

# European Union Studies Association

## **19th Biennial Conference**

May 8-10, 2025

Philadelphia PA  
Sonesta Philadelphia Rittenhouse Square

**Dear EUSA members,**

On behalf of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Executive Committee and Program Committee, it is my pleasure to welcome you to Philadelphia for the 19th Biennial EUSA Conference. We come together at a dire moment in Transatlantic Relations. The US President declared earlier this year that, "The European Union was formed to screw the United States." His administration has slapped hefty tariffs on the EU as part of its global trade war, threatened to withdraw American security guarantees from Europe, and sided with Russia over its war of aggression with Ukraine. While there have of course been prior rifts in transatlantic relations, nothing we have seen before approaches the profound break we are witnessing. It seems that the post-WWII era is truly over.

Against this background, the work of EUSA is more important than ever. Indeed, with democracy and academic freedom under attack on both sides of the Atlantic, bringing together hundreds of scholars from a host of countries to share our research on European integration is almost an act of defiance. With our governments mired in intractable conflicts, it is vital that we - as scholars and policy-practitioners - continue to foster transatlantic exchanges and to forge new partnerships. EUSA has long been one of the premier scholarly and professional associations focusing solely on the European Union, the ongoing integration process, and transatlantic relations, and we will not be deterred from pursuing our mission.

We thank you all sincerely for making the journey to Philadelphia for this conference. At this tense moment for American democracy and transatlantic relations, it is fitting for EUSA to be convening in Philadelphia, the birthplace of American democracy and a city founded by William Penn - who was also the first thinker to suggest the establishment of a European Parliament. Our conference venue offers easy access by foot or public transit to Philadelphia's many outstanding historic, cultural, and culinary attractions. We hope you'll enjoy them.

I want to thank our conference program chairs (Elaine Fahey and Federiga Bindi) and section chairs (Natasha Wunsch, Lenka Bustikova, Ferdinand Wollenschläger, Sophie Meunier, Kaija Schilde, Amie Kreppel and Mark Copelovitch) for organizing such a rich, dynamic program. In addition to all of our panels, we are pleased to be hosting a number of exciting plenary events, including an Address by EU Ambassador to the US Jovita Neliupšienė, a panel to honor the winners of our Lifetime Achievement Award in EU Studies - Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (followed by a reception in their honor sponsored by the University of North Carolina and the European University Institute) a Journal of European Integration Annual Lecture by Kathleen McNamara, and a Conference Reception sponsored by The Journal of European Integration and The Joseph H. Lauder Institute of Management & International Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

Thank you so much to all of our sponsors and to all of you for making this 19th Biennial EUSA Conference possible. Finally, a huge thanks to EUSA Executive Director Joe Figliulo for all his hard work making this conference a reality, and to EUSA's long-time institutional home, the University of Pittsburgh's University Center for International Studies, for its years of generous support.

**R. Daniel Kelemen**

McCourt School of Public Policy, Georgetown University and Chair, EUSA Executive Committee

# SPECIAL EVENTS

THURSDAY MAY 8, 2025

12:00 p.m. - 1:00 p.m. **Address by EU Ambassador to the US Jovita Neliupšienė** **Wyeth C**

5:30 p.m. - 5:45 p.m. **Awards Presentations** **Benton Room**

Caroline Bertram	Louisa Boulaziz	Buket Buse Demirci	Olivia Cocking
Christian Freudlsperger	Lyder Hermansen	Simon Hix	Bjørn Høyland
Jana Lipps	Tommaso Pavone	Frank Schimmelfennig	Koen Sloopmaeckers
	Silje Synnøve	Aydin Yildirim	

(Please see back cover for list of recipients and awards.)

5:45 p.m. – 7:15 p.m. **EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award Panel** **Benton Room**

Recipients: **Liesbet Hooghe** and **Gary Marks**

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

Participants

**Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

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

**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)

**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich)

7:15 p.m. – 8:15 p.m. **Lifetime Achievement Award Reception** **Wyeth A-B & Foyer**

Sponsored by:

**The University of North Carolina** and the **European University Institute**

FRIDAY MAY 9, 2025

12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. **EU Law and Politics: The Court of Justice of the EU and its Evolution** **Wyeth C**

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

Participants:

**Dan Kelemen** (Georgetown University)

**Katerina Linos** (UC Berkeley)

**Roberto Mastroianni** (Univ. of Naples "Federico II" and General Court of the EU)

**Fernanda Nicola** (American University)

**Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m. **Journal of European Integration Annual Lecture** **Wyeth C**

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

Speaker: **Kate McNamara**

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. **2025 EUSA Conference Reception** **Wyeth A-B & Foyer**

Sponsored by:

**The Journal of European Integration**

**Univ of Pennsylvania Lauder Institute of Management & International Studies**

# THURSDAY, MAY 8, 2025

Registration desk: 7:30am-5pm

## Session 1 – Thursday – 8:30-10am

### 1B Room - Whistler B

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

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

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

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

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

**Spyros Blavoukos** (Athens Univ. of Econ. and Business)  
**Giorgio Oikonomou** (Hellenic Open University)

*Regional Groupings and the Dynamics of Experimentalist Governance: Do EU Macro-regional Strategies make ‘Regional Institutions’*

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

### 1C Room - Wyeth A

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

Chair and Discussant: **Armin Seimel** (Univ. of Amsterdam)  
Discussant: **Alec Cali** (Heidelberg University)

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

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

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

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

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

**Aleksandra Sojka** (University Carlos III of Madrid)

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

**Philipp König** (Saarland University)

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

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

### 1D Room - Wyeth B

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

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

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

**Pauline Thinus** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

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

**Michael Blauburger** (University of Salzburg)  
**Ulrich Sedelmeier** (London School of Economics)

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

**Gisela Hernández** (IPP-CSIC)

### 1E Room - Wyeth C

#### European Integration in the Geopolitical Age (I)

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

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

**Christian Freudlsperger** (ETH Zurich)  
**Pit Rieger** (ETH Zurich)  
**Lucas Schramm** (LMU Munich)

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

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

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

*EU Collective Security Beyond NATO*

**Veronica Anghel** (European University Institute)

**Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

*Geopolitical rebordering? Great power rivalry and external boundary formation in the European Union*

**Buket Buse Demirci** (ETH Zurich)

**Christian Freudlsperger** (ETH Zurich)

**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zurich)

### 1G Room - Benton

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

Chair: **Stephanie Anderson** (University of Wyoming)

Discussant: **Marco Amici** (Univ. of Rome -- Tor Vergata)

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

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

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

**Kaija Schilde** (Boston University)

*Coordinating Cybersecurity in the Transatlantic Relationship*

**Stephanie Anderson** (University of Wyoming)

### 1H Room - Homer

#### Panic, neglect, and creativity in European Union Health Law

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

*EU Pandemic Preparedness: legal and policy dimensions*

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

*The EU as a Global Health Actor*

**Scarlett McArdle** (University of Nottingham)

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

**Scott Greer** (University of Michigan)

*The European Union and Planetary Health Politics*

**Ian Manners** (Lund University)

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

**Óscar Fernández** (Maastricht University)

### 1J Room - Whistler A

#### Crises and European Integration

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

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

**Nuno Gama Pinto** (University Institute of Lisbon. ISG - Business & Economics School)

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

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

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

**Achim Hurrelmann** (Carleton University)

*Constant Turbulence: How Persistent Crises Define the European Union*

**Mads Dagnis Jensen** (Copenhagen Business School)

**Michael Kluth** (Roskilde University)

**Kennet Lynggard** (Roskilde University)

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

**Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis** (University of Galway)

**Kyriakos Revelas** (EU Official, EEAS (former))

### 1K Room - Warhol

#### Financing Sustainability in the European Union

Chair and Discussant: **Martijn Huysmans** (Utrecht Univ.)

*Sustainable finance in development assistance - the European Union perspective*

**Karina Jędrzejowska** (University of Warsaw)

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

**Scott Hamilton** (University of Antwerp)

**Dirk De Bièvre** (University of Antwerp)

**Toon Van Os** (University of Antwerp)

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

**Ihor Moshenets** (Central European University)

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

**Robert Zbiral** (Masaryk University)

## 1L Room - Hopper

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

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

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

*A comprehensive analysis of local governments' Europeanisation*  
**Hans Vollaard** (Utrecht University School of Governance)

*Croatian Border Regions and Processes of Europeanization*  
**Nikola Petrović** (Institute for Social Research Zagreb)  
**Lana Peternel** (Institute for Social Research Zagreb)  
**Josip Bilić** (Institute for Social Research Zagreb)  
**Filip Fila** (Institute for Social Research Zagreb)

*Implementation of the Europeanization Process in Selected Croatian Urban and Rural Settlements*  
**Anđelina Svirčić Gotovac** (Inst. for Social Research Zagreb)  
**Jelena Zlatač Gamberozić** (Inst. for Social Research Zagreb)  
**Anamaria Klasić** (Institute for Social Research Zagreb)

*Managing Overtourism in EU Cities: Cultural Identity and the Limits of Economic Freedoms*  
**Rana Sami Touseef** (University of Antwerp)

## Session 2 – Thursday 10:15am-11:45am

### 2A Room - Wyeth C

#### The Deep Structure of Transatlantic Relations Part I

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

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

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

*Mapping the Legal Form and Outcomes of the EU-US Trade and Technology Council: Legal Convergence in an Era of Delegalisation*  
**Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges, University of London)

*The Transatlantic Commons and The Constitutive Effect of the Transatlantic Relationship*

**Veronica Anghel** (European University Institute)

**Erik Jones** (EUI)

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

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

**Tony Mueller** (Technical University of Munich)

*Transatlantic cooperation and conflict in space*

**Lars Gjesvik** (NUPI)

**Marianne Riddervold** (Univ. of Oslo, NUPI/UC Berkeley)

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

**Stefan A. Schirm** (Ruhr University Bochum)

### 2C Room - Whistler B

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

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

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

*Transatlantic Relations and Security After Brexit*  
**Federiga Bindi** (University of Rome Tor Vergata)

*European social policy after Brexit*  
**Scott Greer** (University of Michigan)

*EU law after Brexit*  
**Jessica Guth** (Leeds Trinity University)

*Citizenship and migration policy after Brexit*  
**Willem Maas** (York University)

### 2D Room - Homer

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

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

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

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

*'Navigating Inertia: a Transatlantic Perspective on the EU's Middle East policy (2022-2025)*

