



REGIONAL  
PARLIAMENTS  
LAB

# Redefining Regions in Europe

Kick-off Conference of the Regional Parliaments Lab (REGIOPARL)

January 23 and 24, 2019 | Danube University Krems, Austria

Danube University Krems

Department for European Policy and the Study of Democracy

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## Wednesday 23 January 2019

16:00 - 16:30	<b>Opening</b> Prof. Viktoria Weber (Vice-Rector, Danube University Krems) Dr. Joachim Rössl (Forum Morgen Privatstiftung) Prof. Ulrike Guérot (Danube University Krems)
16:30 - 17:30	<b>Keynote: Small is Beautiful? On the Advantages and Pitfalls of Small-Scale Government</b> Prof. Claire Wallace (University of Aberdeen)
17:30 - 18:00	<b>Break</b>
18:00 - 19:30	<b>Round Table: Subsidiarity – Remedy for the EU Democratic Deficit?</b> Moderation: Dr. Sarah Meyer (Danube University Krems – Regional Parliaments Lab) Dr. Martin Eichtinger (Provincial Government of Lower Austria) Prof. Ulrike Guérot (Danube University Krems – Regional Parliaments Lab) Dr. Katrin Praprotnik (Danube University Krems – Austrian Democracy Lab) Dr. Justus Schönlaub (PES Group in the European Committee of the Regions) Philippe Narval, MSc (European Forum Alpbach)
19:30 onwards	<b>Get together</b>

## Thursday 24 January 2019

9:30 - 11:00	<b>Panel 1: Autonomous Regions – For Closure or for Opening?</b> Moderation: Bastian Kenn, BA (European Democracy Lab) Discussant: Julien Deroin, MA (European Democracy Lab) Prof. Andreas Rahmatian (University of Glasgow) Dr. Karl Kössler (Eurac Research) Prof. Marc Swyngedouw (KU Leuven)
11:00 - 11:30	<b>Coffee Break</b>
11:30 - 13:00	<b>Panel 2: Regional Parties, Populism and European Integration</b> Moderation: Prof. Gabriele Abels (University of Tübingen) Discussant: Dr. Erik Miklin (University of Salzburg) Moritz Neujeffski, MSc (WZB Berlin) Prof. Roland Sturm (Friedrich – Alexander University Erlangen – Nürnberg) Dr. Daniel Cetrà (Centre on Constitutional Change, Edinburgh)
13:00 - 14:00	<b>Lunch</b>
14:00 - 16:00	<b>Panel 3: Border Regions</b> Dr. Marcin Zubek (Jagiellonian University Kraków) Dr. Joanna Orzechowska-Waclawska (Jagiellonian University Kraków) Dr. Urszula Roman-Kamphaus (Edinburgh Napier University) Camille Dobler, MSc (Jagiellonian University Kraków, SciencesPo Paris)

# Redefining Regions in Europe

Kick-off Conference of the Regional Parliaments Lab (REGIOPARL)

"The boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially."<sup>1</sup>

Most of the time, regions lack attention in the shadow of their big "parents", the nations, when it comes to EU policy. Nevertheless, debates and discourses on regions seem to heat up regularly, when they strive for independence. What is the threshold from autonomous region to independent nation, and why is the latter an upcoming request in contemporary Europe?<sup>2</sup> The case of the Scottish referendum 2016, the blockade of Wallonia against CETA 2016, and the Catalonian crisis in 2017 are only three recent examples for the regions' unclarified role in the current EU. Closely linked to the political role of regions is the question of their (inner and outer) borders, not only evoked by the last major political changes in Europe e.g. the fall of the iron curtain or the Yugoslavian war. Who or what defines a region? What relations do regions maintain with "their" cities and neighbors, but also with their nations or even the European Union? What future regions are imaginable? And how do regions cope with current challenges like globalization or populism? The third "Krems Annual Conference on European Democracy" is also intended to be the kick-off conference to our research project "Regional Parliaments in Europe" – REGIOPARL. On the one hand, we aim to broaden the field of knowledge on definitions of regions, on the other hand we'd like discuss recent challenges and pressing issues regions in Europe face today.

Regions no longer seem to be a static, reactionary construct but have undergone major changes and experiments in the last decades: EU outer borders have changed tremendously and "inner" borders are still being shifted – think of Brexit or the Balkan region. Regions form new conglomerates with their neighbors, as can be seen in the EUREGIOs, or are split up into smaller units to strengthen the local economy and culture. Several recent approaches to rearrange the classification of regions focus on administrative and economic indicators like the NUTS regions or regional typologies of so-called "functional areas" by ESPON<sup>3</sup>; opposed to this is the steadily growing emotionality when it comes to regions, homeland and their (imagined) borders, which may be exploited by populist movements. The political dimension between those two poles of meaning of functional and emotional definitions of regions and regionalism still leaves a gap to be filled. Strategies and developments of European regions should certainly not be perceived as uniform today: since economic and political power often correlate, we have to carefully observe whether recent changes will lead to an equivalent development and balanced power structure within European regions, or whether we have to deal with new and old cleavages between "Power-Regions" and (their) metropoles on the one hand and struggling marginal regions on the other hand. Increasing regional poverty gaps between growth and non-growth regions in Europe may harden discussions about European solidarity, let alone a European fiscal constitution.

