



Workshop on political differentiation and the spectre of dominance

EU3D Work Package 1
Analytical Framework: Differentiation, dominance and democracy

23-24 January 2020 | [ARENA Centre for European Studies](#)

University of Oslo | Gaustadalléen 30, Oslo

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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Introduction

In the last decade, and especially after the Eurozone and refugee crises, European integration has become more differentiated. It was long held that even if member states had exemptions or opt outs or did not participate in all EU programs, member states were generally speaking moving in the same direction. Some states would simply take longer in getting there. Recent events and developments have challenged or perhaps even undermined this notion of development in the same unifying direction. Brexit is only the most obvious reminder to the effect that the EU faces important *disintegrative* pressures. The long-drawn and arduous Brexit process has helped to sway Euro-sceptic populists across Europe to abandon plans for leaving the EU. They instead seek to renegotiate their countries' EU relations whilst remaining EU members, which gives added impetus to differentiation.

The upshot is that we need to broaden our conceptual repertoire and consider such notions as differentiated integration; differentiated disintegration; and disintegration itself. All these developments have profound implications for Europe's political order, both in terms of the question of democracy in Europe and in terms of the prospects for dominance that certain forms or manifestations exhibit. The relationship between differentiation and democracy is complex and composite, which is amplified when we include dominance. Some of the manifestations of increased differentiation in today's Europe will generate coordination problems, forms of exclusion, heightened arbitrariness and informality - all of which are phenomena associated with dominance. A proper assessment of the problems and challenges that the EU is currently facing therefore requires paying systematic attention to the interaction among differentiation, dominance, and democracy, which is the theme of this workshop.

Workshop themes and orientation

The purpose of this workshop is threefold: First is to conceptualize dominance in today's highly interdependent and inter-imbricated political context. Second is to clarify the relationship between dominance and differentiation. Third is to consider the nature and scope for democratic reform.

The first part provides an overview of the EU3D project as a necessary framing reference for the subsequent discussion. The second part provides a range of case studies of those aspects of the EU post-crises that are most closely associated with the turn to dominance. The third part discusses different conceptions of dominance, with emphasis on three lines of thought: Philip Pettit's and Richard Bellamy's neo-republican notion, Ian Shapiro's power-based resourcism and Erik Eriksen's Kantian approach. As part of that, we focus on clarifying the relationship between dominance and differentiation. What are the circumstances under which differentiation is most likely to engender dominance? What are the drivers and the causal mechanisms? The causal relationship can go both ways: circumstances of dominance can render differentiation pathological, and circumstances of differentiation can produce dominance. In the fourth and final part we consider the nature and scope for democratic reform. What are the mechanisms through which such processes of democratization may proceed?

Programme

Thursday, 23 January

- 12.00 – 13.00 Lunch
- 13.00 – 14.30 **Overview of EU3D**
John Erik Fossum
General discussion
- 14.30 – 14.45 Coffee break
- 14.45 – 17.15 **Case studies of dominance and the link to differentiation**
This part provides a set of case studies to help situate the theoretical debate
Agustin Menendez on EU monetary and fiscal policy
Asimina Michailidou on the Eurozone crisis
Dia Anagnostou on the refugee crisis
John Erik Fossum on executive dominance
- 19:00 Dinner, [Sentralen](#) (Øvre Slottsgate 3)

Friday, 24 January

- 09.00 – 11.00 **Normative conceptions of dominance and differentiation**
The aim is to discuss different perspectives on dominance and how they relate to differentiation - with explicit reference to the specifics of the EU
Richard Bellamy, Erik O. Eriksen and Andreas Niederberger
General discussion
- 11.00 – 11.15 Coffee break
- 11.15 – 13.30 **Democratic reform: undoing dominance – how does differentiation figure?**
Operationalization and research design for the analyses of parliamentary debates
Magdalena Góra and Hans-Jörg Trenz
Roundtable discussion on drivers of democratic reform: who drive reforms, how do reforms come about, and what are their effects?
EU3D WP-leaders
Concluding reflections
Craig Parsons
- 13.30 Lunch