



GEM DIAMOND

# Kick-Off Conference

Globalisation, Europe & Multilateralism  
Democratic Institutions, the rise of Alternative MOdels  
and mounting Normative Dissensus

19<sup>th</sup> - 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 2022

@ Institut d'études européennes of the Université libre de Bruxelles  
39, Avenue F.D. Roosevelt B-1050 Brussels (BELGIUM)

## Welcome Words



Dear Colleagues,  
Dear GEM-DIAMOND fellows,  
Dear GEM community members,

Allow me to wish you a warm welcome to the Institut d'études européennes (IEE) of the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) for the launch of the latest iteration of our Joint Doctoral Network on Globalisation, Europe and Multilateralism (GEM) which will assess the EU's capacity to act given the challenges facing Democratic Institutions, the rise of Alternative MOdels and mounting Normative Dissensus (DIAMOND).

### Our Shared Agenda for the Coming Four Years

I am delighted that, despite a global pandemic, colleagues from 10 prestigious universities (UvA, LUISS, UCPH, UBB, Paris1, UoW, UNIGE, UL, WUT, FGV) and 6 leading non-academic institutions (CEPS, IAI, GMF, PATRIR, FIDH) have joined the ULB in subscribing to a shared interdisciplinary research agenda seeking to shed light on the growing dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and the rule of law.

The topic is not only timely, but also intellectually challenging for scholars from across the social sciences, including political scientists, legal scholars, sociologists as well as political theorists. If dissensus surrounding liberal democracy has been studied, its implications for the European Union's internal and external action have remained largely unexplored, both theoretically and empirically.

Following several rounds of enriching discussions, the GEM-DIAMOND

partners have set themselves an ambitious agenda seeking to:

- Conceptualise the seemingly mounting dissensus surrounding liberal democracy.
- Unpack the ambiguous role different actors can play as both champions and challengers of liberal democratic norms, values and practices.
- Assess the impact of increased dissensus regarding liberal democracy on the policy instruments of the EU and its capacity to act in its internal and external policies

Today we start a four-year intellectual journey bringing together not only a diverse community of dedicated academics and experts with different disciplinary backgrounds, but also 16 very promising early-stage researchers. These 16 doctoral fellows emerged from a very competitive selection process organised over the summer. They are the lifeblood of our joint effort. Throughout the selection process they have convinced us that they are intellectually motivated and well-equipped to produce cutting-edge research on the state of liberal democracy and the rule of law in the face of mounting dissensus. We look forward to collaborating with them over the coming years.

### Our Shared GEM Heritage

I am confident that the IEE, together with its 10 partner universities and 6 non-academic partners, will be able to create a rich training and research

environment. GEM-DIAMOND can call on the experience built over previous iterations of the Ph.D. School which so far has successfully seen over 50 Double Doctoral Degrees to completion. The project can also call on its Alumni. In this respect, I'm thrilled to see so many of them here ready to welcome the new fellows.

As academic coordinator of GEM-DIAMOND, allow me to express my sincere gratitude to professor Mario Telò, who launched this transnational doctoral adventure as a series of GARNET Ph.D. summer schools between 2005 and 2010. He subsequently helped see them evolve into the international GEM Ph.D. School. Equally, I want to commend and thank professor Anne Weyembergh, the current Vice-rector for International Relations of the ULB and my predecessor as president of the IEE, as she deftly shepherded GEM-STONES, the most recent incarnation of the GEM Ph.D. School. By 2022, GEM-STONES had allowed a further 14 Double Doctoral Graduates to join our GEM Alumni community.

Finally, I want to thank the IEE team who helped transform an ambitious idea into a successful EU-funded MSCA-JD project, notably Jozefien van Caeneghem, Frederik Ponjaert and Maria-Isabel Soldevila, as well as all the academics and partners involved, who each made an invaluable contribution.

### Our Shared Agenda for the Coming Days

Our first meeting at the IEE serves to welcome our new GEM-DIAMOND Ph.D. fellows and the members of our International Advisory Board. Gathering in-person will strengthen

the bonds between the members of the consortium thus providing the necessary framework to underpin the scheduled joint Ph.D.s.

Moreover, this inaugural meeting also aims to collectively tackle the key concept at the core of our project: dissensus. To this end, we have the pleasure of welcoming professor Michael Zürn on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October for an introductory lecture drawing on his recent work conceptualising contestation in global governance. Subsequently, on the 20<sup>th</sup>, we will discuss dissensus in different formats, all designed to further both interdisciplinary and intergenerational dialogue.

A shared working understanding of dissensus is to be the conceptual north star for our 16 fellows as they seek to unpack the mounting critique of liberal democracy and the rule of law as well as its implications for the EU. Dissensus can be understood in different ways, yet it is this multi-faceted concept that will tie together GEM-DIAMOND's 16 PhD doctoral dissertations. It is therefore necessary to start our research journey by elucidating this concept in light of contrasting theoretical reflections.

I wish you all a fruitful GEM-DIAMOND opening event and I look forward to working with you all for the next four years in what I hope will be a stimulating project.