**Marie Ketterlin** (College of Europe)

**Ian Lesser** (German Marshall Fund of the United States)

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

**Luis Matos** (College of Europe)

**Virginie Van Ingelgom** (UC Louvain)

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

**Nina Guibère** (College of Europe)

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

**Luis Matos** (College of Europe)

**Sofia Torres Bizou** (College of Europe)

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

**Paula Álvarez Vidal** (College of Europe)



**2E Room - Warhol**

**Open EU - Decolonising EU Law for an Open EU**

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

*Decolonization in Africa and EU Law*

**Akasemi Newsome** (University of California Berkeley)

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

**Janine Silga** (Dublin City College)

**2F Room - Wyeth A**

**Dynamics of Euroscepticism**

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

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

**Anders Ejrnæs** (Roskilde University)

**Mads Dagnis Jensen** (Copenhagen Business School)

**Suen Wang** (Aalborg University)

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

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

**Andrea Wagner** (MacEwan University)

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

**Almila Basak** (Syracuse University)

**Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

*Support for Eurosceptic Parties Among Young Voters*

**Catherine De Vries** (Bocconi University)

**Pietro Galeone** (Bocconi University)

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

**Aleksandra Sojka** (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid)

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

**2G Room - Wyeth B**

**Implementing the Recovery and Resilience Facility: determinants, effects and lessons**

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

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

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

**Marie-Thérèse Wilhelm** (Pompeu Fabra University)

**Joan Miró** (Pompeu Fabra University)

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

**Markus Haverland** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

**Lea Becher** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

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

**Andrea Capati** (LUISS Guido Carli University)

**Thomas Christiansen** (LUISS Guido Carli University)

**Ana Mar Fernández-Pasarín** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

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

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

**David Bokhorst** (European University Institute)

**Edgars Eihmanis** (University of Tartu)

**2H Room - Hopper**

**Gender Mainstreaming in EU Political Economy**

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

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

*Gendering EU Trade Agreements: a Holistic Analysis*

**Mary Anne Madeira** (Lehigh University)

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

**Matilde Ceron** (University of Salzburg)

*Gender budgeting in the European Union: progress and pitfalls*

**Costanza Hermanin** (European University Institute)

*EU Free Trade Agreements and Gender Equality*

**Gesa Kubek** (University of Groningen)

## 2I Room - Benton

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

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

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

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

**Andreína Hernández-Ross** (IPP-CSIC)

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

**Christophe Hillion** (University of Oslo)

**Tommaso Pavone** (University of Toronto)

**Antoinette Scherz** (Stockholm University)

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

**Soso Makaradze** (University of Salzburg)

**Ana Andguladze** (ULB)

## 2K Room - O'Keefe

### Migration, Citizenship & Identity

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

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

**Evgeny Romanovskiy** (Charles University)

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

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

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

**Fanny Tittel-Mosser** (University of Minho)

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

**Maurits van der Veen** (William & Mary)

## 2L Room - Whistler A

### Nuclear Zeitenwende: Increased salience of nuclear weapons in Europe

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

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

*Permissive Dissensus: The Nuclear Dimension of the German Zeitenwende*

**Tobias Bunde** (Hertie School)

**Michal Onderco** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

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

**Monika Sus** (Hertie School)

**Lukasz Kulesa** (RUSI)

*Polarization and support for nuclear weapons use in Europe*

**Tom Etienne** (University of Pennsylvania)

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

**Rabia Akhtar** (University of Lahore & Harvard University)

**12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Room - Wyeth C**

Address by EU Ambassador to the US

**Jovita Neliupšienė**

**1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Afternoon Break**

## Session 3 – Thursday - 2:00-3:30pm

## 3B Room - O'Keefe

### The Normative Power Question

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

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

**Chiara Bonaiuti** (Newcastle Univ. and IRES CGIL Toscana)

**Luca Bortolotti** (U of Bologna- Faculty of Political Science)

*Sovereignty of the European Union: Between norm and practice*

**Josip Bilić** (Institute for Social Research in Zagreb)

*The Polity-Building Role of Mobility Rights*

**Turkuler Isiksel** (Columbia University)



**3C Room - Wyeth C**

**Roundtable on Arrival of Normative Power in Planetary Politics**

Chair: **Ian Manners** (Lund University)  
 Chair: **Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (European University Institute)  
 Discussant: **Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)

*Arrival of Normative Power in Planetary Politics*  
**Ian Manners** (Lund University)

*The Third Democratic Transformation: From European to Planetary Politics*  
**Kalypso Nicolaïdis** (European University Institute)

*Nakedly Normative: A Feminist (Re-)Imagination of Planetary Politics*  
**Roberta Guerrina** (University of Bristol)  
**Maxine David** (Leiden University)  
**Katharine Wright** (Newcastle University)

**3D Room - Homer**

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

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

*Transatlantic Trade: Challenges and Opportunities*  
**L. Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University)

*Evolution of the European Parliament Liaison Office in Washington DC - seeking attention from and engagement with the US Congress*  
**Joseph Dunne** (George Washington University)

*The US, Brexit and Irish Influence*  
**Mary C. Murphy** (Boston College)

*The New US-EU Relationship: Unintended Implications for Business*  
**Terrence Guay** (Pennsylvania State University)

**3E Room - Whistler B**

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

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

*Three shades of "Italian Style"*  
**Fernanda Nicola** (American University, Washington College of Law)

*Who are the Italian jurists "landing" on the Kirchberg plateau?*  
**Lorenzo Cecchetti** (Luiss University)

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

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

*The quest for the effectiveness of EU law-derived rights*  
**Daniele Gallo** (Luiss University)

**3F Room - Warhol**

**Borders, enlargement and the future of the EU**

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

*Enlargement and the Western Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities for EU Decision Making*  
**Christophe Crombez** (Stanford University)  
**Matthieu Vanderschommen** (KU Leuven)

*Acceding to 'social Europe'? Montenegro and the social dimension of EU enlargement*  
**Sven Schreurs** (European University Institute)

*A European Union open to new members? Prospects for Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia*  
**Maurits van der Veen** (William & Mary)

**3H Room - Hopper**

**Intercontinental Climate Finance Cooperation**

Chair: **Sarah Bracking** (King's College London)  
 Discussant: **Ruyuan Liu** (King's College London)  
 Discussant: **Silvia Zinolli** (Pisa University)

*Expanding liquidity for climate finance: beyond traditional public and private forms of delivery*  
**Sarah Bracking** (King's College London)

*Ethics-based Climate Impact Finance. Mechanisms of Innovative Governance*  
**Tomasz Braun** (Lazarski University)

*Using Natural Language Processing for Measuring the Effectiveness of Climate Finance Policy Diffusion: A Computational Approach to Public Policy Analysis*  
**Ruyuan Liu** (King's College London)  
**Zhenzhu Li** (Imperial College London)  
**Hanqi Yan** (King's College London)

*Reclaiming Value Beyond GDP: Labor and Social Sustainability*  
**Silvia Zinolli** (Pisa University)

*EU Development Banks' Influence on Commercial Bank Rate of Return: A Difference-in-Difference Analysis*  
**Ruyuan Liu** (King's College London)  
**Fangyuan Kou** (Exeter University)

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

Chair: **Eli Gateva** (University of Oxford)  
 Discussant: **Daniel Hegedus** (German Marshall Fund)

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

**Lenka Bustikova** (University of Florida)  
**Katarzyna Grzybowska-Walecka** (EUI)  
**Payton Capes-Davis** (U of Florida)

*East-West Divide in the European strategic autonomy debate*  
**Monika Sus** (Hertie School & Polish Academy of Sciences)

*Rethinking Europe's East-West Divide and European Integration*  
**Eli Gateva** (University of Oxford)

*Russia's Lawfare on the EU: Twisted Inclusion and Exclusion Strategies in the European Security Agenda*  
**Sergii Glebov** (University of California-Irvine)

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

Chair: **Pauline Thinus** (ULB)  
 Discussant: **Michael Blauburger** (University of Salzburg)

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

**Sivaram Cheruvu** (University of Texas - Dallas)  
**Tommaso Pavone** (University of Toronto)

*Talking About the Frozen EU Funds: The Hungarian Government's Framing Strategies*  
**Kinga Koranyi** (Hertie School)

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

**Pablo Castillo-Ortiz** (University of Sheffield)  
**Gisela Hernández** (IPP-CSIC)  
**Juan Antonio Mayoral** (UC3M)

### 3K Room - Whistler A Migration, Citizenship & Identity - Challenges for Integration

Chair: **Megan Brown** (Swarthmore College)  
 Discussant: **Helga Luku** (University of Antwerp)

*Moral-Emotional Politics on TikTok*

**Marcos Echevarria-Eirea** (University of North Carolina)

*Regionalist Strategies for Migrant Inclusion Positions*

**Stephanie Shady** (Washington University in St. Louis)

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

**Monika Oberle** (Goethe University Frankfurt)  
**Lisa Beck-Vogt** (Goethe University Frankfurt)

*The Ambivalence of Solidarity and the Language of Law*

**Isabella Trombetta** (New York University)  
**Jaya Ramji-Nogales** (Temple University)  
**Seán Binder**

### 3L Room - Wyeth B The European Union's cooperation with third countries in the era of geopolitics

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

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

**Helene Sjørusen** (ARENA Centre for European Studies)

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

**Kaija Schilde** (Pardee School of Global Studies)

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

**Mitchell Orenstein** (University of Pennsylvania)  
**Nicholas Beauchamp** (Northeastern University)

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

**Ana Juncos** (University of Bristol)  
**Marianna Lovato** (Jagiellonian University)  
**Karolina Pomorska** (Leiden University)

## Session 4 – Thursday - 3:45p-5:15pm

### 4A Room - Wyeth C

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

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

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

**Kathleen McNamara** (Georgetown Univ.)

**Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

**Liesbet Hooghe** (UNC and EUI)

**Gary Marks** (UNC and EUI)

### 4B Room - Warhol

#### The EU addressing migrant labor realities: reconceptualizing traditional migration management

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

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

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

**Tesseltje De Lange** (Radboud University)

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

**Colleen Boland** (Radboud University)

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

**Annette Schrauwen** (University of Amsterdam)

**Dina A. Fattah** (The American University Cairo)

**Tesseltje De Lange** (Radboud University, Netherlands)

### 4C Room - Wyeth B

#### The Struggle for Europe's Geoeconomic Future

Chair and Discussant: **Sophie Meunier** (Princeton Univ.)