Due to their contested borders, regions undoubtedly are vivid entities in a globalized world. Though often deemed as "obsolete", regions are rare examples of resilience in a turbulent world since they constantly and successfully claim their stance in political and daily life. In this sense, we would like to ask for the advantages and disadvantages of small-scale governments and discuss their power to defend democracy and combat populist excesses, in defined and thus overseeable regional agoras.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore we would like to take a glance on the perhaps "dark" side of regionalism, by asking whether Regionalization always relates to an opening and Europeanization or whether it is likely to lead to a closure and withdrawal from the international scene. In a moment of a European vacuum, induced by an economic crisis and continued by negotiations around the so-called refugee crisis, the role of regions (but Metropolitan areas) is perhaps in a decisive state like it has never been before.

1 Simmel G, 1997, „The Sociology of space“, in Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings, Eds. D Frisby, M Featherstone (Sage, London), p.141.

2 The concept of Ethnoregionalism has been discussed by Hrbek R, 1996, „Regionen in Europa und die regionale Ebene in der EU: Eine Einführung“, in The Regions – Factors of Integration or Desintegration in Europe?, Eds. Färber, G/Forsyth, M (Nomos, Baden-Baden), p. 13-22. Eser P, 2013, Fragmentierte Nation – globalisierte Region? Der baskische und katalanische Nationalismus im Kontext von Globalisierung und europäischer Integration, (transcript, Bielefeld), p. 45.

3 <https://www.espon.eu/tools-maps/regional-typologies>.

4 The idea of "Small is beautiful" has been used by Leopold Kohr (1995) to describe the advantages of small scale units for several reasons but also in terms of government and participation.

# Wednesday, 23 January 2019

16.00 - 16.30

## Opening

Prof. Viktoria Weber (Vice-Rector, Danube University Krems)

Dr. Joachim Rössl (Forum Morgen Privatstiftung)

Prof. Ulrike Guérot (Danube University Krems)

16.30 - 17.30

## Keynote: Small is Beautiful? On the Advantages and Pitfalls of Small-Scale Government

Prof. Claire Wallace (University of Aberdeen)

Regions in Europe are caught between four polarities. First, the regional identity might be more or less strong, more or less ethnically and linguistically defined and more or less autonomous. Second, the identity of the host nation(s) where the region is situated may be more or less accommodating or belligerent depending on their nationalising tendencies. Third, there may be a "kin" nation over the border which may or may not lay claim to them and could be more or less nationalising themselves. Fourth, the European Union offers the promise of freedom, integration and prosperity but also imposes conditions on its countries to recognise national minorities and manage them more or less well. In his 2000 article about the battleground for European identity, Martin Kohli sees the regions as critical places for working out identities. However, he was writing before the nationalist backlash with nation states asserting themselves more forcefully and bringing regions into a new sort of prominence. Drawing upon Frank Furedi's (2017) idea of contrasting European historical narratives – one being the European enlightenment liberal one and the other the nationalist illiberal one – I will consider the new role of regions in these evolving constellations of power. I will draw upon some relevant examples including Polish and Russian minorities as well as the rise of contrasting Scottish and English nationalisms.

Claire Wallace is Professor of Sociology at the University of Aberdeen. She previously worked at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna and was President of the European Sociological Association between 2007 and 2009 as well as Editor of its flagship journal "European Societies". She co-ordinated the project ENRI-East "The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities on Europe's Eastern Borderlands" for the EU Framework Programme between 2008 and 2011 on which she draws for this talk. Claire Wallace is a member of the Academy of Social Science.



17.30 - 18.00

## Break

18:00 - 19:30

## Round Table: Subsidiarity – Remedy for the Democratic Deficit of the EU?

Dr. Sarah Meyer (Danube University Krems – Regional Parliaments Lab)

Dr. Martin Eichtinger (Provincial Government of Lower Austria)

Prof. Ulrike Guérot (Danube University Krems – Regional Parliaments Lab)

Dr. Katrin Praprotnik (Danube University Krems – Austrian Democracy Lab)

Dr. Justus Schönlau (PES Group in the European Committee of the Regions)

Philippe Narval, MSc (European Forum Alpbach)

Subsidiarity is a key principle of EU law-making. Introduced to halt the surreptitious transferal of powers from national and sub-national (parliamentary) bodies to the European institutions, it has since become a buzzword for national politicians who disagree with the EU using its authority and call for “taking back control”.

In addition, subsidiarity also provides for an argument in the ongoing debate on the EU’s democratic deficit. Where appropriate, it favors decisions to be taken at the national and sometimes regional level, that is, as close as possible to citizens. Thus, the introduction of the subsidiarity principle was at least partially motivated by the desire to increase democratic control in EU decision making. It is doubtful whether this endeavor can be described as successful when facing the persistent amount of discontent of EU citizens concerning democratic participation in the EU.

