interoperable Secrecy in European Data Law

Deirdre Curtin (European University Institute)

One, Two... Fourteen Common European Data Spaces: the Quest for Interoperability in EU Digital Legislation and Across Data Spaces

Federica Casarosa (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna/EUI)

Pelin Turan (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

5G Decision-making at the Court of Justice of the European Union

Chair: **Andreas Hofmann** (Leiden University)
Discussant: **Daniel Naurin** (University of Oslo)

Do International Court Rulings affect Public Support for International Organizations?

Sivaram Cheruvu (University of Texas at Dallas)
Jay Krehbiel (University at Buffalo)

Better judges? How appointment procedures influence judicial performance

Louisa Boulaziz (University of Oslo)
Olof Larsson (University of Gothenburg)

How labor-friendly are CJEU judges?

Andreas Hofmann (Leiden University)

Courtroom capital: How legal expertise and resources influence win-rates

Silje Hermansen (University of Copenhagen)
Louisa Boulaziz (University of Oslo)
Tommaso Pavone (University of Toronto)
Christian Doll Overgaard (University of Copenhagen)

5H European Integration at a Crossroads: Navigating Enlargement and New Alliances

Chair and Discussant: **Vadym Zheltovskyy** (University of Warsaw)

Ideas, solutions and consequences. The federalist logic and the end of the EU enlargement policy

Spasimir Domaradzki (University of Warsaw, Poland)

Is the "new" EU enlargement methodology already obsolete?

Lubomira Popova (Sofia University)

Best friends forever? Norway and the EU's geoeconomic turn

Guri Rosén (Oslo Metropolitan University)

A transatlantic turn? Finland's deepening relationship with the US and its implications for Finnish policy within the EU

Ville Sinkkonen (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)
Niklas Helwig (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)
Tuomas Iso-Markku (Finnish Inst. of International Affairs))

5I The Changing Dynamics of Economic Governance in the European Union

Chair: **Hussein Kassim** (Warwick University)
Discussant: **Eva Heidbreder** (Magdeburg University)

"Show Me The Money!" - The Changing Dynamics of Economic Governance in the EU

Thomas Christiansen (Luiss University, Rome)
Lucia Quaglia (Bologna University)

Understanding the Role of Experts in Economic Governance of the EU

Paul Schure (University of Victoria)
Amy Verdun (University of Victoria)

The Reform of the Stability and Growth Pact: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back

Michele Chang (College of Europe, Bruges)

Tilting the Balance? The impact of social partners and partisan politics on EU-backed structural reform trajectories in Italy 2011-2024

Stefano Scibilia (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
Markus Haverland (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Negotiated and Negotiable? Contractual Governance and the Flexibility of the EU's Recovery and Resilience Facility

Ana Mar Fernández-Pasarín (Autonomous University of Barcelona)
Joan Miró (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona)

5J The Global Gateway: The EU's New Economic Security Tool? I

Chair: **Sophie Meunier** (Princeton University)
Discussant: **Matthias Matthijs** (Johns Hopkins University)

Geopoliticization of the EU's Global Infrastructure Development through the Global Gateway?

Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

Between instrumental and structural power - Assessing the potential of the EU's Global Gateway Initiative in Global Affairs and Development

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics)

Promoting Mutual Interests? European Donors and the Global Gateway

Nicolas Bau (University of Geneva)
Simone Dietrich (University of Geneva)

EU Digital Diplomacy and the Promotion of Strategic Interests: The Case of the Global Gateway

Sebastian Heidebrecht (University of Vienna)

5K Politicizing and contesting European integration

Chair and Discussant: **Stefan A. Schirm** (Ruhr University Bochum)

Contesting implementation? The effect of government justification strategies on citizen support for compliance with EU policies

Asya Zhelyazkova (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

More, Not Less - Favoring Further Integration in Europe's Times of Crisis

Hannah Radner (Syracuse University)

Set Theoretic Concept Formation and the Emergence of Time: A Concept Structural Approach to Studying Temporal Dynamics in Democracies

Andreas Corcaci (University of Antwerp)

The Resonance Effect: Politicization and the Politics of Coalition-Building

Scott Hamilton (University of Antwerp)

Session 6 – Friday - 10:15am-11:45am

6A Book Roundtable: *Direct Effect in EU Law* – **Daniele Gallo**

Chair: **Daniela Caruso** (Boston University)

Participants

Roberto Mastroianni (University of Naples "Federico II" and General Court of the EU)

Lorenzo Cecchetti (Luiss University)

Bill Davies (American University)

6B Understanding resource integration

Chair: **Markus Jachtenfuchs** (Hertie School)

Discussant: **Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon)

Resource allocation in EU external boundary governance: between competence and control

Alessia Invernizzi (University of Konstanz)

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich)

From Borders to Boundary Rules: Governing the EU Commons

Veronica Anghel (European University Institute)

Erik Jones (European University Institute)

Making liberal intergovernmentalism fit for resource integration

Philipp Genschel (University of Bremen)

Markus Jachtenfuchs (Hertie School)

6C Developments in national and European Parliaments

Chair and Discussant: **Peter F. Brown**

How to win in the European Parliament: predictors of party group success

Nicolas Bicchi (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)

Think smaller, achieve bigger? Unconventional party alliances in the EU Parliament based on regionality in developing circular business models

Birgit Carolin Mitter (University of Salzburg (PLUS))

Dynamic Estimation of Ideal Points and Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament

Simon Hix (European University Institute)

Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo)

Abdul Noury (NYU Abu Dhabi)

Calling the roll: Roll-call vote requests in the early European Parliaments and their consequences

Simon Hug (University of Geneva)

Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo)

6D Intersectionality in practice: Asylum and LGBT+ issues in the EU

Chair: **Akasemi Newsome** (University of California, Berkeley)

Discussant: **Katie Laatikainen** (Adelphi University)

The Limits of Protection: Spanish Courts and the (Denial of) Protection of Queer Latin American Asylum-Seekers

Ernesto Fiocchetto (FIU)

Queer marginality: intersectional discourses and practices within Europe/an Studies

Markus Thiel (Florida International University)

Business Responses to anti-LGBTQ Legislation in Orbán's Hungary 2012-2024: Cautious Voice and Internal Power

Daniel Kinderman (Cornell University)

6E Economic Statecraft in EU Trade and Industrial Policy

Chair and Discussant: **Manon Fortemps** (Georgetown University)

Post-Protectionist Industrial Policy - EU-Qatar Synergetic Industrial Base Development

Alexandros Bakos (Hamad Bin Khalifa University)

A Trusting Relationship? Analysing the Commission and European Parliament's Discourses in EU Trade Policy

Nicola Chelotti (Loughborough University)

