



**TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
DRESDEN**

Philosophische Fakultät – Institut für Politikwissenschaft – Professur für Internationale Politik

– Strategic Partnership –

JOINT WORKSHOP ON EUROPE

by the

Universities of Dresden, London, Trento and Wroclaw

Organizers: Markus Gastinger | Technische Universität Dresden
Anselm Vogler | Technische Universität Dresden

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SUMMARY

This workshop aims to breathe life into the strategic partnership between the Technical University (TU) Dresden and the University of Trento, the King's College London and the University of Wrocław (incl. the Willy Brandt Center). To underline the joint character of this workshop, each session aims to include at least one speaker from each participating institution. The empirical focus of the joint workshop is the European Union (EU), broadly conceived. It takes a theoretically and methodologically pluralist approach giving a platform to a wide variety of research topics tackling the past and future of European integration, its member states, EU policy-making and external relations. The list of speakers comprises early-career researchers (pre-docs and post-docs) and long-established professors to facilitate the spread of knowledge across generations for mutual benefit. The workshop is open to Bachelor and Master students of the TU Dresden (particularly in its political science and international relations programs) to present cutting-edge research to a diverse and enthusiastic crowd. Finally, the workshop endeavours to chart out a path for enhanced cooperation between all participating institutions in the future.

PROGRAMME

DAY 1

Location: Festsaal des Rektorats (show on [map](#))

8.30-9.00

Welcome coffee

9.00-9.15

Opening remarks

Mark Arenhövel

9.15-11.00

Session 1

Margherita de Candia

The Five Stars Movement and the EU: a fluid, multi-level organization? (Discussant: Claudia Fahron-Hussey)

Marco Brunazzo

Integration through Differentiation? The case of the EU (Discussant: Anselm Vogler)

Markus Gastinger

Trading for statehood: integrating the EU's external dimension, 1963–2010 (Discussant: Edoardo Bressanelli)

Jochen Roose

Eurocrisis Contested: A European Debate or Just Debates on Europe? A Greek German Analysis (Discussant: Maciej Herbut)



11.00-11.15 *Coffee break*

11.15-12.35 *Session 2*

Edoardo Bressanelli

The European Parliament in the new intergovernmental Union
(Discussant: Markus Gastinger)

Ireneusz Karolewski

The EU's Power in the Russia-Ukraine Crisis (Discussant: Erik Fritzsche)

Sebastian Trept & Anselm Vogler

Brexit and British newspaper coverage: moving on? (Discussant: Marco Brunazzo)

12.35-13.35 *Lunch*

13.35-14.55 *Session 3*

Karol Chwedczuk-Szulc

The Social History of American Federalism - A Handbook for EU's Policymakers? (Discussant: Rosa Meyer)

Claudia Fahron-Hussey

NATO's and the EU's Military Crisis Management Operations:
The Importance of Agent Characteristics (Discussant: Margherita de Candia)

Christoph Meyer

The Brexit debate and the EU's so-called Democratic Deficit
(Discussant: Emanuela Bozzini)

14.55-15.10 *Coffee break*

15.10-17.00 *Closed session (not open to students)*

Discussion on future initiatives

In this session, we will moot opportunities for enhanced cooperation between our universities to fill our strategic partnerships with life. Potential topics include (but are not limited to): common publications, teaching exchanges, public debates, joint grant applications. We will be joined by **Ms Kathrin Tittel** (Programme Coordinator of the Office of International Affairs) and **Mr Christian Gerhardt** (Head of the European Project Center).

From 18.00 *Dresden sightseeing tour*



From 19.30 *Dinner* ([Altmarktkeller](#); show on [map](#))

DAY 2

Location: Von-Gerber-Bau (show on [map](#))

9.00-10.20 *Session 4*

Mark Arenhövel

Failure and Hope: On Democracy in (Eastern) Europe (Discussant: Alicja Sielska)

Rosa Meyer

Lessons to learn from Bosnia: the role of Salafi groups within European societies (Discussant: Karol Chwedczuk-Szulc)

Maciej Herbut (with Renata Kunert-Milcarz)

Failures and successes of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Discussant: Jochen Roose)