Ramona Coman

President of the Institut d'études européennes  
GEM-DIAMOND academic coordinator  
& RED-SPINEL academic coordinator

# GEM-DIAMOND Kick-Off Conference

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## Overall Programme

## Day 1

Wednesday, October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

9.00 — 10.30 GEM-DIAMOND Supervisory Board Meeting  
Part 1 - Student Affairs  
@Kant Room

10.30 — 10.45 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

10.45 — 12.15 GEM-DIAMOND Supervisory Board Meeting  
Part 2 - Management Scheduling Affairs  
@Kant Room

12.15 — 14.00 Lunch Break  
@Foyer

14.00 — 14:30 Welcoming GEM-DIAMOND PhD Fellows  
@Spaak Room

14.30 — 15.30 GEM-DIAMOND PhD Fellows Orientation Session  
@Spaak Room

15.30 — 15.45 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

15.45 — 16:15 Welcoming GEM Alumni  
@Geremek Room

16.15 — 17:00 GEM-DIAMOND  
International Advisory Board  
@Kant Room & Online

GEM Fellow & Alumni Meeting  
@Geremek Room & Online

17.00 — 17:15 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

17.15 — 17:30 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

17.30 — 19.00 Keynote Speech  
by professor Michael Zürn (WZB & FUB)  
@Spaak Room

19.00 — GEM-DIAMOND Walking Diner Reception  
@Foyer

## Day 2

Thursday October 20<sup>th</sup> 2022

9.00 — 10.30 Opening Panel - Debating Dissensus: Theoretical Reflections  
Chair: Michael Zürn (WZB & FUB)  
@Spaak Room

10.30 — 10.45 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

10.45 — 12.15	Roundtable1 Chairs: Coman & Lacroix (ULB) @Kant Room	Roundtable2 Chair: Vauchez (Paris1) @Spaak Room	Roundtable3 Chair: Eckes (Uva) @Geremek Room	Roundtable4 Chair: Miscoiu (UBB) @Geremek Room
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12.15 — 14.00 Lunch Break  
@Foyer

## GEM-DIAMOND Workpackage (WP) Seminars

14.00 — 15.00	WP1 Chair: Coman (ULB) @Kant Room	WP2 Chair: Christiansen (LUISS) @Spaak room	WP3 Chair: Bialasiewicz (UvA) @Geremek room	WP4 Chair: Gurkan (ULB) @Geremek room
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15.00 — 15.40 Wrap-up presenting all 4 GEM-DIAMOND WPs  
Chair: Ponjaert (ULB)  
@Spaak Room

15.40 — 15.50 Coffee Break  
@Foyer

17.30 — 19.00 Panel  
What do large scale surveys say about European Values and the Future of Liberal Democracy?  
Chair: Ramona Coman (ULB)  
& Academic Discussant: François Foret (ULB)  
@Spaak Room

Atlas of European Values 2022  
Inge Sieben (Tilburg Uni.)  
Tim Reeskens (Tilburg Uni.)

Friederich Erbert Stiftung - Democracy of the Future Project  
Elena Avramovska (FES & GEM Alumni)

# List of Participants

## Academics

### Institutional Representatives

- Ramona Coman (PI)
- Paula Almeida (FGV)
- Paul Bacon (Waseda - Online)
- Luiza Bialasiewicz (UvA)
- Alessia Chiriatti (IAI)
- Thomas Christiansen (LUISS)
- Georges Christou (UoW)
- Dana Dolghin (PATRIR)
- Seda Gürkan (ULB)
- Maud Preher (UNIGE)
- Henrik Stampe Lund (UCPH)
- Sergiu Miscoiu (UBB)
- Richard Ouellet (Laval)
- Antoine Vauchez (Paris1)
- Alexander Mattelaer (Egmont)
- Elena Crespi (FIDH - Online)
- Representative of GMF
- Representative of CEPS

### GEM-DIAMOND Academics

- Chiara Armeni (ULB)
- Amandine Crespy (ULB)
- Kati Cseres (UvA)
- Nathalie Brack (ULB)
- Martin Deleixhe (ULB)
- Christina Eckes (UvA)
- François Foret (ULB)
- Sarah De Lange (UvA)
- Julien Jeandesboz (ULB)
- Justine Lacroix (ULB)
- Sabine Mair (UvA)
- Raffaele Marchetti (LUISS)
- Valentin Naumescu (UBB)
- David Paternotte (ULB)
- Marta Simoncini (LUISS)
- Luca Tomini (ULB)
- Arnaud Van Waeyenberge (HEC)
- Anne Weyembergh (ULB)

### External Academics

- Michael Zürn (WZB & FUB)
- Tim Reeskens (Tillburg Uni.)
- Inge Sieben (Tillburg Uni.)
- Serowaniec Maciej (UMK)

## Researchers

### GEM-DIAMOND PhD Fellows

- Edouard Hargrove (ULB/Paris1)
- Anna Zech (Paris1/ULB)
- Sophie Fleerackers (UvA/UNIGE)
- Debora Del Piano (LUISS/UCPH)
- Pedro Cuesta (LUISS/UCPH)
- Vlad Marginas (UBB/UNIGE)
- Larissa Böckmann (UvA/ULB)
- Guillaume Larouche (UCPH/UL)
- Katarina Weber (UvA/LUISS)
- Samir El Khanza (LUISS/Laval)
- Benedetta Arrighini (ULB/FGV)
- Marija Petrivska (UvA/ULB)
- Luigi Segarizzi (ULB/UBB)
- Jing-Syuan Wong (ULB/WUT)
- Seraphine Dinkel (ULB/UoW)
- Garcia De La Torre (UNIGE/ULB)

### Associated PhD & Post-Docs

- Akif Cem Ozkardes (ULB)
- Irthe De Jong (UvA/ULB)

## Experts

### RED-SPINEL Representatives

- Raffaella D'Antonio (Milieu)
- Balázs Gaál (HHC)
- Saskia Hollander (Clingendael)
- Isabella Pirlogea (PATRIR)
- Anna Terfy (HHC)
- Nienke Van Heukelingen (Clingendael)

### National and European Institution

- Amal Akheyar (ULB)
- Filippo Gagliardi (EC-ERA)
- Ulla Härmälä (ULB)
- Kerdalen Kala (RBC-BHG)
- Souhail Luka (EC - DG EAC)
- Paloma Martin (EC-ERA)
- Marija Mitic (EC - DG EAC)
- Nadège Ricaud (FNRS)
- Johan Robberecht (FEPS)