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

**Pawel Frankowski** (Jagiellonian University)

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

**Matthias Matthijs** (Johns Hopkins University)

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

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

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

**Jonas Heering** (Georgetown University)

**Guillaume Baumier** (ENAP)

**Abraham Newman** (Georgetown University)

*Crises and Post Neoliberal EU : The Multidirectional Expansion of Policy Objectives in Market-Driven EU Electricity and Digital Infrastructure Policies*

**Emmanuelle Mathieu** (University of Lausanne)

**Noel Lócse** (University of Lausanne)

**Colin Pache** (University of Lausanne)

### 4D Room - Wyeth A

#### Comparative Federalism of Single Markets in the US and the EU

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

Discussant: **Philipp Genschel** (EUI)

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

**Katarzyna Andrejuk** (Polish Academy of Sciences)

**Trym Fjærtøft** (University of Oslo)

**Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

**Susanne Schmidt** (University of Bremen)

**Andy Smith** (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

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

**Katarzyna Andrejuk** (Polish Academy of Sciences)

**Tobias Bach** (University of Oslo)

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

**Susanne Schmidt** (University of Bremen)

**Andy Smith** (Sciences Po Bordeaux)

**Jarle Trondal** (University of Oslo)

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

**Martin Moland** (Hertie School)

**Nicholas Jacobs** (Colby College)

**Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

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

**John Erik Fossum** (University of Oslo)

**Nicholas Jacobs** (Colby College)

**Craig Parsons** (University of Oregon/University of Oslo)

THURSDAY MAY 8, 2025

#### 4E Room - Whistler B

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

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

*Revisiting National EU Coordination after Lisbon and an era of Crisis*

**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)

**Eva Heidbreder** (Otto-von Guericke Universität)

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

**Eva Heidbreder** (Otto-von Guericke Universität)

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

**Jean-Michel Eymeri-Douzans** (Sciences Po Toulouse)

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

**Peter Bursens** (University of Antwerp)

#### 4F Room - Homer

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

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

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

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

**Michal Onderco** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

**Ulrich Kühn** (University of Hamburg)

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

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

**Tuomas Iso-Markku** (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

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

**Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré** (LUISS)

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

#### 4G Room - Hopper

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

Chair: **Michael Blauberger** (University of Salzburg)

Discussant: **Pietro Galeone** (Bocconi University)

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

**Sven Schreurs** (European University Institute)

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

**Maria Kotsoni** (Princeton University)

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

**Katarzyna Clapinska** (Warsaw University)

**Constantin Ciorba** (Paris Pantheon Assas)

*Commodification and the protection of labour rights in the EU*

**Konstantinos Alexandris Polomarkakis** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

#### 4H Room - Whistler A

##### Misusing Legal Comparison: Challenges for the European Rule of Law

Chair: **Fernanda Nicola** (American University)

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

Participants: **Mariavittoria Catanzariti** (Univ. of Padova)

**Jessica Guth** (Leeds Trinity University)

**Roberto Mastroianni**

(Naples University, General Court CJEU)

**Lorenzo Cecchetti** (KU Leuven, LUISS)

#### 4I Room - Cassatt

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

Chair and Discussant: **Karolina Pomorska** (Leiden Univ.)

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

**Vadym Zheltovskyy** (University of Warsaw)

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

**Doris Wydra** (Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies)

**Andrea Gawrich** (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

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

**Anna Osypchuk** (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)

**Anton Suslov** (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)



**4J Room O’Keefe**

**Europe and beyond: EU influence and reach**

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

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

**Giada D’Andrea** (University of Surrey)

*The Two Geopolitical Models of Autocratization in the European Union*

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

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

**Marek Neuman** (University of Groningen)

**Senka Neuman Stanivukovic** (University of Groningen)

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

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

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

**4K Room - Benton**

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

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

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

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

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

*Parliamentary discursive stances towards democratic innovations in EU policy-making*

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

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

**Ioanna Christodoulaki** (University of Wrocław)

**THURSDAY EVENING SPECIAL EVENTS**

**5:30 p.m. - 5:45 p.m. Room - Benton**

**Awards Presentations to**

Caroline Bertram	Louisa Boulaziz
Buket Buse Demirci	Olivia Cocking
Christian Freudlsperger	Lyder Hermansen
Simon Hix	Bjørn Høyland
Jana Lipps	Tommaso Pavone
Frank Schimmelfennig	Koen Sloopmaeckers
Silje Synnøve	Aydin Yildirim

**5:45 p.m. – 7:15 p.m. Room - Benton**

**EUSA Lifetime Achievement Award Panel**

Recipients: **Liesbet Hooghe** and **Gary Marks**

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

Participants

**Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)

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

**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)

**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich)

**7:15 p.m. – 8:15 p.m. Room - Wyeth A-B & Foyer**

**Lifetime Achievement Award Reception**

Sponsored by

**The University of North Carolina  
European University Institute**



# FRIDAY, MAY 9, 2025

Registration desk: 7:30am-5pm

## Session 5 – Friday - 8:30am-10:00am

### 5A Room - Wyeth B

#### Roundtable: The work of Ernst B. Haas and its relevance in turbulent times

Chair: **Liesbet Hooghe** (UNC and EUI)  
**Thomas Risse** (Freie Universität Berlin)  
**Tanja A. Börzel** (Freie Universität Berlin)  
**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich)

### 5B Room - Whistler B

#### Book Roundtable: EU Trade and Investment Treaty-Making Post-Lisbon - Moving Beyond Mixity

Author: **Gesa Kübek** (University of Groningen)  
Discussant: **Elaine Fahey** (City St. Georges, U of London)

#### Participants:

**Gabriel Siles-Brugge** (University of Bristol)  
**Alexandros Bakos** (Hamad Bin Khalifa University)  
**Tobias Lock** (Maynooth University)

### 5C Room - Cassatt

#### EU Digital Diplomacy and Strategic Governance

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

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

**Xiangdong Chen** (Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)  
**Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis** (University of Galway)

*The EU strategic approach to digital diplomacy*

**Lea Diaz** (Murcia State University/CUNY)

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

**Zhe Ma** (Kobe University)

### 5D Room - Homer

#### EU Enlargement and Strategic Challenges in Ukraine and Moldova

Chair: **Costanza Hermanin** (European University Inst)  
Discussant: **Erik Jones** (EUI)

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

**Anne Ingemann Johansen** (Univ. of Southern Denmark)

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

**Mila Mikalay** (University College Freiburg)

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

**Tom Etienne** (University of Pennsylvania)

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

**Magdalena Frennhoff Larsén** (University of Westminster)

### 5E Room - O'Keefe

#### European Union Latin America Relations

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

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

**Arantza Gomez Arana** (Northumbria University)

*Co-Power Europe: Trade and Sustainable Development Reimagined*

**Caroline Bertram** (University of Cambridge)

*EU Critical Materials Diplomacy to Latin America*

**Roberto Dominguez** (Suffolk University)

### 5F Room - Benton

#### Interoperability in the EU: a multidisciplinary perspective I

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

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

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

**Laurène Le Cozanet** (European University Institute)

*Interoperable Secrecy in European Data Law*

**Deirdre Curtin** (European University Institute)

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

**Federica Casarosa** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna/EUI)

**Pelin Turan** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

### 5G Room - Whistler A

#### Decision-making at the Court of Justice of the European Union

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

*Do International Court Rulings affect Public Support for International Organizations?*

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

*Better judges? How appointment procedures influence judicial performance*

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

*How labor-friendly are CJEU judges?*

**Andreas Hofmann** (Leiden University)

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

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

### 5H Room - Warhol

#### European Integration at a Crossroads: Navigating Enlargement and New Alliances

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

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

**Spasimir Domaradzki** (University of Warsaw, Poland)

*Is the "new" EU enlargement methodology already obsolete?*

**Lubomira Popova** (Sofia University)

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

**Guri Rosén** (Oslo Metropolitan University)

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

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

### 5I Room - Wyeth C

#### The Changing Dynamics of Economic Governance in the European Union

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

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

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

*Understanding the Role of Experts in Economic Governance of the EU*

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

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

**Michele Chang** (College of Europe, Bruges)

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

**Stefano Scibilia** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)  
**Markus Haverland** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)  
**Pieter Tuytens** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)  
**Asya Zhelyazkova** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

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

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

### 5J Room - Wyeth A

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

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

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

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

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

**Robert Basedow** (London School of Economics)

*Promoting Mutual Interests? European Donors and the Global Gateway*

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

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

**Sebastian Heidebrecht** (University of Vienna)

### 5K Room - Hopper

#### Politicizing and contesting European integration

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

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

**Asya Zhelyazkova** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

*More, not Less: Favoring Europe in Times of Crisis*  
**Hannah Radner** (Syracuse University)

*Set Theoretic Concept Formation and the Emergence of Time: A Concept Structural Approach to Studying Temporal Dynamics in Democracies*  
**Andreas Corcaci** (University of Antwerp)

*The Resonance Effect: Politicization and the Politics of Coalition-Building*  
**Scott Hamilton** (University of Antwerp)

## Session 6 – Friday - 10:15am-11:45am

### 6A Room - Homer

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

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

Participants:

**Roberto Mastroianni** (University of Naples “Federico II” and General Court of the EU)

**Lorenzo Cecchetti** (Luiss University)

**Bill Davies** (American University)

**Fernanda Nicola** (American University)

### 6B Room - Wyeth C

#### Understanding resource integration

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

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

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

**Alessia Invernizzi** (University of Konstanz)

**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich)

*From Borders to Boundary Rules: Governing the EU Commons*

**Veronica Anghel** (European University Institute)

**Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

*Making liberal intergovernmentalism fit for resource integration*

**Philipp Genschel** (University of Bremen)

**Markus Jachtenfuchs** (Hertie School)

### 6C Room - Wyeth B

#### Developments in National and European Parliaments

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

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

**Nicolas Bicchi** (Universität Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)

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

**Birgit Carolin Mitter** (University of Salzburg (PLUS))

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

**Simon Hix** (European University Institute)

**Bjørn Høyland** (University of Oslo)

**Abdul Noury** (NYU Abu Dhabi)

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

**Simon Hug** (University of Geneva)

**Bjørn Høyland** (University of Oslo)

### 6D Room - Whistler A

#### Intersectionality in practice: Asylum and LGBT+ issues in the EU

Chair: **Akasemi Newsome** (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

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

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

**Ernesto Fiocchetto** (FIU)

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

**Markus Thiel** (Florida International University)

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

**Daniel Kinderman** (Cornell University)

### 6E Room - Benton

#### Economic Statecraft in EU Trade and Industrial Policy

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

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

**Alexandros Bakos** (Hamad Bin Khalifa University)

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

**Nicola Chelotti** (Loughborough University)

*Sustainability Clauses in EU Trade Agreements*

**Julien Mieral** (University of Cambridge)

*Industrial Policy Integration in the EU*

**Emmanuelle Mathieu** (University of Lausanne)

**Noel Lócse** (University of Lausanne)

**Philipp Trein** (University of Lausanne)

**6F Room - Cassatt****Future Directions of EU Policy: Global and Local Dynamics**

Chair and Discussant: **Stephanie Shady** (Washington Univ)  
 Discussant: **Spasimir Domaradzki** (University of Warsaw)