10.20-10.35 *Coffee break*

10.35-11.55 *Session 5*

Emanuela Bozzini

The Regulation of pesticides in the EU: From Risk to Hazard Assessment (Discussant: Christoph Meyer)

Erik Fritzsche

The future of European Integration and the consequences of escalating social acceleration (Discussant: Ireneusz Karolewski)

Alicja Sielska

The fertility problem in European countries (Discussant: Mark Arenhövel)

11.55-12.10 *Closing remarks*

Mark Arenhövel



LIST OF SPEAKERS (ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

Mark Arenhövel | Acting Chair of International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

Emanuela Bozzini | Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Trento

Edoardo Bressanelli | Lecturer in European Politics, King's College London

Marco Brunazzo | Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Trento

Margherita de Candia | PhD Candidate in European Studies, King's College London

Karol Chwedczuk-Szulc | Assistant professor, Section of European Union Studies, University of Wrocław

Claudia Fahren-Hussey | PhD Candidate, Technische Universität Dresden

Erik Fritzsche | Lecturer in International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

Markus Gastinger | Lecturer in International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

Maciej Herbut | Lecturer in International and Global Politics, University of Wrocław

Ireneusz Karolewski | Professor and Chair of Politics, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

Christoph Meyer | Professor of European & International Politics, King's College London

Rosa Meyer | PhD Candidate, Technische Universität Dresden

Jochen Roose | Professor and Chair of Sociology, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

Alicja Sielska | Research Assistant of the Chair of Politics, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

Sebastian Trept | PhD Candidate, Technische Universität Dresden

Anselm Vogler | Master student & research assistant, Technische Universität Dresden



ABSTRACTS

Mark Arenhövel | Acting Chair of International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

Failure and Hope: On Democracy in (Eastern) Europe

The Copenhagen criteria define democracy as a prerequisite to join the European Union. In my presentation I analyze the democratic performance of the new member states of the EU in order to show that even nations that have been held up as democratic models have regressed over the past years. According to the Bertelsmann Transformation Index some states which were considered as consolidated democratic systems show a remarkable decline in their democratic performance. I will conclude with some tentative remarks whether this development is part of a “worldwide decline of representative government” or whether it can be interpreted as a specific European phenomenon.

Emanuela Bozzini | Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Trento

The Regulation of pesticides in the EU: From Risk to Hazard Assessment

The EU regulatory regime for pesticides is proudly declared by European Institutions one of the strictest in the world. It is defined by principles of hazard identification, precaution, harmonisation and sustainability, a characteristic that makes it distinctive in the context of risk regulatory regimes. The current EU pesticide policy was introduced in 2009 when – after a process that took almost a decade – Directive 414/1991 was repealed and the ‘pesticide package’ made of Regulation 1107/2009 and Directive 128/2009 adopted. Here I pay specific attention to Regulation 1107/2009 on the placing on the market of ‘plant protection products’ - i.e. pesticides –, which introduced a radical policy change: the risk-based approach at the core of previous Directive 414/1991 was substituted by an hazard-based approach. The old risk-based approach was based on the idea that we can assess and manage risks, so that carcinogen or pollutant substances might still be permitted if the risk associated with them is assessed to be low or manageable, or worth taking for economic reasons. The hazard-based approach instead implies that if an active substance is found to be intrinsically dangerous, for instance to cause cancer or persistent pollution, then no risks will be taken and its use will be outrightly banned with no need of further assessment. In short, the hazard-based approach stipulates that there are risks that are unacceptable and cannot be managed. The new approach is therefore more restrictive and its introduction in EU regulation proved very controversial. In this paper I will address the question of how and why EU policy-makers reformed pesticide policy. I will adopt the Multiple Stream Framework (Kingdom 2004) to highlight the specific – and contingent – political circumstances that favoured the identification of the hazard-based approach as a feasible policy solution. Following MSF, I will trace the activities of policy entrepreneurs who mobilised on the issue and shed light on the conditions that eventually made radical change possible.



