



THE CONVERSATION

Referenda & Euroskepticism

2-3 October 2018 - Universiteit Leiden & Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Convenors: Professor Catherine de Vries, Dr Patrick Overeem & Dr Geerten Waling

The Independent Social Research Foundation (www.isrf.org) is dedicated to advancing the social sciences through the promotion of new modes of inquiry and the development of interdisciplinary expertise and methods, and through better understanding of social entities and processes. To achieve this objective, the ISRF offers research grants and enters into partnerships with institutions that promote development in interdisciplinary social research.

One such partner is The Conversation (theconversation.com/uk), an online news platform that derives its current affairs stories by guiding academics to write about their current research in a style more accessible to popular audiences. The ISRF funds the post of Interdisciplinary Editor at The Conversation UK - the Editor, Josephine Lethbridge, works with scholars at The Conversation's member universities, as well as past and present Fellows of the ISRF, to bring interdisciplinary social research to millions of readers worldwide.

At two related but distinct research events in The Netherlands - at Universiteit Leiden (2nd October 2018) and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (3rd October 2018) - the ISRF intends to facilitate conversations around pressing political issues facing Europe - Referenda and Euroskepticism - whilst highlighting the value that publications such as The Conversation can bring to widening public debate. Each event will comprise a presentation from Stephen Khan, Editor of the U.K. branch of the The Conversation, about the value of such a news platform: the benefits that it can bring to universities and the professional trajectories of individual researchers, and also, its important role in countering 'fake news'. This presentation will be followed by specially invited lectures on 'Referenda' (Universiteit Leiden) and 'Euroskepticism' (VU Amsterdam), responses from ISRF Fellows, and plenty of time for open discussion among the audience.

These research events are free to attend and refreshments will be provided. To book a place, please visit <http://www.isrf.org/RefEur2018>.

Speakers & Chairs

Louise Braddock *ISRF Director of Research*

Annelien de Dijn *Professor of Modern Political History, Universiteit Utrecht*

Claes de Vreese *Professor of Political Communication, Universiteit van Amsterdam*

Catherine de Vries *Professor of Political Behaviour in Europe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Antoaneta Dimitrova *Professor of Comparative Governance, Universiteit Leiden*

Stephen Khan *Editor, The Conversation UK*

Rachael Kiddey *ISRF Academic Editor*

Patrick Overeem *Assistant Professor in Political Theory, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Matt Qvortrup *Professor of Applied Political Science and International Relations, Coventry University*

Monika Sie Dhian Ho *General Director, Clingendael Institute*

Hans Vollaard *Assistant Professor in Dutch and European Politics, Universiteit Utrecht*

Geerten Waling *Researcher in History of Democracy, Universiteit Leiden*



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DAY ONE - REFERENDA

Referenda seem to be en vogue in Western democracies. Since the adoption of its constitution in 1848, the Netherlands have seen three nation-wide referendums: one in 2005 about the Constitutional Treaty of the EU, another in 2016 about the EU's Association Agreement with Ukraine, and the last one in 2018 about the Intelligence and Security Services Act (2018), (while initiatives to have a fourth one on the opt-out organ donation system just recently failed). In all three cases, a majority of the voters went against the wishes of the mainstream political elite. In response, the current government has decided to abolish citizen-initiated, consultative referendums. This means there is now effectively no possibility to have national referendums in the Netherlands.

Undoubtedly, the subject will continue to engage many Dutch citizens, politicians, and academics. A number of broader questions arise e.g. what makes referendums so popular? Do referendums undermine representative democracy or strengthen it? What effect does the possibility of referendums have on political compromise-making and consensus-seeking? Are citizens sufficiently qualified for participating in them? Which subjects – if any – are (un)suitable for different types of referendums? What is the effect of referendums on the quality of policies and laws? To what extent are national referendums compatible with international political cooperation? These are questions of immediate academic and civic importance that we intend to address in the seminar.