Sustainability Clauses in EU Trade Agreements

Julien Mieral (University of Cambridge)

Industrial policy as a new paradigm in the European Union

Emmanuelle Mathieu (University of Lausanne)

Noel Löcse (University of Lausanne)

Colin Pache (University of Lausanne)

6F EU Approaches to Migration, Security, and Development

Chair and Discussant: Discussant: **Stephanie Shady**
(Washington University in St. Louis)

Defining the Prevention of Crime and Radicalization: From National Approaches to a Common Understanding

Andrew Aguilar (Sciences Po CERI-CNRS)

Between instrumental and structural power - Assessing the potential of the EU's Global Gateway Initiative in Global Affairs and Development

Robert Basedow (LSE)

Constitutional Disintegration and Disruption: Withdrawal and Opt-Outs from the European Union

Oliver Garner (Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law)

6G Issues in EU Defense

Chair: **Ljiljana Biukovic** (University of British Columbia)
Discussant: **Noel Lócse** (University of Lausanne)

Towards strategic autonomy in defense? The Commission's role in defense industrial policy.

Derek Beach (Aarhus University)

Rasmus Brun Pedersen (Aarhus University)

European Strategic autonomy and Article 346 TFEU: lessons from the Belgian FN Herstal Case?

Wout Bob Decock (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

EU Law's Response to Global Challenges

Jed Odermatt (City St George's, University of London)

6H Interoperability in the EU: a multidisciplinary perspective II

Chair: **Laurène Le Cozanet** (European University Institute)
Discussant: **Deirdre Curtin** (European University Institute)

Narratives in and out of Crises: The Role of "Interoperability" in the Making of the European Health Data Space

Chloé Béruit (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

"Routing" European security

Vanessa Ugolini (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Rocco Bellanova (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Francis Hunger (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Unpacking the Concept of Interoperability in the EU Legal Imaginaries

Mariavittoria Catanzariti (University of Padua and European University Institute)

Implementing JHA Database Interoperability: An Infrastructural Approach

Iwan Oostrom (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

6I Future directions of law, policy and democratic structures of the EU

Chair and Discussant: **Spasimir Domaradzki** (University of Warsaw)

The Financial Accountability of Trans-European transport networks: the politics of evaluating and auditing a complex funding architecture

Paul Stephenson (Maastricht University)

The Story of the Democratic Odyssey: Opening the EU inward, outward, vertically, horizontally, up and down

Kalyso Nicolaïdis (European University Institute)

Litigating for a fundamental rights in the EU: the class action before the CJEU

Kris van der Pas (Tilburg University/New York University)

6J The EU's Geo-economic Trade Policy: Panel 1, Internal Logic and Evolution

Chair: **L. Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University)

Discussant: **Caroline Bertram** (University of Cambridge)

Institutionalism, Adaptation and Trade: the Anti-Coercion Instrument

L. Johan Eliasson (East Stroudsburg University)

Patricia Garcia-Duran (University of Barcelona)

European Investment Screening Mechanisms and Differentiated Integration

Terrence Guay (Pennsylvania State University)

Michelle Egan (American University)

Geopoliticisation meets politicisation: Party-political cleavages on EU geoeconomic trade instruments

Anna Herranz-Surrallés (Maastricht University)

Odile Feltkamp (Maastricht University)

The performativity of the EU's "geoeconomic turn"

Gabriel Siles-Brügge (University of Bristol)

6K Complicit in Autocratization? The public's role in democratic backsliding

Chair: **Andras Bozoki** (Central European University)

Discussant: **Tsveta Petrova** (Columbia University)

Democratic Decline, Women's Political Power, and Gender Equality in Europe

Ian McManus (Emerson College)

Issue congruence and corruption in European environmental protection

Edward Fogarty (Colgate University)

Kevin Wallsten (California State University - Long Beach)

Where Supply Meets Demand for Democratic Transgressions

Tsveta Petrova (Columbia University, USA)

Natasha Wunsch (University of Fribourg)

Joep Van Lit (Radboud University)

The rise of an embedded autocracy: Hungary in the EU

Andras Bozoki (Central European University)

6L The education divide in contemporary European and US politics

Chair: **Gary Marks** (UNC-Chapel Hill & EUI)

Discussant: **Liesbet Hooghe** (UNC-Chapel Hill & EUI)

Discussant: **Roland Kappe** (University College London)

Divided They Graduate? Examining the Impact of Field of Study and Peer Networks on University Graduates' Political Attitudes and Behavior

Fabienne Eisenring (University of Zurich)

Subject choice at school and the new transnational cleavage in electoral politics: evidence from English administrative data

Nicole Martin (University of Manchester)

Ralph Scott (University of Bristol)

Roland Kappe (University College London)

Beyond the diploma divide: Field of education and ideological divisions among college educated

Gary Marks (UNC-Chapel Hill & EUI)

Jonne Kamphorst (Stanford University)

Julia Schulte-Cloos (University of Marburg)

Liesbet Hooghe (UNC-Chapel Hill & EUI)

The Left Misunderstood: How Voters' Perceptions of What Matters to the Left Benefit the Right

Jonne Kamphorst (Stanford University)

PLENARY

12:00 pm - 1:30pm

EU Law and Politics: The Court of Justice of the EU and its Evolution

Chair: **Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges, University of London)

Participants:

Dan Kelemen (Georgetown University)

Katerina Linos (UC Berkeley)

Roberto Mastroianni (University of Naples "Federico II" and General Court of the EU)

Fernanda Nicola (American University)

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

Afternoon break 1:30 pm - 2:00 pm

Session 7 – Friday - 2:00pm-3:30pm

7A Enlargement between Illiberalism and Geopolitics: Assessing Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova's path to the European Union

Chair: **Tanja Börzel** (Professor, Free University of Berlin)

Discussant: **Frank Schimmelfennig** (Professor, ETH Zürich)

Hungary's Illiberal Impact on the EU accession of Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine

Zsuzsanna Végh (PhD Researcher, European University Viadrina)

Reassessing Differential Empowerment in the Face of an Illiberal EU: A Comparative Study of Georgia and Slovakia

Anastasia Mgaloblishvili (PhD Researcher, Free University of Berlin)

Moldova's Path to the European Union: Navigating Geopolitical Tensions, Domestic Reform, and EU Conditionality

Ecaterina Locoman (Senior Lecturer, University of Pennsylvania)

The future of the Eastern Neighborhood: Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine in the EU

Milena Romano (University of Bath)

7B Roundtable: After Brexit-Ongoing Challenges, Unresolved Questions

Chair: **Dan Kelemen** (Georgetown University)

Participants

Anand Menon (King's College London)

Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)

7C "Zeitenwende" as coming of age? EU foreign & security policy through war & peace

Chair: **Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)

Discussant: **Giorgio Oikonomou** (Hellenic Open University)

"Zeitenwende" as coming of age? Processes of maturation for explaining and understanding EU actorness

Richard Whitman (University of Kent)

Kolja Raube (University of Leuven)

The European Union's securitisation of global health: Was COVID-19 a Zeitenwende?