Edoardo Bressanelli | Lecturer in European Politics, King's College London

The European Parliament in the new intergovernmental Union

The literature on the 'new intergovernmentalism' has suggested that, in the post-Maastricht period and particularly after the Eurocrisis, the member states and the (European) Council have come to play a more prominent role in the process of integration, with the supranational institutions being marginalized. Theoretical and empirical studies have mainly focused on the tension between the European Council and the Commission, while others have analysed the role of key member states, such as Germany. Against this background, this paper aims to provide an assessment of the role of the European Parliament in this new phase of integration. Focusing on two cases in areas of 'core state powers' – the reform of economic governance and the migration crisis – it will analyse the role of the EU's only elected institution in framing the debate and shaping legislation. Relying on broad documentary evidence and original interviews with policy-makers, it argues that the institutional empowerment of the EP in new policy areas does not automatically imply its policy influence. In testing times of existential crisis threatening the very existence of the Union, and/or when legislation is on policies strictly connected to the very essence of state sovereignty, the prominence of the European Council and the 'constraining dissensus' of national public opinions are powerful limits to the EP's action.

Marco Brunazzo | Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Trento

Integration through Differentiation? The Case of the EU

The EU is becoming more institutionally differentiated and flexible. To a large extent, this is not new. In particular since the approval of the Single European Act, differentiation (with its multidimensional and multifaceted definitions) has been seen as a way to exit the EU stalemate. More recently, differentiation has been fostered by the economic crisis, and it has been conceived as a model for further EU integration. The paper aims at answering the following questions: How was the concept of flexible integration developed in the EU? What kinds of flexible arrangements are now used in the EU? Is the EU (inevitably) moving towards a hard core of Member States or will the EU continue on its path of practical problem solving through flexibility? More in general, what are the implications of flexibility for the theory of regional EU integration?

Margherita de Candia | PhD Researcher in European Studies, King's College London and **Edoardo Bressanelli** | Lecturer in European Politics, King's College London

The Five Stars Movement and the EU: a fluid, multi-level organization?

The objective of this paper is to investigate the composition, position and behaviour of the delegation of the Five Stars Movement (5SM) in the European Parliament (EP) and shed light on the interaction between the 5SM's delegation in Brussels and the



central party organization at home. Very little is known about the 5SM in Brussels, despite it being the second largest Italian delegation in the EP with 17 members, and the second largest party in the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group. Analysing biographical data and the recorded votes of the MEPs, as well as original interviews with the 5SM representatives, we show that a high degree of coordination characterises the interaction between home and Brussels. Yet, interestingly, this coordination does not run via formal roles set out in rigid organigrams, but is informal and fluid. This paper provides the first account of the functioning of the 5SM at the EU level and contributes to the scholarly debate on whether or not the EU is developing into a multilevel parliamentary system.

Karol Chwedczuk-Szulc | Assistant professor, Section of European Union Studies, University of Wrocław

The Social History of American Federalism - A Handbook for EU's Policymakers?

The recent economic and political turmoil in Europe has brought back into the spotlight the questions about the future of European integration. Almost “naturally” the case of American federalism came in handy as an evident comparative material – the past is the only tool social scientists can invoke to state something about present times and the future. Therefore the history of American federal system appears to be the most attractive research material that can produce relevant information about European federalization. Hence the aim of this article is to answer the fundamental question whether the process of American integration within the framework of a federal system can tell us something about the future of European integration. In order to do that, the following questions must be taken into account: how the idea of federalism was present in public space throughout history, and which political outcomes it has produced. Here historical sociology and the theory of social constructivism come to succour. Learning how, in over 200-year-long historical process, the American society produced a functioning federal political system can help answer the questions about possible extrapolation on EU's political reality.

Claudia Fahron-Hussey | PhD Candidate, Technische Universität Dresden

NATO's and the EU's Military Crisis Management Operations: The Importance of Agent Characteristics

Why is authorization given to either NATO, the EU, or both NATO and the EU to launch a military crisis management operation? In this paper, an explanation is developed that is based on the rationalist principal-agent approach but builds a bridge to constructivist approaches by focusing on agent characteristics. These comprise the material and nonmaterial capabilities as well as the preferences of the international organizations. The decision-making process within the collective principal, which is assumed to include all the member states of NATO and the EU, has to be reconstructed. It is shown that NATO and the EU as the potential agents influence the process. The argument is illustrated by three case studies, namely Libya,



Chad/CAR, and the Horn of Africa. The findings demonstrate that the principal selects the agent who has the more suitable agent characteristics to react militarily to a specific crisis. If the two potential agents have equally suitable agent characteristics, the principal delegates the task to both of them.

