



Co-funded by the
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Annual Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence Conference

Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe: Promises, Pitfalls, Pathways

Organized in collaboration with the Horizon 2020 projects InDivEU (Integrating Diversity within the EU) and DiCE (Differentiation: Clustering Excellence)

To be held online, September 30-1 October 2020

Description:

Differentiated integration, understood as rules and policies that apply to some but not all member states, has become increasingly central to academic and political debate on the future of the EU. Established divisions between groups of member states, such as the Eurozone and the Schengen Area, show no signs of disappearing, while new ones such as Banking Union and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in defense have recently been introduced. Non-member states such as Norway, Switzerland, and Turkey likewise participate in key EU policies like the Single Market and the Customs Union.

Some EU leaders, such as President Macron of France, see closer cooperation among a hard core of countries as the most promising pathway to deeper European integration, while others, like Commission President von der Leyen, appear more concerned with ensuring that member states move forward together within a common policy framework. Differentiated integration has also been proposed as a means of accommodating national diversity within an increasingly heterogeneous Union and reducing public discontent with European integration by allowing member states to opt out of specific EU policies.

This conference brings together researchers from three Horizon2020 projects

- [Integrating Diversity in the European Union \(InDivEU\)](#),
- [EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy \(EU3D\)](#), and
- [EU Integration and Differentiation for Effectiveness and Accountability \(EU IDEA\)](#),

linked together in the [Differentiation: Clustering Excellence \(DiCE\)](#) network.

The conference will examine the development of differentiated integration within the EU from an empirical and a normative perspective, focusing on both its promises and its pitfalls. Speakers will cover internal and external dimensions of differentiation, including Brexit, linking academic research to current political debates about the future of European integration. The conference will also consider alternative pathways to accommodating national diversity within the EU such as experimentalist governance.

Programme

Wednesday 30 September

10:30-12:00 Differentiated Integration in Theory and Practice: State of the Art

This opening panel will explore rival theoretical approaches to understanding differentiated integration and review the findings of the latest empirical research on its incidence and impact within the EU.

Speakers

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich/InDivEU)

Sandra Lavenex (Geneva/EUIDEA)

John Erik Fossum (ARENA Oslo/EU3D)

Moderator Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

14:30-16:00 Politics and Preferences: For and Against Differentiated Integration

Do voters and governments support or oppose differentiated integration? And how do such patterns of support and opposition vary across EU member states and policy issues? This panel will discuss these important but understudied issues based on new survey and documentary research conducted within the three H2020 projects.

Speakers

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi/VU/InDivEU)

Dirk Leuffen (Konstanz/EU3D)

Stefan Telle/Brigid Laffan (EUI/InDivEU)

Moderator/Discussant: Theresa Kuhn (UvA/InDivEU)

20:00-21:30 Brexit and the Future EU-UK Relationship: A Case of Differentiated Disintegration?

As an EU member state, the UK was among the strongest supporters of differentiated integration. Now that it has left the Union, the UK continues to demand tailor-made access to the Single Market and other EU policies and programmes. How will this tension between uniform rules and national exceptions play out in the future EU-UK relationship, and what are its implications for differentiated integration within and beyond the EU?

Speakers

Michael Keating (Aberdeen/InDivEU)

Eulalia Rubio (Jacques Delors Institute/EUIDEA)

Chris Lord (ARENA, Oslo/EU3D)

Jochem Wiers (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs Brexit Task Force)

Moderator Christina Eckes (UvA/ACES)

Thursday 1 October

**10:30-12:00 Experimentalist Governance and Differentiated Integration:
Alternatives or Complements?**

The debate about differentiated integration typically assumes that EU governance involves top-down imposition of rigid, uniform rules, which some member states may be unwilling or unable to accept. Based on new research conducted within the InDivEU project on three regulatory policy fields (electricity, banking, and GMOs), this panel examines how far experimentalist governance, based on flexible, revisable rulemaking, may represent an alternative or complementary approach to that of differentiated integration in responding to diversity among EU member states.