Oscar Fernandez (University of Maastricht)

Reaching for the Threshold?: Assessing institutional maturity in EU foreign policy

Jost Morgenstern-Pomorski (Jagiellonian University)

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 2025

Finally coming of age? EU foreign and security policy after Ukraine

Marianne Riddervold (Norwegian Inst. of Inter. Affairs)

Pernille Rieker (Norwegian Inst. of International Affairs)

7D A Return to Geopolitics (or Not)

Chair and Discussant: **Jan Wouters** (KU Leuven)

This is not a new world order (And not everything is about geopolitics)

Sven Biscop (Egmont Institute & Ghent University)

Demand for EU polity building in the shadow of the Russian threat

Ioana-Elena Oana (European University Institute)

Alexandru Moise (European University Institute)

Zbigniew Truchlewski (University of Amsterdam)

Sources of Greatness, Sources of Vulnerability: Three Ways to Relate Russia to Europe

Mila Mikalay (University College Freiburg)

The European Union's Navigation of the US-China Rivalry: Strategizing or Muddling Through?

Brice Didier (Sciences Po & IRSEM)

7E The role of the European Parliament in a more polarised European Union

Chair: **Ariadna Ripoll Servent** (University of Salzburg)

Discussant: **Nils Ringe** (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Holding to account, but for whom? Transnational representation in European Parliament oversight of economic governance

Adina Akbik (Leiden University)

Lucy Kinski (University of Salzburg)

Just to be clear? European Parliament position-taking and public opinion

Nikoleta Yordanova (Leiden University)

Aleksandra Khokhlova (Leiden University)

Anastasia Ershova (Queen's University Belfast)

The Evolution of Legislative Oversight in the European Union

Amie Kreppel (University of Florida)

Murad Gafarov (University of Florida)

Towards a geopolitical Parliament? An analysis of the EP's response to the Commission's geopolitical turn

Lorane Visart (University of Salzburg)

Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Salzburg)

7G From primus inter pares to princeps: The constitutional implications of the Commission President's changing role

Chair: **Karolina Borońska-Hryniewiecka** (University of Wrocław)

Discussant: **Tomasz Braun** (Lazarski University)

From primus inter pares to princeps: The constitutional implications of the Commission President's changing role

Guillermo Íñiguez (Faculty of Law, University of Oxford)

Leyre Santos (European Institute, Columbia University)

The power of emotions in policy reform: how the EU Commission pushed through the 2020 "Recovery Plan for Europe"

Kennet Lynggaard (Roskilde University)

Gender, Language, and Leadership in EU Politics: A Comparison of Ursula von der Leyen, Roberta Metsola and Christine Lagarde

Henriette Mueller (New York University Abu Dhabi)

John Scherpereel (James Madison University)

Political? Geopolitical? European Commissioners' Travel and Territorial Power Projection

John Scherpereel (James Madison University)

Deadlines, Fallacies, and Delays: Legislative Planning within the European Commission

Raphael Maesschalck (University of Hamburg)

7H Digital Finance and the Euro Area

Chair: **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

Discussant: **Sebastian Heidebrecht** (University of Vienna)

Regulating Cryptocurrency and Euroscepticism: the Politicization of Money

Peter Loedel (West Chester University of Pennsylvania)

Laura Suderlich (University of Essex)

Jeffrey Karp (Brunel University London)

The Path to a Common Market for Digital Financial Services: The European Commission as a Transformational Leader

Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

(Munich)

Elena Rios Camacho (Technical University of Munich)

The long and winding road towards a wholesale digital euro caught between geoeconomics and bureaucratic politics

Lucia Quaglia (University of Bologna)

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria)

The Politics of the Digital Euro: Financial Innovation, Strategic Autonomy, and Monetary Sovereignty in the Digital Age

Sebastian Heidebrecht (University of Vienna)

7I The EU's Geo-economic Trade Policy: Panel 2, External Perceptions and Implications

Chair: **Evgeny Postnikov** (University of Melbourne)

Discussant: **Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University)

Legal Convergence Through Soft Law? Reflections on the legacy of the EU-US Trade and Technology Council (TTC)

Elaine Fahey (City St. Georges, University of London)

Sustainable Development in EU Trade Policy and the Unilateral Turn: A Governance Approach

Evgeny Postnikov (University of Melbourne)

Johan Adriaensen (Maastricht University)

Constructive Incrementalism of Building of the European Union International Investment Policy

Ljiljana Biukovic (University of British Columbia)

Beyond economics: understanding the political opposition to the EU's autonomous trade-sustainability policies

Caroline Bertram (University of Cambridge)

7J Actors, contestation and EU democratic legitimacy

Chair: **Petia Kostadinova** (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Discussant: **Samantha Call** (Siena College)

Discussant: **Evgeny Romanovskiy** (Charles University)

Rhetoric of autocratization: How backsliding governments politicize democracy in the European Union

Thomas Winzen (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

Going to Brussels? - Representation through the subnational units in the EU

Petia Kostadinova (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Talking about Democracy in the EU: Parliamentary Questions and EU Enforcement

Samantha Call (Siena College)

Kari Waters (Cornell University)

Defending Europe in the UK after Brexit: frames, activism and discourse

Kai Steemers (King's College London)

Adam Fagan (King's College London)

Large Firms, the State, and the New Politics of Globalization

Niccolo Bonifai (Georgetown University)

7K Public preferences and identity formation

Chair and Discussant: **Waltraud Schelkle** (European University Institute)

Politics in times of crisis: A vignette experiment on the trade-off between responsiveness and responsibility

Andrea Ceron (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Fabio Franchino (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Alessandro Pellegata (Università degli Studi di Milano)

International organizations, national sovereignty and external threat: How do international constraints on national autonomy shape national identity?

