

17th BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# European Union Studies Association

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## CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE CHAIRS

**Stephanie Hofmann, Co-chair**, European University Institute

**Catherine De Vries, Co-chair**, Bocconi University

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## CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEMBERS

**Elaine Fahey**, City, University London

**Sara Wallace Goodman**, University of California Irvine

**Dan Keleman**, Rutgers University

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**Sophie Meunier**, Princeton University

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**Christina Schneider**, University of California San Diego

**Jae-Jae Spoon**, University of Pittsburgh

**Milada Vachudova**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**Sara Wallace Goodman, Chair**, University of California Irvine

**Elaine Fahey**, City, University London

**Stephanie Hofmann**, European University Institute

**Dan Keleman**, Rutgers University

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**Kaija Schilde**, Boston University

**Jae-Jae Spoon**, ex officio, University of Pittsburgh

**Milada Vachudova**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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

## SPECIAL EVENTS

### 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)

**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**

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### 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.**

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### 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 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)

THURSDAY, May 19, 2022

**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)

*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: **Dimitar 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)

*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)

THURSDAY, May 19, 2022

**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: **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**

*Merrick II*

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

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 Parliamentary 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)

*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)

*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*

*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 Haegel** (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 Babeş-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**

*Star Isle*

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*

**Zsafia 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)

**Frédéric Mérand** (University of Montreal)

THURSDAY, May 19, 2022

**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)

*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** (Université de Montréal)

*Big Politics, Small Money -Eurocepticism'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)

*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?*

**Dana 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.**

*Gusman*

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*

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 Bind? How Global Finance Shapes City-level Growth Models*

**Mark Blyth** (Brown University)

**Aidan Regan** (University College Dublin)

**Nicolo Fraccaroli** (Brown University)

*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)

*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)

THURSDAY, May 19, 2022

**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)

*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 Blauburger** (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)

#### 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 Piroška** (Central European University Vienna)

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

**László 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)

**Jonathan Schnock** (College of Europe)

**Stef Borgers** (College of Europe)

**Adela Pinte** (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*

FRIDAY, May 20, 2022

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

*Continental breakfast will be provided in the lobby near the café rooms from 8:15 – 9:15 a.m.*

**5A Teaching the EU Café: Teaching European Politics**

*Gusman*

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**

*Bayfront Ballroom*

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

**5C Getting Published Café: Advice from Editors**

*Dupont*

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)

FRIDAY, May 20, 2022

**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)

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

**Ioannis Vergioglou** (ETH Zurich)

**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

*Hibiscus Isle*

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*

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)

**6G Book Discussion: The EU and its Member States' Joint Participation in International Agreements** *Crandon*

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: **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: **Luigi Lonardo** (University College Cork)

*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)

**Daniela Huber** (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

**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)

*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)

**Ben Geys** (Norwegian Business School)

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

**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

*Tuttle*

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*

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

Discussant: TBD

*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/Ghent University)

## 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)

FRIDAY, May 20, 2022

**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 Tecnológico Autónomo de México)

*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*

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

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

*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 Market and Member States' Response to Rising Unemployment during the COVID-19 Pandemic*

**André Sønstevoid** (Innland University Norway)

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

*Bayfront Ballroom*

Chair and 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)

**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)

**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 Bouzora** (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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*University of Wisconsin Madison*

*Virginia Tech*



SATURDAY, May 21, 2022

**PANEL SESSION NINE**

**8:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.**

*Continental breakfast will be provided in the Junior Ballroom Foyer from 8 – 9 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*

**Dimitër 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)

*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 Snegovaya** (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** (Université 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** (ARAIID/Universidad de Zaragoza)

*A Truly EU Common Diplomacy for a New International Era*

**Ignacio Molina Álvarez de Cienfuegos** (Universidad Autónoma 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: **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: **Erik Jones** (Johns Hopkins University)

*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***

*Hibiscus Isle*

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*

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

*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)

SATURDAY, May 21, 2022

**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 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)

*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 Retzl** (Bocconi University)

## 10G Contesting the European Union

*Dupont*

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)

**Miriam Hartlapp** (Free University Berlin)

**Lukas Obholzer** (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*

Chair: **Marta Lorimer** (London School of Economics)

Chair: **Marianna Griffini** (King's College London)

Discussant: **Nathalie Brack** (Université libre 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)

## 10J Challenges to the Rule of Law in Europe

*Merrick I*

Chair: **Marlene Wind** (University of Copenhagen)

Chair: **Regitze Røhlffing** (University of Copenhagen)

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

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

**Urska Sadl** (European University Institute (EUI))

**Silje 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 Røhlffing** (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)

**Jonathan Polk** (Lund University)

**Dave Armstrong** (University of Western Ontario)

**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 Bouzora** (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:*

<b>Liesbet Hooghe</b>	(University of North Carolina)
<b>Mark Pollack</b>	(Temple University)
<b>Timothy Garton Ash</b>	(Oxford University)
<b>Federica Mogherini</b>	(College of Europe)
<b>Adrian Favell</b>	(University of Leeds)

SATURDAY, May 21, 2022

**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*

**Siyao Li** (University of Pennsylvania)

**Abraham Newman** (Georgetown University)

*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)

### 11F EU External Relations

*Godfrey*

Chair and Discussant: **TBD**

*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/Ghent University)

## 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: **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 Fjellstul** (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)

SATURDAY, May 21, 2022

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-Nogues** (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)