Especially at the regional level, politicians are constantly under pressure to explain the EU’s growing inability to cope with large scale problems to their citizens (financial and economic crisis, the so-called refugee crisis or climate protection); instead they have to cope with the perceived “interference” of the EU in small scale – national or regional – problems. Subsidiarity seems to be a useful tool to cope with this dilemma in fostering the transparency of decisions for citizens. Nevertheless, calls for genuine participation and sovereignty of citizens themselves cannot be overheard any longer. Enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the subsidiarity principle only became practically effective with the creation of the early warning mechanism in the Treaty of Lisbon. Initial enthusiasm about the involvement of national and regional parliaments in the EU policy process has faded since. Despite their best efforts, the early warning system seems ineffective, to say the least.

Rather than alleviating the democratic deficit, has subsidiarity control simply become another cumbersome, bureaucratic instrument in the EU policy process? Having in mind the recent report of the Task Force on Subsidiarity, wider reflections on the role of national and regional parliaments in the EU as well as the need for strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the EU, what role should the principle of subsidiarity have in the future EU and how could it work in practice?

### Moderator

Sarah Meyer works as a Post-Doctoral Researcher at the Danube University Krems, where she coordinates the REGIOPARL project studying the role of regional polities in European integration. Previously, she worked at the Austrian Federal Chancellery, the University of Vienna and the University of Innsbruck. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Vienna and did a post-graduate programme on European integration at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna. Her research focuses on European integration and migration as issues of party politics.



## Panelists

Martin Eichtinger received his J.D. from the University of Graz in 1983 and went on to acquire a Diploma in International Affairs from Johns Hopkins University's Bologna Center. He joined the Austrian diplomatic service in 1986 and had his first posting at the Austrian Embassy in Mexico City in 1987. He worked in the Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, occupying positions both in the Department for European Affairs and as Personal Secretary to the Foreign Minister, Alois Mock. In 1992 he took office as Director of the Austrian Press and Information Service and Press Counsellor in the Embassy in Washington DC, where he served for eight years. Upon return to Vienna, he accepted a position as the Federation of Industry's Director for International Affairs. During the following three years he had two extraordinary assignments: as Head of Office of the Special Representative for Payments to Former Forced and Slave Labourers of the Nazi Regime and as a project manager for a pulp and paper factory in Syktyvkar, Russia, which had been acquired by an Austrian company. Starting in 2003 he served as Chief of Staff in the Cabinet of the Federal Minister of Economics and Labour, Martin Bartenstein, becoming Secretary General in this Ministry just four years later. From 2007 to 2010 he served as Austrian Ambassador to Romania and Moldova, and in 2010 he became Director General for Cultural Policy at the Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs in Vienna. From January 2015 to March 2018, Martin Eichtinger served as Austrian Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. On March 22, 2018 Martin Eichtinger was sworn in as Member of the Government of Lower Austria (ÖVP, Austrian People's Party, member of the EPP - European People's Party). His responsibilities include housing, labour and international relations.



Ulrike Guéröt is Professor at Danube University in Krems, Austria and Head of the Department for European Policy and the Study of Democracy. Moreover, she is the founder of the European Democracy Lab in Berlin, a think-tank dedicated to the idea of an European Republic. Prior to that, Ulrike Guéröt has worked in several international think-tanks in Paris, Brussels, London and Washington. Her first book "Why Europe needs to become a Republic! A Political Utopia", was published in 2016. Her latest work "The New Civil war – the Open Europe and its Enemies", became a bestseller in Germany.



Katrin Praprotnik works at Danube University Krems and leads the Austrian Democracy Lab together with Christina Hainzl. She studied political science at the University of Vienna and completed research stays in Paris and Brussels. In her PhD thesis, she examined the program-to-policy-linkage in a representative democracy – i.e. she looked at electoral pledges from Austrian parties and tested whether government (and opposition) parties were able to fulfill these promises. Before she came to Krems, she was a post-doctoral researcher at the German University of Hamburg. Her main research interests are the Austrian political system, parties and elections from a European, comparative perspective, and political representation. Praprotnik's work is published in national and international political science journals such as the Austrian Journal of Political Science, West European Politics, American Journal of Political Science and Electoral Studies.



Philippe Narval was raised in the Austrian Lake District. After receiving a scholarship, he completed his secondary education at the Lester B. Pearson United World College in Canada and holds university degrees from Kings College London and the University of Oxford. He spent several years of his professional life living and working in the arts and in international development in Eastern Europe, South America and the Middle East. In March 2012, he assumed the role of managing director of the European Forum Alpbach. He writes and lectures on issues related to renewing our democracy and citizen participation. In 2018 his book "Die Freundliche Revolution" ("The friendly revolution") was published on the topic; portraying a number of successful democratic innovations all across Europe.



Justus Schönlau is political advisor to the Party of European Socialists (PES) group in the Committee of the Regions, supporting PES members on climate and energy, as well as on issues of European governance, citizenship and migration. He graduated from the universities of Edinburgh and the Central European University, Budapest, and holds a PhD from the University of Reading, UK (2002). His thesis was published as "Drafting the EU Charter: Rights, Legitimacy and Process" in 2005 (Palgrave-Macmillan). He has previously worked as assistant for a member of the European Parliament and as post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Exeter. Recent publications include "Shaping EU Policy from Below – EU Democracy and the Committee of the Regions" with Simona Piattoni, 2015, and "Beyond mere 'consultation': Expanding the European Committee of the Region's Role" (JCER 2017). He has regular teaching contracts (Lehrauftrag) at the University of Bielefeld, Germany, on EU environmental policy and decision making.



