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EU3D concluding conference: What future for European democracy? Differentiation, dominance, and possible EU trajectories

22-23 May 2023 | Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Faculty of International and Political Studies
Ul. Reymonta 4, Kraków
Room 37

The main purpose of this concluding conference is to draw together project findings in order to shed new light on EU3D's main research question: under what conditions is differentiation politically acceptable, institutionally sustainable, and democratically legitimate; and under what conditions does differentiation engender dominance? This undertaking is a necessary prerequisite for reaching EU3D's main aim, namely, to come up with a critical theory of political differentiation. The conference is divided into two parts. Day One (May 22) is devoted to the first part and will be project-internal and focused on summing up, synthesizing and reflecting on main project findings of specific relevance for the development of a critical theory of political differentiation. The ambition is not simply to regurgitate what is already known from project publications but to provide something new by systematically engaging with what the project has produced thus far.

Concretely, that entails a first session devoted to conceptual-theoretical clarification. Each of EU3D's core terms is multifaceted and cannot be used for theory-building without further specification. For instance, are differentiation and its EU cognate differentiated integration attributed with a distinct meaning depending on the academic discipline? If so, the terms may be understood and weighted differently within law as opposed to political science. In a similar vein, within political science, different theoretical approaches – such as rational choice versus historical institutionalism – each has a distinct take. In a similar manner dominance is a multifaceted notion and requires further specification. The differences will be explicated and the relations between the terms will be clarified. Session two will assess the theoretical perspectives and the assumptions against the specifics of the EU both with reference to EU-internal and EU-external traits and developments. Session three will provide findings and reflections on how citizens consider the EU and what that tells us about democratic legitimacy. Session four discusses possible EU future trajectories.

Day two (May 23) will be devoted to discussing the findings with external commentators and guests in a form of panel discussion along the key problems European democracy is facing today. During this day the public will be able to hear from a diverse group of stakeholders including external commentators and EU3D researchers.

Programme

Monday, 22 May

- 09.00 – 10.00 Official opening
- Paweł Laidler, Dean of the Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University
- Zdzisław Mach, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, on behalf of hosting team
- John Erik Fossum, Professor of Political Science, ARENA, University of Oslo and EU3D Scientific Coordinator
- Francisco De La Torre, Deputy Head of Unit *Democracy and European Values*, DG Research and Innovation, European Commission
- 10.15 – 11.45 **Part I. Conceptual clarifications. Differentiation and dominance reconsidered**
- Session one provides conceptual clarifications, discusses how the three core themes of differentiation, dominance and democracy are related to each other and develops a set of fairly context-independent conditions that help to spell out when differentiation is conducive to democracy and when it is conducive to dominance.
- On differentiation*
John Erik Fossum, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D
- Disconnect in representation- implications for democracy*
Dario Castiglione, University of Exeter
- Conceptualising dominance*
Steven Klein, King's College London
- Chair: Christopher Lord, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D
- 12.00 – 13.00 Lunch
- 13.00 – 14.30 **Part II. Internal and external challenges: differentiation and dominance**
- Session two focuses on applying the differentiation-dominance-democracy framework to the EU with particular focus on EU-internal and EU-external structural factors. The key concern here is to spell out and rank-order the most serious dominance-effects that we can discern from differentiation in the EU context and reflect on their democratic implications.
- EU3D research presented by:
- Democracy or dominance? European economic governance in historical perspective*
Ben Rosamond, University of Edinburgh, EU3D
- Differentiation and Dominance in Europe's Poly-Crises*
Jozef Batora, Comenius University, EU3D

Countering dominance, enhancing legitimacy? The unhopeful saga of EU enlargement in the Western Balkans
Dia Anagnostou, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), EU3D

Differentiated regionalism and China's global agenda: whither resilience, strategic autonomy?
Cecile Pelaudeix, Sciences Po Grenoble, EU3D

Does dominance defy democracy? Between instrumental and autotelic legitimisation of dominance. The case of Poland.
Zdzisław Mach, Jagiellonian University, EU3D

Brexit and the limits of what the EU can offer non-members
Christopher Lord, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D

Chair: Magdalena Góra, Jagiellonian University, EU3D

14.45 – 16.15

Part III. Citizens' views on reforms of democracy in the EU

Session three focuses on applying the differentiation-dominance-democracy framework to the EU with particular focus on citizens perceptions, opinions, and discourses, both with a view to clarify how dominance is understood and with a view to clarify the prospects for democratic reforms.