## INDEX OF PARTICIPANTS

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

### B

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
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
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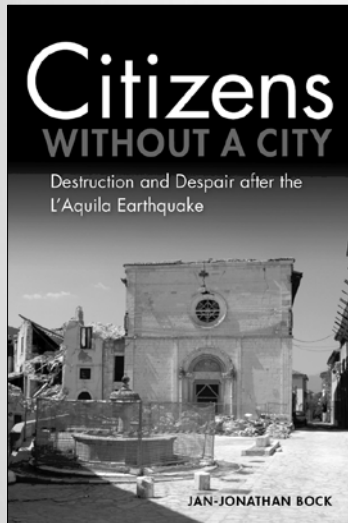


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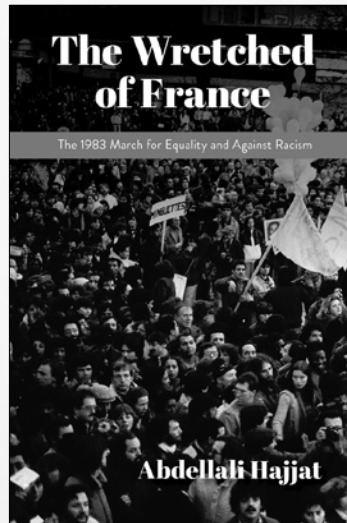


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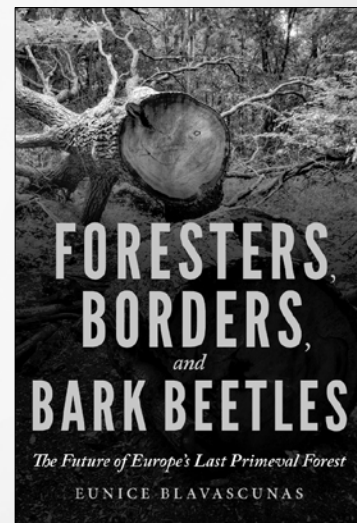
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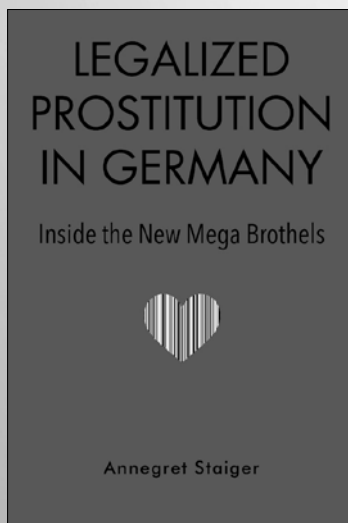
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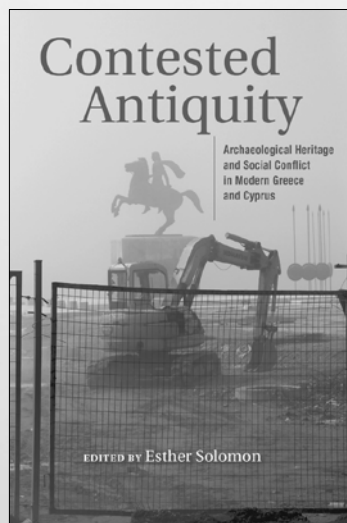
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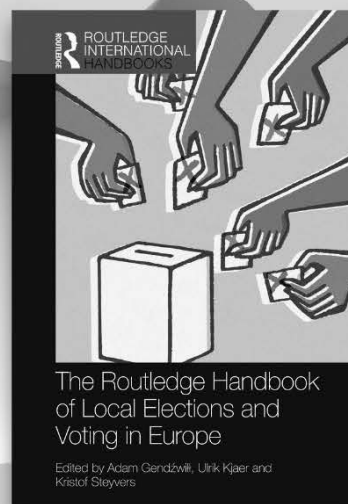
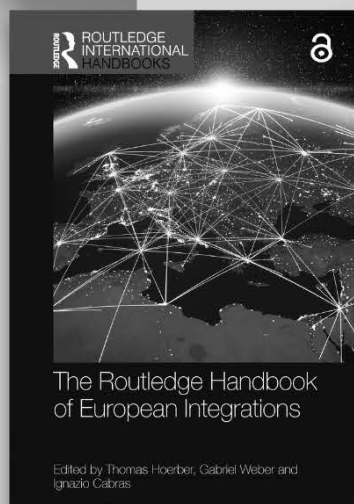
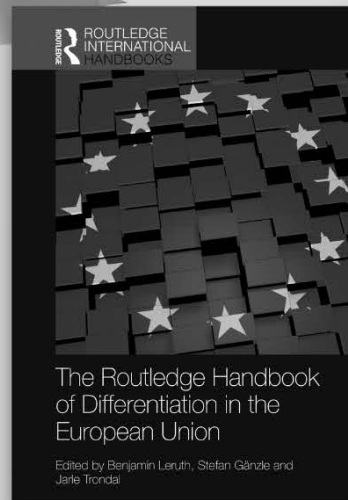
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This floor plan illustrates the layout of the Biltmore Hotel Ballroom and its adjacent spaces. The central feature is the large **BAYFRONT BALLROOM**, which is divided into sections **A** and **B**. To the left of the ballroom are several smaller rooms: **GODFREY**, **CRANDON**, **BOARD ROOM**, **DEERING**, **FISHER**, **MARTI**, and a **JUNIOR BALLROOM** which includes **GUSMAN**, **TUTTLE**, and **DUPONT** areas. Above the ballroom is the **SEVILLA** room. To the right of the ballroom is the **LOBBY LOUNGE**, which contains a **FRONT DESK**, **CONCIERGE**, and **ELEVATORS**. Adjacent to the lobby lounge are the **GIFT SHOP** and **STARBUCKS**. The plan also shows the **TRADE ROOM**, **FLAGLER**, **MERRICK I**, **MERRICK II**, **GROVE**, and **FEDEX BUSINESS OFFICE**. Restrooms are indicated by male and female symbols, and a wheelchair-accessible entrance is marked with a wheelchair icon. The plan is oriented with North at the top.