# Thursday, 24 January 2019

9:30 - 11:00

## Panel 1:

### Autonomous regions – For Closure or for Opening?

Julien Derooin, MA (European Democracy Lab – Regional Parliaments Lab)

Bastian Kenn, BA (European Democracy Lab – Regional Parliaments Lab)

Prof. Andreas Rahmatian (University of Glasgow)

Dr. Karl Kössler (Eurac Research)

Prof. Marc Swyngedouw (KU Leuven)

Scotland, Catalonia and Flanders are just some of the regions in Europe that demand greater degrees of autonomy from their respective central states. While some undeniably succeeded in securing competences previously held by the central government, for example through devolution in the United Kingdom, others speak of lasting suppression by the central government (see Catalonia).

Though major differences prevail, these regions seem to share at least some common characteristics: First is the claim to a distinct national identity, often blended with higher-than-average support for membership of the European Union. Second is a combination of high economic performance vis-à-vis the central state that is sometimes paired with a political drive for more progressive politics in terms of social protection, education and other policy areas.

But what is really behind those regions' claims? Is the EU a purely strategic ally to appease the electorate that things can only get better, while, thanks to the EU, privileges remain the same? Do regions really want to gain autonomy to take better care of their citizens, or rather, to reduce their contributions to the central government? A selfish move against territorial solidarity? What can we learn from these regions for Europe as a whole?

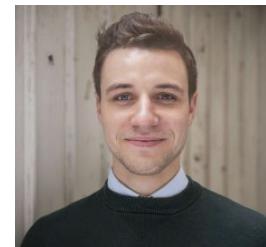
What kind of Europe could accommodate the not unjustified demands while preventing the rich to leave the economically underdeveloped behind?

11:00 - 11:30

## Coffee Break

## Moderator

Bastian Kenn works as a project manager at the European Democracy Lab. He studied International Relations at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen and gathered experience with various international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN) in Bonn. He previously worked as campaign manager for the SPD and is in charge of organizing the interventions and communications within REGIOPARL.



Julien Deroin works as a research associate at the European Democracy Lab in Berlin. He previously worked at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) and gave courses on political theory, theory of international relations and the European Union. Within REGIOPARL, he is in charge of coordinating the overall research agenda of the project.



## Panelists

Andreas Rahmatian is Professor of Commercial Law at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, UK. Originally from Vienna, he obtained a degree and a PhD in law and a second degree in musicology and history there, and continued his studies with an LLM at the University of London. He qualified as a solicitor in London before he became an academic. His research interests comprise commercial law, intellectual property law, property law and property theory, legal history, intellectual history and the law. In 2014-15 he was a Fellow at the Institut d'Études Avancées, Nantes, France. His books include *Copyright and Creativity: The Making of Property Rights in Creative Works* (2011) and *Lord Kames: Legal and Social Theorist* (2015).



Karl Kössler is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Comparative Federalism at Eurac Research Bolzano/Bozen (Italy). He obtained a PhD in comparative public law and political science from the University of Innsbruck (Austria) and his main fields of interest and expertise are comparative federalism and autonomy studies and, more broadly, constitutional design in diverse societies. Moreover, Kössler has conducted research on powers and policies in multilevel systems. He has lectured on the above-mentioned subjects in Europe and beyond at universities, as well as in master programmes targeted at post-doc researchers, civil servants and political decision-makers. Kössler is the author of more than 30 peer-reviewed publications on the above-mentioned subjects, including five books, among them *Comparative Federalism: Constitutional Arrangements and Case Law* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2017). Since 2018, he is representative for Austria in the Council of Europe's Group of Independent Experts on the European Charter of Local Self-Government.



Marc Swyngedouw is full professor in Political Sociology and Methodology at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, KU Leuven (BE) where he is currently the director of the Institute of Social and Political Opinion research (ISPO). His research and teaching regard quantitative and qualitative methodology, ethnic minorities, political sociology, urban sociology and public opinion. He is the principal investigator for the Belgian National Election Studies since 1991 and organized the exit polls for the Flemish-Belgian public broadcaster. He received different academic honors and awards e.g. the J. Van Den Heuvel Award and the National Francqui Chair 2002-2003. Marc Swyngedouw has published widely on Belgian politics, extreme right parties, ethnic minorities, integration, Euroscepticism, quantitative and qualitative social science methodology and political sociology. His work was published in international peer reviewed journals and with international reputed editing houses.



11:30 - 13:00

## Panel 2: Regional Parties, Populism and European Integration

Prof. Gabriele Abels (University of Tübingen)

Dr. Erik Miklin (University of Salzburg)

Moritz Neujeffski, MSc (WZB Berlin)

Prof. Roland Sturm (Friedrich – Alexander University Erlangen – Nürnberg)

Dr. Daniel Cetrà (Centre on Constitutional Change, Edinburgh)

Regional parties play a key role in the development of regionalism. We can observe the rise of ethno-regionalist or – nationalist parties in a number of EU member states, be it Belgium, UK, Spain, Italy etc. Not all of these parties are necessarily populist. While their main focus is on the relationship between the region and the nation state, their position towards European integration is less clear.