## Alumni

### GEM

- Sameea Ahmed-Hassim (SOLEIL)
- Maria Almagro De Iniesta (Gent)
- Elena Avramovska (FES)
- Chloé Brière (ULB)
- Pola Cebulak (UvA)
- Andrew Clement (Freelance)
- Elisa Lopez Lucia (ULB)
- Gustavo Gayger Müller (KUL)
- Amro Sadeldeen (IPS)
- Giulia Tercovich (VUB)
- Ragnar Weilandt (KUL)

### GEM-STONES

- Andreas Dimmelmeir (FEPS)
- Laura Gelhaus (UoW)
- Nicolas Haagensen (UCPH)
- Kevin Kalomeni (Freelance)
- Laurence Marquis (Sherbrook)
- Marta Matrakova (ULB)
- Johan Wolfschwenger (UW)
- Manfredi Valeriani (LUISS)

## International Advisory Board

- Mario Telò (ARB)
- Maria Almagro De Iniesta (Gent)
- Renaud Dehousse (EUI - Online)
- Laurent Pech (UCD - Online)
- Gergana Noutcheva (MU)
- Vivien Schmidt (BU - Online)

## Project Management Office

- Michela Arcarese (ULB)
- Maureen Cossalter (ULB)
- Olga Minampala (ULB)
- Frederik Ponjaert (ULB)
- Maria-Isabel Soldevila (ULB)



DAY 1

GEM-DIAMOND  
MANAGEMENT & NETWORKING MEETINGS

# Agenda - Supervisory Board

## Session 1 - Student Affairs

Wednesday October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

9.00 — 10.30 @Spaak Room

### 1°- Welcoming Participants

- Welcome Words by Ramona Coman

### 2°- Call for Applications Reporting

- Acknowledgements
- Follow-up vis-à-vis the Commission
- Formal Reporting
  - Process
  - Numbers
  - Gender
  - Conclusions

### 3° - Check Individual Procedures

- Procedural Steps
  - Enrolments
  - Contractual Arrangements
  - Degree Agreements
  - Financial Arrangements
  - Training Provisions
- Procedural Guidebook
- Challenges

### 4° - Following-Up on Researchers

- Double-Degree Fellows (x9)
- Putative Triple-Degree Fellows (x6)
- Pending Case (x1)

## Multiple Degree Agreements Overview

The individual follow-up will involve confirming the multiple doctoral degree framework for each fellow. and nine fellows merely require an endorsement of the double degree provisions foreseen in the proposal, six fellows require that the initial steps towards a triple doctoral degree be taken, and one fellow requires an adjustment of the initially foreseen multiple degree formula. As a reminder we have 6 months (March 2023) until we have to report on this for the first time, and a further 6 months (Sept 2023) to have it formally settled.

### 9 Double-Degree Students

Students whose scheduled Double-Degree set-up and mobility schedule can proceed as scheduled and has been signed-off on by the Commission.

- **Edouard Hargrove**  
Coman (ULB) & Georgakakis (Paris1)
- **Anna Zech**  
Vauchez (Paris1) & Crespy (ULB)
- **Debora Del Piano**  
Marchetti (LUISS) & Wivel (UCPH)
- **Pedro Cuesto**  
Piccrilli (LUISS) & Madsen (UCPH)
- **Larissa Böckmann**  
De Lang (UvA) & Brack (ULB)
- **Katarina Weber**  
Zeitlin (UvA) & Christiansen (LUISS)
- **Marija Petrovska**  
Bialasiewicz (UvA) & Jeandesboz (ULB)
- **Luigi Segarizzi**  
Merlin (ULB) & Naumescu (UBB)
- **Giulia De La Torre**  
Levrat (UNIGE) & Weyembergh (ULB)

### 6 Putative Triple-Degree Students

Students whose schedule degree set-up needs to be revisited to include at least two EU-based HEIs. This is to be done with minimal impact on the fellows declared mobility scheme. The institutions involved have already expressed a principled openness to the implementation of Triple Doctoral Degrees (2 EU HEIs + 1 non-EU HEI) but their implementation must still be worked out.

We have 12 months to bring these 6 Multiple Degree set-ups into conformity.

- **Sofie Fleerackers**  
Eckes (UvA) & Levrat (UNIGE) & TBD
- **Vlad Marginas**  
Miscoiu (UBB) & Catacin (UNIGE) & TBD
- **Guillaume Larouche**  
Madsen (UCPH) & Morin (Laval) & TBD
- **Samir el Khanza**  
Fasone (LUISS) & Ouellet (Laval) & TBD
- **Benedetta Arrighini**  
Weyembergh (ULB) & Almeida (FGV) & TBD
- **Serafine Dinkel**  
Gurkan (ULB) & Atickan (UoW) & TBD

### 1 Pending Case

Students whose schedule degree set-up needs to be revisited to include at least two EU-based HEIs. This is to be done with minimal impact on the fellows declared mobility scheme. Institutions involved have confirmed they cannot go down the triple degree route so alternative arrangements are to be explored.

We have 12 months to bring this Multiple Degree set-ups into conformity.