Martin Moland (Hertie School)

Institutional design and preferences on European integration: Evidence from the rotating Council Presidency

Matthieu Vanderschommen (KU Leuven)

Martijn Huysmans (Utrecht University)

Philippe van Gruisen (Leiden University)

The Formation of European Identity Amidst Polycrisis: Insights from a Longitudinal Study

Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

Armin Seimel (University of Amsterdam)

7L Book Roundtable: EUPM2 Guide for Managing EU-Funded Projects (v1.0)

Chair: **Federiga Bindi** (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Authors:

Marco Amici (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Agustin Moya Colorado (Univer. Politécnica de Madrid)

Session 8 – Friday - 3:45pm-5:15pm

8A Europeanization, De-Europeanization and the Future of EU Enlargement

Chair and Discussant: **Federiga Bindi** (University of Rome Tor Vergata & University of Colorado, Boulder)

Europeanization and De-Europeanization in Turkey: a Theoretical and Conceptual Account

Dimitris Tsarouhas (Virginia Tech)

Europeanization and De-Europeanization in Western Balkans: The Case of Serbia

Yannis A. Stivachtis (Virginia Tech)

The Failures of Top-Down Europeanization: North Macedonia in Comparative Perspective

Binio S. Binev (Virginia Tech)

Plus ça change plus ça reste pareil?: The United Kingdom post Brexit and De-Europeanisation as orbiting Europeanisation

Lee McGowan (Queen's University Belfast)

8B European Integration in the Geopolitical Age (III)

Chair: **Lucas Schramm** (LMU Munich)

Discussant: **Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

Geopolitics and the renaissance of an EU Industrial Policy

Michele Chang (College of Europe)

David Howarth (University Luxembourg)

An Earthquake in the making? How Geopoliticization is shaking trade politics in the European Parliament

Lorane Visart (University Salzburg)

Second Image Reversed and the Global Gateway Initiative: How China's Geopolitical Rise Shapes European Integration

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical Univ. Munich)

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics)

The European Union's Approach to Strategic Technology Governance: Towards Geopolitics?

Céleste Bonnamy (Sciences Po Lille)

Thomas Christiansen (Luiss University)

Flavia Lucenti (Luiss University)

Ville Sinkkonen (Finnish Institute for International Affairs)

Sophie Vanhoonacker (Maastricht University)

From fragmentation to deflection? The impact of external crises on EU energy policy integration

Anna Herranz Surralles (Maastricht University)

8D The new politics of EU finance

Chair: **Gal Bitton** (Tel Aviv University)

Discussant: **Mark Copelovitch** (University of Wisconsin)

Bank-supervision in the EU and blame avoidance in German

Tal Sadeh (Tel Aviv University)

Gal Bitton (Tel Aviv University)

Yuval Hirshorn (Tel Aviv University)

Benjamin Daßler (Ludwig Maximilian Univ. of Munich)

From a Brussels-Frankfurt consensus to Next Generation EU: Changing ideas or path dependency?

Inga Aenne Feldmann (Freie University Berlin)

8F EU resilience in the poly-crisis era: Towards a new 'social (re)insurance' logic?

Chair: **Beatrice Carella** (University of Milan)

Chair: **Robin Huguenot- Noël** (University of Milan, EUI)

Discussant:

Sharing in rule and polity maintenance during the EU poly-crisis

Maurizio Ferrera (University of Milan)

Changing Welfare Boundaries: Exploring the Feedback Effects of an Expanding European Social Union

Robin Huguenot- Noël (University of Milan, EUI)

The social crisis as a trigger of EU political structuring (2014-2024)

Maurizio Ferrera (University of Milan)

Beatrice Carella (University of Milan)

Davide Caprioglio (University of Milan)

Supply creating its own demand? Crisis policy feedback in the EU

Waltraud Schelkle (European University Institute)

Ann-Kathrin Reinl (European University Institute)

8G De-Centering the "West": Challenges to the (Liberal) International Order

Chair: **Thomas Risse** (Freie Universität Berlin)

Discussant: **Tanja A. Börzel** (Freie Universität Berlin)

De-Centering the "West": Challenges to the (Liberal) International Order

G. John Ikenberry (Princeton University)

Thomas Risse (Freie Universität Berlin)

Ideology, the West, and its (Liberal) Futures
Gregorio Bettiza (University of Exeter)

Does the West need an enemy?
Peter Trubowitz (London School of Economics)
Brian Burgoon (University of Amsterdam)

The Rhetoric of Dethroning the West in the Global South
Sasikumar Sundaram (City University of London)

The Self-Identification of Japan as "the West"
Hidetoshi Nakamura (Waseda University Tokyo)
Yuki Moritani (Hitotsubashi University Tokyo)

8H Value-based EU digital Sovereignty
Chair: **Tomasz Braun** (Lazarski University)
Discussant: **Dominika Harasimiuk** (University of Warsaw)

The Sleeping Beauty - Is the EU Values-Based Regulatory Agenda Enough to Mark its Identity in the Global Digital Race?
Tomasz Braun (Lazarski University)

Digital sovereignty in "This is Europe" debates in the European Parliament
Vadym Zheltovskyy (University of Warsaw)

Between grassroots and obstructed digitalization. The Bulgarian case for digitalization in the EU
Spasimir Domaradzki (University of Warsaw)

The European Electronic Communications Code - End-User Rights
Maciej Rogalski (Lazarski University of Warsaw)
Aneta Łazarska (Lazarski University of Warsaw)

8I Law and policy making in the EU: contemporary issues
Chair and Discussant: **Bjørn Høyland** (University of Oslo)
Policy Narratives as substitutes for crises? Understanding policy change in the EU Digital Infrastructure sector.
Noel Löcse (University of Lausanne)
Emmanuelle Mathieu (University of Lausanne)

Too many, too complex? How the accumulation and policy design of European Union rules may affect rule takers
Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen (University of Copenhagen)
Stein Arne Brekke (University of Copenhagen)
Silje Hermansen (University of Copenhagen)

An "Open" or "Closed" European Union? A Neoclassical Analysis of the EU's "Internal Security" Policies
Andreas Wendlberger (Goethe University)

Interviewing European and International Judges

Katerina Linos (University of California - Berkeley)
Mark Pollack (Temple University)
8J European Security After Ukraine
Chair and Discussant: **Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)
The EU and European Security in a changing multilateral structure
Mike Smith (University of Warwick)

EU Grand Strategy after Russia's invasion of Ukraine
Mai'a K. Davis Cross (Northeastern University)

EU-US-relations after Ukraine
Elaine Fahey (City St. Georges, University of London)
Weaponizing resources or guarding the EU market? EU economic security policies after Ukraine
Hans Jørgen Gåsemyr (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, NUPI)

Towards EU(ropean) Differentiated Defence Integration?
Pernille Rieker (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, NUPI)

Unity reflex: concord before content in EU foreign policy?
Guri Rosén (University of Oslo)
Marianne Riddervold (Inland Norway University, NUPI and UC Berkeley)

FRIDAY EVENING EVENTS

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

Journal of European Integration Annual Lecture

*A European Military-Industrial Complex?
Security and Market Logics in Today's EU*

Speaker: **Kate McNamara**

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

2025 EUSA Conference Reception

Sponsored by:

**The Journal of European Integration
Lauder Institute, University of
Pennsylvania
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Florida International University
University of Pittsburgh**

SATURDAY MAY 10, 2025

Registration desk: 7:30am-2:30pm

Session 9 – Saturday - 8:30-10:00am

9A Violating and Defending Fundamental Values in Europe

Chair: **Tommaso Pavone** (University of Toronto)
Discussant: **R. Daniel Kelemen** (Georgetown University)

All the Values

Kim Lane Scheppele (Princeton University)

Do the fundamental values of the EU also incorporate the fundamental values of the Council of Europe?