For a long time, regional parties strongly supported European integration and saw the EU as an ally in their struggle for autonomy in the domestic context, always hoping to become EU members after secession in order to have the advantages of a strong larger Union. However, this pro-European stance cannot be taken for granted and has weakened, last but not least in response to the reluctance of the EU to support regional secession and declaring this to be a domestic (not a European) issue.

What is or could the contribution of regional(ist) parties to a “Europe with the regions”? What is their attitude towards European integration? What position could or should the EU adopt towards regional(ist) parties and territorial dynamics within the member states?

13:00 - 14:00

## Lunch Break

## Moderator

Gabriele Abels is professor for comparative politics and European integration at the Institute of Political Science. She holds a Jean Monnet Chair since 2011 and was Director of the Erasmus+ funded Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence PRRIDE from 2015 to 2018. From 2012 to 2015, she was president of the German political science association DVPW). She was visiting fellow at the University of Osnabrück, the European University Institute in Florence, the University of Missouri-St.Louis, USA, St. Petersburg University, Russia, and Harvard University, USA. Her areas of expertise are: democratising the EU, the role of regions in EU decision-making, theorising European integration, comparative parliamentarism, gender studies.



## Discussant

Eric Miklin is Associate Professor of Austrian Politics in Comparative European Perspective at the University of Salzburg, Austria. Miklin holds a Doctorate from the University of Vienna, Austria (2008). Prior to joining the University of Salzburg, he was a scholarship recipient/junior researcher at the Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna (2004-2008) and a Postdoc Fellow at the Free University Amsterdam, The Netherlands. His research focuses on the comparative analysis of EU-related policy-processes in Austria and other member states and especially on the role of (national) parliaments and parties in this regard. In January 2017, Eric Miklin defended his Habilitation thesis on 'National Parliaments in the European Union'. His publications appeared in the Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of European Public Policy, West European Politics and the Journal of Legislative Studies, amongst others.



## Panelists

Moritz Neujeffski is a research fellow at the Berlin Centre of Social Sciences. Moritz examines regional inequalities in relation to the increasing influence of populist movements. Previously Moritz worked as a project manager at the School of Data Germany, an educational project by Open Knowledge Foundation Deutschland e.V.. He has worked in the unit Inequality and Social Policy and from July 2017 in the President's Project Group as a research assistant. He studied Public Policy and Human Development (M.Sc.) and European Studies (B.A.) at Maastricht University.



Roland Sturm holds the Chair of Political Science at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg. He has published widely in the fields of European Integration, German Politics (federalism), Comparative Politics and Comparative Public Policy, and Political Economy. His most recent research projects focus on "austerity as a political challenge", "the federal second Chamber in Germany" and "decentralization in the Arab World". Roland Sturm was Visiting Professor in Seattle (University of Washington), Beijing (University of Peking), and Barcelona (Pompeu Fabra).



Daniel Cetrà is a Research Fellow at the Centre on Constitutional Change, Edinburgh. He specialises on nationalism, independence movements and minority rights with a focus on Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders. His publications include *Breaking-up within Europe: Sub-state Nationalist Strategies in Multilevel Polities* (The Journal of Common Market Studies, 2018) and *Explaining Accommodation and Resistance to Demands for Independence Referendums in the UK and Spain* (Nations and Nationalism, 2018).



To read the abstracts of the panelists, please consult page 14 of this document.

14:00 - 15:30

## Panel 3: Border Regions

Dr. Marcin Zubek (Jagiellonian University Kraków)

Dr. Joanna Orzechowska-Waclawska (Jagiellonian University Kraków)

Dr. Urszula Roman-Kamphaus (Edinburgh Napier University)

Camille Dobler, MSc (Jagiellonian University Kraków, SciencesPo Paris)

The European Union draws its legitimacy from two main sources – democracy and effectiveness. It is therefore both input and output legitimacy that make EU actions justified to the eyes of citizens, and when those two means of legitimacy are present, there is obviously no justification problem for EU actions. Even when output legitimacy runs out, the system remains sustainable, as long as democratic legitimacy mitigates the loss of decreasing support for EU policies. A shared political identity in particular acts as a powerful safety net in times of crisis. However, when we have to deal with the absence of European "we-feeling", it becomes difficult to justify EU actions (even for Pareto-efficient ones).

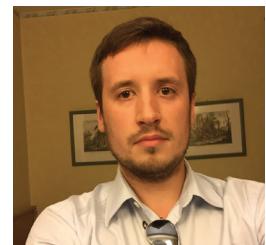
Our panel would therefore focus on two components of EU legitimacy – effectiveness of its policies on the one hand and the standard of political community of an EU democratic legitimacy on the other. It does so in the very specific context of border regions. We believe that borderlands in Europe constitute a distinct setting, in which national and regional identities can be blurred and therefore are more prone towards the creation of new forms of (perhaps supranational) identities. Borderlands are also often targets of very specific EU policies and cross-border cooperation programs that promote administrative, logistic, economic and cultural cooperation, so as to foster social cohesion between two communities that, for some, were not so long ago opposed belligerents in conflicts. Borderlands are therefore ideal testing grounds to study both the effectiveness of EU policies and the developing of a 'European identity'. Building on a range of examples, our panel will therefore try to give answers to questions such as the impact and transmission of memory on identification to the EU; competing stories, behavioural habits and narrative networks of a European identity; the resilience of hybrid identities to crisis and the degree of efficiency of the EU cross-border programs.