Day One	<i>2nd October 2018 - Universiteit Leiden Law Room, Academy Building, Rapenburg 73, 2311 GJ, Leiden</i>	
12:00pm	Registration & Lunch	
SESSION ONE: THE ISRF & THE CONVERSATION		
<i>Chair: Rachael Kiddey</i>		
1:30pm	Welcome & Introduction - Louise Braddock	
1:45pm	The Conversation - Stephen Khan	
2:15pm	Coffee Break	
SESSION TWO: REFERENDA		
<i>Chair: Geerten Waling</i>		
2:45pm	Matt Qvortrup The Myth of Populist Referendums: How direct democracy tend to protect citizens against politicians.	Annelien de Dijn Response.
4:00pm	Questions & Open Discussion	
5:00pm - 6:00pm	End & Drinks Reception	



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DAY TWO - EUROSKEPTICISM

Academic consensus has it that we now live in an age of epidemic Euroskepticism. The adjective seems apt as many academics and other intellectuals regard Euroskepticism as a kind of pathology, the irrational antipathy of uninformed citizens and their malignant leaders. In this view, Euroskepticism is just one ingredient of a toxic soup, together with nationalism, populism, and illiberalism.

However understandable and often justified this characterisation, we ask what we might find if we take another look at the Euroskeptical upsurge. To what extent is scepticism about European integration fuelled by Politik at home? Is Euroskepticism one-of-a-kind or can it be distinguished by different forms, and how prevalent are these? Is Euroskepticism a by-product of the politicization and democratization of European politics per se? Could it be a healthy corrective rather than a dangerous backlash? And could it be that the Euroskeptics, very much like the anti-Federalists at the time of the American Founding, have a point or two?

These are some of the questions that we want to address in this seminar. Our purpose is not to argue for or against the European Union, much less for or against political extremisms, rather to take a fresh look at Euroskepticism as an important political phenomenon. The seminar brings together scholars from empirical political science as well as normative political theory and from related fields.

Day Two	<i>3rd October 2018 - VU Amsterdam Aurora Room (HG-0C29), Vrije Universiteit, Boelelaan 1051, Amsterdam</i>
9:00am	Registration & Coffee
SESSION ONE: THE ISRF & THE CONVERSATION <i>Chair: Rachael Kiddey</i>	
9:15am	Welcome & Introduction - Louise Braddock
9:30am	The Conversation - Stephen Khan
10:00am	Coffee Break
SESSION TWO: EUROSKEPTICISM <i>Chair: Catherine de Vries</i>	
10:30am	Panel Discussion - Antoaneta Dimitrova - Claes de Vreese - Hans Vollaard - Monika Sie Dhian Ho
11:30pm	Questions & Open Discussion
12:30pm - 2:00pm	End & Lunch



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Speakers & Chairs - Bios

Dr Louise Braddock

ISRF Director of Research

Dr Louise Braddock works with the ISRF's Foundation Board to direct all academic work within the Foundation, in consultation with its Academic Advisors. She proposes, implements and assesses the Foundation's funding strategy and activities.

She trained as a psychiatrist, and now researches and publishes on the philosophy of psychoanalysis. She taught philosophy in Oxford, where she is an associate member of the Philosophy Faculty, and at Girton College in Cambridge where she is a Bye-Fellow in Philosophy and Praelector (www.girton.cam.ac.uk/girton-today/people/fellows/).

She is an academic associate of the British Psychoanalytical Society, co-founded its London Philosophy-Psychoanalysis study group and co-convenes both the St John's College (Oxford) Interdisciplinary Psychoanalysis seminar (oxfordpsychoanalysis.blogspot.co.uk) and INSEI, the Interdisciplinary Network on Sympathy, Empathy and Imagination (www.insei.net).

Professor Annelien de Dijn

ISRF Mid-Career Fellow 2018-19; Professor of Modern Political History, Universiteit Utrecht

Annelien de Dijn is a Professor of Modern Political History at Utrecht University. Her research focuses on the history of political thought in Europe and in the United States from 1700 to the present. She is the author of 'French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society' (Cambridge University Press, 2008, paperback edition October 2011) and she is currently working on her second book, tentatively titled 'Freedom: An Unruly History' (under contract with Harvard University Press).

Professor de Dijn has held visiting appointments at Columbia University, Cambridge University, the Remarque Institute at NYU, the University of Notre Dame, and the University of California at Berkeley. A past recipient of Fulbright and Alexander von Humboldt fellowships, she was educated at the University of Leuven in Belgium and at Columbia University.