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

**Andrew Aguilar** (Sciences Po CERI-CNRS)

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

**Robert Basedow** (LSE)

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

**Kalyпсо Nicolaïdis** (European University Institute)

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

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

**6G Room - O'Keefe****Issues in EU Defense**

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

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

**Derek Beach** (Aarhus University)

**Rasmus Brun Pedersen** (Aarhus University)

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

**Wout Bob Decock** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

*EU Law's Response to Global Challenges*

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

**6H Room - Warhol****Interoperability in the EU: a multidisciplinary perspective II**

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

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

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

*"Routing" European security*

**Vanessa Ugolini** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

**Rocco Bellanova** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

**Francis Hunger** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

*Unpacking the Concept of Interoperability in the EU Legal Imaginaries*

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

*Implementing JHA Database Interoperability: An Infrastructural Approach*

**Iwan Oostrom** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

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

Chair: **L. Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University)  
 Discussant: **Caroline Bertram** (University of Cambridge)

*Institutionalism, Adaptation and Trade: the Anti-Coercion Instrument*

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

**Patricia Garcia-Duran** (University of Barcelona)

*European Investment Screening Mechanisms and Differentiated Integration*

**Terrence Guay** (Pennsylvania State University)

**Michelle Egan** (American University)

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

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

**Odile Feltkamp** (Maastricht University)

*The performativity of the EU's "geoeconomic turn"*

**Gabriel Siles-Brügge** (University of Bristol)

**6K Room - Hopper****Complicit in Autocratization? The public's role in democratic backsliding**

Chair: **Andras Bozoki** (Central European University)  
 Discussant: **Tsveta Petrova** (Columbia University)

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

**Ian McManus** (Emerson College)

*Issue congruence and corruption in European environmental protection*

**Edward Fogarty** (Colgate University)

**Kevin Wallsten** (California State University - Long Beach)



*Where Supply Meets Demand for Democratic Transgressions*

**Tsveta Petrova** (Columbia University, USA)

**Natasha Wunsch** (University of Fribourg)

**Joep Van Lit** (Radboud University)

*The rise of an embedded autocracy: Hungary in the EU*

**Andras Bozoki** (Central European University)

### 6L Room - Whistler B

#### The education divide in contemporary European and US politics

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

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

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

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

**Fabienne Eisenring** (University of Zurich)

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

**Nicole Martin** (University of Manchester)

**Ralph Scott** (University of Bristol)

**Roland Kappe** (University College London)

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

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

**Jonne Kamphorst** (Stanford University)

**Julia Schulte-Cloos** (University of Marburg)

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

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

**Jonne Kamphorst** (Stanford University)

## 12:00 pm - 1:30pm Room - Wyeth C

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

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

*Participants:*

**Dan Kelemen** (Georgetown University)

**Katerina Linos** (UC Berkeley)

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

**Fernanda Nicola** (American University)

**Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

Afternoon break 1:30 pm - 2:00 pm

## Session 7 – Friday - 2:00pm-3:30pm

### 7A Room - Homer

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

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

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

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

**Zsuzsanna Végh** (PhD Researcher, European University Viadrina)

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

**Anastasia Mgaloblishvili** (PhD Researcher, Free University of Berlin)

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

**Ecaterina Locoman** (Senior Lecturer, University of Pennsylvania)

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

**Milena Romano** (University of Bath)

### 7B Room - Benton

#### Roundtable: After Brexit-Ongoing Challenges, Unresolved Questions

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

Participants:

**Anand Menon** (King's College London)

**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)

### 7C Room - Wyeth A

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

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

Discussant: **Giorgio Oikonomou** (Hellenic Open Univ.)

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

**Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)

**Kolja Raube** (University of Leuven)

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

**Óscar Fernández** (Maastricht University)



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

**Jost Morgenstern-Pomorski** (Jagiellonian University)

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

**Marianne Riddervold** (Univ. of Oslo, NUPI and UC Berkeley)

**Pernille Rieker** (Norwegian Inst. of International Affairs)

## 7D Room - Wyeth B

### A Return to Geopolitics (or Not)

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

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

**Sven Biscop** (Egmont Institute & Ghent University)

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

**Ioana-Elena Oana** (European University Institute)

**Alexandru Moise** (European University Institute)

**Zbigniew Truchlewski** (University of Amsterdam)

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

**Mila Mikalay** (University College Freiburg)

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

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

## 7E Room - Wyeth C

### The role of the European Parliament in a more polarised European Union

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

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

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

**Adina Akbik** (Leiden University)

**Lucy Kinski** (University of Salzburg)

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

**Nikoleta Yordanova** (Leiden University)

**Aleksandra Khokhlova** (Leiden University)

**Anastasia Ershova** (Queen's University Belfast)

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

**Lorane Visart** (University of Salzburg)

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

## 7G Room - O'Keefe

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

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

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

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

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

**John Scherpereel** (James Madison University)

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

**John Scherpereel** (James Madison University)

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

**Raphael Maesschalck** (University of Hamburg)

## 7H Room - Whistler A

### Digital Finance and the Euro Area

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

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

*Regulating Cryptocurrency and Euroscepticism in Europe: The Politicization of Money in Germany?*

**Peter Loedel** (West Chester University of Pennsylvania)

**Laura Suderlich** (University of Essex)

**Jeffrey Karp** (Brunel University London)

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

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

**Elena Rios Camacho** (Technical University of Munich)

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

**Lucia Quaglia** (University of Bologna)

**Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

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

**Sebastian Heidebrecht** (University of Vienna)

## 7I Room - Hopper

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

Chair: **Evgeny Postnikov** (University of Melbourne)  
 Discussant: **Johan Eliasson** (East Stroudsburg University)

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

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

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

**Evgeny Postnikov** (University of Melbourne)  
**Johan Adriaensen** (Maastricht University)

*Constructive Incrementalism of Building of the European Union International Investment Policy*

**Ljiljana Biukovic** (University of British Columbia)

*Beyond Economics: Mapping the Global Contestation of the EU's CBAM and Deforestation Regulation*

**Caroline Bertram** (University of Cambridge)

## 7J Room - Warhol

### Actors, contestation and EU democratic legitimacy

Chair: **Petia Kostadinova** (University of Illinois at Chicago)  
 Discussant: **Samantha Call** (Siena College)  
 Discussant: **Evgeny Romanovskiy** (Charles University)

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

**Thomas Winzen** (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

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

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

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

**Samantha Call** (Siena College)  
**Kari Waters** (Cornell University)

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

**Kai Steemers** (King's College London)  
**Adam Fagan** (King's College London)

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

**Niccolo Bonifai** (Georgetown University)

## 7K Room - Whistler B

### Public preferences and identity formation

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

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

**Andrea Ceron** (Università degli Studi di Milano)  
**Fabio Franchino** (Università degli Studi di Milano)  
**Alessandro Pellegata** (Università degli Studi di Milano)

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

**Martin Moland** (Hertie School)

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

**Matthieu Vanderschommen** (KU Leuven)  
**Martijn Huysmans** (Utrecht University)  
**Philippe van Gruisen** (Leiden University)

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

**Theresa Kuhn** (University of Amsterdam)  
**Armin Seimel** (University of Amsterdam)

## 7L Room - Cassatt

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

Chair: **Federiga Bindi** (University of Rome Tor Vergata)  
 Authors:  
**Marco Amici** (University of Rome Tor Vergata)  
**Agustin Moya Colorado** (Univer. Politécnica de Madrid)

## Session 8 – Friday - 3:45pm-5:15pm

### 8A Room - Benton

#### Europeanization, De-Europeanization and the Future of EU Enlargement

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

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

**Dimitris Tsarouhas** (Virginia Tech)

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

**Yannis A. Stivachtis** (Virginia Tech)

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

**Binio S. Binev** (Virginia Tech)

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

**Lee McGowan** (Queen's University Belfast)

### 8B Room - Wyeth C

#### European Integration in the Geopolitical Age (III)

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

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

*Geopolitics and the renaissance of an EU Industrial Policy*

**Michele Chang** (College of Europe)

**David Howarth** (University Luxembourg)

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

**Lorane Visart** (University Salzburg)

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

**Sophie Meunier** (Princeton University)

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

**Robert Basedow** (London School of Economics)

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

**Céleste Bonnamy** (Sciences Po Lille)

**Thomas Christiansen** (Luiss University)

**Flavia Lucenti** (Luiss University)

**Ville Sinkkonen** (Finnish Institute for International Affairs)

**Sophie Vanhoonacker** (Maastricht University)

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

**Anna Herranz Surralles** (Maastricht University)

### 8D Room - Hopper

#### The new politics of EU finance

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

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

*Bank-supervision in the EU and blame avoidance in German*

**Tal Sadeh** (Tel Aviv University)

**Gal Bitton** (Tel Aviv University)

**Yuval Hirshorn** (Tel Aviv University)

**Benjamin Daßler** (Ludwig Maximilian Univ. of Munich)

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

**Inga Anne Feldmann** (Freie University Berlin)

### 8F Room - Whistler B

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

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

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

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

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

**Maurizio Ferrera** (University of Milan)

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

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

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

**Maurizio Ferrera** (University of Milan)

**Beatrice Carella** (University of Milan)

**Davide Caprioglio** (University of Milan)

*Change against the odds: crisis policy feedback in a politicised EU*

**Waltraud Schelkle** (European University Institute)

**Ann-Kathrin Reinl** (European University Institute)

### 8G Room - Wyeth A

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

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

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

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

**G. John Ikenberry** (Princeton University)

**Thomas Risse** (Freie Universität Berlin)

*Ideology, the West, and its (Liberal) Futures*

**Gregorio Bettiza** (University of Exeter)

*Does the West need an enemy?*

**Peter Trubowitz** (London School of Economics)

**Brian Burgoon** (University of Amsterdam)

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

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

#### 8H Room - Whistler A

##### Value-based EU digital Sovereignty

Chair: **Tomasz Braun** (Lazarski University)  
 Discussant: **Dominika Harasimiuk** (University of Warsaw)

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

*Digital sovereignty in "This is Europe" debates in the European Parliament*

**Vadym Zheltovskyy** (University of Warsaw)

*Between grassroots and obstructed digitalization. The Bulgarian case for digitalization in the EU*

**Spasimir Domaradzki** (University of Warsaw)

*The European Electronic Communications Code - End-User Rights*

**Maciej Rogalski** (Lazarski University of Warsaw)

**Aneta Łazarska** (Lazarski University of Warsaw)

#### 8I Room - Homer

##### Law and policy making in the EU: contemporary issues

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

*Policy Narratives as substitutes for crises? Understanding policy change in the EU Digital Infrastructure sector.*

**Noel Lócse** (University of Lausanne)

**Emmanuelle Mathieu** (University of Lausanne)

*Too many, too complex? How the accumulation and policy design of European Union rules may affect rule takers*

**Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen** (University of Copenhagen)

**Stein Arne Brekke** (University of Copenhagen)

**Silje Hermansen** (University of Copenhagen)

*An "Open" or "Closed" European Union? A Neoclassical Analysis of the EU's "Internal Security" Policies*

**Andreas Wendlberger** (Goethe University)

*Interviewing European and International Judges*

**Katerina Linos** (University of California - Berkeley)

**Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

#### 8J Room - Wyeth B

##### European Security After Ukraine

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

*The EU and European Security in a changing multilateral structure*

**Mike Smith** (University of Warwick)

*EU Grand Strategy after Russia's invasion of Ukraine*

**Mai'a K. Davis Cross** (Northeastern University)

*EU-US-relations after Ukraine*

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

*Towards EU(ropean) Differentiated Defence Integration?*

**Pernille Rieker** (Norwegian Inst. of International Affairs)

*Unity reflex: concord before content in EU foreign policy?*

**Guri Rosén** (University of Oslo)

**Marianne Riddervold** (University of Oslo, NUPI and UC Berkeley)

#### 8K Room - Warhol

##### Migration, Citizenship & Identity - the External Dimension

Chair and Discussant: **Isabella Trombetta** (New York Univ.)