15:30 - 16:00

## Closing

## Moderator and Discussant

Marcin Zubek holds a PhD in political science and works at the Institute of European Studies JU, where he also obtained his MA in European Studies 2009. His academic interests revolve around peacebuilding processes in the post-conflict environment and impact of peace support operations on building a sustainable peace as well as democratic control of security policy. He gained significant academic background and experience by participating in high-profile seminars and courses at the K.U. Leuven, Maastricht University, Prague Security Studies Institute, Centre for Comparative Conflict Studies in Belgrade, LUISS School of Government in Rome.



## Panelists

Joanna Orzechowska-Waławska, Assistant Professor at the Institute of European Studies, Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Her research interests lie at the intersection of economics and sociology. She has been mainly concerned with the influence of economic factors on the formation, development and the rebirth of national and nationalistic movements in Europe. Orzechowska-Waławska has previously been Marie Curie Fellow at the University of Deusto in Bilbao. She has participated in various educational projects concerning EU integration, European identity and nationalism. Since 2015, she has been involved in the actions of Poland's Team Europe as an expert. She has authored a number of scientific articles in the area of nationalism and national identity, and a book on the development of Basque national sentiment.



Urszula Roman-Kamphaus is lecturer at the Edinburgh Napier University in the field of political economy. She holds a PhD from the University of West Scotland where she investigated the impact of the EU Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes on the Central Eastern European border. Her expertise and academic interest oscillates mainly around EU policies, multi-level-governance and cross-border cooperation.



Camille Dobler is PhD student in Political Science at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, in co-supervision with Sciences Po Paris. She is an Early Stage Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow for the research project PLATO "The Post-Crisis Legitimacy of the European Union", which brings together in an inter-disciplinary fashion 15 PhD students across 9 European universities. Her main research interest is the social integration of the European continent, especially following the debt crisis and refugee crisis, her broad research interests include political theory as well as qualitative methods, borders, identity politics and the role of emotions in politics. Camille Dobler previously studied at Sciences Po Lille, the University of Strasbourg and the London School of Economics and Political Science.



To read the abstracts of the panelists, please consult page 16 of this document.

**Panel 1:****Autonomous regions – For Closure or for Opening?**

Prof. Andreas Rahmatian

**Scottish Independence: The Romantic Game**

After the Brexit Referendum in the UK in June 2016, the movement for Scottish Independence has gained increased support. Scotland voted in all constituencies and overall with 62% against Brexit. But the drive for Scottish independence is older, and one could perhaps even assume that the post-Brexit independence movement is not quite the same as that of pre-Brexit which fuelled the Scottish independence referendum in September 2014. This referendum of 2014 showed similar features to the Brexit referendum of 2016, in its nationalistic rhetoric, the complete unpreparedness of the governing institutions in legal and constitutional terms, or the lack of understanding for the nature of the EU and what EU-membership involves. The Brexit referendum of 2016 had a much stronger xenophobic and racist emphasis, probably because the governing Scottish National Party (SNP) in Scotland did not push this aspect in its independence campaign in 2014. But the Scottish independence agenda may well have furthered English nationalism which played a decisive role for the Brexit vote. These similarities of a certain political romantic irrationalism reveal that Scottish independence is still a strategic political dream and it is not clear whether that dream should ever be genuinely fulfilled. Scotland has undoubtedly a separate national identity, expressed by – or made up by – different cultural features: education, language (both Scots English and Gaelic), a different legal system partially based on the historical continental European *ius commune* deriving from Roman Law, a cultural outlook generally more directed to Europe, but at the same time Presbyterianism as a distinctive Protestant variant, and, finally, certain well-known touristic paraphernalia, such as bagpipes and kilts with tartans for different clans (both largely invented traditions from the nineteenth century). However, political independence is a different matter. Although Scotland has significant autonomy and a separate Scottish Parliament in a quasi-federal system, it does not seem to make use of its granted autonomous powers to the full extent possible. This indicates that blaming the central government in London and insisting on one's own autonomy when it suits the Scots is politically easier than a well-planned, reasonable (and perhaps non-nationalistic) and systematic preparation for full political independence. That may even apply after Brexit: allegiance to the UK may prevail over allegiance to the EU.