Jan Wouters (KU Leuven)

Manufactured Lawlessness at EU Borders and the State of Supranational Rule of Law

Sarah Ganty (Yale Law School)
Dimitry Kochenov (Central European University)

9B European and International Public Opinion on EU Security and Foreign Policy

Chair and Discussant: **Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis** (University of Galway)

Where is the EU's place in the world? European Security and Defense Attitudes through the Looking Glass

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)
Stephanie Hofmann (European University Institute)

Who Can Help Us In a Threatening World? How Europeans see their security

Richard Rose (University of Strathclyde)

The populist challenge to EU foreign policy: contesting policies and practices

Ana E. Juncos (University of Bristol)
Karolina Pomorska (Leiden University)

9C The EU's engagement in Trade, investment and antitrust
Chair and Discussant: **Gabriel Siles-Brugge** (University of Bristol)

Towards more inclusive trade policy: the case of the European Union

Anna Wrobel (University of Warsaw)

Revisiting Openness; Foreign Investment Screening in the EU: a case of fragmentation

Christos Karetzos (University of London)

Beyond the Point of No Return? When EU Investment Screening and Capital Liberalisation and Protection Collide

Alexandros Bakos (Hamad Bin Khalifa University)
Christos Karetzos (University of London)

EU external trade policy, development and the cultural sector: An impossible nexus?

Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (University of the Peloponnese)
Anna Kandyla (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy)

9D The normalization of the role of the European Council in the EU system.

Chair: **Derek Beach** (Aarhus University)
Discussant: **Lucas Schramm** (LMU Munich)

Towards ever-greater rivalry? The European Council and its relations with the European Parliament

Lucy Kinski (University of Salzburg)
Lucas Schramm (LMU Munich)

Substantive Power, Procedural Accountability: The Post-Lisbon Role of the European Council in EU governance

Adina Akbik (Leiden University)
Mark Dawson (Hertie School Berlin)

Setting the EU's agenda in time of crises: A new perspective on European Council and European Commission relations in the post-Lisbon era

Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)
Pierre Bocquillon (University of East Anglia)

From enabling to constraining interdependence. The reach and grasp of the European Council system beyond the immediate crisis.

Sandrino Smeets (Radboud University Nijmegen)
Derek Beach (Aarhus University)

An "unexpected lawmaker": What explains the European Council's legislative priorities?

Christine Reh (Hertie School)
Christel Koop (King's College London)
Edoardo Bressanelli (Sant'Anna School of Adv. Studies)

9E The Global Gateway: The European Union's New Economic Security Tool? Panel II

Chair: **Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt** (Technical University of Munich)

Discussant: **Anna Herranz-Surrallés** (Maastricht University)

All Smoke and No Fire? The Global Gateway and the EU's Evolving Discourse on Development

Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

Competition, Comparison, and the Global Gateway: Citizen Perceptions of the EU and China as Funders of Megaprojects in Kenya

Tetsekela Anyiam-Osigwe (Princeton University)

Simone Dietrich (University of Geneva)

Alexandra Zeitz (Concorde University)

Connecting Markets: Business Power, Development and the EU Global Gateway

Luís Pais Bernardo (ISCTE-IUL)

Luís Mah (ISCTE-IUL)

9F EU Maritime Strategy and Regional Power Dynamics

Chair and Discussant: **Dimitris Tsarouhas** (Virginia Tech)

EU-NATO Relations: The Impact of the Eastern Mediterranean Tensions

Oya Dursun-Ozkanca (Elizabethtown College)

Maritime Security Policy as a Tool for Regional and Global Power Projection? Lessons from Two Seas

Iren Marinova (Johns Hopkins University)

Expand Leadership from Regional Action to Global Impact: The European Commission's Role in Integrating Maritime Emissions into the EU ETS

Yuetong Guo (King's College London)

9G European and International Environmental Governance in the Nexus of Openness and Global Challenges

Chair: **Andreas Corcaci** (University of Antwerp)

Discussant: **Peter Bursens** (University of Antwerp)

How to Fight Climate Change: An Experimental Survey of EU elites

Nicola Chelotti (Loughborough University)

Niheer Dasandi (University of Birmingham)

Dafni Kalatzi Pantera (University of Birmingham)

Slava Jankin (Hertie School)

Of Carrots and Sticks in Clubs: How CBAM Influences EU Trade Partners' Climate Policies

Toon Van Os (University of Antwerp)

Scott Hamilton (University of Antwerp)

Dirk De Bièvre (University of Antwerp)

European and International Governance of Environmental Obligations. Comparing Implementation Through Temporal Configurational Analysis

Andreas Corcaci (University of Antwerp)

The EU Court of Justice under pressure? Towards (derived) environmental rights in the EU legal order?

Alicja Sikora-Kalèda (Jagiellonian University, Cracow/
New York University)

9H Book Roundtable: The territorial dimension of EU knowledge policies: Higher Education Institutions for Europe

Author: **Alina Felder-Stindt** (University of St. Gallen)

Discussant: **Stella Ladi** (Queen Mary University of London)

Discussant: **Tanja A. Börzel** (Freie Universität Berlin)

Discussant: **Theofanis Exadaktylos** (University of Surrey)

9I Crisis-Induced Transformation in the European Union: boundaries, community, governance

Chair: **Mark Rhinard** (Stockholm University)

Discussant: **Veronica Anghel** (European University Institute)

Crisis and boundary change in the European Union

Alessia Invernizzi (University of Konstanz)

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich)

Crisis responses with limited governing competences: EU hybrid preparedness and crisis-management mechanisms

Jarle Trondal (University of Agder)

Marianne Riddervold (Innlandet University)

Crises as Catalysts? The European Union's Polity Transformation

Mark Rhinard (Stockholm University)

9J The Draghi Report, EU Rejuvenation and Transatlantic Relations

Chair: **Randall Henning** (American University)

Participants:

Orfeo Fioretos (Temple University)

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria)

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Jeffrey Anderson (Georgetown University)

9K Party Politics in Europe

Chair and Discussant: **Kim Twist** (San Diego State University)

Coping with Europe: EU Membership and Party System Change in Portugal

Nils Ringe (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Sanja Badanjak (University of Edinburgh)

A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words: Explaining Party Logo Change

Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Pittsburgh)

Matthias Avina (University of Copenhagen)

Mitigating Multi-Party Dislike: Strategies to Reduce Hostility and Promote Democratic Behavior Towards Out-party

Melek Hilal Eroglu (University of Pittsburgh)

9L EU Free Movement & EU Citizenship - Challenges from a Legal Perspective

Chair: **Ferdinand Wollenschlaeger** (Univ. of Augsburg)

Discussant: **Willem Maas** (York University)

Diversity in EU free movement: the experiences of minority ethnic Portuguese citizens in the UK, pre and post Brexit.