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

**Angela Tacea** (Sciences Po Grenoble)

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

**Ernesto Fiocchetto** (Florida International University)

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

**Juliette Tolay** (Penn State Harrisburg)

#### 8L Room - O'Keefe

##### European and International Public Opinion on EU Security and Foreign Policy

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

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

**Catherine De Vries** (Bocconi University)

**Stephanie Hofmann** (European University Institute)

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

**Richard Rose** (University of Strathclyde)

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

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

**Karolina Pomorska** (Leiden University)



## FRIDAY EVENING EVENTS

### 5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m. Wyeth C Journal of European Integration Annual Lecture

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

**Speaker: Kate McNamara**

### 7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. Wyeth A-B & Foyer 2025 EUSA Conference Reception

*Sponsored by  
The Journal of European Integration  
Lauder Institute, University of Pennsylvania*

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

**Christos Karetzos** (University of London)

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

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

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

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

### 9D Room - Wyeth C

#### **The normalization of the role of the European Council in the EU system.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SATURDAY MAY 10, 2025

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

### Session 9 – Saturday - 8:30-10:00am

#### 9A Room - Wyeth B

##### **Violating and Defending Fundamental Values in Europe**

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

*All the Values*

**Kim Lane Scheppele** (Princeton University)

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

**Jan Wouters** (KU Leuven)

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

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

#### 9C Room - Whistler A

##### **The EU's engagement in Trade, investment and antitrust**

Chair and Discussant: **Gabriel Siles-Brugge** (University of Bristol)

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

**Anna Wrobel** (University of Warsaw)

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 2025



## 9E Room - Cassatt

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

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

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

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

**Maurizio Carbone** (University of Glasgow)

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

**Tetsekela Anyiam-Osigwe** (Princeton University)

**Simone Dietrich** (University of Geneva)

**Alexandra Zeitz** (Concorde University)

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

**Luís Pais Bernardo** (ISCTE-IUL)

**Luís Mah** (ISCTE-IUL)

## 9F Room - O'Keefe

### EU Maritime Strategy and Regional Power Dynamics

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

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

**Oya Dursun-Ozkanca** (Elizabethtown College)

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

**Iren Marinova** (Johns Hopkins University)

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

**Yuetong Guo** (King's College London)

## 9G Room - Hopper

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

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

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

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

**Nicola Chelotti** (Loughborough University)

**Niheer Dasandi** (University of Birmingham)

**Dafni Kalatzi Pantera** (University of Birmingham)

**Slava Jankin** (Hertie School)

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

**Toon Van Os** (University of Antwerp)

**Scott Hamilton** (University of Antwerp)

**Dirk De Bièvre** (University of Antwerp)

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

**Andreas Corcaci** (University of Antwerp)

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

**Alicja Sikora-Kaléda** (Jagiellonian Univ./New York Univ.)

## 9H Room - Benton

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

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

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

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

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

## 9I Room - Wyeth A

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

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

Discussant: **Veronica Anghel** (EU)

*Shifting boundaries: EU polity formation in the polycrisis*

**Alessia Invernizzi** (University of Konstanz)

**Frank Schimmelfennig** (ETH Zürich)

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

**Jarle Trondal** (University of Agder)

**Marianne Riddervold** (University of Oslo, NUPI and UC Berkeley)

*Crises as Catalysts? The European Union's Polity Transformation*

**Mark Rhinard** (Stockholm University)

## 9J Room - Homer

### The Draghi Report, EU Rejuvenation and Transatlantic Relations

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

Participants:

**Orfeo Fioretos** (Temple University)

**Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)

**Mark Pollack** (Temple University)

**Matthias Matthijs** (Johns Hopkins University)

**Jeffrey Anderson** (Georgetown University)

**9K Room - Whistler B**  
**Party Politics in Europe**

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

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

**Nils Ringe** (University of Wisconsin-Madison)  
**Sanja Badanjak** (University of Edinburgh)

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

**Jae-Jae Spoon** (University of Pittsburgh)  
**Matthias Avina** (University of Copenhagen)

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

**Melek Hilal Eroglu** (University of Pittsburgh)

**9L Room - Warhol**

**EU Free Movement & EU Citizenship - Challenges from a Legal Perspective**

Chair: **Ferdinand Wollenschlaeger** (Univ. of Augsburg)  
Discussant: **Willem Maas** (York University)

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

**Catherine Barnard** (University of Cambridge)  
**Fiona Costello** (University of Cambridge)

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

**Dominika Harasimiuk** (University of Warsaw, Poland)

*EU Law, Migration and Racial Capitalism*

**Alezini Loxa** (Lund University)

*Echoes of Identity: Names, Surnames and National Identity*

**Helga Luku** (University of Antwerp)

**Session 10 – Saturday - 10:15-11:45am**

**10A Room - Wyeth B**

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

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

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

**Kathleen McNamara** (Georgetown University)

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

**Donato Di Carlo** (London School of Economics)

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

**Manuela Moschella** (University of Bologna)  
**Donato Di Carlo** (London School of Economics)

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

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

**10B Room - Wyeth A**

**Taking Stock of EU Public Policy Research: A Round Table**

Chair: **Fabio Franchino** (Università degli Studi di Milano)  
Participants: **Amy Verdun** (University of Victoria)  
**Bjørn Høyland** (University of Oslo)  
**Simon Hix** (European University Institute)  
**Erik Jones** (European University Institute)

**10C Room - Homer**

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

Author: **Niklas Helwig** (Finnish Inst. of International Affairs)  
Chair: **Federiga Bindi** (Univ. of Rome Tor Vergata; University of Colorado)

Participants

**Henriette Müller** (New York University Abu Dhabi)  
**Monika Sus** (Hertie School Berlin)

**SATURDAY, MAY 10, 2025**

### 10E Room - Whistler B

#### The UK, the EU, and Shifting Power

Chair and Discussant: **Thomas Risse** (Freie Univ. Berlin)

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

**Terrence Guay** (Pennsylvania State University)

**Jost-Henrik Morgenstern-Pomorski** (Jagiellonian Univ.)

**Michael Smith** (University of Warwick)

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

**Catarina M. Liberato** (University of Kent)

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

**Kamila Kwapinska** (University of Kent)

**Richard Whitman** (University of Kent)

### 10F Room - Benton

#### The Future of Europe: Policies and Institutions in Focus

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

Discussant: **Kostas Kourtikakis** (University of Illinois)

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

**Michele Chang** (College of Europe)

*The European Parliament: The next Five Years*

**Joseph Dunne** (George Washington University)

*The European Union as a Normative Digital Power*

**Natalia Cuglesan** (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca)

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

**Carolyn Dudek** (Hofstra University)

### 10G Room - O'Keefe

#### EU law-making: policy, approaches and values

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

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

**Rik Joosen** (Leiden University)

**Nikoleta Yordanova** (Leiden University)

**Asya Zhelyazkova** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

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

**Shengyuan Luo** (Université Paris Panthéon Assas)

*Remedies: why the Charter of Fundamental Rights matters*

**Tobias Lock** (Maynooth University)

### 10H Room - Cassatt

#### Energy policy and practice in law and politics

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

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

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

**Randall Newnham** (Penn State University)

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

**Hermann Lueken genannt Klaßen** (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

*The power of administrative procedures: Energy infrastructure planning in Europe*

**Eva Ruffing** (University of Osnabrueck)

**Simon Fink** (University of Göttingen)

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

**Colin Arnaud Maik Pache** (University of Lausanne)

**Emmanuelle Mathieu** (University of Lausanne)

### 10I Room - Wyeth C

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

Chair and Discussant: **Markus Thiel** (FIU)

*Legitimate Global Governance? Minilateral Competition and Cooperation with UN Multilateralism*

**Katie Laatikainen** (Adelphi University)

*The EU, multilateralism and global political justice*

**Helene Sjursen** (University of Oslo)

*Resilient Minilateralism in Transatlantic Relations*

**Orfeo Fioretos** (Temple University)

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

**Nora Fisher Onar** (University of San Francisco)

**Dimitris Bouris** (University of Amsterdam)

**Daniela Huber** (Università Roma Tre)

### 10J Room - Whistler A

#### Multidimensional Party Competition in Europe

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

*Revisiting the relationship between party polarization and voter turnout*

**Jelle Koedam** (University of Zurich)

**Cheryl Vaterlaus** (University of Zurich)

*Patterns of Party Protection*

**Guri Rosén** (OsloMet)

**Jonathan Polk** (Lund University)

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

**Luis Sattelmayer** (Sciences Po, Paris)

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

**Melek Hilal Eroglu** (University of Pittsburgh)

### 10K Room - Warhol

#### Euro-scepticism, populism, and the radical right

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

*Reframing Moderation: Frame moderation as a challenger party strategy*

**Spencer Corp** (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

*Anti-establishment versus Authoritarian Populists and Support for Populist Radical Right Leaders*

**Anna Brigevid** (Norwegian Univ. of Science and Tech.)

**Andrea Wagner** (MacEwan University)

*The mainstream right and Euroskepticism*

**Kim Twist** (San Diego State University)

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

**Luca Carrieri** (Unitelma Sapienza)

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

**Benedict DeDominicis** (The Catholic University of Korea)

### 10L Room - Hopper

#### Outwards and Sideways: EU Citizenship as a Form of Opening

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

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

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

**Ferdinand Wollenschlaeger** (Faculty of Law, University of Augsburg)

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

**Francesca Strumia** (City, University of London)

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

**Jeremy Bierbach** (Franssen Advocaten & University of Amsterdam)

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

**Willem Maas** (York University)

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 2025

## Session 11 – Saturday - 1:30-3:00pm

### 11A Room - Wyeth A

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

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

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

### 11B Room - Benton

#### The law and politics of Brexit

Chair and Discussant: **Arantza Gomez Arana**  
(Northumbria University)