Professor Claes de Vreese

Professor of Political Communication, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Claes H. de Vreese is Professor and Chair of Political Communication and Program Group Director of Political Communication & Journalism at The Amsterdam School of Communication Research ASCoR, Department of Communication Science, University of Amsterdam. He directs the UvA Research Priority Area Communication. Finally, he is Adjunct Professor of Political Science and Journalism at the University of Southern Denmark.

His research is funded by several science foundation grants, including Veni and Vici grants from the Dutch Science Foundation, as well as grants from the EU research programs. He has received awards for research

from the International Communication Association, the Danish Science Foundation, and the Norwegian Holberg Foundation.

He is a member of the Young Academy of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (KNAW) and he is listed as one of the most prolific communication science scholars in Europe.

Professor Catherine de Vries

Professor of Political Behaviour in Europe, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Catherine de Vries is a Westdijk Chair and Professor of Political Behaviour in Europe in the department of Political Science and Public Administration at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She is also an affiliated Professor of Politics in the Department of Government at the University of Essex, and Associate Member of Nuffield College at the University of Oxford. Previously, she held professorships at the University of Oxford and Geneva as well as visiting posts at the Free University Amsterdam, University of Mannheim, Vienna and the European University Institute. She is an editor of *Research & Politics* and sits on the editorial board of *Acta Politica*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Union Politics* and *Political Science Research and Methods*. She also acts a Scientific Advisor on for the *eupinions* project of the Bertelsmann Foundation.

In 2014, Catherine received the American Political Science Association Emerging Scholar Award for her contribution to the field of elections, public opinion and voting behaviour in 2014 and was selected a Young Global Leader in the World Economic Forum in 2013. Over the years, Catherine work has appeared in leading political science journals, such as the *American Political Science Review*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics*. She has also contributed to general interest journals like *Foreign Affairs* or blogs like the *Monkey Cage*. Recently, she published her latest book with Oxford University Press.

Professor Antoaneta Dimitrova

Professor of Comparative Governance, Universiteit Leiden

Professor Antoaneta Dimitrova's research has developed around the theme of governance transfer from the European Union to candidate states. Her previous research has focused on the role of the European Union in the transformations of the post-communist states of Central and Eastern Europe and the EU's impact on reforms in governance in accession candidates and neighboring states. She investigates the effects of the promotion of rules and norms related to democracy, public administration reform or specific policies by the EU, IMF or other international organizations.

Professor Dimitrova has published in leading European journals such as *European Union Politics*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, and *Democratization*. She is the current Convener of the Steering Committee of the Standing Group on European Union (SGEU) of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) and founder and co-director of Central and Eastern European Studies Centre at Leiden University.

Professor Antoaneta Dimitrova was the winner of the Casimir teaching prize in Leiden's Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences in 2010. At ISGA, she will contribute to the further development of the governance curriculum at the Bachelor and Master's level, dealing with themes of governance transfer in a global context.

Between 2013 and 2016, Professor Dimitrova has been co-coordinator of the MAXCAP project ('Maximizing the integration Capacity of the European Union: Lessons and Prospects for Enlargement and Beyond'), which investigated the political and economic effects of the EU's 2004-2007 enlargement. Currently she is co-coordinator and Leiden team leader in the Horizon2020 EU-STRAT project: 'The EU and Eastern partnership countries: An Inside-out analysis and strategic assessment' (<http://eu-strat.eu/>).

Stephen Khan

Editor, The Conversation UK

Stephen Khan is The Conversation's Editor in the UK. He was a news editor at *The Guardian* and previously Deputy Foreign Editor of *The Independent* and Scotland Editor of *The Observer*. As a correspondent he covered events including the 2000 US presidential election, the 2004 Asian tsunami, and the 2002 appeal trial in the Netherlands of the men accused of bombing Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland in 1988.

He worked with the founders of The Conversation Australia to establish the concept in Europe amid shared international concerns about the veracity of specialist news content and public trust in mainstream media.

Dr Rachael Kiddey

ISRF Academic Editor; Postdoctoral Researcher - 'Architectures of Displacement' - Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

Dr Rachael Kiddey joined the ISRF in 2014. As Academic Editor, Rachael's priorities are editing the ISRF's termly Bulletin, assisting the Director of Research in academic matters, and responsibility for commissioning and producing content for the website. Rachael's role includes encouraging wide dissemination of research funded by the ISRF, for example through podcasts, popular articles and talks and the use of film.