Speakers

Bernardo Rangoni (UvA/InDivEU)

Maria Weimer (UvA/InDivEU)

Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

Moderator/Discussant: Sandra Lavenex (Geneva/EUIDEA)

**CHANGED TIME: 14:30-16:00 Demoi-cracy or Domination? Normative
Perspectives on Differentiated Integration**

Does differentiated integration advance democracy by allowing the EU's multiple demoi or peoples greater scope to chose the extent to which they are willing to pool their sovereignty with others across different policy domains? Or does it lead instead to an increase in domination, as the choices of some member states are effectively subordinated to those of their larger and more powerful neighbours? In this panel, two prominent political theorists will debate the normative implications of differentiated integration for European democracy.

Speakers

Richard Bellamy (UCL/Exeter/InDivEU)

John Erik Fossum (ARENA Oslo/EU3D)

Moderator: Ben Crum (VU Amsterdam)

20:00-21:30 Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe

This concluding panel, comprising both academics and practitioners, will discuss the political and policy implications of current research on differentiated integration for the future of Europe and the EU.

Speakers

Brigid Laffan (EUI/InDivEU)

Sabine Saurugger (Grenoble/EU3D)

Petr Kratochvil (Institute of International Relations, Prague/EUIDEA)

Ceta Noland (Strategic Policy Advisor, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Moderator: Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

About the speakers

Panel 1

Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zurich/InDivEU)

Frank Schimmelfennig is Professor of European Politics and member of the Center for Comparative and International Studies at ETH Zurich. His research focuses on European integration and, more specifically, integration theory, EU enlargement and Europeanization, differentiated integration, democracy promotion and democratization. He is, together with Brigid Laffan, Scientific Coordinator of the H2020-funded project Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU)

Sandra Lavenex (Geneva/EUIDEA)

Sandra Lavenex is Professor of European and International Politics at the University of Geneva and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe. Her research focuses on European and international migration policy, EU external relations, and international institutions more broadly. Her recent research projects have focused on comparative regional migration governance (worldwide), the nexus of trade and migration policy and international cooperation on migration.

John Erik Fossum (ARENA Oslo/EU3D)

John Erik Fossum is Professor of Political Science at ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, and Scientific Coordinator of the H2020-funded project EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D). His main fields of research include political theory, democracy, constitutionalism in the EU and Canada, as well as Europeanisation and transformation of the nation state. Fossum has contributed extensively to the field of developing and applying federal and democratic theory to the EU as a distinct political system, and comparing the EU with Canada.

Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

Jonathan Zeitlin is Distinguished Faculty Professor of Public Policy and Governance at the UvA and ACES Academic Director. His current research focuses on new forms of “experimentalist” governance within and beyond the European Union, with particular emphasis on market regulation, environmental protection, and social policy. He leads a Work Package on “Alternatives to Differentiated Integration” in the InDivEU project.

Panel 2

Catherine De Vries (Bocconi/VU/InDivEU)

Catherine de Vries is Professor of Political Science at Bocconi University (Milan) and Research Associate at the Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and Public Policy. Her research focuses on some of the key challenges facing the European continent today, such as Euroscepticism, political fragmentation, migration and corruption. In her current work she examines how economic hardship affects support for socially conservative political agendas. She serves as Scientific Advisor to [eupinions](#), an independent platform for European public opinion research funded by the Bertelsmann Foundation.

Dirk Leuffen (Konstanz/EU3D)

Dirk Leuffen is a Professor of Political Science and international Politics at the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the university of Konstanz. His research interests include the study of (differentiated)

European integration, decision-making in the European Union and more generally the interplay between domestic and international politics. He is a member of the H2020 project EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D).

Stefan Telle (EUI/InDivEU)

Stefan Telle is a Research Associate at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute. He is part of the InDivEU-project on differentiated integration in the European Union. Stefan currently investigates governments' positions on differentiated integration in the European Union. In addition, Stefan he studies in the link between European integration and the rise of populism in Member States. Previously, he explored the issue of socio-economic polarisation in Central and Eastern Europe through the lens of the European Union's territorial cooperation program.

Brigid Laffan (EUI/InDivEU)

Brigid Laffan is Director and Professor at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Director of the Global Governance Programme and of the European Governance and Politics Programme at the European University Institute (EUI), Florence. She is scientific coordinator of the InDivEU project together with Frank Schimmelfennig. Since the UK Referendum on the EU membership Professor Laffan has closely followed the developments and written about it. She has published widely on European Integration including core-periphery relations in the European Union, Ireland and the European Union and more.