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

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

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

### 11C Room - Whistler B

#### Governance and Strategic Autonomy in Defense and Foreign Policy

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

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

*Liberal Intergovernmentalism takes the deliberative turn: preference formation and bargaining over European Strategic Autonomy*  
**Salih Isik Bora** (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)  
**Julia Rone** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

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

### 11E Room - Warhol

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 11F Room - Homer

#### EU Regulation in Question: Trends and Challenges

Chair and Discussant: **Jonathan Zeitlin** (U of Amsterdam)  
Discussant: **Eva Ruffing** (University of Osnabrueck)  
Discussant: **Dorte Sindberg Martinsen** (U of Copenhagen)

*How the EU reconciles uniform regulation and legitimate diversity: towards a tighter experimentalist governance architecture*  
**Jonathan Zeitlin** (University of Amsterdam)  
**Bernardo Rangoni** (University of York)

Explaining EU agencies' formal independence  
**Eva Ruffing** (University of Osnabrueck)  
**Martin Weinrich** (University of Osnabrueck)

*The legal uncertainty of precarious employment in the EU; to be or not to be a worker*  
**Dorte Sindberg Martinsen** (University of Copenhagen)  
**Lucia Lopez Zurita** (University of Copenhagen)  
**Urška Šadl** (University of Copenhagen)



### 11G Room - Hopper

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

Chair: **Konstantinos Alexandris Polomarkakis**  
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

Discussant: **Raphael Maesschalck** (University of Hamburg)

*Impeachment as an EU Law Concept*

**John Cotter** (Keele University)

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

**Evangelia Psychogiopoulou** (Univ. of the Peloponnese)

*Lawmaking Cooperation? Explaining Referral Failure in Federated Judicial Systems*

**Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez** (University of Oslo)

### 11H Room - Wyeth B

#### The Evolution of European Integration: Enlargement, Norms, and Legitimacy

Chair and Discussant: **Lubomira Popova** (Sofia Univ)

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

**Nina Obermeier** (King's College London)

**Lauren Ferry** (University of Mississippi)

**Junghyun Lim** (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

**Anna Meyerrose** (Arizona State University)

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

**Alfred Tovias** (Hebrew University)

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

**Jan Pollex** (University of Osnabrueck)

**Andrea Lenschow** (University of Osnabrueck)

**Daniel Mertens** (University of Osnabrueck)

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

**Mareike Kleine** (London School of Economics / Princeton)

### 11I Room - O'Keefe

#### Framing the Economy, Framing the EU

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

*Bent into submission? Foreign investors, domestic investors, and populist governments in Europe*

**Alison Johnston** (Oregon State University)

**Juliet Johnson** (McGill University)

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

**Mark Copelovitch** (University of Wisconsin - Madison)

**Michael Wagner** (University of Wisconsin - Madison)

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

**Benedicta Marzinotto** (Univ. of Udine and Johns Hopkins)

### 11J Room - Wyeth C

#### Party Competition in Europe and Beyond

Chair: **Liesbet Hooghe** (University of North Carolina)

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

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

**Adea Gafuri** (The Swedish Inst. of International Affairs)

**Jesper Lindqvist** (University of Gothenburg)

**Jacob Gunderson** (University of Gothenburg)

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

**Ryan Bakker** (University of Essex)

**Royce Carroll** (University of Essex)

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

**Christopher Hare** (University of California, Davis)

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

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

**Jonathan Hartlyn** (University of North Carolina)

**Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo** (University of North Carolina)

### 11K Room - Whistler A

#### Elite cueing and electoral behavior

Chair: **Nicholas Bicchi** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Discussant: **Sienna Nordquist** (Bocconi University)

*Multilevel cueing: Experimental Evidence on Cueing Effects in Support for Domestic and EU defense policies*

**Ioana-Elena Oana** (European University Institute)

*Revisiting the second order status of European Parliament elections; evidence from district-level voting behavior*

**Kostas Kourtikakis** (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

**George Deltas** (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

**Theodore Velentzas** (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

*How do Politicians Appeal to the Single Market? Evidence from the European Parliament.*

**Trym Fjærtøft** (University of Oslo)

**Martin Moland** (Hertie School)

## Session 12 – Saturday -3:15-4:45pm

### 12G Room - Wyeth C

#### Revisiting National EU Coordination in an era of Crisis and Reform: Panel 2

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

*The Danish EU coordination system: centralised and comprehensive*

**Mads Dagnis Jensen** (Copenhagen Business School)  
**Peter Nedergaard** (University of Copenhagen)

*The national EU coordination system in Finland: stability amidst external changes*

**Tapio Raunio** (Tampere University)  
**Johannes Lehtinen** (Tampere University)

*The National Coordination of European Policy: The Case of Norway*

**John Erik Fossum** (University of Oslo)  
**Jarle Trondal** (University of Oslo and University of Agder)

*National EU coordination in the UK: from member state to third country*

**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)  
**Cleo Davies** (University of Warwick)

*Revisiting National EU Coordination: Conclusions and Implications*

**Eva Heidbreder** (eva.heidbreder@ovgu.de)  
**Hussein Kassim** (University of Warwick)

### 12I Room - Wyeth A

#### External relations of the EU: law, practice and policy

Chair and Discussant: **TBD**

*EU Accession to the ECHR - How open is the (CJ)EU?*

**Tobias Lock** (Maynooth University)

*EU planetary postcolonial politics and intersectional feminism: An alternative way out from the war in Ukraine and EU polycrises*

**Chiara Bonaiuti** (Newcastle University and IRES CGIL Toscana)

*EU's Protean Power during the Covid-19 crisis: analysing Coordinative Europeanisation impact on the global stage*

**Stella Ladi** (Queen Mary University of London and Panteion University, Athens)

**Sarah Wolff** (Leiden University)

*Justifying Restrictive Border Policies: An Experimental Study of Government Strategies and Public Perception in the EU*

**Lisa Herbig** (University of Amsterdam)  
**Theresa Kuhn** (University of Amsterdam)

*The impact of EU-Georgia Association Agreement on the development of the consumer law and policy in Georgia*

**Nino Lapiashvili** (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State Univ.)

### 12J Room - Homer

#### The political economy of EU relations with the rest of the world

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

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

*India's trade and investment relations with Western Europe*

**Karina Jędrzejowska** (University of Warsaw)  
**Anna Wróbel** (University of Warsaw)

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

**Catarina M. Liberato** (University of Kent)

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

**Robert Basedow** (LSE)

*Legacies of the Marshall Plan in Post-War Italy*

**Sienna Nordquist** (Bocconi University)  
**Simone Cremaschi** (Bocconi University)  
**Catherine De Vries** (Bocconi University)  
**Mattia Cecchi** (University of Zurich)

### 12K Room - Wyeth B

#### Volatility and Contestation in Twenty-First Century Europe

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

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

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

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

**Ryan Bakker** (Department of Essex)  
**Seth Jolly** (Syracuse University)  
**Jonathan Polk** (Lund University)

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

**Jae-Jae Spoon** (University of Pittsburgh)  
**Jeffrey Nonnemacher** (University of Colorado Boulder)

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

**Lennart Schürmann** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)  
**Endre Borbáth** (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität & WZB Berlin)  
**Swen Hutter** (Freie Universität Berlin & WZB Berlin)

*Distance, Time, and Vote Switching*

**Jacob Gunderson** (University of Gothenburg)  
**Gary Marks** (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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Galeone Pietro	Bocconi University	2F	4G	
Gallo Daniele	Luiss University	3E		
Gama Pinto Nuno	University Institute of Lisbon		1J	
Gänzle Stefan	University of Agder	1B		
Gateva Eli	University of Oxford	3I		
Genschel Philipp	University of Bremen	1E	4D	6B
Gomez Arana Arantza	Northumbria University		5E	11B
Gomez-Mera Laura	University of Miami	6D		
Glebor Sergii	University of California-Irvine	3I		
Greer Scott	University of Michigan	1H	2C	
Guay Terrence	Penn State University	3D	6J	10E
Guerrina Roberta	University of Bristol	2D	3C	
Gunderson Jacob	University of Gothenburg		11J	12K
Guo Yuetong	King's College London		9F	
Guth Jessica	Leeds Trinity University		2C	4H

### H

Hamilton Scott	University of Antwerp	1K	5K	9G	12J
Harasimiukc Dominikav	University of Warsaw	3B	5C	8H	9L
Hare Christopher	University of California, Davis		11J		
Haverland Markus	Erasmus University Rotterdam	2G	5I		
Heering Jonas	Georgetown University		4C		
Hegedus Daniel	The German Marshall Fund of the United States			4J	
Heidbreder Eva	Otto von Guericke Univ. of Magdeburg	4E	5I	12G	
Heidebrecht Sebastian	University of Vienna	5J	7H		
Helwig Niklas	Finnish Institute of Int'l Affairs	2L	5H	10C	
Henning Randall	American University	9J			
Herbig Lisa	University of Amsterdam		12I		
Hermanin Costanza	European University Institute	2H	5D		
Hermansen Silje	University of Copenhagen		5G	8I	
Hernández Gisela	IPP-CSIC	1D	2I	3J	
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Herranz-Surrallés Anna	Maastricht University	6J	8B	9E	
Hervey Tamara	City University, London		1H	2C	
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Hooghe Liesbet	UNC-Chapel Hill & EUI-Florence	1B	4A	5A	
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Høyland Bjørn	University of Oslo	6C	8I	10B	
Huguenot-Noël Robin	University of Milan, European University Institute			8F	
Hurrelmann Achim	Carleton University	1J			
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### I

Íñiguez Guillermo	University of Oxford	7G		
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Invernizzi Alessia	University of Konstanz	6B	9I	
Isiksel Turkuler	Columbia University	3B		Iso-Markku
Tuomas Finnish Institute of International Affairs		5H	11C	

### J

Jachtenfuchs Markus	Hertie School	1E	4A	6B	
Jancewicz Katarzyna	University of Liège	11E			
Jędrzejowska Karina	University of Warsaw	1K 12J			
Jensen Mads Dagnis	Copenhagen Business School	1J	2F	12G	
Johansen Anne Ingemann	University of Southern Denmark		5D		
Johnston Alison	Oregon State University	10G	11I		
Jolly Seth	Syracuse University	2F	Thurs pm	11J	12K
Jones Erik	European University Institute	1E	2A	5D	
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Juncos Ana	University of Bristol	2D	3L	8L	
Jurek Steve	SUNY Brockport	2F	3F		