Differentiated Integration and Democracy in Europe - the citizens' perspective
Dirk Leuffen and Max Heermann, University of Konstanz, EU3D

Dominance within the EU in the narratives of political and social actors
Magdalena Góra and Natasza Styczyńska, Jagiellonian University, EU3D

European public spheres in the digital era: lessons about EU differentiation from the analysis of professional news coverage and Twitter debates
Asimina Michailidou, University of Oslo, EU3D

What media narratives on European reforms reveal about a polity in the making
Giuseppe Porcaro, Bruegel, EU3D

Political actors' views on democracy in the EU. Comparative perspectives from national parliaments
Katarzyna Zielińska and Elodie Thevenin, Jagiellonian University, EU3D

Chair: Sergio Fabbrini (LUISS University, EU3D)

16.30 – 18.00

Part IV. What future for EU democracy?

Session four presents a set of different trajectories for the EU's future development and discusses these in light of the findings from the other three

sessions and from the database on proposals for the future of the EU.

From multi-speed to multi-tier: the constitutional differentiation of Europe
Sergio Fabbrini, LUISS University, EU3D

Democracy in a Europe of Networks
Jan Zielonka, University of Oxford, EU3D

Thought communities and their implications for polity formation in the EU
Pavol Babos, Comenius University, EU3D

Is the future of Europe in our hands? Political and social actors' conflicting proposals for European (dis)integration
Marta Warat and Karolina Czerska-Shaw, Jagiellonian University, EU3D, and
Tiziano Zgaga, University of Konstanz and LUISS University, EU3D

Chair: Asimina Michailidou, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D

20.00

Official dinner

Tuesday, 23 May

09.00 – 10.00

Keynote speech: Challenges to democracy

- Klaus Welle, former Secretary General of the European Parliament, Visiting Professor at KU Leuven and Guest Professor in Practice, LSE

10.00 – 11.30

Panel discussion: “Prospects of European democracy”

- Brigid Laffan, Emeritus Professor at the European University Institute
- Albenaz Azmanova, Professor of Political and Social Science, University of Kent
- Adam Jasser, Deputy editor, Visegrad Insight and Res Publica Nowa

Chair: Asimina Michailidou, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D

11.30 – 12.00

Coffee

12.00 – 13.30

Panel discussion: “Populist and sovereigntist threat to the EU. New trajectory for the EU?”

- Jonathan White, Deputy Head of the European Institute and Professor of Politics, LSE
- Natasza Styczyńska, Assistant professor, Jagiellonian University, EU3D
- Sergio Fabbrini, Professor of Political Science and International Relations, LUISS, EU3D
- Hans-Joerg Trezn, Professor in Sociology of Culture and Communications, Scuola Normale Superiore

Chair: Zdzisław Mach, Professor in Sociology and Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, EU3D

13.30-14.30

Lunch

14.30 – 16.00

Panel discussion: “External threats to European democracy”

- Joanna Skoczek, Deputy Permanent Representation of the Republic of Poland to the United Nations, New York
- Marzenna Guz-Vetter, Head of the Representation of the Commission in Warsaw
- Emilian Kavalsky, Professor of International Relations, Jagiellonian University
- Matteo Bonomi, Senior Fellow in the “EU, politics and institutions” programme at Istituto Affari Internazionali

Chair: Sabine Saurugger, Director of Sciences Po Grenoble, EU3D

16.15-16.45

Closing remarks

John Erik Fossum, Professor of Political Science, ARENA, University of Oslo, EU3D

Comments from members of EU3D International Advisory Board

This event is organised in the framework of **EU3D**, a 4-year research project looking at the future of European integration, in particular differentiated integration. EU3D will specify the conditions under which differentiation is politically acceptable, institutionally sustainable, and democratically legitimate; and provide important knowledge on the conditions under which EU reforms may fail or succeed.

www.eu3d.uio.no



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