- **Jing-Syuan Wong**  
Tomini (ULB) & Miichi (Waseda)



# Agenda - Supervisory Board

## Session 2 - Management Affairs

Wednesday October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

10.45 — 12.15 @Spaak Room

### 5° - Contractual Matters

- Reminder - Grant Agreement
- State-of-Play - Signature of Consortium Agreement
- Scheduling – Multiple Doctoral Degree Agreements
  - Double Doctoral Degrees Agreements
  - Putative Triple Doctoral Degrees Agreements
- Presentation – Personal Career Development Plans

### 6° - Budgetary Matters

- Reminder - Overall Principles
- Reporting - Joint Budget

### 7° - Scheduling Matters

- November 2022 - TBC  
1<sup>st</sup> GEM-DIAMOND METHODS WORKSHOP  
Interdisciplinary Qualitative Research days  
@ UCPH, DK (3 Days)
- January 2023 - TBC  
1<sup>st</sup> GEM-DIAMOND POLICY AGORA FORUM,  
CITIZENS INNOVATION LAB & MEDIA MIXER  
Fundamental Rights & the Rule of Law  
@ UBB & PATRIR, RO (2 Days)
- 13-14 March 2023 - TBC  
1<sup>st</sup> GEM-DIAMOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
& COLECTIVE WORKSHOP on Theory Building  
@ ULB, BE (2 Days)
- 3-5 May 2023  
EU IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (EUIA)  
Conference Participation  
@ Brussels, BE

### 8° - Dissemination & Communication Matters

- Confirming our audience
- Reminder - Promised Deliverables
- Reporting what we have done so far (Logo, Website, Socials,..)
- Collecting what we need from partners (contact person, materials & media mapping – owned media & networks),
- Planing the next steps (communication calendar –meeting with communication delegates, guidebook, templates)

### 9° - Up-Coming Deadlines (next 6 months)

- Milestones
- Deliverables

### 10° - Miscellaneous

### 11° - Confirmation Next Board Meeting



# Agenda - PhD Orientation Session

Wednesday October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

14.00 — 15.30 @Spaak Room

## 1° - Welcome Words

- Welcome Words by the Principal Investigator - Ramona Coman
- Welcome Words by the PMO - Frederik Ponjaert (ULB)
- Self-Presentation by the GEM-DIAMOND Fellows:
  - **Edouard Hargrove**  
Coman (ULB) & Georgakakis (Paris1)
  - **Anna Zech**  
Vauchez (Paris1) & Crespy (ULB)
  - **Sofie Fleerackers**  
Eckes (UvA) & Levrat (UNIGE)
  - **Debora Del Piano**  
Marchetti (LUISS) & Wivel (UCPH)
  - **Pedro Cuesto**  
Piccrilli (LUISS) & Madsen (UCPH)
  - **Vlad Marginas**  
Miscoiu (UBB) & Catacin (UNIGE)
  - **Larissa Böckmann**  
De Lang (UvA) & Brack (ULB)
  - **Katarina Weber**  
Zeitlin (UvA) & Christiansen (LUISS)
  - **Guillaume Larouche**  
Madsen (UCPH) & Morin (Laval)
  - **Samir el Khanza**  
Fasone (LUISS) & Ouellet (Laval)
  - **Benedetta Arrighini**  
Weyembergh (ULB) & Almeida (FGV)
  - **Marija Petrovska**  
Bialasiewicz (UvA) & Jeandesboz (ULB)
  - **Giulia De La Torre Garcia**  
Levrat (UNIGE) & Weyembergh (ULB)
  - **Luigi Segarizzi**  
Merlin (ULB) & Naumescu (UBB)
  - **Jing-Syuan Wong**  
Tomini (ULB) & Miichi (Waseda)
  - **Serafine Dinkel**  
Gurkan (ULB) & Atickan (UoW)

## 2° - Induction & Orientation

- Governance & Functioning
- Contracts & Funding
- Deliverables & Outcomes
- Training & Secondments
- Degrees & Assessments Schedule

## 3° - Q&A Session

# Agenda - Alumni Session

Wednesday October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

15:45 — 17:15 @Geremek

## 1° - Welcome Words

- Welcome Words by the Principle Investigator - Ramona Coman
- Welcome Words by the Chair - Marta Matrakova (ULB/Alumna)
- Presentation of the Agenda

## 2° - Prospects for Joint Funding Applications

## 3° - Alumni Provisions Facilities

- Scheduled Alumni Provisions
  - Direct Alumni Involvement in GEM-DIAMOND
  - Alumni Mailing List
  - Alumni Booklet
  - Alumni Webpage
  - Individual (Alumni) Mentor System
  - Alumni participation in Conferences
  - Alumni participation in Publications

## 4° - Fellow & Alumni Representation

- Role of the Elected Delegates
- Election/Designation of the Elected Delegates for 2022/23
  - Designate Interim GEM-DIAMOND Delegates (x2) - 6months
  - Elect Alumni Delegates (x2) - 1 Year

## 5° - Open Discussion

# International Advisory Board

## Agenda (Inaugural Hybrid Meeting)

Wednesday October 19<sup>th</sup> 2022

16:15 — 17:00 @Kant Room & Online

### 1° - Welcome Words

- Welcome Words by the Principle Investigator - Ramona Coman
- Welcome Words by the President of the IAB - Mario Telò

### 2° - Introductions

- Tour de Table presenting the Institutional Representatives
- Tour de Table presenting the IAB-members
  - **Mario Telò**  
ARB & ULB
  - **Vivien Schmidt**  
Boston University
  - **Maria Almagro de Iniesta**  
Universiteit van Gent
  - **Renaud Dehousse**  
European University  
Institute
  - **Gergana Noutcheva**  
Maastricht University
  - **Laurent Pech**  
Middlesex University
- Reminder of the IAB's formal role and expected outcomes

### 3° - Formal Ethical & Sustainability Provisions

- Scheduled Action Plans
  - Diversity Action Plan
  - Sustainability Action Plan
  - Ethics & Data-Management Action Plan
- Discussion with the IAB

### 4° - Reports on the Initial Stages

- Action taken so far
  - Call for Application
  - Enrolments
  - Individual & Joint Research
- Discussion with the IAB

### 5° - Miscellaneous & Scheduling Next Meeting

## Keynote Speech

Wednesday 19 October 2022

17.30 — 19.00

@Spaak Room



## CONTESTATION OF THE LIBERAL ORDERS FROM THE INSIDE AND THE OUTSIDE

### Professor Michael Zürn

Director of the research unit on Transnational Conflicts and International Institutions at WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin)

Director of the SCRIPTS project.