### K

Kamphorst Jonne	Stanford University	6L			
Kandyla Anna	Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy		9C		
Kappe Roland	University College London	6L			
Karetsos Christos	University of London	9C			
Kassim Hussein	University of Warwick	4E	5I	7B	9D
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Kelemen Dan	Georgetown University	Thurs pm Fri lunch	7B	9A	11A
Kepa Marcin	Univ. of the Commission of National Education			4K	
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Kinderman Daniel	University of Delaware		6D		
Kinski Lucy	University of Salzburg	4K	7E	9D	
Kleine Mareike	London School of Economics / Princeton Univ.			11H	
Kochenov Dimitry	Central Europea University, Democracy Institute			9A	
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König Philipp	Saarland University	1C			
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Kübek Gesa	University of Groningen	2H	5B		
Kwapinska Kamila	University of Kent	10E			

### L

Laatikainen Katie	Adelphi University	6D	10I		
Ladi Stella	Queen Mary University of London	1J	9H	12I	
Laible Janet	Lehigh University	1H	2C		
Lapiashvili Nino	Institute for European Studies of Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University	12I			
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Łazarska Aneta	Lazarski University of Warsaw	8H			
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Lenschow Andrea	University of Osnabrueck	11H			
Liberato Catarina M.	University of Kent	10E	12J		
Linos Katerina	University of California - Berkeley	Fri lunch	8I		
Littlepage Kelley	University of Houston	11B			
Liu Ruyuan	King's College London		3H		
Lock Tobias	Maynooth University	5B	10G	12I	
Locoman Ecaterina	University of Pennsylvania	7A			
Löcse Noel	University of Lausanne	4C	6E	8I	
Loedel Peter	West Chester University of Pennsylvania	7H			
Lovato Marianna	Jagiellonian University	3L			
Loxa Alezini	Lund University	9L			
Lueken genannt Klaffen Hermann	Georg-August-Universität Göttingen			10H	
Luku Helga	University of Antwerp	3K	9L		
Luo Shengyuan	Université Paris Panthéon Assas	10G			



M			
Ma Zhe	Kobe University	5C	
Maas Willem	York University	2C	4B 9L 10L
Madeira Mary Anne	Lehigh University	2H	
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Makaradze Soso	University of Salzburg	2I	
Mandujano Manriquez Mauricio	University of Oslo	11G	
Manners Ian	Lund University	1H	3C
Marinova Iren	Johns Hopkins University SAIS	9F	11C
Marks Gary	University of North Carolina and EU	4A	4A 12K
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Martin Nicole	University of Manchester	6L	
Martinsen Dorte Sindbjerg	University of Copenhagen	8I	11F
Marzinotto Benedicta	University of Udine	11I	
Mastroianni Roberto	Univ. of Naples 'Federico II' & General Court of the EU	3E 4H 6A	Fri lunch 8I
Mathieu Emmanuelle	University of Lausanne	4C	6E 8I
Matos Luis	College of Europe	2D	
Matthijs Matthias	Johns Hopkins Univ.	4C	5J 9J 10A
Mattioli Pietro	University of Liège	11E	
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McGowan Lee	Queen's University Belfast	8A	
McManus Ian	Emerson College	6K	
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Meunier Sophie	Princeton University	4C	5J 8B 10A
Mgaloblishvili Anastasia	Free University of Berlin	7A	
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Mikalay Mila	University College Freiburg	5D	7D
Miró Joan	Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona		2G 5I
Mitter Birgit Carolin	University of Salzburg (PLUS)	6C	
Moland Martin	ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo	4D 7K 11K	
Morari Benedetta	The London School of Economics & Political Science	11C	
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Moritani Yuki	Hitotsubashi University Tokyo	8G	
Moshenets Ihor	Central European University, Vienna	1K	
Mueller Tony	Technical University of Munich	2A	
Müller Henriette	New York University Abu Dhabi	2H	7G 10C
Murphy Mary	Boston College	3D	

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Nakamura Hidetoshi	Waseda University Tokyo	8G	
Naurin Daniel	University of Oslo	2I	5G
Neliupsienė Jovita	Ambassador of the European Union to the United States Plenary		
Neuman Marek	University of Groningen	4J	
Newnham Randall	Penn State University	10H	
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Nicoli Francesco	Politecnico di Torino	1C	
Nonnemacher Jeffrey	University of Colorado Boulder	12K	
Nordquist Sienna	Bocconi University	11K	12J

### O

Oana Ioana-Elena	European University Institute	7D	11K
Oberle Monika	Goethe University Frankfurt	3K	
Obermeier Nina	King's College London	10K	11H
Odermatt Jed	City St George's, University of London		6G
Oikonomou Giorgio	Hellenic Open University	1B	7C
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Oostrom Iwan	Vrije Universiteit Brussel	6H	
Orenstein Mitchell	University of Pennsylvania	3L	

Ospychuk Anna National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy 4I

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Pais Bernardo Luís	ISCTE-IUL	9E	
Pajvančić-Cizelj Ana	University of Continuing Education Krems	1L	
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Pavone Tommaso	University of Toronto	1D	2I 3J 5G
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Pomorska Karolina	Leiden University	3L	4I 8L
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Postnikov Evgeny	University of Melbourne	7I	
Psychogiopoulou Evangelia	University of the Peloponnese	9C	11G

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Radner Hannah	Syracuse University	5K	
Raunio Tapio	Tampere University	12G	
Rhinard Mark	Stockholm University	9I	11A
Riddervold Marianne	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs	2A	7C
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Rieker Pernille	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs	7C	8J
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Risse Thomas	Freie Universität Berlin	5A	8G 10E
Rogalski Maciej	Lazarski University of Warsaw	8H	
Romano Milena	University of Bath	7A	
Romanovskiy Evgeny	Charles University	2K	7J
Rose Richard	University of Strathclyde Glasgow		8L
Rosén Guri	University of Oslo	5H	8J 10J
Ruffing Eva	University of Osnabrueck	10H	11F

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Sadeh Tal	Tel Aviv University	8D	
Santos Leyre	European Institute, Columbia University		7G
Sattelmayer Luis	Sciences Po, Paris	10J	
Savoranta Ville	European External Action Service		6G
Schelkle Waltraud	European University Institute	4A	7K 8F
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Scheppele Kim Lane	Princeton University	9A	
Scherpereel John	James Madison University	7G	
Schilde Kaija	Boston University	1G	3L
Schimmelfennig Frank	ETH Zürich	1E 5A 6B	7A 9I 11A
Schirm Stefan A.	Ruhr University Bochum	2A	5K
Schramm Lucas	LMU Munich	1E	8B 9D
Schrauwen Annette	University of Amsterdam		10L
Schreurs Sven	European University Institute	3F	4G
Schure Paul	University of Victoria	5I	
Schürmann Lennart	WZB Berlin Social Science Center	12K	
Scibilia Stefano	Erasmus University Rotterdam	5I	
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Sikora-Kalèda Alicja	Jagiellonian University, Cracow/New York University		9G
Siles-Brügge Gabriel	University of Bristol	5B	6J 9C
Silga Janine	Dublin City College	2E	
Sjursen Helene	University of Oslo	3L	10I
Smeets Sandrino	Radboud University Nijmegen	9D	
Smith Andy	Sciences Po Bordeaux	4D	
Smith Michael	University of Warwick	2A	8J 10E
Sojka Aleksandra	University Carlos III of Madrid	1C	2F



Solanke Iyiola	University of Oxford/ Somerville College	2E		
Spoon Jae-Jae	University of Pittsburgh	9K	12K	
Steemers Kai	King's College London	7J		
Stivachtis Yannis A.	Virginia Tech	8A		
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Sundaram Sasikumar	City University of London	8G		
Sus Monika	Polish Academy of Sciences & Hertie School	2L	3I	
		4F	10C	
Suslov Anton	National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy		4I	
Svirčić Gotovac Anđelina	Institute for Social Research in Zagreb	1L		

T

Tacea Angela	Sciences Po Grenoble	8K		
Thiel Markus	Florida International University	2D		
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Tittel-Mosser Fanny	University of Minho	2K		
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Toygur Ilke	IE University	2F		
Trombetta Isabella	New York University	2K	8K	
Trondal Jarle	Univ. of Oslo	1B	3K	9I
Trubowitz Peter	London School of Economics	8G		12G
Tsarouhas Dimitris	Virginia Tech	8A	9F	
Turan Pelin	Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna	5F		
Twist Kim	San Diego State University	9K	10K	

U

Ugolini Vanessa	Vrije Universiteit Brussel	6H		
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V

Van Cleynenbreugel Pieter	University of Liège	11E		
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van der Pas Kris	Tilburg University/New York University	6F		
van der Veen A. Maurits	College of William & Mary	2K	3F	
Vanderschommen Matthieu	KU Leuven	7K		
Vaterlaus Cheryl	University of Zurich	10J		
Végh Zsuzsanna	European University Viadrina	7A		
Verdun Amy	University of Victoria, Leiden University	2G	4A	
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Visart Lorane	University of Salzburg	7E	8B	
Vollaard Hans	Utrecht University School of Governance	1L		

W

Weinrich Martin	University of Osnabrueck	11F		
Wendlberger Andreas	Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany	8I		
Whitman Richard	University of Kent	3C	7C	8J
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Wilhelm Marie-Thérèse	Pompeu Fabra University	2G		
Winzen Thomas	Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf	7J		
Wollenschläger	Ferdinand Faculty of Law, Univ. of Augsburg	9L	10L	
Wouters Jan	KU Leuven	5E	7D	9A
Wróbel Anna	University of Warsaw	9C	12J	
Wydra Doris	Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies	4I		

Y

Yordanova Nikoleta	Leiden University	7E	10G	
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Z