Erik Fritzsche | Lecturer in International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

The future of European Integration and the consequences of escalating social acceleration

Sociological research has shown that a key property of modern societies is a constant need to stabilize itself dynamically. Therefore, (economic) growth, acceleration and the compression of innovation are characteristics of our times. The most striking indicator of these processes within the EU context became the Lisbon Strategy in 2000. There, the European Council set out policies and benchmarks to aim at three percent economic growth per annum – albeit being an unprecedented long-term rate in human history. As sociological research suggests, however, these processes of growth, acceleration and compression of innovation has consequences not only for the government and governance of societies, but – more seriously – the construction, adaptation and functioning of institutions. Although hypotheses on the consequences of social accelerations have far reaching implications for political institutions, they are underexplored in recent Political Science, particularly in the field of International Relations and the study of the EU. Rather, the discourses on institutions, their shortcomings and possible reforms are misguided by the implicit premise that the diagnosed escalation of time pressures do not play a systematic role. The paper therefore explores phenomena of the consequences of social acceleration for the EU institutions and the processes of European Integration. It shows that, given the constraints for running and setting up institutions in the context of (over-)acceleration, there is hardly any reason to be optimistic about future efforts to build an EU that is both functional and legitimate.

Markus Gastinger | Lecturer in International Politics, Technische Universität Dresden

Trading for statehood: integrating the EU's external dimension, 1963–2010

Understanding Europe's emergence as a global actor is of major interest to many scholars. This paper covers a hitherto overlooked aspect of this process by arguing that the Commission used its monopoly to conclude bilateral trade agreements (BTAs) with other states to purposefully integrate the EU's external dimension. While previous research has dealt with multilateral trade policy in the World Trade Organization (WTO), how the EU employs bilateral trade agreements (BTAs) has attracted considerably less attention. BTAs today cover an array of issues extending beyond primarily commercial interests to areas such as development co-operation, coordination within international organizations or inter-parliamentary exchange. I argue that the Commission has used its crown competencies in trade to enhance its external action capabilities and become a fully-fledged global actor that can, in many respects, be compared to a state. In contrast to the EU's internal dimension, this is not



a zero-sum game where more competencies for the EU necessarily mean fewer for member states. Rather, the EU has become an additional actor standing alongside its members on the global stage. Integrating the external dimension is thus markedly different from other policies, where sovereignty costs are a necessary price to pay for deeper integration.

Maciej Herbut (with Renata Kunert-Milcarz) | Section of international and global Politics

Failures and successes of the Eastern Partnership initiative

The Eastern Partnership initiative was an ambitious attempt of extending cooperation with countries of the post-soviet sphere, namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Although this cooperation did not envision future membership, it without doubt was a milestone event that was supposed to influence the democratisation processes in the aforementioned states. Although Swedish involvement decreased over time, Poland remained an active player which promoted the strategy. The programme however from the very beginning was beset with problems since the involvement of major countries such as France, Great Britain, Spain did not consider this initiative as important. The troublesome international situation, such as the Arab Spring in the Middle-East and north Africa, the rising migration crisis and an expansionist Russian Foreign policy eventually led to the failure of the project.

Ireneusz Karolewski | Professor of Political Science, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

The EU's power in the Russia-Ukraine Crisis

The paper explores what impact the Russia– Ukraine crisis has had on the EU as a foreign policy actor? Most studies examine how the EU has evolved as an actor over time of its own initiative, but tend to discount the role that the external context or structure of the international system might play in constraining or enabling the EU's exercise of power. This paper attempts to understand the EU's influence through the lenses of its embeddedness in an unpredictable and uncertain international system. Specifically, the paper asks whether and to what extent the Russia– Ukraine crisis serves as a critical juncture and catalyst for shaping the EU's power.