Theresa Kuhn (UvA/InDivEU)

Theresa Kuhn is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Using survey research and experimental methods, Theresa Kuhn studies how citizens react to globalization and European integration in their political attitudes and collective identities. Her research has been recognized with a number of prizes, including the UACES best book prize for her book *Experiencing European Integration. Transnational Lives and European Identity* (Oxford University Press 2015).

Panel 3

Michael Keating (Aberdeen/InDivEU)

Michael Keating is part-time Professor at the University of Edinburgh and Director of the Centre on Constitutional Change, an inter-university consortium of researchers which has received funding from the Economic and Social Science Research Council and the EU Horizon 2020 programme. From 1988 until 1999 he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario, followed by ten years at the European University Institute, Florence where he was head of department for three years. His research interests include comparative European politics, territorial politics and nationalism.

Eulalia Rubio (Jacques Delors Institute/EUIDEA)

Eulalia Rubio is Senior Research Fellow at the Jacques Delors Institute in Paris. Her research and publications focus particularly on the EU budget, EU cohesion policies and the reform of Economic and Monetary Union. Before joining the Institute she worked as associate professor in comparative politics at the Pompeu Fabra University. From 2014 to 2017 she was also associate professor in European economic governance at the European School of Political and Social Sciences of the Catholic University of Lille (ESPOL). She is member of the Steering Board in charge of monitoring the performance and evaluation of the European Social Fund in France (Comité de Pilotage de l'évaluation du FSE).

Chris Lord (ARENA, Oslo/EU3D)

Chris Lord is Professor at ARENA since October 2008 and ad personam Jean Monnet Chair of European integration studies. Lord's main research interests focus on questions of legitimacy and democracy, political representation and parliamentarism at the European level. He is particularly interested in approaches to evaluating the democratic performance of EU institutions. He has also acted as an expert for EU institutions, commenting on the draft White Paper on Governance in 2001 as a member of a Working Party organised by DG Education of the EC.

Jochem Wiers (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs Brexit Task Force)

Jochem Wiers is Head of the Brexit Task Force at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Special Professor in International Relations at Groningen University. Previous appointments in the Dutch Foreign Service included the Strategy Advisory Unit, the Climate, Energy, Environment and Water Department, the Dutch Embassy in Paris, France, and the Department of European integration. He studied at the University of Amsterdam and at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. He was a Ph.D. research fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy and research fellow and lecturer at the University of Amsterdam. He has published in a number of international journals and several textbooks.

Christina Eckes, (UvA/ACES)

Christina Eckes is Professor of European Law at the University of Amsterdam and Director of the Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance (ACELG). She is also a member of the Governing Board of Amsterdam Centre of European Studies (ACES) and one of the leaders of the 'Europe in the World' Theme Group. Her current research interests are the legal limits to European integration, separation of powers within the European Union, and sovereignty in 21st century Europe.

Panel 4

Bernardo Rangoni (UvA/InDivEU)

Bernardo Rangoni joined the University of Amsterdam (UvA) as a Postdoctoral Fellow in the InDivEU project in June 2019, straight after having been a Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow in Law at the European University Institute (EUI). His research is in the fields of comparative public policy, regulation, and governance within and beyond the European Union (EU). It has appeared (or is forthcoming) in the *Journal of European Public Policy* (JEPP), *Regulation & Governance* (R&G), and Oxford University Press (OUP). A core component of his research focuses on 'experimentalist governance', intended to foster continuous monitoring of implementation experiences and regular revision of solutions on that basis.

Maria Weimer (UvA/InDivEU)

Maria Weimer is Associate Professor of European Law at the UvA Law Faculty, Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance. Her research focuses on exploring the potential of law and governance to address urgent environmental, health and safety risks arising from the operation of modern agri-food systems, as well as to enable the transition to sustainable food and agricultural systems. She published *Risk Regulation in the EU Internal Market - Lessons from Agricultural Biotechnology* (Oxford University Press 2019) and is deputy editor-in-chief of the *European Journal of Risk Regulation* (Cambridge University Press).

Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

Jonathan Zeitlin is Distinguished Faculty Professor of Public Policy and Governance at the UvA and ACES Academic Director. His current research focuses on new forms of "experimentalist" governance within and

beyond the European Union, with particular emphasis on market regulation, environmental protection, and social policy. He leads a Work Package on “Alternatives to Differentiated Integration” in the InDiVEU project.

Sandra Lavenex (Geneva/EUIDEA)

Sandra Lavenex is Professor of European and International Politics at the University of Geneva and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe. Her research focuses on European and international migration policy, EU external relations, and international institutions more broadly. Her recent research projects have focused on comparative regional migration governance (worldwide), the nexus of trade and migration policy and international cooperation on migration.

Panel 5

Richard Bellamy (UCL/Exeter/InDivEU)

Richard Bellamy joined UCL in 2005 as the College's first Professor of Political Science. He was the founding Head of the new Department of Political Science and Director of the School of Public Policy from 2005- 2010. He was Director of UCL's European Institute, which he also established, from 2010-2013. Richard's research combines intellectual history, analytical legal and political philosophy and comparative politics. His publications range from historical studies of Italian political thought post 1700 and of European liberalism 1830-1950, through work on compromise and political ethics, to a republican account of citizenship, democracy and constitutionalism, which he has applied to both the UK and the EU.

John Erik Fossum (ARENA Oslo/EU3D)

John Erik Fossum is Professor of Political Science at ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, and Scientific Coordinator of the H2020-funded project EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy (EU3D). His main fields of research include political theory, democracy, constitutionalism in the EU and Canada, as well as Europeanisation and transformation of the nation state. Fossum has contributed extensively to the field of developing and applying federal and democratic theory to the EU as a distinct political system, and comparing the EU with Canada.

Ben Crum (VU Amsterdam)

Ben Crum is Professor of Political Science at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. He is also the Scientific Director of the VU School of Governance. He has held a secondment at the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy in The Hague and visiting positions at the University of Victoria (Canada) and Harvard University. Ben Crum's research focusses on the way processes of internationalisation – European integration in particular – affect established practices and understandings of democracy and solidarity.

Panel 6

Brigid Laffan (EUI/InDivEU)

Brigid Laffan is Director and Professor at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Director of the Global Governance Programme and of the European Governance and Politics Programme at the European University Institute (EUI), Florence. She is scientific coordinator of the InDivEU project together with Frank Schimmelfennig. Since the UK Referendum on the EU membership Professor Laffan has closely followed the developments and written about it. She has published widely on European Integration including Core-periphery relations in the European Union, Ireland and the European Union and more.

Sabine Saurugger (Grenoble/EU3D)

Sabine Saurugger is a Professor of Political Science (since 2005) and Director of Sciences Po Grenoble (since 2020). She is a honorary member of the Institut universitaire de France (IUF) and held visiting research and professorship positions at the College of Europe and the Universities of Lausanne, Cologne, Montreal, Brussels and Oxford. Her research focuses on public policy and European integration. More specifically, she concentrates on interest groups, theories of European integration, European public policies and institutions and the politics of law. Most recently she analysed the impact of economic and financial crises on public policies and legal frameworks.

Petr Kratochvíl (Institute of International Relations, Prague/EUIDEA)

Petr Kratochvíl is Professor of International Studies and a senior researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Prague. His recent works are located at the intersection of religious studies, European integration and critical geopolitics. He is the author of dozens of acclaimed scholarly articles and monographs. His recent book entitled *The Catholic Church and the European Union: Political Theology of European Integration* won the Book of the Year Award by the REL Section of the International Studies Association (2016).

Ceta Noland (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Ceta Noland is Strategic Policy Advisor for the European Union at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She has held position as Deputy Head Economic Section at the Dutch Embassy in the UK and Legal Adviser at the Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the United Nations.

Jonathan Zeitlin (UvA/InDivEU)

Jonathan Zeitlin is Distinguished Faculty Professor of Public Policy and Governance at the UvA and ACES Academic Director. His current research focuses on new forms of “experimentalist” governance within and beyond the European Union, with particular emphasis on market regulation, environmental protection, and social policy. He leads a Work Package on “Alternatives to Differentiated Integration” in the InDivEU project.