Zahavi Hila	Ben-Gurion University of the Negev	1E	4J	
Zbiral Robert	Faculty of Law, Masaryk University in Brno	1K		
Zeberio Isabela	University of Amsterdam	1C		
Zeitlin Jonathan	European University Institute	2G	11F	
Zheltovskyy Vadym	University of Warsaw	4I	5H	8H
Zhelyazkova Asya	Erasmus University Rotterdam	5K	10G	
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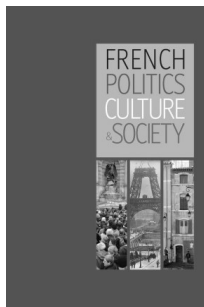
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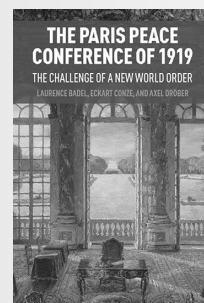
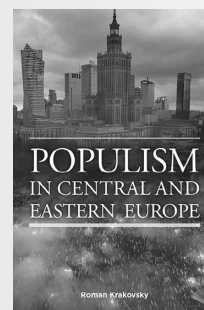
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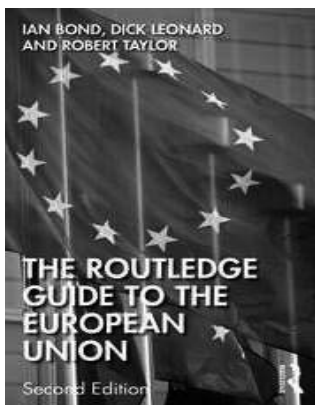
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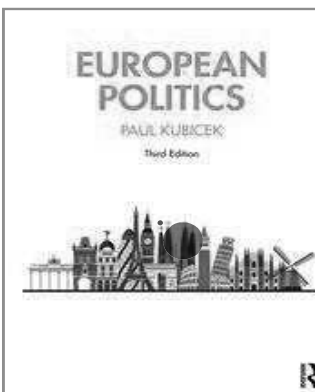
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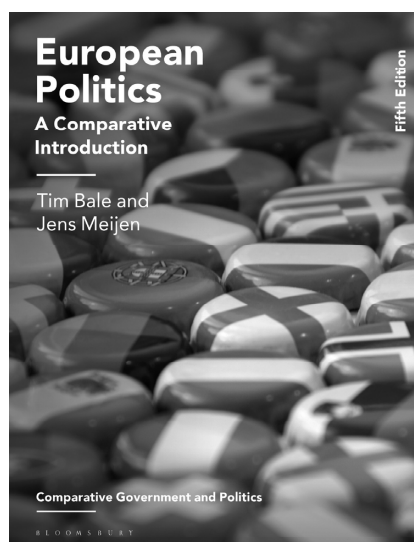
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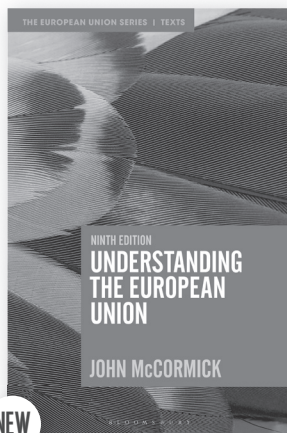
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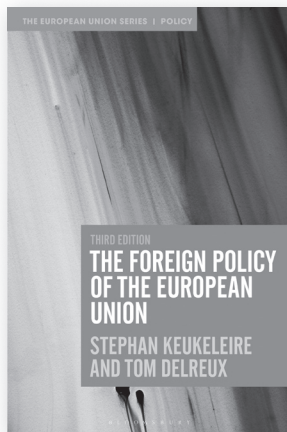
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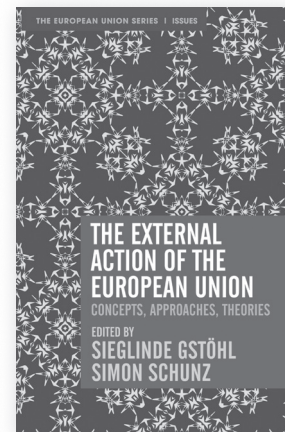
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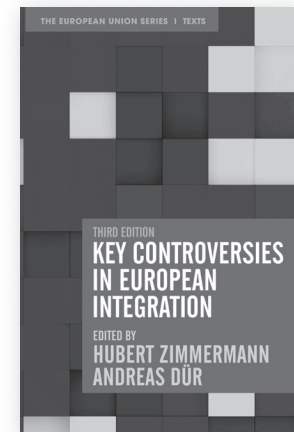
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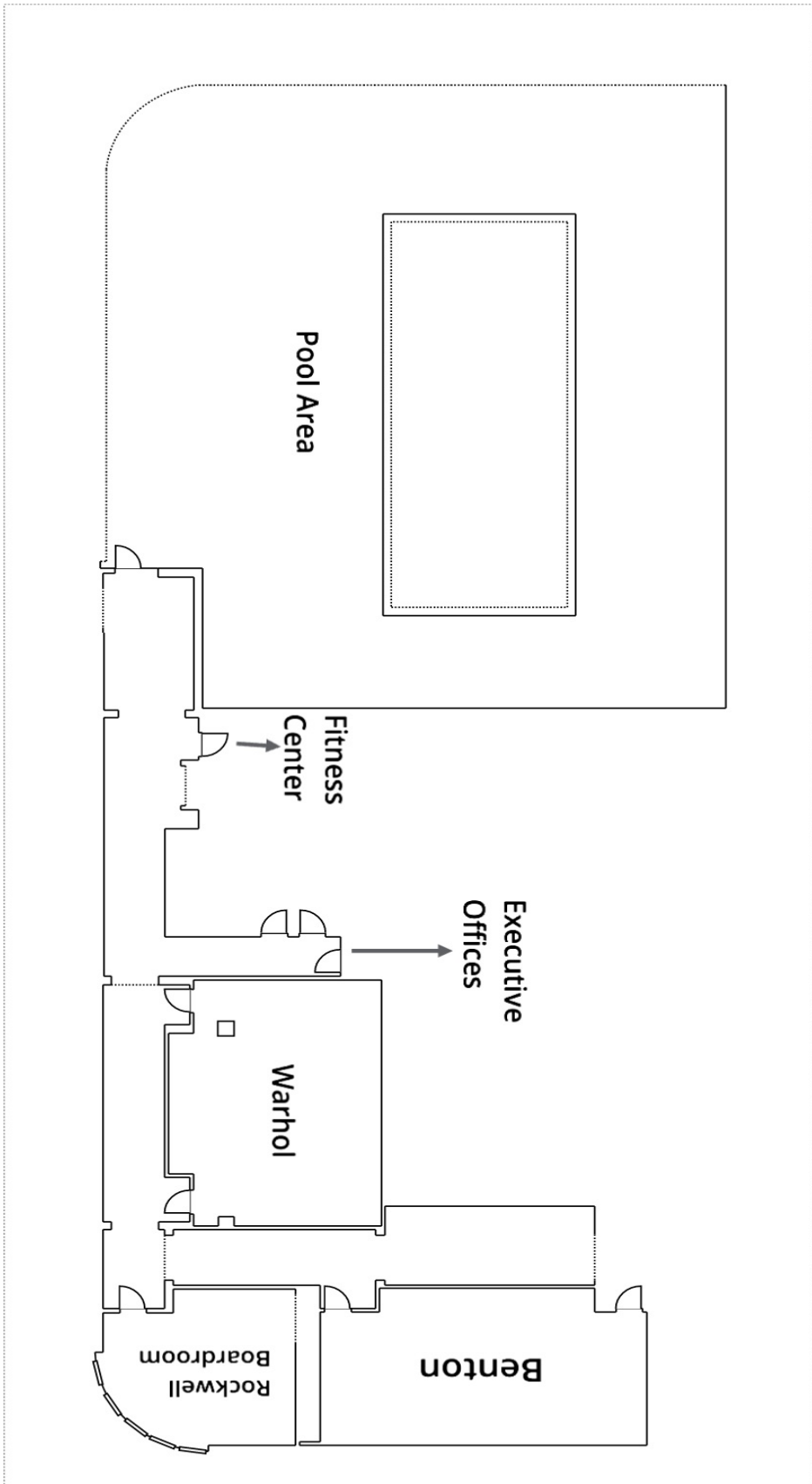
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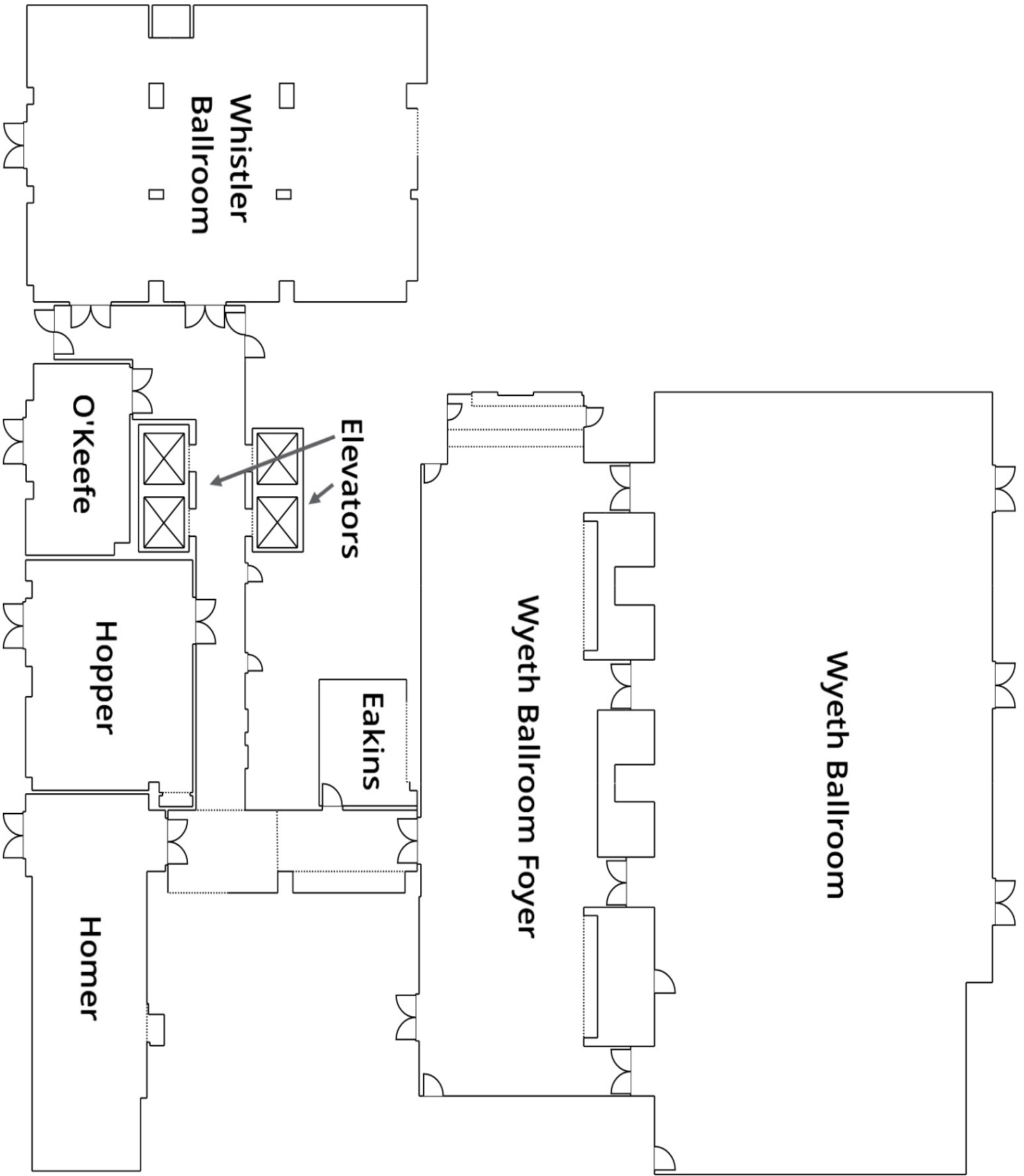
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