



**Transformation or Collapse?
Politicization and Integration in Postfunctionalist Times**

**An international conference organized by
the Amsterdam Centre for Contemporary European Studies (ACCESS EUROPE)**

13-14 October 2017

**Venue: Doelenzaal, University Library, University of Amsterdam,
Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam**

**Organizers: Francesco Nicoli (ACCESS EUROPE postdoctoral fellow)
and Jonathan Zeitlin (ACCESS EUROPE Scientific Director)**

Conference Description:

For more than 10 years, from the launch of the Single Currency to the global financial crisis, the process of deepening European integration stagnated, while emphasis had been on widening the borders of the Union. The Eurocrisis, however, signalled the beginning of a prolonged period of distress for the EU: several simultaneous crises are now affecting multiple policy domains and fracturing the cohesion of the Union's member-states across new, and changing, cleavages. The still-unresolved Eurocrisis continues to affect southern member states, widening the centre-periphery gap; the migration crisis created a rift between, on the one hand, the border countries on the south-east and the core countries, and, on the other hand, central and eastern European member states, unwilling to share the burden of the crisis. Finally, the Brexit vote not only threatens to unravel the balance between the Eurozone and the remaining non-Euro member-states, but also may increase the mounting Euroscepticism in core countries, creating a widespread political opposition to the very concept of European integration.

In the face of this *poly-crisis*, the Union's institutions have evolved. Yet despite the remarkable quantity of new institutions, policies, and legislation put in place to counter these entangled phenomena, a patchwork approach has prevailed and no comprehensive solution is in sight. The old functionalist adage that "integration advances through crises" appears, simultaneously confirmed and rejected: while institutional integration points in the direction predicted by Neofunctionalists, the dynamics of (political) fragmentation have accelerated, as Postfunctionalists would expect. Is Europe's poly-crisis pushing the Union towards a *transformative cycle*, as theorized by Philippe Schmitter forty years ago?

Against this background, this conference aims to bring together leading international scholars, both senior and junior, to shed light on two interlinked dilemmas. Is the novel political fragmentation of the EU structural, or could it be addressed by a shift of competences across layers of governance, for instance by proceeding with further integration in certain domains, while scaling integration back in others? And correlatively, to what extent are we facing a stagnation or even a reversal of the integration process, and to what extent, alternatively, are we edging towards further integration? To what extent is the process of politicization of the EU inherently “negative”, or under which conditions can it become an enabling, rather than a constraining factor in the integration process?

Programme

Friday 13 October

9.30-10.00 *coffee*

10.00-10.15 welcome address

10.15-11.00 Keynote lecture by **Philippe Schmitter**, European University Institute

“Neo-Functionalism as a Theory of Disintegration”

11.00-12.30 Senior panel 1: *Integration or Disintegration? (part 1)*

Chair: **Jonathan Zeitlin**, University of Amsterdam

Liesbet Hooghe, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

“Europe’s Crises and the Emergence of a Transnational Cleavage”

Gary Marks, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

“Dealignment meets Cleavage theory: The Social Bases of a Transnational Cleavage”

12.30-13.30 *lunch*

13.30-15.00 Senior panel 1: *Integration or Disintegration? (part 2)*

Frank Schimmelfennig, ETH Zurich

“Brexit: Negotiating Differentiated Disintegration”

Marcus Jachtenfuchs, Hertie School of Governance

“From Market Integration to Core State Powers: The Eurozone Crisis, the Refugee Crisis, and Integration Theory”

h.15.00-15.30 *Coffee break*

h. 15.30-18.00 Senior panel 2: *Positive or Negative Politicization?*

Chair: **Theresa Kuhn**, University of Amsterdam

Michael Zürn, Berlin Social Sciences Centre

“Why now? Exploring the Conditions that are Making the “New Cleavage” Salient” (tbc)

Vivien Schmidt, Boston University

“Politicization of the EU: Between National Politics and EU Political Dynamics”

Hanspeter Kriesi, European University Institute

“The Politicization of European Integration in National Politics during the Great Recession”

(19.30 Conference dinner)

Saturday 14 October

9.00-11.00 Junior panel 1. *Integration*

Chair: **Ben Crum**, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Maris Moks, Hertie School of Governance: *“The Role of European Constitutional Courts in the Aftermath of the Euro-crisis: From Neo-functionalism to New Intergovernmentalism”*

Katharina L. Meissner, University of Vienna (with **Magnus G. Schoeller**): *“The European Parliament between Integration and Disintegration: Fading Supranationalisation in a State of crisis?”*

Danilo di Mauro, La Sapienza University: *“A Post-Functionalist Approach to Public Attitudes towards European Integration”*

Maurits Meijers, Radboud University Nijmegen (with **Asya Zhelyazkova**): *“From Shifting attitudes to shifting outcomes? The role of EU contestation on EU policy-making and Implementation”*

11.30-13.30 Junior panel 2. *Politicization*

Chair: **Francesco Nicoli**, University of Amsterdam

Bart J. Bes, Lund University (with **Christian Rauh** and **Martijn Schoonvelde**): *“Preaching to the Choir or Whistling in the Wind? Public Communication of Supra- and Intergovernmental Executives in Times of EU Politicization”*

Raphaela Hobbach, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München: *“Debating Redistribution within the European Union: Public Debates in Germany and France”*

Miliça Pejovic, University of Trento: *“Politicization of European Integration in the Public Discourse: On the Way to “Politics as Usual” or Disintegration?”*

Julia Schulte-Cloos, European University Institute: *“European Direct Elections and their Disintegrative Impact on Challenger Parties’ National Success”*

13.30 *final lunch*