Head of WZB's Rule of Law Center

Professor of international relations at Free University Berlin

### Abstract

Democracy is in decline. The contestation comes from two sides: from the outside by authoritarian states that challenge the liberal international order and from authoritarian populists within liberal democracies that undermine democracies. Both of these contestations are driven by the dissatisfaction with the working of liberal democracy and with the liberal international order. The herculean task is to defend liberal and democratic institutions and to change them at the same time.

### Recommended References

- Theory of Global Governance, OUP, 2018
- Die demokratische Regression, Suhrkamp, 2021 (mit Armin Schäfer)
- How Non-Majoritarian Institutions Make Silent Majorities Vocal: A Political Explanation of Authoritarian Populism, in: Perspective of Politics, 20:3, 2022.
- Contestations of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism, 75:2, 2021.



DAY 2

GEM-DIAMOND  
SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS

# Debating Dissensus: Theoretical Reflections

Thursday 20 October 2022

## Debating dissensus: some theoretical reflections



### Central Focus

Contemporary dissensus on the legitimate forms of both domestic and international politics and governance are understood as the product of the intertwined effects of heightened internal contestation over liberal democracy, on the one hand, and external competition from alternative illiberal models, on the other.

The longer-term origins of the dissensus are tied to a variety of factors, including a crisis of democracy and representation, as well as the effects of economic globalisation. Peculiarly, more recent escalations in said dissensus are framed as resulting from a set of radically different competing socio-political claims articulated either by new populist actors or more established critical ones.

The day's debates and discussions on dissensus seek to unpack how contemporary dissensus driven by heightened contestation and competition has yielded more conflictual relationships both within the EU and between the EU and third parties. Across a range of formats, the different sessions will discuss the interconnected internal and external drivers of the growing dissensus surrounding liberal democracy.

### Objective & Format

A key challenge facing researchers today is to anchor any interpretation of the mounting and increasingly institutionally embedded dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and the rule of law.

The search for comprehensive explanations and in-depth understandings able to make sense of the observable mounting dissensus – its nature, actors and implications – is the main concern of the day's various panels and roundtables.

These were set-up to help jump-start a collective theoretical research effort on dissensus with the day's different sessions aimed at fostering an exploratory set of interdisciplinary debates.

## One Panel & Four Roundtables

### Opening Panel (9:00-10:30)

The opening panel will be chaired by professor Michael Zürn (WZB & FUB) and include contributions by professors Ramona Coman (ULB), Christina Eckes (UvA), Justine Lacroix (ULB), Sergiu Miscoiu (UBB), and Antoine Vauchez (Paris1).

Each contributor will be given about 10 minutes to share their key thoughts on contemporary forms of dissensus challenging liberal democracies and the rule of law. Subsequently, the chair will use the remaining time to moderate a discussion between the panellists seeking to further confront the different perspectives, notably with an eye on teasing out further points of discussions for the smaller parallel roundtables set to follow.

The opening panel will bring together a range of theoretical reflections on dissensus from different disciplinary backgrounds. It will involve panellists being asked, each from their own disciplinary vantage point and informed by their own work, to consider the central notion of dissensus and its implications for liberal democracy and the rule of law. Legal, political sociology, international relations and political theory scholars will thus offer a sense of the state-of-the-art across different fields. They will consider four key transversal questions:

1. What is the nature of the current dissensus?
2. How do internal contestation and external competition feed into the current dissensus?
3. How is it disruptive to EU policies?
4. What are its implications for the EU polity and its Member States?

### Parallel Roundtables (10:45-12:15)

Both the panellists and the audience members will be invited to join a set of parallel roundtables.

Chaired by the speakers of the opening panel they will involve more focused thematic discussions. The 10-15 participants in each roundtable are thus invited to contribute to the conceptualising exercise.

Building on the discussion points touched upon in the opening panel, each roundtable is invited to hone into one specific facet of the theory-building effort on dissensus.

- **Roundtable 1** - Co-chaired by Profs. Coman & Lacroix - will reflect on possible definitions.
- **Roundtable 2** - Chaired by Prof. Vauchez - will reflect on the role of socio-economic governance instruments.
- **Roundtable 3** - Chaired by Prof. Eckes - will reflect on the role of contemporary non-majoritarian actors.
- **Roundtable 4** - Chaired by Prof. Miscoiu - will reflect on the impact of competing illiberal models.

Each roundtable will identify key features of dissensus as well as any connected conceptual challenges. The method is to use more informal settings to encourage participants to jointly explore the concept of dissensus. Throughout a single 90-minute round several relaxed back-and-forths are to take place. Possible specific question(s) structuring each roundtable lie with the chair(s) of each table. During the event participants are provided with pens and are encouraged to draw and record their conversations to capture free flowing ideas as they emerge.



