



James Madison University & EUI Max Weber Programme

7th Graduate Symposium

**The European Union and the Challenges of
Globalizing Politics and Economics**

MWP Common Room, Badia Fiesolana

11 April 2014

Co-organized by

James Madison University in Florence and Max Weber Programme, EUI



The EUI's Max Weber Programme and the James Madison University's M.A. programme in European Union Policy Studies present their **7th Joint Graduate Symposium**. The symposium aims to establish a platform for JMU's MA students to present their work and ideas about the EU in the professional setting of an academic conference. The papers discuss the various policies adopted by the European Union, with an eye toward scrutinizing their effectiveness and analyzing their impact. Overall, they seek to promote better understanding of the ever-evolving EU system of governance.

As two institutions promoting academic excellence, the EUI and JMU will grant an award for the best paper produced for the conference. The award will be given to the paper after its final submission, following the comments of the discussants and the Q&A session at the symposium, and further elaboration in agreement with the JMU professors. The scientific committee is comprised of JMU Professors **Besir Ceka, Evangelia Koundouraki, Tamara Popic and Chiara Steindler**. The award will be announced at the JMU Commencement Ceremony on June 20.

The Graduate Symposium is just one of several events created by the active collaboration between the EUI and JMU. The two institutions engage in a number of other cooperative endeavors throughout the year. If you would like to be informed about joint projects, to propose events, or to join existing collaborations between the EUI and JMU, please contact the Max Weber Programme's Academic Coordinator, Karin Tilmans (karin.tilmans@eui.eu) or the EUPS Academic Coordinator, Caterina Paolucci (paoluccx@jmu.edu).

Symposium organizers

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EUI Max Weber Programme and James Madison University 7th Graduate Symposium, 11 April 2014

Badia Fiesolana, MWP Common Room

PROGRAMME

9:15 – 9:30 Welcome & Opening

- Karin Tilmans
- Caterina Paolucci

9:30 – 11:45 Session 1

Social Policy

Chair: Tamara Popić

- Evi Fuelle – **Solving the Demographic Dilemma: Pro-Natalism and Replacement Migration as Solutions for Europe in the 21st Century**
Discussant: Brandon Restrepo
- Alex Martello- **Laboring Over Employment Policy? Cases of Latvia and Slovenia**
Discussant: Andrej Tusicisny
- Marshall Tunstall – **A Freedom Left Behind: The Failure of Collective Bargaining in the European Union**
Discussant: Michael Donnelly

11:45 – 12:00 Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:30 Session 2

Economic policy

Chair: Besir Ceka

- