

European Union Studies Association

17th Biennial International Conference



Intercontinental Miami | May 19-21, 2022

17th BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

European Union Studies Association

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IN MEMORIAM Wade Jacoby (1964-2020)



It is with deep sadness and a very heavy heart that we received the devastating news of the untimely passing of our dear colleague and friend, Wade Jacoby, on February 29, 2020.

Many of us in the EU studies community came to know Wade over the years as an exceptionally generous, kind, thoughtful, honest, intelligent and decent human being. A brilliant scholar, one of our leading thinkers on European political economy, European integration and transatlantic security, Wade was also a beautiful writer, an engaging speaker, a dedicated mentor, and a gifted teacher. He was truly outstanding in how he lifted everyone up, going out of his way to engage with and to encourage countless young scholars and colleagues over the years. He made our field better by leading with integrity and academic excellence. We can comfort ourselves with the knowledge that he lived his life to the fullest, with grace and compassion.

We all mourned the loss of one of the most valued members of our Executive Committee. We honor Professor Jacoby's life and scholarly contributions during the EUSA Biennial Conference in Miami, FL in May 2022 by renaming the EUSA Best Dissertation Award the Wade Jacoby Best Dissertation Award. In this, Wade's memory can continue to uplift and inspire, as we imagine Wade would have wanted.

On behalf of the 2019-2021 and 2021-2023 EUSA Executive Committees.

Matthias Matthijs, Chair, 2019-2021 Sara Wallace Goodman, Chair, 2021-2023

Rachel Epstein Elaine Fahey Stephanie Hofmann Dan Kelemen Sophie Meunier Kaija Schilde Christina Schneider Jae-Jae Spoon (ex-officio) Milada Anna Vachudova 17th BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE - May 19-21, 2022

European Union Studies Association

CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE CHAIRS

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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Welcome to EUSA 2022! It's nice to have you back and to meet once again. In the time since we last assembled, the global COVID-19 pandemic has affected nearly every aspect of political, social and economic life. We delayed our 2021 meeting out of an abundance of caution but also because US borders were unprecedentedly closed to European visitors. The pandemic is a once-in-a-lifetime event, and we are still grappling to understand its consequences. On the program this year are several exciting panels that present cutting-edge research on some of the unique ways that the pandemic effects the European Union, its institutions, and its 450 million citizens.

Since we last met, Europe has also—once again—seen war on its continent, with Russia's unprovoked assault on Ukraine. The Russian war in Ukraine reverberates across the EU, from governments having critical conversations about gas dependency to everyday citizens taking in Ukrainian refugees. In discussing NATO Enlargement and EU candidacy, the war will no doubt feature as a central part of our discussions at this conference as well, including a special roundtable on the war in Ukraine on Saturday afternoon.

These events and others underscore—more than ever—the importance of assembling our community of European Union scholars. Zoom meetings and webinars sustained the exchange of ideas during the pandemic, but both are insufficient replacement to the spontaneity, serendipity, and smiles that come with in-person conferencing. Among the many lessons of the pandemic, one is the power of community. A professional association is a community, and we are all here to harness the power of that community to have critical dialogues on the EU. As the largest EU Studies Association in the world, it is only fitting that we convene this year around the conference theme: "Recovery and Reconnection: European Integration Against the Tide." To do so, we welcome over 450 participants from almost 200 institutions.

To highlight a few of our program's offerings, we have three lunch time plenary sessions examining the politics of eurocentrism and Europe's revival, and a celebration of the lifetime achievements of Helen Wallace. On Thursday night, Catherine de Vries will offer the Journal of Common Market Studies lecture. Additionally, this year we are offering four morning Cafés – on diversity and inclusion, teaching the EU, research, and getting published. EUSA will provide breakfast to go Friday from 8:15-9:15 am to sustain during these vital conversations.

I am truly grateful for all of the organizations that provided support for the meeting. Here I would like to take a moment to thank the University of Pittsburgh, which supports EUSA on its campus and with generous financial support. Special thanks go to Markus Thiel and Christine Caly-Sanchez from Florida International University for tireless local support. We also thank our sponsors: JCMS: the Journal of Common Market Studies, Boston University, Center for European Studies at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, European Parliament Liaison Office, Miami-Florida Jean Monnet European Union Center of Excellence at Florida International University, University of California Berkeley, European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh, University of Wisconsin Madison, and Virginia Tech. A selection of the best papers from the conference will again be published as a special issue of the Journal of European Public Policy in 2023. Finally, the meeting relies on the generous support of the Erasmus+ Program of the European Union.

A professional association is a community, and community is comprised of families. We would not be here today without the help of some critical people—my EUSA family, who helped douse a thousand little fires and made this year's program truly exceptional. Thank you to our conference co-chairs – Catherine de Vries and Stephanie Hofmann – as well as the EUSA Executive Committee: Dan Kelemen, Elaine Fahey, Stephanie Hofmann, Sophie Meunier, Kaija Schilde, Jae-Jae Spoon, and Milada Vachudova. Many thanks to Frank Schimmelfennig and Dirk Leuffen who joined the Program Committee. Thank you also to EUSA's past Chair, Matthias Matthijs, and to EUSA's Executive Director, Joe Figliulo. Countless (and oftentimes invisible) things need to happen for an organization to run, and for a conference to be successful, so I am especially grateful to everyone who pitched in to bring this program to you today.

As you move through the halls, please take a moment to consider the remarkable events transpiring around us and how EUSA can contribute to these debates.

Thanks for coming and enjoy! Best,

Sara Wallace Goodman, EUSA Chair

THURSDAY

Lunch Plenary I | 12 – 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

Roundtable: Eurocentrism of Europe

Chairs: Stephanie Hofmann (EUI) Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

Participants

Kate McNamara (Georgetown University)

Sara Goodman (University of California, Irvine)

Toni Haastrup (University of Stirling) **Frédéric Mérand** (University of Montreal)

JCMS Lecture | 5:15 – 6:45 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

A Union Forged in Crisis? How Existential Challenges Are Bringing Europeans Together (or Not) Speaker: Catherine E. De Vries (Bocconi University)

Welcome Reception | 6:45 – 7:45 p.m. Sponsored by JCMS

FRIDAY

Lunch Plenary II | 12 – 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

Roundtable: Europe's Revival?

Chairs: Stephanie Hofmann (EUI) Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

Participants

Anand Menon (Kings College, London)

Dan Kelemen (Rutgers University)

Sara Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Milada Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

EUSA Awards Presentations | 5:15 – 5:45 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

EUSA Award for Lifetime Achievement in European Studies

Helen Wallace

EUSA Conference Reception | 5:45 – 7:15 p.m.

SATURDAY

Lunch Plenary III | 12 - 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

Panel Honoring Helen Wallace—EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award Recipient

Chair: Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Participants

Liesbet Hooghe (University of North Carolina)

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford University)

Federica Mogherini (College of Europe)

Adrian Favell (University of Leeds)

SPECIAL EVENTS

Special Roundtable | 1:45 – 3:15 p.m. Russia's War Against Ukraine and Ukraine's Challenge to Europe

Participants Bayfront

Ballroom

Maryna Rabinovych (University of Agder) Stephanie Hofmann (European University Institute) Juliet Johnson (McGill University) Karolina Pomorska (University of Leiden) Milada Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

PANEL SESSION ONE 8:30 - 10:00 a.m.

1A Diplomacy in Action I: What Do Diplomatic Practices Tell Us about the European Union?

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: Stephan Keukeleire (University of Leuven)

Becoming an EEAS Official: Communities of Practice in the European External Action Service

Jonas Gejl Kaas (Aarhus University)

Engaging with the Religious: A Decentered Opportunity for (Secular) European Diplomats?

Sarah Wolff (Queen Mary University of London)

The Digitalization of European Diplomacy: From the COREU Network to Whatsapp Marianna Lovato (University College Dublin)

A Joined-up Approach in EU External Action? The Case of EU-Switzerland Relations
Alexandre Veuthey (University of Geneva)

From the Annexation of Crimea to the 2022 Russia's War: Evolution of the EU Actorness in Ukraine Maryna Rabinovych (University of Agder)

1B The Politics of EU Foreign Direct Investment Policy

Merrick I

Chair: Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Discussant: Ashley Lenihan (Georgetown University)

Towards a Geopoliticization of Investment Policy? The Case of the EU Investment Screening Regulation Joachim Schild (University of Trier)

Foreign Direct Investment and the European Parliament

Guri Rosen (OsloMet)

Fair Play? The Politics of Evaluating Foreign Subsidies in the European Union

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Christilla Roederer-Rynning (University of Southern Denmark)

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics and Political Science)

1C UC Berkeley Sponsored Panel: EU Foreign Policy: What Continuities with Colonialism? Dupont

Chair: Akasemi Newsome (University of California, Berkeley)

Discussant: Toni Haastrup (University of Stirling)

Participants:

Nora Fisher-Onar (University of San Francisco)

Peo Hansen (Linköping University)

Norman Sempijja (Mohammed Vi Polytechnique University)

Miriam Mona Mukalazi (Heinrich Heine University)

1E EU Enlargement Crandon

Chair and Discussant: Sotirios Zartaloudis (University of Birmingham)

The Politicization of Enlargement: Changing Intra-EU Dynamics

Magdalena Frennhoff Larsén (Westminster University)

Do Values Matter? Tracing the Political Interpretations of the "European State" Condition in the EU's Enlargement Discourse Annie Niessen (University of Pennsylvania)

European Integration, Enlargement and Pre-Accession Assistance: A Tale of Democratic Consolidation and Economic Development

Alice Cunha (Nova University Lisbon)

1F Current Contestation in Central and Eastern Europe: Conflicts over European Integration and Democratic Governance Gusman

Chair: Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

Discussant: Dimiter Toshkov (Leiden University)

Eurosceptic, but Still in Favor of Enlargement: EU Membership Discourses in Hungary and Poland after the "Big Bang" Enlargement

Nicole Olszewska (ETH Zurich)

Ideological or Regional Conflict Lines? Rule of Law Discourses in Hungary and Poland

Astrid Lorenz (Leipzig University) **Dietmar Müller** (Leipzig University)

Lisa H. Anders (Leipzig University)

Protests against Democratic Backsliding in CEE: The European Integration Dimension

Courtney Blackington (University of North Carolina)

Iulia Ionita (Leiden University)

Milada Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

Antoaneta Dimitrova (Leiden University)

Will Voters Defend Electoral Institutions Against Elite Attacks? Evidence from Poland Marc S. Jacob (ETH Zurich)

1G University of North Carolina Sponsored Panel: Polarization in Western Societies

Bayfront

Ballroom

Chair: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Discussant: **Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

Politics of Isolation: Far-Right Support in Rural Italy

Simone Cremaschi (Bocconi University)

Paula Rettl (Bocconi University)

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

The Social Roots of the Transnational Cleavage: Sex, Education, and Occupation

Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Liesbet Hooghe (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Going Green: Explaining the Mainstream Appeal of Green Parties

Tarik Abou-Chadi (University of Oxford)

Jonne Kamphorst (European University Institute)

1H EU Responses to Democratic Backsliding in Comparative Perspective

Tuttle

Chair: Michael Blauberger (University of Salzburg)

Discussant: **Dan Kelemen** (Rutgers University)

Deterring Democratic Decay? An Analysis of Regional Organizations' Democracy Enforcement Toolkits 1948-2017 Cassandra Emmons (Harvard University)

Does Ideology Trump Geography? Political Cleavages and MEP Responses to Democratic Backsliding

Mihail Chiru (University of Oxford)

Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po/ETH Zurich)

Between Integration and Democracy: Why Does the EU Struggle to Respond to the "Other" Democratic Deficit?

Francisca Costa Reis (University of Leuven)

Kolja Raube (University of Leuven)

Autocratization Induced Policy Learning in the European Union: A Conceptual Framework

Daniel Hegedus (The German Marshall Fund)

Explaining the Creation and Evolution of the EU's Institutional Framework to Sanction Democratic Backsliding

Michael Blauberger (University of Salzburg)

Ulrich Sedelmeier (London School of Economics and Political Science)

1J EU Institutional Reforms and Innovations: Historical, Contemporary and Comparative Insights Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: Ljiljana Biukovic (University of British Columbia)

Network-Oriented Performance Management Systems in International Organizations: The Case of the European Union

Denita Cepiku (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Lorenzo Costumato (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Marco Amici (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Institutional Echoes: European Economic and Monetary Union in Comparative Context

Corinne Tomasi (University of Florida)

The ECB as a Banking Supervisor: Transparent and Accountable Compared to What?

Anna-Lena Högenauer (University of Luxembourg)

Learning From or With Whom?: Analyzing Learning Mechanisms in European Administrative Networks

Ana Carolina Soares (University of Copenhagen)

1K The European Union and International Regime Complexes

Hibiscus Isle

Chair: Tom Delreux (UC Louvain)

Discussant: Diana Panke (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Missed Opportunities: The Impact of EU Institutional Compartmentalization on EU Climate Diplomacy Across the International Regime Complex on Climate Change

Joseph Earsom (UCLouvain)

Tom Delreux (UCLouvain)

The European Union, the Nordic Group and the Global Human Rights Regime: Actor Complexity, Small Groups and Jockeying for Influence

Karen Smith (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Katie Laatikainen (Adelphi University)

Navigating Regional Regime Complexity: How and Why Does the EU Cooperate with Other Regional Organizations?

Sören Stapel (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Diana Panke (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

It's Not as Simple as Copy/Paste: The EU's Reproduction of the High Ambition Coalition in International Climate Governance

Joseph Earsom (University of Louvain)

1L (Still) the "Others amongst Us"? European Societies, Migration and the Law after the COVID-19 Pandemic

Grove

Chair and Discussant: Moritz Jesse (University of Leiden)

Forgotten Migrants and the Others During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Helena Hofmannová (Charles University)

Complementary Pathways for Refugees in Times of COVID? Failing Attempts to Bridge the Gap Between 'Us' and Legal 'Other'

Emiliya Bratanova van Harten (Lund University)

The In-Built Otherness of the Passport Apartheid

Dimitry Kochenov (CEU Democracy Institute)

COVID-19 and Elections: Through Distancing to Greater Inclusion?

Marek Antoš (Charles University)

PANEL SESSION TWO 10:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

2B Brexit Fallout: The Consequences of Leaving the EU

Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: Annie Niessen (University of Pennsylvania)

Reassessing the Impacts of Brexit and the Northern Ireland Protocol on Governance in Northern Ireland Paul Simon Adams (University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg)

Go Global or Go Home: Conservatism and British Foreign Policy after Brexit

Richard G. Whitman (University of Kent) Catarina M. Liberato (University of Kent)

The EU (Still) as the Non-Liked "Other": Discursive Practices of Othering in Boris Johnson's Rhetoric on the EU Monika Brusenbauch Meislová (Masaryk University)

2C Book Discussion: International Law and the European Union

Tuttle

Chair and Discussant: Nicolas Levrat (University of Geneva)

Discussant: Mark Pollack (Temple University)

Discussant: Fernanda Nicola (Washington College of Law, American University)

Discussant: **Yuliya Kaspiarovich** (University of Groningen) Discussant: **Jed Odermatt** (City, University of London)

2D Europeanization under the radar? Trends in Politicization & EU Policymaking at the Sub-state Level

Chair and Discussant: **Eva G. Heidbreder** (Otto von Guericke University)

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: Daniel Schade (Cornell University)

From Users to Shapers of the EU -Making Sense of the Projectification of EU Policy Making in Areas of Shared and Supportive Competences

Alina Felder (University of Bamberg)

Cities as Collaborators on European Democracy? The Voice of Eurocities in the Conference on the Future of Europe

Fumie Nakamura (Max-Planck-Institute) Marie Lohrum (Max-Planck-Institute)

Brexit as EU-Internal Game Changer: Evidence from Germany's Negotiation Management

Daniel Schade (Cornell University)

Eva G. Heidbreder (University Magdeburg)

Scrutinizing the Summit: National Parliamentary Control of the European Council

Sandrino Smeets (Radboud University)
Rik de Ruiter (Leiden University)

2E Parliaments as Vehicles for the Future? Democracy, Differentiation and Future of Europe in National Parliamentarian Debates. Merrick I

Chair: **Magdalena Gora** (Jagiellonian University) Discussant: **Guri Rosén** (Oslo Metropolitan University)

Differentiated (Segmented) Debate on Future of Europe. Comparative Study of National Parliaments

Elodie Thevenin (Jagiellonian University)
Katarzyna Zielinska (Jagiellonian University)

Exclusion and Segmentation in Contemporary Europe

John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo)

Protecting Sovereignty, but How? Visegrad Four Narratives on the Future of the European Project

Max Steuer (Comenius University)

Villiam Ostatnik (Comenius University)

Natalia Timkova-Rungis (Comenius University)

Magdalena Gora (Jagiellonian University)

Coherent or Incoherent? Italian Sovereignist Parties in Front of Supranational Crisis Management Tiziano Zgaga (Luiss University and University of Konstanz)

Russia's Discourse on Identity, Sovereignty and Foreign Policy in Europe and Eurasia Mila Mikalay (Albert-Ludwig University Freiburg)

2F Attitudes towards the EU 1

Bayfront

Ballroom

Chair: **Liesbet Hooghe** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill) Discussant: **Liesbet Hooghe** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Discussant: **Dimiter Toshkov** (Leiden University)

Knowing it, is Loving it? How Information Provision on the EU Influences EU Attitudes

Elske van den Hoogen (Erasmus University Rotterdam) Willem de Koster (Erasmus University Rotterdam) Jeroen van der Waal (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Mass Euroscepticism Revisited: The Role of Distributive Justice

Sharon Baute (University of Konstanz)

Citizens' Perceptions of the EU and Electoral Participation: Is the Glass Half-Full or Half-Empty?

Cal Le Gall (University of Vienna & UCLouvain) Claire Dupuy (UCLouvain)

Virginie Van Ingelgom (UCLouvain)

Measuring the European Public Sphere: National Media and European Integration

Maurits van der Veen (William & Mary)

2G Norm Contestation in EU Foreign Policy: Internal and External Dynamics

Crandon

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

Discussant: Jost Morgenstern Pomorski (University of Birmingham)

CFSP Council Working Groups: Hierarchies, Communities and Contestation

August Danielson (Uppsala University)

How Does Normative Contestation Shape Socialization Processes in EU Foreign Policy?

Karolina Pomorska (University of Leiden)

Ana E. Juncos (University of Bristol)

The UN Global Compact for Migration and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights: EU Foreign Policy between Dissent and Opposition

Diego Badell (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI))

European Foreign Policy and Hybrid Actors in the Middle East: The Influence of Politicization Sharon Lecocq (KU Leuven)

2H Book Launch: The Routledge Handbook of Differentiation in the European Union Godfrey

Chair: **Benjamin Leruth** (University of Groningen) Discussant: **Jarle Trondal** (University of Agder)

Participants: Monika Sus (Hertie School)

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria) **Marina Rabinovych** (University of Agder)

2I EU Law-Making: Evolving Institutional Parameters of Decision-Making, Leadership and Innovation

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

Dupont

Star Isle

Who Sets the Legislative Pace? Priority-setting and Legislative Decision-making in the EU

Christel Koop (King's College London)
Christine Reh (Hertie School, Berlin)

Edoardo Bressanelli (Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies)

The Dynamics of Rapporteurship Selection in the European Parliament

Nils Ringe (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Frank Haege (University of Limerick)

Simpler, Clearer, and Less Transparent? The Effect of Impact Assessments on the EU Legislative Process

Amie Kreppel (University of Florida)

Michael Webb (University of Florida)

Interinstitutional Dynamics in The European Union: How Intersecting Roles of Decision-Makers Influence the Spitzenkandidaten Process

Moritz Neubert (University of Mannheim)

The Romanian and Bulgarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Laggards or successful actors?

Natalia Cuglesan (Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca)

2J The New Terrain of Social Policy in Europe: Challenges, Opportunities and Cautionary Tales Grove

Chair and Discussant: Janet Laible (Lehigh University)

EU Decision-Making During a Crisis: Public Health Initiatives and Digital Platform Rules

Robert Cox (University of South Carolina) **Paulette Kurzer** (University of Arizona)

The European Union's Response to Brexit from the Perspective of Comparative Federalism

Eleanor Brooks (University of Edinburgh)
Sarah Rozenblum (University of Michigan)
Scott Greer (University of Michigan)

Driving Off the Cliff: Health Politics, Supply Chain Disruption, and Brexit

Holly Jarman (University of Michigan)

2K EU Citizenship: Integration and Inclusion

Chair: **Sophie Dura** (University of Amsterdam) Discussant: **Diego Acosta** (University of Bristol)

Discussant: Jeremy Bierbach (Franssen Advocaten & University of Amsterdam)

Permanent Residence as an (ex-)EU Citizen: Can Integration Be Regained, Once Lost?

Jeremy Bierbach (Franssen Advocaten & University of Amsterdam)

EU Citizenship and the Neverending Brexit Process

Willem Maas (York University)

After Brexit: Could Bilateral Agreements Facilitate the Free Movement of Persons?

Diego Acosta (University of Bristol)

Beyond Ambiguities? EU Attempts to Foster European Citizenship through Education **Daniela Heimpel** (Centre Marc Bloch)

2L Money, Ideas, Politics & Populism

Palm Isle

Chair and Discussant: Mark Blyth (Brown University)

The Politics of Asset Manager Capitalism: A Coalitional Perspective

Dustin Voss (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Signaling Virtue or Vulnerability?: The Changing Impact of Exchange Rate Regimes on Government Bond Yields

Zsofia Barta (University of Albany)

Lucio Baccaro (Max Planck)

Alison Johnston (Oregon State University)

Ideas and Economic Nationalism

Gregory Fuller (University of Groningen)

Credit Shocks and Populism

Alessandro Pizzigolotto (Norwegian School of Economics)

Nicolo Fraccaroli (Brown University)

2M EU Strategic Autonomy: From Rhetoric to Capabilities

Gusman

Chair: Kaija Schilde (Boston University)

Discussant: Catherine Hoeffler (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

EU Strategic Autonomy Debates along the East-West Axis: An Existential Threat to Eastern EU Members or a Realistic Potential for an Autonomous EU?

Iren Marinova (Colorado State University)

Terrorism as an Unprecedented and Long-Term Threat to National Security Poses by an "Other": The Securitization and Crystallization of Exceptional Extraordinary Powers in France

Marine Gueguin (University of Leeds)

Mastery of Space: France, European Strategic Autonomy, and the Weaponization of Space

Frank Kuzminski (University of Washington)

Hierarchy in Armaments Imports: European Fighter Jet Procurement

Lucas Hellemeier (John F. Kennedy Institute/Free University Berlin)

Florian Bodamer (Boston University)

LUNCH

11:45 a.m. – 1:45 p.m.

Lunch Plenary 12 – 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront

Ballroom

Roundtable: Eurocentrism of Europe

Chairs: Stephanie Hofmann (EUI)

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

Participants:

Kate McNamara (Georgetown University)

Sara Goodman (University of California, Irvine)

Toni Haastrup (University of Stirling) **Frédéric Mérand** (University of Montreal)

PANEL SESSION THREE 1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

3A University of Wisconsin Sponsored Panel: Next Generation EU: Europe's Hamiltonian Moment or Temporary Pandemic Fix? Bayfront

Ballroom

Chair and Discussant: **Catherine De Vries** (Bocconi University)

Participants:

Mark Copelovitch (University of Wisconsin)
Alison Johnston (Oregon State University)
Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)
C. Randall Henning (American University)
Stefanie Walter (University of Zurich)

3B Book Panel: Business Lobbying in the European Union

Tuttle

Chair: **David Coen** (University College London)
Discussant: **Vivien A. Schmidt** (Boston University)
Discussant: **Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

Discussant: Wilhelm Lehmann (European University Institute/ College of Europe)

Discussant: Anand Menon (King's College London)

Discussant: Alexander Katsaitis (London School of Economics)

Discussant: Matia Vannoni (King's College London)

3C "Question More?": Russia's Strategic Communication in Europe and the Americas from a Comparative Perspective Grove

Chair: Joaquin Roy (University of Miami)

Discussant: Ieva Mainardi (European Parliament and University of Miami)

"¿Sepa más?"Russia's and European Strategic Communication in Latin America and the Caribbean Vladimir Rouvinski (Icesi University)

Russia's Information Warfare as a Threat to Identity Security (ontological security) in the EU and Latin America **Dina Moulioukova** (University of Miami)

Understanding Illiberal Confluence in Latin America: The Political-media Projection of Russia in the Venezuelan Crisis Maria Puerta-Riera (Valencia College)

3D EU's Role in the International Liberal Order

Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: Gabriel Siles-Brügge (University of Warwick)

The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: Implications for the European Union in the Post-COVID Global Economic Order

Anna Wrobel (University of Warsaw)

Karina Jędrzejowska (University of Warsaw)

International Financial Institutions, the EU, and COVID-19: The Evolving Role of the EU in the Multilateral Global Financial Governance in the Face of the Pandemic

Karina Jędrzejowska (University of Warsaw)

Reform of Global Trade Governance -The EU Perspective

Anna Wrobel (University of Warsaw)

Who Can Take up the Pieces? EU Leadership after Hegemonic Withdrawal

Tim Heinkelmann-Wild (LMU Munich)

Global Trade Gridlock in the EU-Mexico Relationship

Roberto Dominguez (Suffolk University)

3E The European Union's Cultural Diplomacy

Star Isle

Chair and Discussant: Sharon Pardo (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Selling the European Dream? Parliaments as Cultural Diplomacy Agents in the EU foreign policy

Marcin Zubek (Jagiellonian University)

Magdalena Góra (Jagiellonian University)

Culture in the International Relations in Light of the Communication Theories: The Case Study of Germany, France, Poland, and the EU in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Daniel Gołębiowski (Jagiellonian University)

Eurovision in Israel as a Case of European Culture Diplomacy

Hila Zahavi (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) **Gal Arieli** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Language Power in the EU: A Threat to Normative Power in Dutch OCTs

Walther Glödstaf (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

3F Cooperation & Conflict in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Role of Values, Institutions, and Local Agency Crandon

Chair: Moritz Neubert (University of Mannheim)

Discussant: Marie-Eve Bélanger (University of Geneva)

EU's Belarus Policy after 2020: A Path Dependency?

Ryhor Nizhnikau (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Arkady Moshes (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Soft Hegemony in the Shared Neighborhood: EU and Russian Co-optation of Moldovan and Armenian Societies Isabell Burmester (University of Geneva)

Transient States and Timeless Ties: Mapping Informal Power Networks in the EU's (pre-)Accession States Siddharth Tripathi (Käthe Hamburger Kolleg Duisburg)
Solveig Richter (University of Leipzig)

Cooperation between CEE and Chinese Cities: A Well-functioning Mechanism or Untapped Potential?

Michal Gzik (University of Lodz)

EU and Russian Regulatory Power: Prescribing Rules and Practices in Moldovan and Armenian Food Safety Regimes Isabell Burmester (University of Geneva)

3G Public Opinion, Policy, and Institutions

Merrick I

Chair: **Sara Hageman** (University of Copenhagen) Discussant: **Sara Hageman** (University of Copenhagen) Discussant: **Laurie Beaudonnet** (Universite de Montreal)

Big Politics, Small Money -Euroscepticism's Diminishing Return in EU Policymaking

Yoav Raskin (Tel Aviv University)

Eyal Rubinson (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Tal Sadeh (Tel Aviv University)

Other-regarding Attitudes and EU Economic Governance: Sociotropic Considerations in Supporting an EU Fiscal Capacity

David van der Duin (Ghent University)

Measuring Public Preferences for the Next Generation EU Policy with Twitter Data

Maksim Zubok (University of Oxford)

Comparing Public Support for European and Domestic Courts: An Evaluation of Judicial Legitimacy in Germany **Jay Krehbiel** (West Virginia University)

Sivaram Cheruvu (University of Texas at Dallas)

How Do European Citizens Form Their Views of the EU Public Administration? Exploring the Role of Heuristics **Jan P. Vogler** (University of Konstanz)

3H EU and US Intra-organizations Relations

Merrick II

Chair: **Leif Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University) Discussant: **Elaine Fahey** (City, University of London)

Connecting the US Congress and the European Parliament: The Work and Role of the EP Liaison Office in Washington DC and the Transatlantic Legislators' Dialogue

Joseph Dunne (European Parliament Liaison Office)

Transatlantic Cooperation in Sanctions Policy

Viktor Szep (University of Groningen)

Peter Van Elsuwege (University of Ghent)

Separation of Trade Powers: The Case of Unilateral Instruments

Thomas Verellen (University of Utrecht)

Europe-US Relations amid Russian Invasion of Ukraine: A Wind of Change in Transatlantic Partnership?

Đana Luša (University of Zagreb)

Ruzica Jakešević (University of Zagreb)

US-EU Trade Relations: Domestic Obstacles and Strategic Opportunities

Leif Johan Eliasson (East Stroudsburg University)

The Future of the EU-US Privacy Shield

Elaine Fahey (City, University of London)

Fabien Terpan (Sciences Po Grenoble)

3I Are EU Values and Mutual Trust Still a Driver for Intra-EU Cooperation and Cooperation with Third States?

Palm Isle

Chair: **Irene Wieczorek** (University of Durham)

Discussant: Sarah Wolff (Queen Mary University of London)

Challenging the Security of Citizens' Rights: Expulsion and Control over Borders in the EU

Adrienne Yong (City, University of London)

The Value of Privacy in the Era of Globalized Transfers of Personal Data: The Case of Europol

Niovi Vavoula (Queen Mary University of London)

The European Parliament as a Defender of EU Values in EU-Japan Agreements: What Role for Soft Law and Hard

Law Powers?

Irene Wieczorek (University of Durham)

Elaine Fahey (City, University of London)

Values and Mutual Trust in the EU's Multi-Level Criminal Justice Space

Stephen Coutts (University College, Cork)

3K Out of the Shadows? New Perspectives on the Secretariats General of EU Institutions. Council, Commission and Parliament.

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

Discussant: Derek Beach (Aarhus University)

Discussant: Mila Mikalay (Albert-Ludwig University Freiburg)

Embedded Process Tracing as a Method for Studying Secretariats in the EU's Machine Room

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

The Secretariat General of the European Commission: Change and Continuity 1999-2021

Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia)

Managing Change: The Lisbon Treaty as an Opportunity Structure for the General Secretariat of the Council

Sophie Vanhoonacker (Maastricht University)

Thomas Christiansen (Luiss Guido Carli)

"The Making of European Harmony:" Coordinating Activities in the European Council after the Lisbon Treaty
Oriane Gilloz (College of Europe)

The European Parliament Secretariat in Perspective: A Distinctive Parliamentary Administration Responding to New Challenges

Francis Jacobs (European Parliament)

Alfredo Di Feo (European University Institute)

3L Brexit Dynamics & Aftershocks

Hibiscus Isle

Gusman

Chair and Discussant: Bjoern Bremer (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Leftism Defeated: Party organisation and Social Democratic Erosion

Max Kiefel (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Brexit and the Ties that Blind? How Global Finance Shapes City-level Growth Models

Mark Blyth (Brown University)

Aidan Regan (University College Dublin)

Nicolo Fraccaroli (Brown University)

Unconventional Monetary Policy and The Bank of England in the Realm of Politics

Jana Grittersova (University of California, Riverside)

Smoke and Mirrors: An Investigation into the United Kingdom's Approach and Policy Miscalculations to the EU State Aid Regime in a Post-Brexit World

Lee McGowan (Queen's University Belfast)

3M Defending Democracy and the Rule of Law in the European Union: Promises and Pitfalls Dupont

Chair: R. Daniel Kelemen (Rutgers University)

Discussant: **Tommaso Pavone** (University of Arizona)

Beyond the Rule of Law: Must EU Member States be Democracies?

Sébastien Platon (University of Bordeaux)

Kim Scheppele (Princeton University)

The EU Double Standard of Judicial Independence in the Light of the Sharpston Cases

Graham Butler (Aarhus University)

Dimitry Kochenov (Central European University)

When do Cities Discriminate?

Conor O'Dwyer (University of Florida)

Matthew Stenberg (University of California, Berkeley)

PANEL SESSION FOUR 3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

4A The EU's Response to the COVID Crisis

Bayfront

Ballroom

Chair: Amy Verdun (University of Victoria)

Discussant: **Joseph Jupille** (University of Colorado) Discussant: **Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

The European Commission and the COVID-19 Pandemic

Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia)

The European Central Bank and the Pandemic: Whatever it Takes 2.0?

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria) **Lucia Quaglia** (University of Bologna)

EU Free Movement of People: Fully Recovered from or Suffering from Long COVID?

Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Salzburg)
Michael Blauberger (University of Salzburg)

Neofunctionalism, Failure, and Rescues: European Integration in the COVID-19 Pandemic

Scott Greer (University of Michigan)

The EU as Crisis Manager? Lessons from Three Transboundary Crises

Mark Rhinard (Stockholm University)

Arjen Boin (University of Leiden)

Where Do We Go from Here? Post-Pandemic Europe and What We Learned from the EU's Latest Exercise in Contrast

Erik Jones (European University Institute)

Veronica Anghel (European University Institute)

4B The EU and its Neighborhood

Tuttle

Chair: Yannis Stivachtis (Virginia Tech)

Discussant: Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent University/Virginia Tech)

The Balkans and the EU Integration: Prospects for Reconciliation and Cooperation

Yannis Stivachtis (Virginia Tech)

A Role Unplayed by Judiciary in the Implementation of the EU-Georgia Association Agreement: Under-reformed and Inert Courts of Georgia

Nino Lapiashvili (Tbilisi State University)

The Flip Side of the EU-Russian Power Projection and Contestation in Their "Shared" Neighbourhood: The Eastern Partnership Countries and their Ways to Strategize "In-Betweenness"

Andriy Tyushka (College of Europe)

4C Europe and the World

Crandon

Chair and Discussant: Vladimir Rouvinski (Icesi University)

China's Scramble for European Markets and the Challenges of European Integration

Ljiljana Biukovic (University of British Columbia)

Mixing Intergovernmentalism and Governance in Brussels and Beijing: A Comparison of the Impact of China and of the EU in World Affairs

Kostas Kourtikakis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

'European Sovereignty' in Light of the COVID-19 Crisis

Pierre Thielbörger (Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict)

Maximilian Bertamini (Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict)

A renewed form of normative power? Emerging 'Green Deal' rhetoric in the EU's External Relations Selin Turkes-Kilic (Yeditepe University)

The End of the Biregional EU-Latin American Relationship: The Case of Mexico

Stephan Sberro (Mexican Autonomous Institute of Technology)

4D European Security after Brexit

Godfrey

Chair: Stephanie Hofmann (European University Institute)

Discussant: Frédéric Mérand (University of Montreal)

Minilateralism and Multilateral Organizations in Europe: The Case of Security and Defense
Moritz Neubert (University of Mannheim)

EU-UK diplomatic and security coordination beyond Brexit through informal venues: risk or opportunity?

Sarah Wolff (Queen Mary, University of London)

Helena Farrand Carrapico (Northumbria University)

Agathe Piquet (Queen Mary, University of London)

I Will Miss You When You're Gone (or Not): Examining EU Foreign Policy Negotiations Pre- and Post-Brexit Marianna Lovato (University College Dublin)

4E The Political Economy Challenges of EU Economic Governance

Grove

Chair and Discussant: Mitchell Orenstein (University of Pennsylvania)

Polanyian Means to Hayekian Ends: The "Ordo-liberalism on Steroids" Economic Philosophy of EU Governance Craig Parsons (University of Oregon)

Matthias M. Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS))

The Trap of Confederalism - Managing Developmental Gaps, Widening Divides

Dora Piroska (Central European University Vienna)

Gergő Medve-Bálint (Centre for Social Sciences, Budapest)

Laszlo Bruszt (Central European University Democracy Institute, Budapest)

The New Normal: The Political Economy of the ECB's Nonstandard Monetary Policy Michele Chang (College of Europe)

4F Crisis and Post-COVID Governance

Gusman

Chair and Discussant: Pernille Rieker (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

Polycrisis and Resilience in the European Union: COVID-19 and Avenues for Future Studies

Jarle Trondal (University of Oslo)

Akasemi Newsome (University of California, Berkeley)

Marianne Riddervold (Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences)

Crises of European Integration: Failures and Attacks

Frank Schimmelfennig (EHT Zurich)

The Crisis of Multilateralism and Europe's Support for a Rules-based Global Order

Leonard Schuette (University of Maastricht)

Hylke Dijkstra (University of Maastricht)

EU Grand Strategy and Crises

Mai'a Cross (Northeastern University)

4G Brexit--Attitudes and Identities

Dupont

Chair and Discussant: Miriam Sorace (University of Kent)

Trust, Influence, Self-Esteem, and the Brexit Vote

Gaspare Genna (The University of Texas at El Paso)

Political Identities and Economic Self-interest: How Economic Subsidies Affected Brexit Identities in Wales

James Tilley (University of Oxford)

Sara Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Recalibrating the Costs of Non-Cooperation: How Brexit Affects Preferences towards European Integration in Non-Member States

Stefanie Walter (University of Zurich)

Giorgio Malet (University of Zurich)

4H EU Trade, Investment, and Economic Policies in Turbulent Times: Politicization, Institutions and Regulations Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: L. Eliasson (East Stroudsburg University)

From TTIP to Coronavirus: What Happened to EU Trade Policy Campaigning?

Michael Strange (Malmö University)

Gabriel Siles-Brügge (University of Warwick)

The (Geo)Politicization of EU Trade Policy in the Asia-Pacific: Civil Society and EU Institutions **Evgeny Postnikov** (University of Melbourne)

The European Commission and Foreign Investment Screening in Europe

Christilla Roederer-Rynning (University of Southern Denmark)

Anna Vlasiuk Nibe (University of Southern Denmark)

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Limits of the Brussels Effect: The EU's Place in Governing the Global Digital Economy

Alasdair Young (Georgia Tech)

Institutionalising the EU-US Relationship in the Trade and Technology Council

Elaine Fahey (City, University London)

4I EU Institutions and EU Values: Depth and Reach

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: Lucy Kinski (University of Salzburg)

Do the Socialists Have an Affinity for Foreign Policy at the EU Level? An Analysis of the Negotiations for the HR/VP Position and its Relations to Party Affiliation

Jacopo Giraudo (College of Europe) **Stef Borgers** (College of Europe)

Jonathan Schnock (College of Europe) Adela Pintea (College of Europe)

Ediz Topcuoglu (College of Europe)

What Characterises Parliamentary Responses to Expertisation? A Study of the European Parliament Guri Rosén (Oslo Metropolitan University)

Can the CJEU Become a Guardian of EU Values?

A. Asli Bilgin (Cukurova University)

Look into My Eyes: A Representative Claim Analysis of the European Commission

Darius Ribbe (University of Greifswald)

Should We Have Representation at Facebook?

Paul Geyer (University of Leeds)

4J The European Parliament: Law, History and Institutional Evolution

Merrick I

Chair and Discussant: Justin Lindeboom (University of Groningen)

Patterns of Roll-call Vote Requests in the European Parliament

Philipp Broniecki (University of Oslo)

Simon Hug (University of Geneva)

Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo)

Ideology and Crises: Voting in the European Parliament from 2004 to 2021

Anatole Cheysson (European University Institute)

Nicolo Fraccaroli (Brown University)

The European Parliament as a New Actor in EU trade policy: Taking Stock of Evolving Voting Patterns and Policy-making Dynamics

Julian M Hoerner (University of Birmingham)

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The Challenges of Policy Oversight for the New European Parliament: How the Committee System is Adapting in its Scrutiny of Budgetary Expenditure

Paul Stephenson (Maastricht University)

4K Democracy Through the "Gender" Lens: (Inter)national Experiences

Star Isle

Chair and Discussant: Katie Laatikainen (Adelphi University)

What Do (Parties Think) Women Want? Claims-Making on Behalf of Women during the 2021 Bundestag Election Campaign

Louise Davidson-Schmich (University of Miami)

Effective Engagement? Public Consultations in EU Gender Policies Sabine Lang (University of Washington)

When Europe Does Not Hit Home: Domestic Struggles, Global Power Shifts and EU's Democracy Promotion in Turkey

Digdem Soyaltin-Colella (Altınbaş University) **Canan Balkir** (Florida International University)

The Promises & Pitfalls of the EU's International Promotion of 'Gender' & Sexuality Rights

Markus Thiel (Florida International University)

4L The EU and Africa Palm Isle

Chair: Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

Discussant: Sharon Lecocq (KU Leuven)

An Unhealthy Relationship? Africa-EU Relations and Team Europe's Interventions for COVID-19 Recoveries Mark Langan (King's College London)

The European Union, Human Rights Promotion, and Africa: Explaining Different North-South Divides Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

Blended Legitimacy: Informal Practices of Collusion and State Building by the EU in Post-Conflict States
Siddharth Tripathi (Käthe Hamburger Kolleg Duisburg)
Steve Wakhu Khaemba (University of Embu)
Solveig Richter (University of Leipzig)

JCMS Sponsored Lecture

Bayfront Ballroom

5:15 p.m. – 6:45 p.m.

A Union Forged in Crisis? How Existential Challenges Are Bringing Europeans Together (or Not)

Speaker: Catherine E. De Vries (Bocconi University)

Welcome Reception

Bayfront Ballroom 6:45 p.m. – 8:15 p.m.

Sponsored by JCMS

PANEL SESSION FIVE 8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Breakfast will be provided in the lobby near the café rooms

5A Teaching the EU Café: Teaching European Politics

Facilitators: Catherine E. De Vries (Bocconi University)

Sara B. Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo) **Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon)

5B Diversity and Inclusion Café

Facilitators: Toni Haastrup (University of Stirling)

Markus Thiel (Florida International University) Kathleen McNamara (Georgetown University) Anand Menon (Kings College, London)

5C Getting Published Café: Advice from Editors

Facilitators: Alasdair Young (Georgia Tech)

Mai'a Davis Cross (Northeastern University) Sara Hagemann (University of Copenhagen) Richard Whitman (University of Kent)

Stephanie Hofmann (European University Institute)

5D Research Café Tuttle

Facilitators: **Hylke Dijkstra** (University of Maastricht)

Virginie Van Ingelgom (UCLouvain) Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich) Seth Jolly (Syracuse University) Gusman

Dupont

Bayfront Ballroom

PANEL SESSION SIX 10:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

6A Immigration Consequences of Brexit

Star Isle

Chair and Discussant: **Edward Moxon-Browne** (University of Limerick) Chair and Discussant: **Adrienne Yong** (City, University of London)

A Gendered EU Settlement Scheme: Women as Vulnerable in a post-Brexit Britain Adrienne Yong (City, University of London)

Anti-Immigration Sentiment and Return Migration
Junghyun Lim (Princeton University)

Continuity and Dismantlement Following the End of Free Movement in the UK Cristina Juverdeanu (University of Leeds)

Reconnection with the European Union: Will Brexit Be Reversed?

Edward Moxon-Browne (University of Limerick)

6B Attitudes on Trade and Globalization

Gusman

Chair: Christina Schneider (University of California-San Diego)

Discussant: Stephanie Walter (University of Zurich)

Discussant: Christina Schneider (University of California-San Diego)

Right-Wing Populism and the Rise of Internationalism in Europe

Nina Obermeier (Cornell University)

Understanding Economic, Political and Cultural Lay Representations on Globalization

Thomas Laloux (UCLouvain)
Virginie Van Ingelgom (UCLouvain)
Soetkin Verhaegen (Maastricht University)
Alban Versailles (UCLouvain)

The Role of Populist Right Parties in Activating Protectionist Attitudes
Alex Honeker (University of Pittsburgh)

6C Roundtable: European Foreign Policies and Strategic Interests - the EU, UK and Ireland Dupont

Chair: Marianna Lovato (University College Dublin)
Discussant: Mai'a Davis Cross (Northeastern University)
Discussant: Stephanie Anderson (University of Wyoming)

Discussant: Nicolai von Ondarza (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik)

Discussant: Mike Smith (University of Warwick)

6D EU Agencies and Delegation

Chair: David Coen (UCL)

Discussant: Asya Zhelyazkova (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

In Europe We Trust: The Informal Empowerment of Supranational Institutions in Exceptional Circumstances

Eugenia C. Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

Elena Rios Camacho (Technical University of Munich)

Tony Müller (Technical University of Munich)

Aligned, Unrealized or Creeping European Integration? Conceptualizing the Relationship between de jure and de facto EU Policy-Making

Mads Dagnis Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)

Anne Ingemann Johansen (University of Southern Denmark)

Squaring the Partisan Agenda with Impartial Expertise: The Interactional Logic of European Financial Regulation

Andreas Eriksen (OsloMet)

Alexander Katsaitis (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Functional or Institutional Logic? - EU Agencies' Formal Independence over Time

Eva Ruffing (Osnabrück University)

Martin Weinrich (Osnabrück University)

Differentiated Implementation, Uniform Procedures: Joint Operations of EU Agencies in Core State Powers

Adina Maricut (Universiteit Leiden)

Marta Migliorati (European University Institute)

Christian Freudlsperger (ETH Zurich)

6E Differentiated European Integration

Merrick II

Hibiscus Isle

Chair: Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

Discussant: Craig Parsons (University of Oregon)

EU Regulation between Uniformity, Differentiation, and Experimentalism: Electricity and Banking Compared

Bernardo Rangoni (University of York)

Jonathan Zeitlin (University of Amsterdam)

Mapping Scenarios of Differentiated EUrope 2035

Matteo Bonomi (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

Nicoletta Pirozzi (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

Opting for Opt-outs: Untangling the Role of Identity in Shaping Support for Differentiated Integration

Martin Moland (University of Oslo)

The Euro-crisis and Differentiated Governance in European Economic and Monetary Union **Stefania Baroncelli** (Free University of Bolzano/Bozen)

Fairness for Outsiders: Negative Externalities Reduce Public Support for Differentiated Integration in the EU

Julian Schüssler (Aarhus University)

Dirk Leuffen (University of Konstanz)

Max Heermann (University of Konstanz)

6F Brexit--Parties and Politicians

Merrick I

Chair: Anand Menon (King's College London)

Discussant: Anand Menon (King's College London)

Disintegration and Party Competition: Evidence from Parliamentary Speeches on Brexit

Tom Hunter (University of Zurich)

The UK's Final European Parliamentary Election: The Impact of Brexit on Political Candidates' Online Campaigning **Brian Boyle** (Newcastle University)

Who Speaks for England? Understanding England's place in Europe and the wider world.

Tim Oliver (Loughborough University)

Explaining Brexit: A Bullingdon Dinner Gone Wrong?

Sotirios Zartaloudis (University of Birmingham)

Chair: Elaine Fahey (City, University of London)

Discussant: Yuliya Kaspiarovich (University of Groningen)

Discussant: **Nicolas Levrat** (University of Geneva)
Discussant: **Jed Odermatt** (City, University of London)
Discussant: **Gesa Kübek** (University of Groningen)
Discussant: **Christine Kaddous** (University of Geneva)

6H New Challenges in Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation

Tuttle

Chair: **Michelle Egan** (American University) Discussant: **Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

Discussant: Alasdair Young (Georgia Institute of Technology)

Taming Regulatory Cooperation for the Protection of Labour Rights: The Case of CETA

Isabella Mancini (Brunel Law School)

The Regulatory Disconnect in Transatlantic Trade

Michelle Egan (American University)
Fernanda Nicola (American University)

6I The 'Decline' of the Commission and Developments in the Authority and Roles of the European Commission

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair: Derek Beach (University of Aarhus)

Discussant: **Brigid Laffan** (European University Institute)

Where Have the Guardians Gone? Law Enforcement and the Politics of Forbearance in the European Union

Tommaso Pavone (University of Arizona) **R. Daniel Kelemen** (Rutgers University)

Revisiting the Decline of the European Commission: Presidentialisation and Inter-institutional Interaction

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

An Impartial Guardian or a Political Entrepreneur? An Analytical Framework of the European Commission's Toleration of Noncompliance

Yaning Zhang (Freie Universität Berlin)

A Brussels Effect without Teeth? Green Power Europe and EU's Enforcement Paradox

Jens L. Mortensen (University of Copenhagen)

6J The Judicial Framing of EU Legal Integration

Palm Isle

Chair and Discussant: Sandra Marco Colino (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

The Legal Normativity of Soft Law: The Case of the European Pillar of Social Rights Sophie Dura (University of Amsterdam)

The Promise of Judicial Biography for the Study of the European Court of Justice William Phelan (Trinity College Dublin)

Climate Change Litigation before the EU Courts: Old Obstacles, New Opportunities?

Nathan Cambien (University of Antwerp)

The Autonomy of EU Law: A Hartian View

Justin Lindeboom (University of Groningen)

6K The Decentering Approach: Overcoming Geographical and Epistemological Eurocentrism in the Study and Practice of European Foreign Policy

Godfrey

Chair: **Stephan Keukeleire** (University of Leuven) Discussant: **Toni Haastrup** (University of Stirling)

Critical and Problem-solving Perspectives on Decentring EU External Action Studies

Sharon Lecocq (University of Leuven) **Stephan Keukeleire** (University of Leuven)

A Reflexive EU Foreign Policy for a Pluriverse World: Negotiating Dissonance and Contrapuntal Reconstruction.

David Gazsi (King's College London)

Nora Fisher-Onar (University of San Francisco)

Sarah Wolff (Queen Mary University of London)

Beyond Geographical Reasoning: Recognizing the Co-Constitution of 'Europe' and its 'Others'

Kalypso Nicolaïdis (European University Institute) Nora Fisher-Onar (University of San Francisco)

6L Immigration and Europe

Grove

Chair: **Sara Goodman** (University of California, Irvine) Discussant: **Nils Ringe** (University of Wisconsin)

Low-literate Migrants and the Consequences of Language and KoS Requirements for Citizenship **Edit Bugge** (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences)

Mass-elite Dynamics in the Crises of the European Union: Public Opinion on Immigration in Croatia and the Czech Republic before and after the Migration Crisis

Filip Fila (Institute for Social Research) Dragan Bagić (University of Zagreb)

Making Migration a Crime: Between Policy Gaps and Contrasting Interests

Matilde Rosina (London School of Economics)

LUNCH

11:45 a.m. – 1:45 p.m.

Lunch Plenary 12 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront Ballroom

Roundtable: Europe's Revival?

Chairs: Stephanie Hofmann (EUI)

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University)

Participants:

Anand Menon (Kings College, London) **Dan Kelemen** (Rutgers University)

Sara Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Milada Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

PANEL SESSION SEVEN 1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

7A European Citizenship and Free-Movement after the Pandemic

Grove

Chair and Discussant: **Dimitry Kochenov** (Central European University)

EU Citizenship and the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Fundamental Status under Threat?

Nathan Cambien (University of Antwerp)

COVID-19, Union Citizenship and Territory

Stephen Coutts (University College, Cork)

Free-Movement after COVID-19: An Appraisal of Potential Good and Bad Changes brought by the COVID-19 Pandemic Moritz Jesse (University of Leiden)

7B The EU and International Treaties

Dupont

Chair and Discussant: **Thomas Risse** (Free University Berlin)

The European Union in Comparative Perspective: Exploring Cooperation between Regional International Organizations Soeren Stapel (University of Freiburg)

Diana Panke (University of Freiburg)

The New, New Sovereigntism (Or, How the Europe Union Became Disenchanted with International Law and Defiantly Protective of Its Domestic Legal Order)

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

EU Trust Fund: Between a Liberal Architecture and a Pressure Agenda during Peace with Legality

Isabel Lopera Arbeláez (University of Salamanca)

Solveig Richter (University of Leipzig)

7C Re-bordering the European Union

Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: Erik Jones (European University Institute)

Debordering and Income Inequality in Europe: A Tale to Tell

Aydin Yildirim (World Trade Institute) **Bilyana Petrova** (Texas Tech University)

Re-bordering and Boundary Expansion: Foreign Direct Investments in an Era of Geopoliticization

Jana Lipps (ETH Zurich)

Bordering and Polity Formation: The European Union in Perspective

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

Christian Freudelsperger (Hertie School of Governance)

7D Theorizing European Integration

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Discussant: **Benjamin Leruth** (University of Groningen)

The Comparative Turn in European Union Studies

Alexander Hoppe (Utrecht University)

Johannes Müller Gómez (Université de Montréal / LMU Munich)

Liberal Intergovernmentalism as the "Baseline Theory" of European Integration: A Cautionary Tale

Joseph Jupille (University of Colorado)

Craig Parsons (University of Oregon / University of Oslo)

Sins of Omission: Mainstream Parties and the Decline of "Ever Closer Union"

Mark Copelovitch (University of Wisconsin)

Sara Goodman (University of California, Irvine)

7E EU Institutions and Inter-institutional Relations: New Perspectives

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: **Jonathan Zeitlin** (University of Amsterdam)

Co-creating EU Policy: The Emergence of Collective Power EU

Brigid Laffan (European University Institute)

The EU Legislative Process in Times of Pandemic: Resilience and Adaptation

Selma Bendjaballah (Sciences Po Paris)

Beliefs and Values in International Institutions: The Commission and the Council Secretariat as Socialising Environments

Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia) **Sara Connolly** (University of East Anglia)

European Commission Officials and Network Change: Governance Preferences and Interaction with External Actors - A Longitudinal Study

Sara Connolly (University of East Anglia) **Hussein Kassim** (University of East Anglia)

Ben Geys (Norwegian Business School) **Zuzana Murdoch** (University of Bergen)

Francesca Vantaggiato (King's College London)

7F Citizen-Elite Linkages

Merrick I

Chair: Anne Rasmussen (University of Copenhagen, Bergen University)

Discussant: Alex Honeker (University of Pittsburgh)

Discussant: Anne Rasmussen (University of Copenhagen, Bergen University)

Pragmatic Post-functionalism: Interest Groups and Political Financing in the European Union

Alexander Katsaitis (London School of Economics)

An (Un)heavenly Chorus of Politicians? Inequality in Perceptions of Public Opinion in Europe

Simon Otjes (Leiden University)

Anne Rasmussen (University of Copenhagen, Bergen University)

Champions of the Poor? Civil Society Mobilization and the Congruence Gap between Rich and Poor Segments of the Public

Iskander De Bruycker (Maastricht University)

Evelien Willems (University of Antwerp)

Marcel Hanegraaff (University of Amsterdam)

PR+: The EU Supranational Executives' Efforts to Reproduce Legitimacy via Public Communication on Twitter

Kristine Graneng (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) **Pieter de Wilde** (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

Sina Özdemir (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

Studying Legitimacy in the Context of Multilevel Government: Concept and Operationalization

Soetkin Verhaegen (Maastricht University)

Thomas Laloux (UCLouvain)

Virginie Van Ingelgom (UCLouvain) Alban Versailles (UCLouvain)

7G Conflict, Foreign Security and Defense

Star Isle

Chair: **Sharon Pardo** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) Discussant: **Hila Zahavi** (The Open University of Israel)

How Do Non-State Actors Interact with the EU in its Foreign Policy? The Case of Religion-based Identities and Sectarian Regimes in Syria:

Sara Canali (College of Europe)

Entrepreneurs in EU's Security and Defense Policy after 2016

Monika Sus (Hertie School / Polish Academy of Sciences)

Small States, National Identity, and EU Foreign Policy: The Cases of Austria and Greece

Marion Foster (The University of Texas at Austin)

EU Foreign Policy: An Integration of Normative and Regulatory Powers- The Data Protection Revolution as a Case Study

Yuval Reinfeld (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

7H Party and Politician Strategies

Chair: **Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)
Discussant: **Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

Discussant: Tarik Abou-Chadi (University of Zurich)

Reducing the Cost of Governing: How Junior Parties Use Roll Call Votes in the European Parliament

Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Pittsburgh)
Jeffrey Nonnemacher (University of Pittsburgh)

Framing the European Green Deal: Issue Dimensions and Political Space of Climate Neutrality

Frank Wendler (University of Hamburg)

Political Anger and Economic Disparity

Mark Blyth (Brown University)

Nicolo Fraccaroli (Brown University)

Too Important to Ignore? Why Ambiguity and Broad Appeals Fail with Rising Issue Salience

Jonne Kamphorst (European University Institute)

Accommodating Extremism on the Mainstream Right

Kimberly Twist (San Diego State University)

7I EU Political Economy in the Context of Global Recovery

Palm Isle

Tuttle

Chair: **Beverly Barrett** (University of St. Thomas, Houston); **Dina Moulioukova Fernandez** (University of Miami) Discussant: **Joaquín Roy** (University of Miami); **Ieva Mainardi** (European Parliament & University of Miami)

Governance and FDI in the EU: Trends across Regions over Two Decades

Beverly Barrett (University of St. Thomas, Houston)

The Euro as a Common Currency Twenty Years Later

Maria Lorca Susino (University of Miami)

Change Management: Artificial Intelligence (AI) at the Service of Public Administrations

Ieva Mainardi (European Parliament / University of Miami)

7J The Past and Future of EU Law

Crandon

Chair and Discussant: Sébastien Platon (University of Bordeaux)

Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice: Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters and Compliance with Fundamental Rights

Mário Barata (Polytechnic of Leiria and Portucalense Institute for Legal Research)

The Regulation of Microgrids in EU Law: Towards a More Sustainable Energy Mix **Jamie Behrendt** (University of Groningen)

Protecting Liberal Democracy by Mobilizing the Law: The Legal Mobilization and Framing Strategies of Civil Society in Hungary and Poland

Regitze Helene Rohlfing (University of Copenhagen)

A Right to the Effective Access to "Rights": A Pleonasm?

Sarah Ganty (Yale Law School)

7K Crisis at the Border Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: Anne Ingemann Johansen (University of Southern Denmark)

Offshoring in the Pandemic Age: Europe and the Ongoing Externalization of Migration Ruben Zaiotti (Dalhousie University)

EU and US Narratives of Order and Disorder in their Southern Neighborhoods after the Migration Crises **Ieva Giedraityte** (Vilnius University)

Borders, Migrants and Refugees: What Does Solidarity and Protection Mean for the EU in a Post-'refugee Crisis' Context? **Daniela Nascimento** (University of Coimbra)

Borders as Boats: Search and Rescue v. Migrant Interdiction in the Central Mediterranean Route

Isabella Trombetta (Boston University)

7L The Challenges of Illiberal and Authoritarian Rule

Gusman

Chair: **Milada Vachudova** (University of North Carolina) Discussant: **Antoaneta Dimitrova** (Leiden University) Discussant: **Tanja Börzel** (Free University Berlin)

Contesting the EU's Legitimacy over the Refugee and Rule of Law Crises: Insights from Turkey and Hungary

Didem Buhari-Gulmez (Izmir Katip Celebi University)

Beken Saatcioglu (MEF University)

Digdem Soyaltin-Colella (Altınbaş University)

Assessing the Relationship between Democratic Backsliding in the EU's Neighborhood and Illiberal Contestations against the EU **Sebnem Gumuscu** (Middlebury College)

The Rule of Law Across the Atlantic -Similarities and Differences of Rule of Law Backsliding in the EU and the US -A View from the Courts

Niels Kirst (Dublin City University)

Democracy Promotion in Times of Autocratization: The Case of Poland, 1989-2019

Paulina Pospieszna (Adam Mickiewicz University)

Tsveta Petrova (Columbia University)

PANEL SESSION EIGHT 3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

8A Party Strategies on European Integration

Crandon

Chair: Ann-Kathrin Reinl (LMU Munich)

Discussant: Julia Schulte-Cloos (European University Institute)

Solidarity or Self-reliance? Mainstream party ideologies and redistributive European integration

Christien Freudlsperger (Hertie School of Governance)

Martin Weinrich (Osnabrück University)

Party Cues and Support for Eurobonds: A Survey Experiment in Five Countries

Maurits Meijers (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

Björn Bremer (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Francesco Nicoli (Ghent University)

Europeanizing the National Political Space: EU Integration and Party Competition in France (1992-2022)

Gabriel Goodliffe (Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico)

Eurosceptic Attitudes of Radical Left and Right-Wing Parties Towards Supranational and Intergovernmental Institutions

Nikolai Gad (Technical University of Munich)

Robert Csehi (Technical University of Munich)

Eugenia da Conceicao-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

Beyond 'Soft' and 'Hard': Rethinking party-based Euroscepticism in Light of European Disintegration

Benjamin Leruth (University of Groningen)

8B Support for Foreign Policy and Foreign Countries

Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: Nina Obermeier (Cornell University)

Forged in Crisis? How Existential Threats Shape Support for International Cooperation in Europe Lisanne de Blok (Utrecht University)

Core State Powers, Identity and Differentiated Support: Comparing Support for Foreign and Migration Policy Integration in the EU

Martin Moland (University of Oslo)

Allies Do Not Back Down: A Cross-national Survey Experiment on Audience Costs among the European Public Francesco Olmastroni (University of Siena)

The Russian Connection: On populism, Radicalism and the Relationship between Eurosceptic and pro-Russian Positions among Political Parties in Europe

Tal Gur-Arye (The Open University of Israel)

8C The European Foreign Policy: A 3rd Ed Book Launch

Grove

Chair and Discussant: Federiga Bindi (IWPR / University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Discussant: Gretchen Van Dyke (University of Scranton)

EU Security & Defense Policy after Lisbon

Stephanie Anderson (University of Wyoming)

EU - Africa relations since the Lisbon Treaty

Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

EU - Israel relations since the Lisbon Treaty

Sharon Pardo (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

EU and Latina America

Joaquin Roy (University of Miami)

The uneasy ally: EU-Turkey

Gregory Nelson (University of South Carolina)

8D The EU's COVID-19 Crisis Responses -Fragmentation or Unity?

Tuttle

Chai and Discussant: **Pernille Rieker** (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

Discussant: Jarle Trondal (University of Agder / University of Oslo)

The Creation of a European Super Ministry: The European Central Bank, Crisis Management and Selective Learning Ingrid Hjertaker (Inland University Norway)

The EU's Vaccination Strategy against COVID-19: An Emerging Uncomfortable Fit between Regional and Global Crisis Response?

Marianne Riddervold (Inland Norway University / UC Berkeley)

Kolja Raube (University of Leuven)

COVID-19, Defense Spending, and the Privatization of EU Defense Research and Technology Kaija Schilde (Boston University)

The EU's Common Labour Marked and Member States' Response to Rising Unemployment during the COVID-19 Pandemic **André Sønstevold** (Innland University Norway)

The European Central Bank: Output Legitimacy and Dominance as Uneasy Bedfellows

Bent Sofus Tranoy (Innland University Norway) Ingrid Hjertaker (Innland University Norway)

8E Differentiated Perspectives on the EU's Past, Present, and Future

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair: **John Erik Fossum** (University of Oslo) Discussant: **Thomas Risse** (Free University Berlin)

Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: From Eurozone Crisis to COVID-19 Pandemic **Vivien Schmidt** (University of Boston)

Differentiated Integration, Crisis and the Political Development of the European Union Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

Implications of COVID-19 for Europe's Segmented Political Order

John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo)

8F Newer Directions in the Study of European Foreign Policy: Strengths and Weaknesses Palm Isle

Chair and Discussant: **Henrik Larsen** (University of Copenhagen)

What Kind of International Actor Is the EU? Changes in the Constructions of EU Actorness **Henrik Larsen** (University of Copenhagen)

European Foreign Policy and Hybrid Actors in the Middle East: A Pragmatist Decentring Approach Sharon Lecocq (University of Leuven)

Instrumental Use of Regional and Local Authorities in the EU Foreign Policymaking: Opportunities, Mechanisms, Limits

Joanna Ciesielska-Klikowska (University of Lodz)

Tomasz Kamiński (University of Lodz)

8G The Political Economy of "Next Generation EU"

Gusman

Chair: **Matthias Matthijs** (Johns Hopkins University) Discussant: **Mark Copelovitch** (University of Wisconsin)

US and EU Fiscal Policy Responses to COVID-19: Too Little, Too Late, or Too Much?

David Cleeton (Illinois State University)

"This Crisis is Different:" The Framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic and the EU's Turn Towards the Recovery Agenda

Tiago Moreira Ramalho (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Tom Massart (Université libre de Bruxelles) Amandine Crespy (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Recovery and Resilience, or Same Old? Implementing the RRF

Stella Ladi (Queen Mary University of London/Panteion University)

Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent University/Virginia Tech)

To play or not to play the 'moral hazard' card: Germany and the European response to the Covid-19 crisis

David Howarth (University of Luxembourg)
Laura Pierret (University of Luxembourg)

8H The European Commission: Market Maker, Power Broker, and Global Reach

Dupont

Chair and Discussant: Abraham Newman (Georgetown University)

Reinforcing Each Other: How the Combination of European and Domestic Reforms Increased Competition in Liberalized Industries

Tommaso Crescioli (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The Multi-level Politics of Chinese Investment Screening: The EU in Comparative Perspective

Terrence Guay (Pennsylvania State University)

Michelle Egan (American University)

War and Taxes: The Role of the Commission in High Politics

Frédéric Mérand (Université de Montréal)

Catherine Hoeffler (European University Institute)

Embedded Autonomy in the Single Market: European Industrial Policy and the Commission's Curious Shift towards a Developmental Network State

Luuk Schmitz (European University Institute)

Donato Di Carlo (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

The Regulation of Global Finance, the European Union and Market Power: A Twenty-Year Analysis

Lucia Quaglia (University of Bologna)

Elliot Posner (Case Western Reserve University)

8I The Changing Political Economy of Technocratic Institutions

Star Isle

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

Unbalanced: The Intersection of Growth and Balance of Payments Resolution Models

Gregory Fuller (University of Groningen)

ECB's Independence: No Longer a Golden Bullet?

Dimitrios Argyroulis (University of Luxembourg)

Technocratic Evolution: An Actor-centred Institutionalist Approach to Understanding Change at the IMF

Cornel Ban (Copenhagen Business School)

Fabian Mushövel (London School of Economics and Political Science)

8K Attitudes about Democratic Backsliding and the Role of Media in the Age of Populism Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: Mitchell Orenstein (University of Pennsylvania)

To Praise or Pressure? Patterns of Social Media Advocacy in Times of COVID-19

Iskander De Bruycker (Maastricht University)

Between Democracy and Right-Wing Populism: A Survey Experiment in Poland and Hungary

Maria Snegovaya (Virginia Tech University)

Tsveta Petrova (Columbia University)

Beholding the Backsliders: European Media Coverage of Hungary and Poland

Maurits van der Veen (William & Mary)

8L In Defense of Women's Rights, LGBTI Rights, Democracy and Human Rights in Europe Merrick II

Chair: Juliet Johnson (McGill University)

Discussant: **Tanja Börzel** (Free University Berlin)

Discussant: Milada Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

Combating Antisemitism: Can the EU's Comprehensive Strategy Work?

Carolyn Dudek (Hofstra University)

How Right-wing Governments Undermined the Istanbul Convention against Violence against Women

Ayşenur Deger (Syracuse University) **Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

The Enforcement of the Value of Democracy in EU Law: Changing a Union Brick-By-Brick

Yasmine Bouzoraa (University of Groningen)

8M From Awkward Partner to Awkward Other? Selectively Reconstructing the UK-EU Security Relationship after Brexit

Merrick I

Chair: Ana Juncos (University of Bristol)

Discussant: Karolina Pomorska (Leiden University)

UK-EU Security Relationship after Brexit: Discursive Construction of De-/Re-Engagement

Monika Brusenbauch Meislová (Masaryk University Brno)

Muddling through as the Best of Frenemies: UK Preferences and Practices in the post-Brexit EU-UK Foreign, Security and Defense Policy Relationship

Richard Whitman (University of Kent)

EU-UK Diplomatic and Security Coordination beyond Brexit through Informal Venues: Risk or Opportunity?

Sarah Wolff (Queen Mary, University of London)

Helena Farrand Carrapico (Northumbria University)

Agathe Piquet (Queen Mary, University of London)

EUSA Awards Presentations

Bayfront Ballroom

5:15 – 5:45 p.m.

Lifetime Achievement Award

Helen Wallace

Ernst Haas Fellowship

Tomass Pildegovičs (Cambridge University)

EUSA Best 2019 Conference Paper Award

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century

Wade Jacoby Best Dissertation Award

Tommaso Pavone (University of Oslo)

The Ghostwriters: Lawyers and the Politics Behind the Judicial Construction of Europe

Honorable Mention Julia Schulte-Cloos (European University Institute)

European Integration and the Surge of the Populist Radical Right

EUSA Best Book in EU Studies Award

Christina Schneider (UC San Diego)

The Responsive Union: National Elections and European Governance (Cambridge UP, 2019)

Honorable Mention **Vivien Schmidt** (Boston University)

Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy (OUP 2020)

EUSA Conference Reception

Bayfront Ballroom

5:45 p.m. – 7:15 p.m.

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PANEL SESSION NINE 8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

9A Attitudes towards the EU 2

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair: Sara Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Discussant: Julian Hoerner (University of Birmingham)

Public Preferences for European Integration in Complex Political Space: Variations across Europe **Dimiter Toshkov** (Leiden University)

Peace, Prosperity and Protection: The EU in Search of A New Narrative in the 'Justification Jungle' of Europe's Public Spheres **Pieter de Wilde** (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

How Citizens Make Sense of Politics in Today's European Union: What Can Political Narratives Tell Us?

Céline Belot (Sciences-Po Grenoble, Pacte) **Laurie Beaudonnet** (Université de Montréal)

The (De)Politicisation of Socio-Economic Governance "at the Bottom": Citizens' Understanding of Responsibility and Responsiveness

Claire Dupuy (UC Louvain)

Virginie Van Ingelgom (UC Louvain)

9B The EU and Its Member States

Merrick I

Chair and Discussant: Christian Freudlsperger (Hertie School of Governance)

Discourses on Europeanization: The Case of Portugal

Sofia José Santos (University of Coimbra) Moara Crivelente (University of Coimbra)

Maria Raquel Freire (University of Coimbra)

Sub-state Actors' Participatory Experience in Policy and Decision Making in the EU

Dominika Harasimiuk (Warsaw University) **Tomasz Braun** (Lazarski University, Warsaw)

A New Form of Parliamentary Integration in Europe: The Establishment of the Franco-German Parliamentary Assembly **Henriette Heimbach** (University of Luxembourg)

9C Political Economy of Populism

Dupont

Chair and Discussant: Mitchell Orenstein (University of Pennsylvania)

Social and Economic Drivers of Populist Party Support

Ian McManus (Emerson College)

Fighting Financial Nationalism in the EU's East

Andrew Barnes (Kent State University)

Juliet Johnson (McGill University)

Populist Economic Policies in Europe: A New Winning Formula?

Mitchell Orenstein (University of Pennsylvania) Maria Snegovava (Virginia Tech University)

9D Author Meets Critics: "The Language(s) of Politics: Multilingual Policy-Making in the European Union" (by Nils Ringe) Tuttle

Chair: Nils Ringe (University of Wisconsin)

Discussant: Liesbet Hooghe (University of North Carolina) **Discussant: Frédéric Mérand** (Université de Montréal)

Discussant Wilhelm Lehmann (European University Institute/ College of Europe)

9E Polarization and Coalition-formation in the European Parliament

Grove

Chair: Nathalie Brack (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Chair: Olivier Costa (College of Europe)

Discussant: Edoardo Bressanelli (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

Issue Politicization in the European Parliament. An Analysis of Parliamentary Questions for Oral Answer (2004-2019)

Isabelle Guinaudeau (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

Olivier Costa (College of Europe)

Polarisation or Accommodation? Explaining the Discourse-vote Choice Gap in the European Parliament

Marie-Eve Bélanger (ETH Zurich/University of Geneva)

Natasha Wunsch (Sciences Po/ETH Zurich)

Future of the Spitzenkandidaten Process in a More Fragmented European Parliament: A Path towards EU Democratic Legitimacy?

Pauline Thinus (College of Europe)

Politicisation of Legislative Proposals and Discursive Conflicts and Alliances in the European Parliament Lara Querton (Universite libre de Bruxelles)

Democratic Backsliding in the EU: Understanding Discursive and Strategic Coalition-formation in the European Parliament

Ramona Coman (Université libre de Bruxelles)

Nathalie Brack (Université libre de Bruxelles)

9F The Strategic Decade: EU Diplomacy on the Sidelines or in the Mix?

Crandon

Chair and Discussant: Ignacio Molina Álvarez de Cienfuegos (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Lessons from the Past? The Conference on the Future of Europe and Foreign Policy Integration **Jost-Henrik Morgenstern-Pomorski** (University of Birmingham)

The EP and the EEAS: Facilitating a Coherent EU diplomacy?

Paula Lamoso González (Universidad Loyola Andalucía)

Stelios Stavridis (ARAID/Universidad de Zaragoza)

A Truly EU Common Diplomacy for a New International Era

Ignacio Molina Álvarez de Cienfuegos (Universidad Autanoma de Madrid)

Pol Morillas Bassets (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs)

Paula Lamoso González (Universidad Loyola Andalucía)

9G The Political Economy of Monetary Integration

Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: Gregory Fuller (University of Groningen)

The Doom Loop and Democratic Legitimacy in the Euro Area

Yuval Hirshorn (Tel Aviv University)

Tal Sadeh (Tel Aviv University)

Bringing the State Back into Financialization: The Case of the European Economic and Monetary Union

Inga Aenne Feldmann (Free University of Berlin)

Strategic Interdependence and Preferences for Debt Mutualization in the Eurozone

Björn Bremer (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Erik Neimanns (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Lucio Baccaro (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

Seeing like a Bond Market: Politicized Central Banks and the Refinancing of Illiberal Regimes

Edgars Eihmanis (European University Institute)

Cornel Ban (Copenhagen Business School)

9H Academic Freedom and the Liberal Script: Europe and Beyond

Star Isle

Chair: **Laszlo Bruszt** (Central European University) Discussant: **Cassandra Emmons** (Harvard University) Discussant: **Michael Blauberger** (University Salzburg)

The Globalization of Academic Freedom **Tanja Börzel** (Free University Berlin)

The Constitutional Codification of Academic Freedom over Time and Space Janika Spannagel (Free University Berlin)

Supranational Judicial Approaches to Academic Freedom in Europe Kriszta Kovacs (WZB Berlin)

Academic Freedom in Latin America

Conrado Hübner Mendes (Universidade de São Paulo)

9I The EU and Foreign Economic Policies

Palm Isle

Chair and Discussant: Christilla Roederer-Rynning (University of Southern Denmark)

Fair Trade for Whom? The Chameleon Role of "Fair Trade" in the EU's Communicative Trade Discourse Caroline Bertram (University of Copenhagen)

Shaping Global Skies? EU External Aviation Policy and Experimentalist Governance **Dominika Furtak** (Jagiellonian University)

Trading Values?: Promoting Labor Standards Through EU Free Trade Agreements

Jayanthi Pandiyan (Trier University)

9J The State of the Women - Mapping Gender Parity in the EU and the US

Merrick II

Chair: **Federiga Bindi** (IWPR / University of Rome Tor Vergata) Discussant: **Marco Amici** (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Women in Military

Stephanie Anderson (University of Wyoming)

Women in Sports

Federiga Bindi (IWPR / University of Rome Tor Vergata)

Women in Courts

Fernanda Nicola (American University)

Women in Business

Stefania Baroncelli (University of Bolzano)

Women in Politics

Joaquin Roy (University of Miami)

Women in Religion

Gretchen Van Dyke (University of Scranton)

Women in Media

Claudia Ramos (University Fernando Pessoa)

Women in Government

Gregory Nelson (University of South Carolina)

9K Book Roundtable: The European Union: Crises and Challenges

Chair: Mark Rhinard (Stockholm University)

Discussant: Ariadna Ripoll-Servent (Salzburg University)

Discussant: Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich)

Crisisification in the European Union

Mark Rhinard (Stockholm University)

Unions in Crisis?: Assessing How the Process of Delivering Brexit Has Damaged Relations between the European Union and the United Kingdom

David Phinnemore (Queens University Belfast) **Lee McGowan** (Queens University Belfast)

Migration, Crisisification, and the EU's (New) Approach to Border Management

Laurie Buonanno (Buffalo State University)

The Eurozone: From Crisis to Resilience
Joachim Schild (University of Trier)

9M From Crisis to Autonomy: Law and Strategy in EU Foreign Policy

Gusman

Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: Jed Odermatt (City, University of London)

Defender and Designer: The European Union and International Courts

Mark Pollack (Temple University)

What is Autonomy? Autonomy of EU Law and Strategic Autonomy Luigi Lonardo (University College Cork)

EU Trade Policy between Openness, Strategy, and Autonomy Isabella Mancini (Brunel University London)

Gesa Kübek (University of Groningen)

Strategic and Legal Autonomy in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy Viktor Szép (University of Groningen)

PANEL SESSION TEN 10:15 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

10B Differentiation in EU's Foreign and Security Policy

Grove

Chair: Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré (European University Institute) Chair: Monika Sus (Hertie School / Polish Academy of Sciences) Discussant: Benjamin Leruth (University of Groningen)

Importing Differentiation to the EU's Foreign and Security Policy? The US, Israel and the UK Strategies of Increasing Differentiation among Member States

Magdalena Gora (Jagiellonian University) Joanna Dyduch (Jagiellonian University)

The EU's Relations with Asia: Compartmentalized, Differentiated or Fragmented? **Thomas Christiansen** (Luiss University Rome)

'Let's Keep This Informal': Differentiated Cooperation and Informal Groupings in the EU Approach to Conflicts and Crises Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré (European University Institute)

Keeping Them Together: The High Representative as an Agent of Embedded Differentiation Monika Sus (Hertie School / Polish Academy of Sciences)

External Informal Differentiation and EU Cooperation with the Western Balkans Matteo Bonomi (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

10C Panel Sponsored by the European Parliament Liaison Office: Comparing the European Parliament and the US Congress

Godfrey

Chair: **Joseph Dunne** (European Parliament Liaison Office, Washington DC)

Discussant: Amie Kreppel (University of Florida)

The Roles of the European Parliament and the Congress with Respect to Oversight and Scrutiny Klaus Welle (European Parliament)

Institutional Architecture of the European Parliament and the Congress: Procedures and Decisions **Tom Wickham** (former House Parliamentarian)

The Support Services of the European Parliament and the Congress

Anthony Teasdale (European Parliamentary Research Service)

The Roles of the European Parliament and the Congress with Respect to International Agreements Kenneth Propp (Georgetown University)

The Soft Power of the European Parliament and the Congress: Parliamentary Diplomacy
Naja Bentzen (European Parliamentary Research Service; George Mason University)

Law and Policymaking in the Defence Field: Differences and Convergences Between the US Congress and EU Institutions
Anne Verhelst (University of Leuven)

10D The Politics of COVID-19

Tuttle

Chair and Discussant: Sara Goodman (University of California, Irvine)

European Multilevel Governance During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Timeliness, Coherence and Connectivity on Twitter

Sandra Lavenex (Université de Genève) Marie-Eve Belanger (Université de Genève)

Homeworking and the Right to Privacy in the EU

Rufat Babayev (Leicester University)

COVID-19 Related Anxieties Do Not Decrease Support for Liberal Democracy

Veronica Anghel (European University Institute Florence)

Julia Schulte-Cloos (European University Institute)

Exploring the Impact of International Institutions on EU Member States' COVID-19 Crisis Management

Michael Kluth (Roskilde University)

Kennet Lynggaard (Roskilde University)

Mads Dagnis Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)

The International Cooperation of Sciences and the Political World. The Case of COVID-19. Comparative International Analysis Francis Espinoza-Figueroa (The Catholic University of the North.)

10E Britain and the EU after Brexit: A Roundtable

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair and Discussant: **Anand Menon** (Kings College, London)

Participants:

Adrian Favell (University of Leeds)

Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia)

Sara Hobolt (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Anand Menon (Kings College, London)

Kathleen McNamara (Georgetown University)

10F Pandemic Politics Gusman

Chair: Holly Jarman (University of Michigan) Discussant: **Holly Jarman** (University of Michigan) Discussant: Catherine de Vries (Bocconi University)

The Political System of the European Union and COVID-19: Between Politicization and Technocratization **Sergei Shein** (Higher School of Economics)

Public Preferences and the Pandemic: An Individual-level Panel Study in 5 European Countries

Francesco Nicoli (Gent University)

Viral Solidarity? Support for European Fiscal Integration in the COVID-19 Crisis

Bjoern Bremer (Max Planck Institute) **Theresa Kuhn** (University of Amsterdam) Maurits Meijers (Radboud University Nijmegen) Francesco Nicoli (Gent University)

The Political Consequences of Ageing Societies: Inter-Generational Polarization & COVID-19

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi University) Francesco Billari (Bocconi University)

Paula Rettl (Bocconi University)

10G Contesting the European Union

Chair: **Tanja Börzel** (Free University Berlin)

Discussant: Sara Hagemann (University of Copenhagen)

Contesting Europe: Eurosceptic Dissent and Integration Polarization in the European Parliament

Philipp Broniecki (University of Oslo)

Lukas Obholzer (Free University Berlin)

Miriam Hartlapp (Free University Berlin)

Tanja Börzel (Free University Berlin)

Contesting EU Migration Policy: The Bi-dimensionality of EU Asylum and Migration Policy

Natascha Zaun (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Miriam Sorace (University of Kent)

Authority Expansion of the EU under Conditions of Contested Policy Integration

Aleksandra Khokhlova (Leiden University) Anastasia Ershova (Leiden University)

Nikoleta Yordanova (Leiden University)

Is there a Legislative Gender-bias in the European Parliament?

Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo) **Philipp Broniecki** (University of Oslo)

10H The Far Right and the EU: Perspectives, Implications and Reactions

Hibiscus Isle

Dupont

Chair: **Marta Lorimer** (London School of Economics) Chair: **Marianna Griffini** (King's College London) Discussant: **Nathalie Brack** (UniversitÉlibre de Bruxelles)

Anti-Globalism and the Power of Ideas: Ideological Networks and Institutionalization of Right-Wing Populist Ideology in the Late 20th and Early 21st Centuries

Daniel Smith (Cambridge University)

Dancing with the Devil: The Manufacturing of Political Cleavages in France

Lise Herman (University of Exeter)

Marta Lorimer (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of Italy-Libya Cooperation on Migration

Matilde Rosina (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Marianna Griffini (King's College London)

How to Respond to Right-wing Euroscepticism? The dilemmas of Pro-European Activism in Germany and the UK

Adam Fagan (King's College London)

Stijn van Kessel (Queen Mary University of London)

10I The EU Fiscal Politics of Growth and Austerity

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: Alison Johnston (Oregon State University)

Who Benefits from EU Funding? Economic and Electoral Consequences of EU Investment Funds

Ioannis Vergioglou (ETH Zurich)

The Stability and Growth Pact and the Funding of the Refugee Crisis in the European Union **James Savage** (University of Virginia)

Neoliberal Fiscal Policy Making in Times of Crisis

J. Michael Dedmon (Syracuse University)

The Distributional Effects of Tax-and-transfer Policies in 21st Century Europe

Fabian Mushövel (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Mads Elkjær (University of Oxford)

10J Challenges to the Rule of Law in Europe

Merrick I

Chair: **Marlene Wind** (University of Copenhagen) Chair: **Regitze Rohlfing** (University of Copenhagen) Discussant: **Dimiter Toshkov** (Leiden University)

Does Politicization Make International Courts Uncomfortable? Evidence from the European Court of Justice

Urska Sadl (European University Institute (EUI)) Silie Hermansen (University of Copenhagen)

Instrument of Power or Weapon of the Weak? Litigation and Party Capability Before the European Court of Justice

Louisa Boulaziz (European University Institute, Florence)

Silje Hermansen (University of Copenhagen) Tommaso Pavone (University of Arizona)

Autocratic Legalism and the Measuring of Democracy: The Case of Hungary and Poland

Regitze Rohlfing (University of Copenhagen) **Marlene Wind** (University of Copenhagen)

The "Constitution" in Constitutional Identity: Exposing Abuses of Constitutional Identity by Clarifying its Substantive Limits **Julian Scholtes** (University of Newcastle)

The Basis of Public Support for EU Intervention on Rule of Law

Aleksandra Sojka (Carlos III University of Madrid) Pablo Jose Castillo Ortiz (University of Sheffield)

Juan Mayoral (Carlos III University of Madrid)

10K National Governments and Political Parties in Migration Management

Star Isle

Chair and Discussant: Christof Roos (Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Conflicting Incentives? Party Position Change on Immigration and European Integration in the European "Refugee Crisis" Ethan vanderWilden (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Saturation Points in Integration: The Revival of National Governments in Migration Policy Design Georg Menz (Old Dominion University)

Immigration and Political Party Positioning in Europe

Ryan Bakker (University of Essex)

Dave Armstrong (University of Western Ontario)

Jonathan Polk (Lund University)

Seth Jolly (Syracuse University)

10L Technocracy vs. Democracy: New Directions for Studying the EU

Crandon

Chair and Discussant: Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Globalization and Promissory Representation in Europe

Robert Thomson (Monash University)

Christina Schneider (UCSD)

Progressive Turnover-based Taxation and EU State Aid Law

Justin Lindeboom (University of Groningen)

Yasmine Bouzoraa (University of Groningen)

Jobs and Fiction: Identifying the Effect of Corporate Tax Avoidance Inflating Export Measures in Ireland Palma Polyak (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Elite Fidelity in the European Crisis Management Regime

Leonard Seabrooke (Copenhagen Business School)

Cornel Ban (Copenhagen Business School)

LUNCH

11:45 a.m. – 1:45 p.m.

Lunch Plenary 12 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.

Bayfront Ballroom

Panel Honoring Helen Wallace – EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award Recipient

Chair: Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Participants:

Liesbet Hooghe (University of North Carolina)

Mark Pollack(Temple University)Timothy Garton Ash(Oxford University)Federica Mogherini(College of Europe)Adrian Favell(University of Leeds)

PANEL SESSION ELEVEN

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

11A Special Roundtable: Russia's War Against Ukraine and Ukraine's Challenge to Europe Bayfront Ballroom

Participants:

Maryna Rabinovych (University of Agder)

Stephanie Hofmann (European University Institute)

Juliet Johnson (McGill University)

Karolina Pomorska (University of Leiden)

Milada Anna Vachudova (University of North Carolina)

11B Friends and Foes of European Integration in Turbulent Times

Gusman

Chair and Discussant: Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Pittsburgh)

Discussant: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

Friends and Foes of European Integration: An Encompassing Multi-method Study of the 2019 European Parliament Election

Giuseppe Carteny (MZES, University of Mannheim)

Sebastian Adrian Popa (Newcastle University)

Leonardo Puleo (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Ann-Kathrin Reinl (LMU Munich)

Hermann Schmitt (Universities of Manchester and Mannheim)

Eftichia Teperoglou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) Daniela Braun (LMU Munich)

The Ideological Embedding of Euroscepticism

Giuseppe Carteny (MZES, University of Mannheim)

Hermann Schmitt (Universities of Manchester and Mannheim)

Who Holds the Union Together? Two Opposing Patterns of Preferences for EU Cohesion

Ann-Kathrin Reinl (LMU Munich)

Daniela Braun (LMU Munich)

Different Aspects of the Transnational Cleavage: Assessing the Evolutions of the Structural Anchorage

Leonardo Puleo (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Eftichia Teperoglou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

The Nature of the EU Issue in the EP Elections Social Media Campaigns

Brian Boyle (Newcastle University)

Zoltan Fazekas (Copenhagen Business School)

Sebastian Adrian Popa (Newcastle University)

11C Advances in the Study of European Policymaking

Merrick II

Chair: **Rik de Ruiter** (University of Leiden)

Discussant: Mads Jensen (Copenhagen Business School)

Governance Reform and Public Acceptance of Regulatory Decision Making: Evidence from Survey Experiments on EU Pesticides Authorization

David van der Duin (University of Ghent)

Maria Weimer (University of Amsterdam)

Theresa Kuhn (University of Amsterdam)

Jonathan Zeitlin (University of Amsterdam)

Making Supply Meet Demand: Gender Representation and Lobbying

Matia Vannoni (KCL)

Public Opinion about Enforcement in the EU: Blame, Responsibility and Punishment

Dimiter Toshkov (Leiden University)

Legislating Softly: Analyzing the Development of EU Soft-law Rules over Time

Asya Zhelyazkova (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

11E European Digital Policies

Crandon

Chair: **Bernardo Rangoni** (University of York)
Discussant: **Max Heermann** (University of Konstanz)

Over the Shoulder Enforcement in European Regulatory Networks: The Role of Consistency Mechanisms in the General Data Protection Regulation

Sivao Li (University of Pennsylvania)

Abraham Newman (Georgetown University)

 ${\it The EU's Digital Finance Strategy: Consequences for the European Supervisory Framework}$

Elena Rios Camacho (Technical University of Munich)

The EU as Regulator of Artificial Intelligence -accountability and a New Variation of a "Brussels Effect"

Hartmut Aden (Berlin School of Economics and Law, Berlin Institute for Safety and Security Research)

Data Protection Enforcement Strategies post-GDPR: A Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) across Data Protection Authorities

Ido Sivan-Sevilla (University of Maryland)

11F EU External Relations

Godfrey

Chair and Discussant: John Erik Fossum (ARENA University of Oslo)

From a Willing Partner to Close Political and Economic Partner: Analysing EU Political Elites' Images of Georgia from 1991 to 2020

Natia Gamkrelidze (Linnaeus University/Harvard University)

The Formation of Meanings: Language Games as a Determinant of Foreign Policy Cooperation Giuseppe Luca Moliterni (University of Leicester)

The EUs Position on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Re-evaluation Alfred Tovias (Hebrew University)

11G The EU Political Economy Dynamics of Climate Change

Star Isle

Chair: **Sandra Marco Colino** (Chinese University of Hong Kong) Discussant: **C. Randall Henning** (American University)

Sustainability, Inequality, and Competition Law

Sandra Marco Colino (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Incremental or Transformative Change: Analyzing the EU's Green Deal

Jan Pollex (Osnabrück University)

Andrea Lenschow (Osnabrück University)

Seeing Climate Change like a Central Bank

Stine Quorning (Copenhagen Business School)

11H New Directions in the EU Politics Work and Migration

Merrick I

Chair and Discussant: Cornel Ban (Copenhagen Business School)

Markets and Movements. Freedom of Movement in the Common Market and Effects on Sending Countries: Win-win or Dependency?

Christof Roos (Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Martin Seeliger (Bremen University)

Max Nagel (Bremen University)

Engaged Robots, and Disengaged Workers: Automation and Political Apathy

Valentina González-Rostani (University of Pittsburgh)

"Music Moves Europe": Creative Europe and the Circulation of Musicians via the European Talent Exchange Program Lucas Henry (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The Politics of Merit in EU Free Movement Law

Sarah Ganty (Yale Law School)

11I The European Parliament after the Pandemic: A New Normal?

Grove

Chair: Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Salzburg)

Discussant: Amie Kreppel (University of Florida)

Resilience, Recovery, and Representation? Debating the COVID-19 Pandemic in the European Parliament

Lucy Kinski (University of Salzburg)

Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Salzburg)

Ermela Gianna (University of Salzburg)

Recruiting MEPs in Difficult Times: Legal Constraints and Soft-law Approaches for Further Electoral Reform

Friedrich Pukelsheim (University of Augsburg)

Wilhelm Lehmann (European University Institute)

The Role of the EP in the Design of the Recovery and Resilience Facility: Institutional Influence Meets Policy-making?

Ermela Gianna (University of Salzburg)

Direct Engagement with Citizens: A Strengthening Imperative for the European Parliament?

Francis Jacobs (University College Dublin)

11J Author Meets Critics: Tommaso Pavone, The Ghostwriters: Lawyers & the Politics Behind the Judicial Construction of Europe Dupont

Chair: **Tommaso Pavone** (University of Arizona) Discussant: **R. Daniel Kelemen** (Rutgers University) Discussant: **Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

Discussant: **Marlene Wind** (University of Copenhagen) Discussant: **Michael Blauberger** (University of Salzburg)

11L The Court of Justice and Legal and Political Dimensions of Judicial Framing of EU Integration Hibiscus Isle

Chair and Discussant: Mark Dawson (Hertie School)

The Next Stage of ECJ Self-assertion: Explaining Cooperation and Competition between the European Court of Justice and International Tribunals

Robert Basedow (LSE)

How Do Merit Selection Committees Influence the Behavior of Judges? Evidence from the Court of Justice of the European Union

Joshua Fjelstul (The University of Geneva)

Silje Synnøve Lyder Hermansen (The University of Copenhagen)

Sivaram Cheruvu (The University of Texas at Dallas)

Daniel Naurin (The University of Oslo)

To which Prosecution Service? Analyzing the Way the Union Resolves Criminal Conflicts of Jurisdiction Andrew Zuidema (University of Groningen)

Explaining Divergence and Convergence between Strasbourg and Luxembourg: A Theory of Strategic Judicial Dialogue between International Courts

Audrey Plan (Trinity College Dublin)

11M Is Europe Back in the Driver's Seat? The Union at a Turning Point in Time

Tuttle

Chair: Olivier Costa (College of Europe / CNRS)

Discussant: Frédéric Mérand (University of Montréal)

The New Political Equilibrium and Coalition Dynamics within the European Parliament

Awenig Marié (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Nathalie Brack (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

The Political Regime of the EU through the Prism of the Confirmation of the von der Leyen Commission by the European Parliament

Olivier Costa (College of Europe / CNRS)

The von der Leyen Commission: A Preliminary Analysis of a non-Spitzenkandidat President

Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia)

Fighting Fires from Crisis to Crisis: The Evolution of Central Banking in Europe

Gabriel Glóckler (European Central Bank / College of Europe)

Laura Pierret (University of Luxembourg)

Michele Chang (College of Europe)

PANEL SESSION TWELVE 3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

12A European Integration Theory: The State of the Debate

Bayfront Ballroom

Chair: R. Daniel Kelemen (Rutgers University)

Discussant: **Kathleen McNamara** (Georgetown University) Discussant: **Frédéric Mérand** (University of Montréal)

Discussant: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina / European University Institute)

12B Support for Populists and Populism

Tuttle

Chair: **Kimberly Twist** (San Diego State University)
Discussant: **Kimberly Twist** (San Diego State University)

Discussant: **Diane Bolet** (University of Zurich and Durham University)

Nationalist Cleavages, Political Attitudes, and Support for the Populist Left and Right

Bart Bonikowski (New York University)

Sean Bock (Harvard University)

Does the Protection of Socio-cultural Places Reduce Radical Right Support? Evidence from the UK Localism Act

Diane Bolet (Zurich University and Durham University)

This Land is Our Land: Radical Right Parties and the Environmental Issue

Alex Honeker (University of Pittsburgh)
Christopher Williams (Fors Marsh Group)

Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Pittsburgh)

12E The EU Management of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Merrick I

Chair and Discussant: Tiziano Zgaga (LUISS Rome)

The Option of Last Resort: Analyzing the German Preference Shift on the European Recovery Fund in the COVID-19 Pandemic

Lara Dose (Ludwig Maximilian University Munich)

The Role of Emotions in the European Commission COVID-19 Crisis Management

Kennet Lynggaard (Roskilde University, Denmark)

The European Union's Institutional Discourse in Times of Crises: Fostering Legitimacy and Unity through Public Communication

Annie Niessen (University of Pennsylvania)

12J Immigrant Incorporation

Merrick II

Chair and Discussant: **Georg Menz** (Old Dominion University)

Religion Policy and Subnational Identity Construction: A Comparison of Catalonia, Spain, and Alsace-Moselle, France **Stephanie Shady** (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

The Ambivalent Role of Faith Actors working with Latin American LGBTIQ+ Asylum Seekers in Spain Ernesto Fiocchetto (Florida International University)

When a Looser Union Hits Home: Does Flexible Integration Affect the Implementation of EU Asylum and Migration Policies?

Asya Zhelyazkova (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

12K Recovery and Reconnection: The EU Foreign and Security Policy at a (New) Crossroads Gusman

Chair: **Elisabeth Johansson-Nogues** (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

Discussant: Mai'a Davis Cross (Northeastern University)

Meeting External Challenges in European Foreign Policy: "Strategic Autonomy," "Joined up Policy-making," and the EU's Search for a "Strategic Compass"

Michael Smith (University of Warwick)

On Friends and Foes: The EU's Strategic Rivalry with China and its Effect on the EU's Foreign and Security Cooperation Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

How Do Norms Guide the Role of Chairs in the CFSP Area? The Challenges of being "the Outsiders" at the Helm Karolina Pomorska (Leiden University)

Ana Juncos (University of Bristol)

12L The Role of EU Institutions in Security and Defense

Hibiscus Isle

Chair: **Diana Panke** (Universität Freiburg) Discussant: **Monika Sus** (Hertie School)

The New Role of the European Commission in European Security and Defense Cooperation: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for European Integration

Calle Håkansson (Malmö University /The Swedish Institute of International Affairs)

European Union Delegation, Missions and Operations: A Complex Relation

Juliette Ganne (IHEID)

Taking Stock of the Geopolitical European Commission

Kamil Zwolski (University of Southampton)

12M Virginia Tech Sponsored Panel: The Response of the EU and its Eastern Mediterranean Member States to the Syrian Refugee Flow: Implications for the Afghan Refugees Dupont

Chair: Yannis A. Stivachtis (Virginia Tech)

Chair and Discussant: Max Stephenson Jr. (Virginia Tech)

The European Union's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis

Georgeta Pourchot (Virginia Tech)

The Management of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Greece & Cyprus

Yannis A. Stivachtis (Virginia Tech)

The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The Cases of Italy and Malta

Max Stephenson Jr. (Virginia Tech)

The Critical Role of Turkey in the Management of the Syrian Refugee Crisis

Dimitris Tsarouhas (Virginia Tech)

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Abou-Chadi	(University of Oxford)	1G 7H
Acosta	(University of Bristol)	2K
Adams	(University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg)	2B
Aden	(Berlin School of Econ. & Law / Berlin Inst. for Safety & Security Research)	11E
Amici	(University of Rome Tor Vergata)	1J 9J
Anders	(Leipzig University)	1F
Anderson	(University of Wyoming)	6C 8C 9J
Anghel	(European University Institute)	4A 10D
Anto	(Charles University)	1L
Argyroulis	(University of Luxembourg)	8I
Arieli	(Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)	3E
Armstrong	(University of Western Ontario)	10K
Ash	(University of Oxford)	Plenary 3
	Acosta Adams Aden Amici Anders Anderson Anghel Anto Argyroulis Arieli Armstrong	Acosta (University of Bristol) Adams (University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg) Aden (Berlin School of Econ. & Law / Berlin Inst. for Safety & Security Research) Amici (University of Rome Tor Vergata) Anders (Leipzig University) Anderson (University of Wyoming) Anghel (European University Institute) Anto (Charles University) Argyroulis (University of Luxembourg) Arieli (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) Armstrong (University of Western Ontario)

B

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Rufat	Babayev	(Leicester University)	10D
Lucio	Baccaro	(Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)	2L 9G
Diego	Badell	(Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)	2G
Dragan	Bagic	(University of Zagreb)	6L
Ryan	Bakker	(University of Essex)	10K
Canan	Balkir	(Florida International University)	4K
Cornel	Ban	(Copenhagen Business School)	8I 10L 11H 9G
Mario	Barata	(Polytechnic of Leiria and Portucalense Institute for Legal Research)	7J
Andrew	Barnes	(Kent State University)	9C
Stefania	Baroncelli	(Free University of Bolzano/Bozen)	6E 9J
Beverly	Barrett	(University of St. Thomas, Houston)	7I
Zsofia	Barta	(University of Albany)	2L
Robert	Basedow	(London School of Economics and Political Science)	1B 4J 11L
Sharon	Baute	(University of Konstanz)	2F
Derek	Beach	(Aarhus University)	3K 6I
Laurie	Beaudonnet	(Universite de Montreal)	3G 9A
Jamie	Behrendt	(University of Groningen)	7J
Marie-Eve	Belanger	(Universite de Genve)	10D
Cline	Belot	(Sciences-Po Grenoble, Pacte)	9A
Selma	Bendjaballah	(Sciences Po Paris)	7E
Naja	Bentzen	(European Parliamentary Research Svc. / George Mason University)	10C
Maximilian	Bertamini	(Institute for International Law of Peace & Armed Conflict)	4C
Caroline	Bertram	(University of Copenhagen)	9I
Jeremy	Bierbach	(Franssen Advocaten & University of Amsterdam)	2K
A. Asli	Bilgin	(Cukurova University)	4I
Federiga	Bindi	(IWPR / University of Rome Tor Vergata)	8C 9J
Ljiljana	Biukovic	(University of British Columbia)	1J 4C
Courtney	Blackington	(University of North Carolina)	1F
Marie-Eve	Blanger	(University of Geneva)	3F 9E
Michael	Blauberger	(University of Salzburg)	1H 4A 9H 11J
Mark	Blyth	(Brown University)	2L 3L 7H
Sean	Bock	(Harvard University)	12B
Pierre	Bocquillon	(University of East Anglia)	6I
Florian	Bodamer	(Boston University)	2M
Tanja	Börzel	(Free University Berlin)	7L 8L 9H 10G
Arjen	Boin	(University of Leiden)	4A
Diane	Bolet	(University of Zurich and Durham University)	12B

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Bart	Bonikowski	(New York University)	12B
Matteo	Bonomi	(Istituto Affari Internazionali)	6E 10B
Stef	Borgers	(College of Europe)	4I
Louisa	Boulaziz	(European University Institute, Florence)	10J
Yasmine	Bouzoraa	(University of Groningen)	8L 10L
Brian	Boyle	(Loughborough University / Newcastle University)	6F 11B
Nathalie	Brack	(Universite libre de Bruxelles)	9E 10H 11M
Emiliya	Bratanova van Harten	(Lund University)	1L
Tomasz	Braun	(Lazarski University, Warsaw)	9B
Daniela	Braun	(LMU Munich)	11B
Bjorn	Bremer	(Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies	3L 8A 9G 10F
Edoardo	Bressanelli	(Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies)	2I 9E
Philipp	Broniecki	(University of Oslo)	4J 10G
Eleanor	Brooks	(University of Edinburgh)	2J
Laszlo	Bruszt	(Central European University Democracy Institute)	4E 9H
Tanja	Börzel	(Free University Berlin)	7L 10G
Edit	Bugge	(Western Norway University of Applied Sciences)	6L
Didem	Buhari-Gulmez	(Izmir Katip Celebi University)	7L
Laurie	Buonanno	(Buffalo State University)	9K
Isabell	Burmester	(University of Geneva)	3F
Graham	Butler	(Aarhus University)	3M
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Eugenia	Camacho	(Technical University of Munich)	6D
Nathan	Cambien	(University of Antwerp)	6J 7A
Sara	Canali	(College of Europe)	4I 7G
Maurizio	Carbone	(University of Glasgow)	4L 8C
Giuseppe	Carteny	(MZES, University of Mannheim)	11B
Pablo Jose	Castillo Ortiz	(University of Sheffield)	10J
Denita	Cepiku	(University of Rome Tor Vergata)	1J
Michele	Chang	(College of Europe)	4E 8I 11M
Sivaram	Cheruvu	(University of Texas at Dallas)	3G 11L
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(University of Coimbra)

(Nova University Lisbon)

(Technical University of Munich)

(Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca)

Moara

Robert

Natalia

Alice

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Eugenia	da Conceicao-Heldt	(Technical University of Munich)	8A
Mads	Dagnis Johansen	(Copenhagen Business School)	6D 10D
August	Danielson	(Uppsala University)	2G
Louise	Davidson-Schmich	(University of Miami)	4K
Mai'a	Davis Cross	(Northeastern University)	4F 5C 6C 12K
Mark	Dawson	(Hertie School)	11L
Lisanne	de Blok	(Utrecht University)	8B
Iskander	De Bruycker	(Maastricht University)	7F 8K
Willem	de Koster	(Erasmus University Rotterdam)	2F
Rik	de Ruiter	(Leiden University)	2D 11C
Catherine	De Vries	(Bocconi University)	1G 3A 5A 10F
Pieter	de Wilde	(Norwegian University of Science and Technology)	7F 9A
J. Michael	Dedmon	(Syracuse University)	10I
Ayşenur	Değer	(Syracuse University)	8L
Tom	Delreux	(UCLouvain)	1K
Donato	Di Carlo	(Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)	8H
Alfredo	Di Feo	(European University Institute)	3K
Hylke	Dijkstra	(University of Maastricht)	4F 5D
Antoaneta	Dimitrova	(Leiden University)	1F 7L
Roberto	Dominguez	(Suffolk University)	3D
Lara	Dose	(Ludwig Maximilian University Munich)	12E
Carolyn	Dudek	(Hofstra University)	8L
Joseph	Dunne	(European Parliament Liaison Office)	3H 10C
Claire	Dupuy	(UCLouvain)	2F 9A
Sophie	Dura	(University of Amsterdam)	2K 6J
Joanna	Dyduch	(Jagiellonian University)	10B
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Joseph	Earsom	(UCLouvain)	1K
Michelle	Egan	(American University)	6H 8H
Edgars	Eihmanis	(European University Institute)	2L
Lief	Eliasson	(East Stroudsburg University)	3H 4H
Mads	Elkjr	(University of Oxford)	10I
Cassandra	Emmons	(Harvard University)	1H 9H
Andreas	Eriksen	(OsloMet)	6D
Anastasia	Ershova	(Leiden University)	10G
Francis	Espinoza-Figueroa	(The Catholic University of the North)	10D

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Adam	Fagan	(King's College London)	10H
Elaine	Fahey	(City, University of London)	3H 3I 4H 6G
Helena	Farrand Carrapico	(Northumbria University)	4D 8M
Adrian	Favell	(University of Leeds)	10E Plenary 3
Zoltan	Fazekas	(Copenhagen Business School)	11B
Alina	Felder	(University of Bamberg)	2D
Inga Aenne	Feldmann	(Free University of Berlin)	9G
Filip	Fila	(Institute for Social Research)	6L
Ernesto	Fiocchetto	(Florida International University)	12J

Nora	Fisher-Onar	(University of San Francisco)	1C 6K
Joshua	Fjelstul	(The University of Geneva)	11L
John Erik	Fossum	(University of Oslo)	2E 8E 11F
Marion	Foster	(The University of Texas at Austin)	7G
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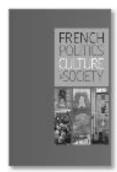
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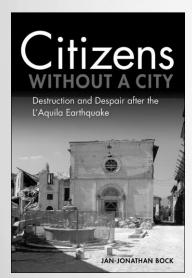




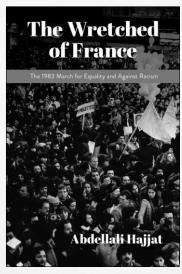
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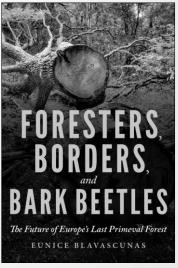
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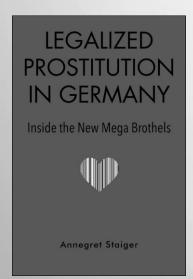
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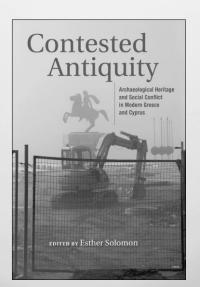


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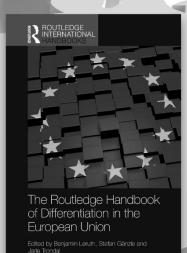
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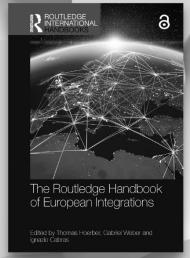


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