Dr. Karl Kössler

**The Quest for (More) Autonomy: Regional Identities and Their Manifestation in Law and Policy-making**

The paper explores regional identities in a European context and their reflection in law and policy-making. The focus is thereby on regions that demand a greater degree of autonomy and thus reflect a dynamic understanding according to which self-government is a process rather than an outcome. First, the paper discusses whether and to what extent regions can be regarded as having an identity. This is not a trivial question because a clear regional identity usually cannot be taken for granted, even less so in circumstances of ethno-cultural diversity within a region and multiple identities. This also involves the question of how a region manages (or not) in a multilevel system to balance its claim to a distinct identity with other identities (European, national and, often, local). Secondly, the paper examines how regional identities are legalized which highlights their importance. It demonstrates how such identities then form the basis for territorial demarcation, the access to rights and benefits and other highly significant legal consequences.

Thirdly, the paper ponders the question to what degree regional identities have an impact on policy-making, as several European regions demanding more self-government appear to stand out regarding both their economic performance and the progressive policies. Thereby it cautions against the view that autonomous regions, especially those claiming more autonomy, are necessarily and generally more progressive than others. Through these analyses, the paper hopes to contribute to the understanding of regional identities and their role regarding the current quest of several European regions for a greater degree of self-government.

Marc Swyngedouw\*, Koen Abts\*, Emmanuel Dalle Mulle\*\*/\*\*\* & Viktor Emonds\*/\*\*\*  
**Explaining the Request for Political Autonomy and the Split of the Social Security: the Role of Particularistic Values and Left-Right Political Opinions in Belgium 1991 – 2014**

Opinions on sub-state nationalism (political autonomy and split of social security) and attitudes of subjective (sub)national identification are fluctuating over time in Belgium. Request for more autonomy were not only voiced at the Flemish side, but also at the Francophone/Walloon side. Since 1991 the Institute for Social and Political Opinion research (ISPO) KU Leuven has investigated following every federal election (the Belgian National Election Studies: BNES) the attitudes and opinions on political autonomy and the request of the (non-)split of the on the federal level organized social security as well as the evolution in subjective (sub)national identification. For the first time we describe the evolution in these measures over 25 years period in which different reforms of the Belgian state were initiated.

Based on the international literature of determinants for the request of more autonomy, we try to explain the request for more (or less) political autonomy and the (non)split of the federal social security in the different federal elections since 1991. Beside the traditional social demographic variables, issues on state reform and subjective (sub)national identification, we introduce a group of variables linked to left-right political opinions and particularistic or universalistic values. More precisely in the latter group we investigate the role of anti-immigrant attitudes, authoritarian values and political distrust.

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## Panel 2:

### Regional Parties, Populism and European Integration

Moritz Neujeffski, Msc

#### Europe's Regional Policy Post 2020: Between Fiscal Solidarity and Fiscal Competition

Regional imbalances in Europe have been a matter of ongoing debate since the founding of the European Economic Community. A deeper monetary integration "isn't possible, if the current disparities and differences between the various regions continue to exist" announced the former Commissioner Albert Borschette already in 1971. Solutions to address these disparities often range between a higher degree of regional solidarity and a stronger enforcement of competition and autonomy between regions, depending on the respective schools of thought. These considerations also shape the design of Europe's most redistributive policy: The European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), which make up for the biggest share of the EU household. This policy field (especially the cohesion policy) has seen major transformations over the last decades. Whereas reducing regional imbalances used to be the key objective, regional competitiveness and fostering growth became the centre of attention since the early 2000s.

Since the financial crisis a new public investment fund has been set up. The European Fund for Strategic Investments (EFSI), a leveraged flagship of the Juncker plan, intends to overcome Europe's post-crisis credit crunch with a volume of 500 Billion Euro. As we are currently on the #RoadtoSibiu I will reflect upon current policy debates over the post-2020 EU regional policy and trace the growing interlinkages between ESIF and EFSI. Are we heading towards a more progressive and financially substantive system of regional cohesion? Or is "fund blending" the herald of a financialized equity based arrangement of increasing regional competition, in which infrastructure projects are becoming "profitized" and potential financial losses are socialized?

As the influence of right-wing populist parties at the EU level has increased substantially which promote partial dis-integration strategies, their political stances on EU regional policies are taken into account as well.

Prof. Roland Sturm

#### «True Bavarians» – Regional Populism as a Strategy to Gain National Power

There is a widespread misunderstanding that what the Bavarian CSU wants is more autonomy for Bavaria or a greater decentralization of state powers in Germany. This misunderstanding is nurtured by the party itself and its self-styled role as champion of federalism. The CSU is, indeed, a separate political entity, but her purpose is a role in national politics. To secure such a role it uses its regional base. Here it needs to be popular. No matter what the CSU's allies in her conservative sister party CDU outside Bavaria want, the CSU will always have only one priority: an absolute majority of seats in the Bavarian parliament. This makes the CSU an awkward partner for the Conservatives in the rest of Germany at least as long as the Bavarian electorate has preferences different from the ones of Germany as a whole. Symbolic gestures of anti-Berlin populism may help to close the regional ranks. The key question for the CSU is how to organize maximum political success in Bavaria. One precondition is that it has no conservative rival in Bavaria. A threat to the dominant role of the CSU were parties to her right, the Republikaner in the 1980s and today the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). Today as in the past, the CSU reacts to the challenge from the right by offering the voters a manifesto that includes the major demands of such right wing challenger parties.