## Roundtable 1

@Room Kant

### Debating Dissensus: Reflecting on Definitions

Co-Chairs



Justine Lacroix (ULB)



Ramona Coman (ULB)

Luiza Bialasiewicz (UvA)

Nathalie Brack (ULB)

Andrew Clement (Author)

Maureen Cossalter (ULB)

Dana Dolghin (PATRIR)

Balázs Gaál (HHC)

Edouard Hargrove (ULB/Paris1)

Valentin Naumescu (UBB)

Marija Petrovska (UvA/ULB)

Frederik Ponjaert (ULB)

Anna Terfy (HHC)

Luca Tomini (ULB)

Katerina Weber (UvA/LUISS)

Jing-Syuan Wong (ULB/Waseda)

Anna Zech (Paris1/ULB)

Michael Zürn (WBZ & FUB)

## Roundtable 2

@Room Spaak

### Debating Dissensus: Reflecting on Governance Instruments

Chair



Antoine Vauchez (Paris1)

Larissa Böchmann (UvA/ULB)

Thomas Christiansen (LUISS)

Amandine Crespy (ULB)

Samir El Khanza (LUISS/Laval)

François Foret (ULB)

Nicolas Haagenen (UCPH)

Saskia Hollander (Clingendael)

Kevin Kalomeni (Freelance)

Guillaume Larouche (UPCH/Laval)

Laurence Marquis (Sherbrook)

Richard Ouellet (Laval)

Isabelle Pirlogea (PATRIR)

## Roundtable 3

@Room Geremek

### Debating Dissensus: Reflecting on Non-Majoritarian Actors

Chair



Christina Eckes (UvA)

Paula Almeida (FGV)

Chiara Armeni (ULB)

Benedetta Arrighini (ULB/FGV)

Elena Avramovska (FES)

Chloé Brière (ULB)

Elena Crespi (FIDH)

Pedro Cuesta (LUISS/UCPH)

Irthe De Jong (UvA/ULB)

Raffaella D'Antonio (Milieu)

Martin Deleixhe (ULB)

Sophie Fleerackers (UvA/UNIGE)

Giulia La Torre Garcia (UNIGE/ULB)

Henrik Stampe Lund (UCPH)

Sabine Mair (UvA)

Serowaniec Maciej (UMK)

Anne Weyembergh (ULB)

## Roundtable 4

@Room Geremek

### Debating Dissensus: Reflecting on External Competition

Chair



Sergiu Miscoiu (UBB)

Alessia Chiriatti (IAI)

Georges Christou (UoW)

Kati Cseres (UvA)

Debora Del Piano (LUISS/UCPH)

Seraphine Dinkel (ULB/UoW)

Seda Gurkan (ULB)

Vlad Marginas (UBB/UNIGE)

Marta Matrakova (ULB)

Gustavo Gayger Müller (KUL)

David Paternotte (ULB)

Amro Sadeldeen (IPS)

Luigi Segarazzi (ULB/UBB)

Manfredi Valeriani (LUISS)

Nienke Van Heukelingen (Clingendael)

Johann Wolfschwenger (UW)

# GEM-DIAMOND Workshops

Thursday October 20<sup>th</sup> 2022

14.00 — 15.40

## Objective & Format

Centred on the 16 GEM-DIAMOND fellows and the shared research agenda that binds them, the GEM-DIAMOND workshops following the lunch break on October 20<sup>th</sup> will see the GEM community members, alumni and collaborators distributed into 4 parallel sessions reflecting the project's four research Work Packages (WPs). Each workshop will be chaired by an academic from the lead institution of a given WP, and over the course of the one-hour session participants are to evoke the list of shared deliverables and milestones of their WP and reflect on their articulation with the central concept of dissensus. As a reminder, the four research WPs in GEM-DIAMOND are:

**WP1** - Conceptualising growing dissensus over liberal democracy (Lead: ULB)

**WP2** - Unpacking actors of dissensus (Lead: LUISS)

**WP3** - Internal contestation and its impact on the EU (Lead: UvA)

**WP4** - External competition and its impact on the EU (Lead: ULB)

## 4 WP-specific Workshops (14:00 – 15:00)

Under the lead of the chair each workshop will:

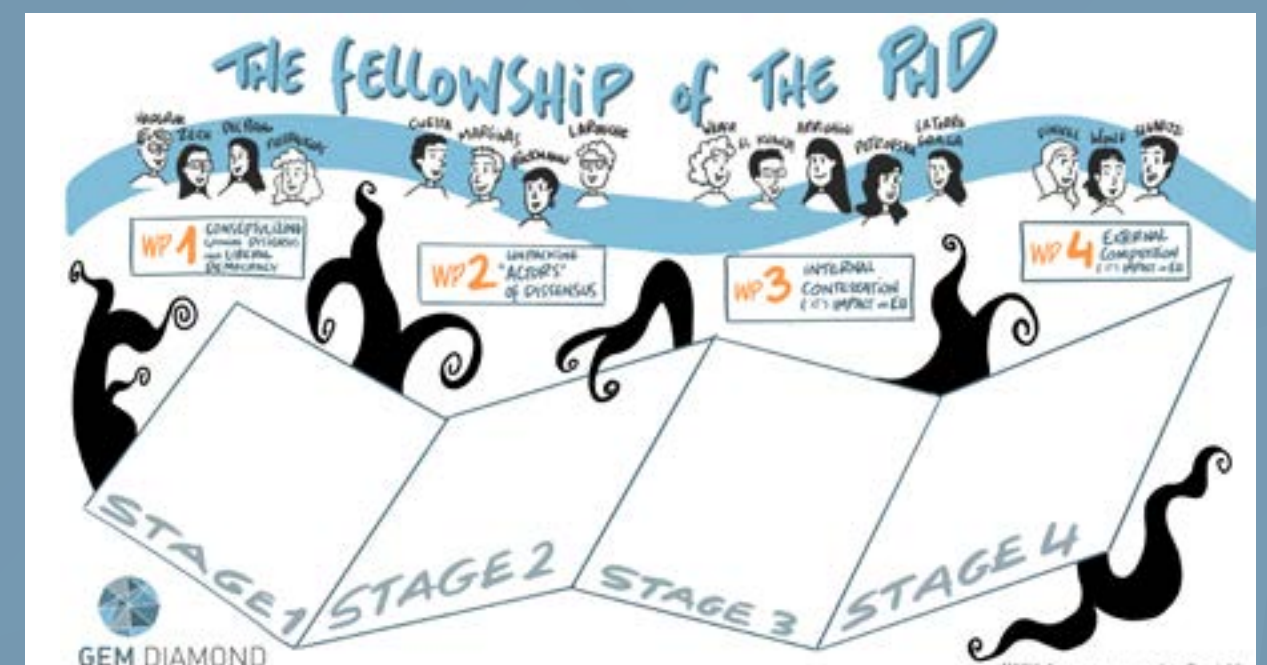
1. Go over the formal research deliverables associated with their WP,
2. Recall the milestones and deadlines associated with the joint elements of the scheduled research,
3. Discuss the articulation of the WP's focus and the project's central concept