Rachael is also currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford where she works on a project called 'Architectures of Displacement: The Experiences and Consequences of Emergency Shelter'. She received her PhD from the Department of Archaeology at the University of York in 2014. Her doctoral research involved developing methodologies for working archaeologically with homeless people; documenting how heritage can function in socially useful and transformative ways. This research was shortlisted for the Times Higher Education Award for Widening Participation Initiative of the Year 2012 and was shortlisted for the Society for Historical Archaeology's Mark E. Mack Community Engagement Award 2016. Her monograph 'Homeless Heritage' was published by Oxford University Press in 2017.

Dr Patrick Overeem

ISRF Early Career Fellow 2016-17; Assistant Professor in Political Theory, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Dr Patrick Overeem is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the Vrije Universiteit (VU) in Amsterdam. He has a wide-ranging interest in normative political theory and the history of political thought, and specializes particularly in the ethics of political practice. Patrick has awarded an ISRF Early Career Fellowship for his research project [Compromise with Character: An Integrated Framework to Assess the Moral Quality of Political Compromises](#). He has recently published on statesmanship, value pluralism, and political compromises.

Dr Monika Sie Dhian Ho

General Director, Clingendael Institute

Before joining the Clingendael Institute, Monika Sie Dhian Ho was director of the Wiardi Beckman Stichting (WB Foundation), a social-democratic scientific bureau. She lectures at the Netherlands School of Public Administration and is vice president of the European Integration Committee of the Advisory Council on International Affairs (AIV).

Monika studied and later lectured on political science at the Erasmus University Rotterdam as well as teaching International Relations and International Political Economy at Leiden University. At the Scientific Council for Government Policy, she worked as a researcher and project manager.

Professor Matt Qvortrup

Professor of Applied Political Science and International Relations, Coventry University

Professor Matt Qvortrup is an internationally recognised expert in referendums and direct democracy. His books include *Referendum and Ethnic Conflict* (2014), *Referendums around the World* (2017) and *Government by Referendum* (2018). He often comments on European politics for BBC and is a regular contributor to *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The New European*. Since 2016, he has been joint editor in chief of *European Political Science Review*. In addition to his scholarly career, Professor Qvortrup was a political advisor to the British Government 2000-2004 and part of President Obama's special envoy

team in 2009. He holds a doctorate in political science from Oxford and qualified as a lawyer from the College of Law (London), where he was awarded the OUP Law Prize for the best Dissertation.

Dr Hans Vollaard

Assistant Professor in Dutch and European Politics, Universiteit Utrecht

Hans Vollaard works at the Utrecht University School of Governance since 2017. Between 2007 and 2017, he was lecturer in Dutch and European politics at Leiden University (the Netherlands). He holds a MSc and a PhD in political science from the same university. His PhD dissertation (2009) analysed the significance of territoriality in the European Union. He was also junior lecturer and coordinator EU studies at the Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University 2001-2007).

In 2010, he worked as instructor at the Political Science Department of the University of Victoria BC (Canada). As part of an international comparative research project on European regulation of cross-border healthcare, he was research fellow at Copenhagen University (Denmark) for several months in 2012. At present, he is board member of the Dutch Political Science Association (www.politicologie.nl).

Publications are expected soon on the origin and develop of municipal councils in the Netherlands (2018, Boom), European disintegration (2018, PalgraveMacMillan), and the hundredth anniversary of the orthodox-protestant SGP party (2018, Verloren).

Dr Geerten Waling

Researcher in History of Democracy, Universiteit Leiden

Geerten Waling PhD is a Dutch author, columnist, pundit and historian. He is currently a postdoc researcher at Leiden University and coordinates an interdisciplinary research network on political legitimacy.

To date, Waling has authored and co-authored six books on the history of democracy, popular sovereignty, civil society and political legitimacy. He obtained his PhD and teaching degree from Leiden University in 2016 for his dissertation 1848 – Club Fever and Revolution. Democratic Experiments in Paris and Berlin (originally published in Dutch, with an English translation due to be released in 2019).

Waling is a regular columnist for *de Volkskrant* and *Elsevier Weekblad*, as well as a frequent guest commentator on radio and television.