Catherine Barnard (University of Cambridge)

Fiona Costello (University of Cambridge)

Rainbow families' rights at the crossroads of the EU citizenship rules, national identity and fundamental rights. In search for effective legal protection.

Dominika Harasimiuk (University of Warsaw, Poland)

EU Law, Migration and Racial Capitalism

Alezini Loxa (Lund University)

The European Union and precarious employment through the legal infrastructure lens

Lucía López Zurita (University of Copenhagen)

Urška Šadl (University of Copenhagen)

Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen (University of Copenhagen)

Echoes of Identity: Names, Surnames and National Identity

Helga Luku (University of Antwerp)

10A The State and Contemporary Capitalism: The Political Economy of State-Market Relations Today

Chair: **Sophie Meunier** (Princeton University)

Discussant: **Matthias Matthijs** (Johns Hopkins University)

The Return of Economic Statecraft: The Political Economy of Industrial Restructuring

Kathleen McNamara (Georgetown University)

Following the money in EU's Industrial Policy: A case study on the Temporary Framework for State Aid and the Important Projects of Common European Interest

Donato Di Carlo (London School of Economics)

What's in a polity? Political institutions and varieties of market interventionism in the United States and Europe

Manuela Moschella (University of Bologna)

Donato Di Carlo (London School of Economics)

High Skills for High Tech: How States Create Skills for the Knowledge Economy

Author: **Alina Felder-Stindt** (University of St. Gallen)

10B Taking Stock of EU Public Policy Research: A Round Table

Chair: **Fabio Franchino** (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Discussant: **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

Discussant: **Bjørn Høyland** (University of Oslo)

Discussant: **Simon Hix** (European University Institute)

Discussant: **Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

Taking Stock of EU Public Policy Research: A Round Table

Fabio Franchino (Università degli Studi di Milano)

10C Book Roundtable - The EU High Representative: Foreign Policy Leadership in a Changing World

Author: **Niklas Helwig** (The Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Chair: **Federiga Bindi** (Univ. of Rome Tor Vergata; University of Colorado)

Participants

Henriette Müller (New York University Abu Dhabi)

Monika Sus (Hertie School Berlin)

10E The UK, the EU, and Shifting Power

Chair and Discussant: **Thomas Risse** (Freie Universität Berlin)

Competition, Convergence and Crisis: Endogenous and Exogenous Forces Shaping Current EU-US Relations

Terrence Guay (Pennsylvania State University)

Jost-Henrik Morgenstern-Pomorski (Jagiellonian University)

Michael Smith (University of Warwick)

The Illusion of Power: UK and EU Global Strategies and the Reality of Decline

Catarina M. Liberato (University of Kent)

The UK and the War on Ukraine: Seeking status in Europe

Kamila Kwapinska (University of Kent)

Richard Whitman (University of Kent)

10F The Future of Europe: Policies and Institutions in Focus

Chair: **Laurie Buonanno** (SUNY Buffalo State University)

Discussant: **Kostas Kourtikakis** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

The European Central Bank's Monetary Policy as Geopolitics: The digital euro and climate change

Michele Chang (College of Europe)

The European Parliament: The next Five Years

Joseph Dunne (George Washington University)

The European Union as a Normative Digital Power

Natalia Cuglesan (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca)

Combating Antisemitism: The EU Digital Services Act as a Tool to Regulate Online Hate?

Carolyn Dudek (Hofstra University)

10G EU law-making: policy, approaches and values

Chair and Discussant: **Alison Johnston** (Oregon State University)

Turning to Soft-Law in Times of Politicization? How public opinion shapes EU policy output

Rik Joosen (Leiden University)

Nikoleta Yordanova (Leiden University)

Asya Zhelyazkova (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

On track to the integration: how did the fourth railway package strengthen the institutional capacities of the European regulatory state?

Shengyuan Luo (Université Paris Panthéon Assas)

Remedies: why the Charter of Fundamental Rights matters

Tobias Lock (Maynooth University)

10H Energy policy and practice in law and politics

Chair: **Randall Newnham** (Penn State University)

Discussant: **Eva Ruffing** (University of Osnabrueck)

Closing the Open Door? EU Sanctions on the Russian Energy Sector

Randall Newnham (Penn State University)

Beyond Formal Competence: ACER's Unexpected Autonomy and the Paradox of Regional Disunity Driving EU Energy Integration

Hermann Lueken genannt Klaben (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

The power of administrative procedures: Energy infrastructure planning in Europe

Eva Ruffing (University of Osnabrueck)

Simon Fink (University of Göttingen)

Paradigm change in EU energy policy? Liberal interventionism and syncretism of economic paradigm in EU clean hydrogen policy.

Colin Arnaud Maik Pache (University of Lausanne)

Emmanuelle Mathieu (University of Lausanne)

When Systems Fail: An Analysis of EU Energy Policy After the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

Jameson Walker (Loyola University Chicago)

10I Toward a More Just and Legitimate Global Governance? Minilateralism, Multilateralism, the European Union and the United Nations System

Chair and Discussant: **Markus Thiel** (Florida International University)

Legitimate Global Governance? Minilateral Competition and Cooperation with UN Multilateralism

Katie Laatikainen (Adelphi University)

The EU, multilateralism and global political justice

Helene Sjursen (University of Oslo)

Resilient Minilateralism in Transatlantic Relations

Orfeo Fioretos (Temple University)

From Alliances to Allyship? Rethinking International Cooperation in a Complex and Unjust World

Nora Fisher Onar (University of San Francisco)

Dimitris Bouris (University of Amsterdam)

Daniela Huber (Università Roma Tre)

10J Multidimensional Party Competition in Europe

Chair and Discussant: **Nicolás De La Cerda Coya** (Tulane University)

Revisiting the relationship between party polarization and voter turnout

Jelle Koedam (University of Zurich)

Cheryl Vaterlaus (University of Zurich)

Patterns of Party Protection

Guri Rosén (OsloMet)

Jonathan Polk (Lund University)

United We Stand, Divided We Fall: The Costs of Mainstream Party Disagreement on Immigration

Luis Sattelmayer (Sciences Po, Paris)

Disliking Populist Right-wing Parties: A Sign of Democratic Commitment

Melek Hilal Eroglu (University of Pittsburgh)

10K Euroscepticism, populism, and the radical right

Chair and Discussant: **Nina Obermeier** (King's College London)

Reframing Moderation: Frame moderation as a challenger party strategy

Spencer Corp (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Right and Left Wings of the Same Bird?: Comparing motivations of radical right and left voters in the EU

Anna Brigevich (Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU))

Andrea Wagner (MacEwan University)

Hannah Løite-Hansen (Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU))

The mainstream right and Euroskepticism

Kim Twist (San Diego State University)

EU Issue Voting and Party Families in EU Member States: An ever-awakening giant?