The workshops will be steered by their respective chairs who are to engage with all of the workshop participants, notably the GEM-DIAMOND fellows associated with each WP.

The workshops are to further the interdisciplinary exchanges by continuing the discussions from the morning sessions, encouraging the exchange of references and reading recommendations on either dissensus or the WP's specific focus, or exploring the different methodologies possibly represented in the WP as the fellows consider their personal research choices.

## One Wrap-Up Panel (15:00 – 15:40)

Following the four parallel workshops, the community will gather for a wrap-up panel where the chairs of the different sessions are to summarise what was discussed in each of them. Each of these +/- 10min long presentations will give the community a sense of the budding dynamics across the different WPs so that the GEM-DIAMOND community members have a shared overview of the project as a whole.



# Workpackage 1

@Room Kant

## Conceptualising Growing Dissensus over Liberal Democracy

Chair



Ramona Coman (ULB)

Chiara Armeni (ULB)

Elena Avramovska (FES)

Alessia Chiriatti (IAI)

Amandine Crespy (ULB)

Debora Del Piano (LUISS/UCPH)

Christina Eckes (UvA)

Sophie Fleerackers (UvA/UNIGE)

Nicolas Haagensen (UCPH)

Edouard Hargrove (ULB/Paris1)

Justine Lacroix (ULB)

Serowaniec Maciej (UMK)

David Paternotte (ULB)

Frederik Ponjaert (ULB)

Anna Zech (Paris1/ULB)

### WP 1 - Scientific Deliverables

#### STAGE 1 - By the end of Year 1

- Initial data and collective working paper on a shared typology of dissensus.
- Contribution to one of the two collective Think Pieces on "Typologies of Dissensus"

#### STAGE 2 - By the end of Year 2

- Contribution to the jointly published Collection of actor interviews.
- Draft Contribution to the "Handbook on Rethinking Impact in Political & Social Sciences".

#### STAGE 3 - By the end of Year 3

- Contribute to the project's Edited Volume.
- Article Submission to one of the four

scheduled Special Issues.

#### STAGE 4 - By the end of Year 4

- Report describing the key findings of the four individual PhD projects in WP1.

#### RECURRING - At Each Stage

- Individual Policy Briefs on impact of dissensus on EU policies
- Two Individual blog Contributions, one on their individual research and the other on their personal experience

# Workpackage 2

@Room Spaak

## Unpacking Actors of Dissensus

Chair



Thomas Christiansen (LUISS)

Larissa Böckmann (UvA/ULB)

Nathalie Brack (ULB)

Elena Crespi (FIDH)

Pedro Cuesta (LUISS/UCPH)

Maureen Cossalter (ULB)

Raffaella D'Antonio (Milieu)

Saskia Hollander (Clingendael)

Guillaume Larouche (UCPH/Laval)

Henrik Stampe Lund (UCPH)

Sabine Mair (UvA)

Vlad Marginas (UBB/UNIGE)

Sergiu Miscoiu (UBB)

Arnaud Van Waeyenberg (ULB/HEC)

### WP 2 - Scientific Deliverables

#### STAGE 1 - By the end of Year 1

- Initial data and collective working paper on a mapping of dissensus.
- Contribution to one of the two collective Think Pieces on "actors of dissensus"

#### STAGE 2 - By the end of Year 2

- Contribution to the jointly published Collection of actor interviews.
- Draft Contribution to the "Handbook on Rethinking Impact in Political & Social Sciences".

#### STAGE 3 - By the end of Year 3

- Contribute to the project's Edited Volume.
- Article Submission to one of the four

scheduled Special Issues.

#### STAGE 4 - By the end of Year 4

- Report describing the key findings of the four individual PhD projects in WP2.

#### RECURRING - At Each Stage

- Individual Policy Briefs on impact of dissensus on EU policies
- Two Individual blog Contributions, one on their individual research and the other on their personal experience



## Workpackage 3

@Room Geremek

### Internal Contestation and its Impact on the EU

Chair



Luiza Bialasiewicz (UvA)

Paula Almeida (FGV)	Richard Ouellet (Laval)
Benedetta Arrighini (ULB/FGV)	Marija Petrovska (UvA/ULB)
Samir El Khanza (LUISS/Laval)	Amro Sadeldeen (IPS)
Julien Jeandesboz (ULB)	Manfredi Valeriani (LUISS)
Kevin Kalomeni (Freelancer)	Katarina Weber (UvA/LUISS)
Giulia La Torre Garcia (UNIGE/ULB)	
Laurence Marquis (Sherbrook)	

#### WP 3 - Scientific Deliverables

##### STAGE 1 - By the end of Year 1

- Initial data and collective working paper on case-selection of cases of internal constestaion.
- Contribution to one of the two collective Think Pieces on 'Contestation'.