Christoph Meyer | Professor of European & International Politics, King's College London

The Brexit debate and the EU's so-called Democratic Deficit

The British public debate in the run-up to the Brexit referendum offers important lessons for our understanding of the EU's democratic deficit. Here was a country with considerable influence in EU policy-making and exempt from most policy areas that are seen as potentially problematic in terms of undermining the sovereignty of national governments such as Eurozone governance and asylum and migration policy. Yet, the remain-side was unable to effectively counter the argument that “Brussels”



was undemocratic, over-powerful and British citizens without a voice. The paper examines two arguments: one focused on the particularities of the British case given long-term tabloid coverage of “Brussels” over decades and the Westminster-focused political culture. The other approach would look at cognitive spill-overs from the Greek case, the uncommunicable role of the European Commission in policy-making and the counter-productive effects of the first “Spitzenkandidaten” procedure. The paper argues that the EU cannot afford a repeat of the 2014 EP elections and needs to decide whether the Commission is a political or technocratic body and draw the necessary consequences of either splitting-off technocratic from political parts or embracing majoritarian politics.

Rosa Meyer | PhD Candidate, Technische Universität Dresden

Lessons to learn from Bosnia: the role of Salafi groups within European societies

In this paper I question the role of Salafi communities and groups within European societies. Therefore, I firstly look at the development and the proliferation of Salafi communities in Bosnia from 1995 to 2017. I argue that the genesis of Salafist hubs e.g. in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be partly explained by fragile or failed state structures in geographic and functional areas. Further, I claim that Salafi stakeholders to some extent cover state functions. This is especially relevant, where social welfare functions are affected. Finally, I outline possible consequences and strategies for joint European prevention programmes against the radicalization of European youth.

Jochen Roose | Professor of Social Sciences, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

Eurocrisis Contested: A European Debate or Just Debates on Europe? A Greek German Analysis

The sovereign debt crisis in the Euro zone has not only shaken the European economy but also the European polity and the European political culture. The developments on the financial markets and the resultant political action to avoid a state default have questioned established institutional settings and action patterns. These developments not only initiated various institutional changes but also a wide public debate. The discussions on a politicisation of the European Union, also due to the crisis (e.g. Grande/Hutter 2014, Roose 2015), assume that people are increasingly interested in political developments on the European level and discuss European politics. This links to the older debate on the evolution of a European public sphere (Gerhards 1993, 2000, Risse 2015) looking for an European arena in which European politics is discussed. The presentation takes up these diagnoses and arguments to test empirically to which extent a European debate on the Eurocrisis has evolved or whether the debates remain national in respect to involved actors and problem perceptions. This question is discussed for Germany and Greece, the two most prominent countries in the crisis with very differing (some say opposing) roles. Using a standardized content analysis of the public attribution of responsibilities in



newspapers of the two countries covering 2009 to 2015, the presentation analysis, to which extent European actors and national actors from other European countries appear in the debate as senders and/or addressees. Furthermore, the framing of the debate in the two countries is compared to find out, to which extent the problem definition is coherent or different in the two countries.

Alicja Sielska | Research Assistant of the Chair of Politics, Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław

The fertility problem in European countries

The low fertility rate and hence aging population is one of the major challenges facing Europe today. The paper focuses on how is this problem dealt with by individual countries against the background of their specific social policies. In particular, the paper is interested in the question of which instruments of social policy are used by the countries in question and what are their outcomes? The paper will try to address these questions in a comparative manner.

Sebastian Trept & Anselm Vogler | PhD Candidate & Master student, Technische Universität Dresden

Brexit and British newspaper coverage: moving on?

On 23 June 2016, the people of the United Kingdom voted predominantly for Britain to leave the European Union. In response many politicians, journalists, social scientists and pollsters were shocked, erroneously believing that by rationally weighing the facts the Remain faction will succeed. Since political education concerning the EU is not deeply rooted in the European societies, the mass media is the main arbiter for key arguments on each side. Therefore, the Leave-campaign seems to have been able to communicate its messages more effectively through the mass media. However, the nine months following the referendum show how difficult, complex and far reaching this decision turns out to be, especially for the United Kingdom. Considering these outcomes, we expect that the news coverage concerning Brexit has changed. In this paper, we conduct an automated quantitative content analysis to test this expectation. It covers the press coverage of several daily British newspapers between 22 February 2015 (the first full working day after Cameron announced the referendum) and 13 March 2017 (the official act of Parliament to trigger Article 50 in Brussels). We investigate how the report frequency in those newspapers developed, in which context Brexit was placed and what other issues were linked to Brexit. We aim at a comparison not only between newspapers but also before and after the referendum.