Luca Carrieri (Unitelma Sapienza)

European Union Political Strategic Responses to Russian and Israeli Irredentism Towards Ukraine and the Occupied Palestinian

Territories

Benedict DeDominicis (The Catholic University of Korea)

10L Outwards and Sideways: EU Citizenship as a Form of Opening

Chair: **Willem Maas** (York University)

Discussant: **Annette Schrauwen** (University of Amsterdam)

Opening Up National Social Systems: The EU Citizen's Claim to Social Solidarity

Ferdinand Wollenschlaeger (Faculty of Law, University of Augsburg)

Opening the Social Contract Outwards? The State as Agent for the Citizen-Migrant

Francesca Strumia (City, University of London)

An EU Citizen's Civil Right: Free Movement Isn't Free If It's Forced

Jeremy Bierbach (Franssen Advocaten & University of Amsterdam)

Comparing Free Movement in the EU and the U.S.

Willem Maas (York University)

11A EU polity formation through crises: curse or blessing in disguise?

Chair: **Waltraud Schelkle** (European University Institute)
Discussant: **Tanja Börzel** (Freie Universität Berlin)
Discussant: **Daniel Kelemen** (Georgetown University)
Discussant: **Mark Rhinard** (University of Stockholm)
Discussant: **Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zuerich)

EU polity formation through crises: curse or blessing in disguise?
Waltraud Schelkle (European University Institute)

11B The law and politics as to Brexit

Chair and Discussant: Arantza Gomez Arana (Northumbria University)

Beyond Brexit: The UK Outside the EU
Kelley Littlepage (University of Houston)

Building a closer union to survive global challenges: the lesson of Brexit and the need for a more comprehensive approach
Francesca Fauri (University of Bologna)
Giusy Chesini (University of Verona)

Reset in name only? The sticky legacy of the Brexit negotiations
Cleo Davies (University of Warwick)
Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)

11C Governance and Strategic Autonomy in Defense and Foreign Policy

Chair and Discussant: **Benedict DeDominicis** (The Catholic University of Korea)

Reshaping (Dis)Unity: How Multiplicity Allows the EU to Overcome Dissent in CFSP/CSDP
Benedetta Morari (The London School of Economics and Political Science)

Mapping EU member state preferences on European strategic autonomy: a three dimensional framework
Salih Isik Bora (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)
Julia Rone (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Inter-Member State Relations As Drivers of EU Climate Foreign Policy Ambitions: The East-West Axis
Iren Marinova (Johns Hopkins University SAIS)

11D The many faces of EU Governance

Chair and Discussant: **Mike Smith** (University of Warwick)

Monetary policy and fiscal monitoring in the EU
Amy Verdun (University of Victoria, Leiden University)

The EU governance of social welfare: the progressive integration of both instruments and objectives
David Natali (Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies)

EU maritime security governance
Elsa Gunnarsdottir (Inland University Norway)
Marianne Riddervold (Inland Norway University, NUPI and UC Berkeley)

11E The enforcement of EU law by (in)dependent national administrative authorities: normative challenges and empirical insights

Chair: **Pieter Van Cleynenbreugel** (University of Liège)
Discussant: **Julien Bois** (University of Liège)

Impartial enforcement of European Union law: caught between an institutional design standard and a legal principle?
Pieter Van Cleynenbreugel (University of Liège)

When the legal confronts the social: the competent authorities, the golden algae and the 2022 ecological disaster in the transboundary Oder River
Katarzyna Jancewicz (University of Liège)

The role of science in the EU plant health regime: insights from the Xylella fastidiosa outbreak
Pietro Mattioli (University of Liège)

Testing independence from within: the perceptions of national civil servants of independent administrative authorities regarding their enforcement of EU law
Julien Bois (University of Liège)

11F Law and policy making, institutional design and policy choices: new issues

Chair: **Jonathan Zeitlin** (University of Amsterdam)
Discussant: **Ihor Moshenets** (Central European University)

How the EU Reconciles Uniform Regulation with Legitimate Diversity: Towards a Simplified Experimentalist Architecture
Jonathan Zeitlin (University of Amsterdam)
Bernardo Rangoni (University of York)

11G Legal and policy making choices: on theory and practice of institutional design

Chair: **Konstantinos Alexandris Polomarkakis** (Royal Holloway, University of London)
Discussant: **Raphael Maesschalck** (University of Hamburg)

The Constitutional Character of EU Impeachment

John Cotter (Keele University)

Explaining EU agencies' formal independence

Eva Ruffing (University of Osnabrueck)

Martin Weinrich (University of Osnabrueck)

Legislating on the Union's values: The "openness" of internal market law to non-market values

Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (University of the Peloponnese)

Lawmaking Cooperation? Explaining Referral Failure in Federated Judicial Systems

Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez (University of Oslo)

11H The Evolution of European Integration: Enlargement, Norms, and Legitimacy

Chair and Discussant: Lubomira Popova (Sofia University)

Broadening of the Deepening: The Effect of Eurozone and Schengen Expansion on EU Legitimacy

Nina Obermeier (King's College London)

Lauren Ferry (University of Mississippi)

Junghyun Lim (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Anna Meyerrose (Arizona State University)

European Integration and Raison d'Etat: Overcoming Public Sentiment in Dealing with West Germany after 1949

Alfred Tovias (Hebrew University)

The Planetary Boundaries of European Integration: New Integration Dynamics Through Environmental and Climate Policy?