##### STAGE 2 - By the end of Year 2

- Contribution to the jointly published Collection of actor interviews.
- Draft Contribution to the "Handbook on Rethinking Impact in Political & Social Sciences".

##### STAGE 3 - By the end of Year 3

- Contribute to the project's Edited Volume.

- Article Submission to one of the four scheduled Special Issues.

##### STAGE 4 - By the end of Year 4

- Report describing the key findings of the five individual PhD projects in WP3.

##### RECURING - At Each Stage

- Individual Policy Briefs on impact of dissensus on EU policies
- Two Individual blog Contributions, one on their individual research and the other on their personal experience

## Workpackage 4

@Room Geremek

### External Competition and its Impact on the EU

Chair



Seda Gurkan (ULB)

Georges Christou (UoW)	Luca Tomini (ULB)
Seraphine Dinkel (UB/UoW)	Luigi Segarazzi (ULB/UBB)
Dana Dolghin (PATRIR)	Johann Wolfschwenger (UW)
François Foret (ULB)	Jing-Syuan Wong (ULB/WUT)
Gustavo Gayger Müller (KUL)	Nienke VanHeukelingen (Clingendael)
Marta Matrakova (ULB)	
Valentin Naumescu (UBB)	

#### WP 4 - Scientific Deliverables

##### STAGE 1 - By the end of Year 1

- Initial data and collective working paper on case-selection of cases of external competition.
- Contribution to one of the two collective Think Pieces on 'Competition'.

##### STAGE 2 - By the end of Year 2

- Contribution to the jointly published Collection of actor interviews.
- Draft Contribution to the "Handbook on Rethinking Impact in Political & Social Sciences".

##### STAGE 3 - By the end of Year 3

- Contribute to the project's Edited Volume.

- Article Submission to one of the four scheduled Special Issues.

##### STAGE 4 - By the end of Year 4

- Report describing the key findings of the three individual PhD projects in WP4.

##### RECURING - At Each Stage

- Individual Policy Briefs on impact of dissensus on EU policies
- Two Individual blog Contributions, one on their individual research and the other on their personal experience

# Keynote Panel

Thursday October 20<sup>th</sup> 2022

17.30 — 19.00

@Spaak Room

Chair: Ramona Coman (ULB)



## WHAT DO LARGE SCALE SURVEYS HAVE TO SAY ON EUROPEAN VALUES AND THE FUTURE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY?



**Inge Sieben**  
Universiteit van Tillburg & Co-Editor of 2022 Atlas of European Values



**Tim Reeskens**  
Universiteit van Tillburg & Co-Editor of 2022 Atlas of European Values



**Elena Avramovska**  
Friederich Ebert Stiftung & Senior Researcher for Democracy, Society and Youth

### Scheduled Discussants

- François Foret (ULB)
- Balazs Gaal (HHC)
- Saskia Hollander (Clingendael)
- Dana Dolghin (PATRIR)

of law. These are the fundamental values, common to the Member States that the European Union repeatedly professes in its internal and external policies.

However, recent evolutions stress a mounting wave of dissensus surrounding these common values. Paradoxically, often in the very name of European values and identity, illiberal, populist and at times anti-democratic actors seek to (re)define liberal democracy but then in opposition to multiculturalism and the rule of law.

### Panel Description

The European Union is a community of values. It conceives of itself as a peace project founded on the respect for human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy, equality, and the rule

As challenges against the common values enshrined in the treaties increase, researchers, experts, and citizens are struggling to find solid ground to understand them.

A key challenge facing researchers today is to anchor any interpretation of said mounting dissensus beyond the anecdotal, immediate, or specific. This quest for comprehensive explanations able to make sense of the observable dissensus raises questions on what large scale surveys have to say on values and the future of liberal democracy.

With the above in mind, two recent large-scale surveys were invited to present their conclusions, with an eye on highlighting their implications for the prospects of the rule of law and liberal democracy in Europe. The two open-access surveys to be discussed are the Atlas of European Values, on the one hand, and the recently published FES report on Identity, partisanship, polarization, on the other. Both studies, each from their own distinct methodological and analytical vantage point, crystallize a set of key value considerations, priorities, and calculations among the wider European citizenry which help understand the specificities of today's forms of dissensus.

The Atlas has been recording Europe's diversity since the 1980s and is compiled every nine years for scientific and educational purposes. It documents what Europeans find important in life, the major societal issues, and how attitudes converge and diverge over time. This new edition poses pressing questions of particular interest to the issue of mounting dissensus on liberal democracy and the rule of law, like what the basis is for

trust and solidarity in democratic and diverse societies. The conclusions presented in the Atlas are based on survey data collected within the framework of the European Values Study (EVS), a large-scale, longitudinal and cross-national survey research project on basic human values.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's report Identity, partisanship, polarization. How democratically elected politicians get away with autocratizing their country seeks to answer the question of what motivates voters to support candidates who violate democratic norms. This question is particularly pertinent in light of the ongoing trend of autocratization across Europe and speaks directly to the effort centred on unpacking current forms of dissensus. The conclusions presented in the report are based on a commissioned representative survey with 10,001 interviewees in Germany, Poland, Sweden, Spain, Estonia, Ukraine and Serbia.

First, both surveys are to be presented by the authors. Over the course of some 20 minutes each, the presenters will be invited to detail both the methodological choices and initial conclusions of their work and what it might imply with regards to contemporary forms of dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and the rule of law. Subsequently, academics and experts will be invited to discuss the surveys, focussing on their implications for future research on the mounting dissensus facing European liberal democracy and the rule of law. Ultimately, the floor will be opened for a concluding Q&A session with the attending researchers involved in the joint research effort.



**GEM DIAMOND**

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