Dr. Daniel Cetrà

## **Sub-State Nationalism and the EU**

This presentation examines sub-state nationalist parties in relation to European integration in the Basque Country, Catalonia, Flanders and Scotland. Sub-state nationalist parties belong to a party family characterised by a commitment to territorial empowerment vis-à-vis state institutions. First, I compare support for independence and the European project in the four territories. The main sub-state nationalist parties share a pro-European outlook and hold different views on independence. European integration is a divisive issue in British politics but fundamentally consensual in the other states. It is in domestic politics -and not European integration- where the main drivers of sub-state mobilisation lie. Second, I discuss the sub-state nationalist strategy in Catalonia and Scotland consisting of promoting independence within the EU. While Brexit re-activated the grounds for a second independence referendum, it also makes independence proposals based on unions with both the UK and the EU unfeasible, forcing the SNP to redefine its proposal. In Catalonia, the reluctance of the EU to mediate in the political crisis and to denounce episodes of violence by the Spanish police has tempered the pro-European stance of some independence supporters.

## Abstracts

### Panel 3: Border Regions

Dr. Joanna Orzechowska-Waclawska

#### **Regional, National or European? Contesting Identities in Basque Border Region**

The main aim of this paper is to present a panorama of different identitarian processes and narratives of contemporary Basque society. Identity-wise the paper focuses on „national” and European components of this identity. Consequently, the analysis presented here evolves around three main questions: (1) How do contemporary Basques define „Basqueness”? (2) What is the nature of the relationship between Spanish/French and Basque identity? Which of those is seen (perceived) as national, and how this perception is manifested? And finally, (3) To which extend contemporary Basques see themselves as Europeans? Territory-wise, the analysis encompasses the whole Basque border region, thus including both its northern part (Iparralde), that politically belongs to France and its southern part (Hegoalde) that lies within the borders of Spain. The rationale behind such broad territorial perspective is that the political and geographical division of Basque territories has had tremendous impact on Basque identity, producing quite divergent outcomes in both northern (French) and southern (Spain) part, despite number of commonalities that are to be found in socio-cultural sphere, such as Basque language, traditions, sports, customs, that are shared by the Basque community on both sides of political border. The underlying question is therefore which political, administrative, economic and socio-cultural factors that clearly differentiate French and Spanish socio-political structure, might have led to different identitarian outcomes, and what those outcomes in terms of Basque identity are.

Dr. Urszula Roman-Kamphaus

#### **Cross-border Cooperation in Central Europe: Culture and Policy Effectiveness of EU Border Regions Programmes**

Cross-border cooperation is recognised as an important aspect of regional development and especially EU cohesion policy. Cooperation is useful in coordinating policy and jointly exploiting common development potentials. Some border regions are seen as handicapped by their peripheral location and because national borders tend to hinder the flows of trade, information and people. In such a context, competent cross-border cooperation can help to create synergies, provide networking opportunities and give development impulses. Policy effectiveness depends on how well programmes are suited to different border regional contexts. This paper analyses the factors that shape the cooperation on Polish-Slovak, Polish-Czech and Polish-German border regions. Particular emphasis is placed on cultural factors that set these regions apart. The paper reveals that close-knit networks across border promote successful policy definition and implementation. At the same time, the absence of such networks on the other hand may lead to higher level of policy innovation.

Camille Dobler, Msc

**Nor «Frenchmen from the Inside» nor «Boches» : Blurred Political Allegiances and European Way of Life in the Other «Capital of Europe». A Qualitative Investigation of European Identity in Strasbourg**

In 2000, Martin Kohli saw in borderlands one of many battlegrounds for a European identity (Kohli 2000). Alongside borders, memories of past struggles and cultural differences might be leading to a hardening of national identities, or, maybe it is that daily interactions and fussy territorial attachments are inviting inhabitants of those peculiar regions to renegotiate their identities. Seeking to make sense out of contradictory attachments, this article looks at the way processes of Europeanization interact with existing ethnic structures in the Euro-district of Strasbourg-Ortenau. Building on an sample of 20 focus groups discussions within French families carried on in the region of Strasbourg between October and December 2018, it offers to make sense of the 'identity mix' of one of Europe's most integrated borderland. Results show that the frontier subsists in border narratives as an axis of contemporary socio-economic inequality, and that 'Europe' or 'Europeaness' is not a self-chosen category of identification, which contrasts with the intense usage inhabitants of Strasbourg have of their European citizenship.



# Logistics

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## Campus Map



The first day of the conference will be made available via livestream on our website. Photographs will also be taken during the conference. By participating, you agree that we may use these images for our public relations work.



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## REGIOPARL

REGIOPARL aims at gaining, documenting and publicly distributing a better understanding of the instruments, limits and potentials of the regional level as a bearer of European democracy. REGIOPARL wishes to systematically study, contextualize and explain the role of regional polities in European integration and thereby propose convincing solutions to the institutional and democratic challenges Europe is facing.

[www.regioparl.eu](http://www.regioparl.eu)

The Regional Parliaments Lab (REGIOPARL) is a project of Danube University Krems, the European Democracy Lab at the European School of Governance (eusg), the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen and Jagiellonian University Kraków, in cooperation with Forum Morgen.



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