Jan Pollex (University of Osnabrueck)

Andrea Lenschow (University of Osnabrueck)

Daniel Mertens (University of Osnabrueck)

Taming of the Shrews: The Enforcement of Informal Norms in the European Council

Mareike Kleine (London School of Economics / Princeton University)

11I Framing the Economy, Framing the EU

Chair and Discussant: Martijn Huysmans (Utrecht University)

Bent into submission? Foreign investors, domestic investors, and

populist governments in Europe

Alison Johnston (Oregon State University)

Juliet Johnson (McGill University)

Have You Heard About The Terrible Economy? Media Use, Political Networks, & Public Opinion on Inflation in the US and Germany

Mark Copelovitch (University of Wisconsin - Madison)

Michael Wagner (University of Wisconsin - Madison)

Trade shocks and relative consumption: why the European middle class is turning (far) right

Benedicta Marzinotto (University of Udine)

11J Party Competition in Europe and Beyond

Chair: Liesbet Hooghe (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

Discussant: Seth Jolly (Syracuse University)

Party Systems at Europe's Doorstep: Issues, Left-Right Alignment, and Party Conflict in the Western Balkans

Adea Gafuri (The Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

Jesper Lindqvist (University of Gothenburg)

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National and State Party-Voters Ideological Congruence in the United States

Ryan Bakker (University of Essex)

Royce Carroll (University of Essex)

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Christopher Hare (University of California, Davis)

Party System Dimensionality and Latin America: Ideology, Populism, and Democracy

Nicolás de la Cerda (Tulane University)

Jonathan Hartlyn (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

11K Elite cueing and electoral behavior

Chair: Nicholas Bicchi (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Discussant: Sienna Nordquist (Bocconi University)

Multilevel cueing: Experimental Evidence on Cueing Effects in

Support for Domestic and EU defense policies
Ioana-Elena Oana (European University Institute)

Revisiting the second order status of European Parliament elections; evidence from district-level voting behavior
Kostas Kourtikakis (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)
George Deltas (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)
Theodore Velentzas (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

How do Politicians Appeal to the Single Market? Evidence from the European Parliament.
Trym Fjørtoft (University of Oslo)
Martin Moland (Hertie School)

Session 12 – Saturday -3:15-4:45pm

12G Revisiting National EU Coordination in an era of Crisis and Reform: Panel 2
Chair and Discussant: **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

The Danish EU coordination system: centralised and comprehensive
Mads Dagnis Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)
Peter Nedergaard (University of Copenhagen)

The national EU coordination system in Finland: stability amidst external changes
Tapio Raunio (Tampere University)
Johannes Lehtinen (Tampere University)

The National Coordination of European Policy: The Case of Norway
John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo)
Jarle Trondal (University of Oslo and University of Agder)
National EU coordination in the UK: from member state to third country
Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)
Cleo Davies (University of Warwick)
Revisiting National EU Coordination: Conclusions and Implications
Eva Heidbreder (eva.heidbreder@ovgu.de)
Hussein Kassim (University of Warwick)

12I External relations of the EU: law, practice and policy
Chair and Discussant: **Oliver Garner (Central European University)**
EU Accession to the ECHR - How open is the (CJ)EU?
Tobias Lock (Maynooth University)

EU planetary postcolonial politics and intersectional feminism: An alternative way out from the war in Ukraine and EU polycrises
Chiara Bonaiuti (Newcastle University and IRES CGIL Toscana)

EU's Protean Power during the Covid-19 crisis: analysing Coordinative Europeanisation impact on the global stage
Stella Ladi (Queen Mary University of London and Panteion University, Athens)
Sarah Wolff (Leiden University)

Justifying Restrictive Border Policies: An Experimental Study of Government Strategies and Public Perception in the EU
Lisa Herbig (University of Amsterdam)
Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

The impact of EU-Georgia Association Agreement on the development of the consumer law and policy in Georgia
Nino Lapiashvili (Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University)

12J The political economy of EU relations with the rest of the world

Chair: **Megan Brown** (Swarthmore University)

Discussant: **Scott Hamilton** (University of Antwerp)

India's trade and investment relations with Western Europe

Karina Jędrzejowska (University of Warsaw)

Anna Wróbel (University of Warsaw)

Follow The Money: Global Britain and Post-Brexit Economic Interests

Catarina M. Liberato (University of Kent)

In Arbitrators We Trust? The Political Economy of Judicial Cooperation in World Markets

Robert Basedow (LSE)

Legacies of the Marshall Plan in Post-War Italy

Sienna Nordquist (Bocconi University)

Simone Cremaschi (Bocconi University)

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

12K Volatility and Contestation in Twenty-First Century Europe

Chair: **Jacob Gunderson** (University of Gothenburg)

Discussant: **Jacob Gunderson** (University of Gothenburg)

Discussant: **Nicolás de la Cerda** (Tulane University)

Party-Voter Incongruence in Multiple Dimensions and Vote Switching in European Parliament Elections

Ryan Bakker (Department of Essex)

Seth Jolly (Syracuse University)

Jonathan Polk (Lund University)

Creating the Republican Front: Explaining Mainstream Coordination to Fend off the Far Right

Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Pittsburgh)

Jeffrey Nonnemacher (University of Colorado Boulder)

Protesting the Cost-of-Living Crisis: The Rise of Left-Nationalist Challengers after Russia's Invasion of Ukraine" to "Protest and the Rise of Left-Nationalist Challengers

Lennart Schürmann (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)

Endre Borbáth (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität & WZB Berlin)

Swen Hutter (Freie Universität Berlin & WZB Berlin)

Distance, Time, and Vote Switching

Jacob Gunderson (University of Gothenburg)

Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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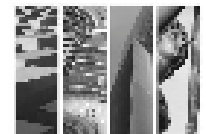
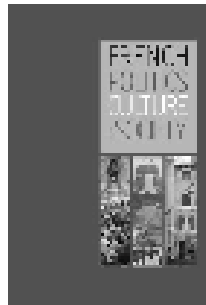
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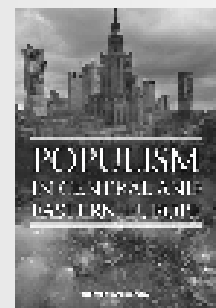
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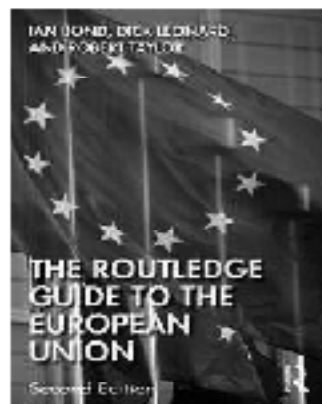
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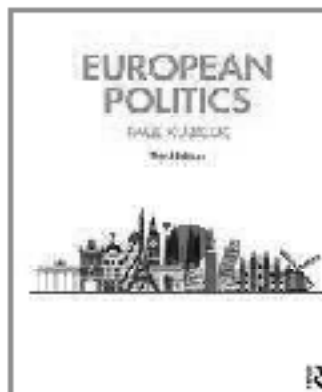
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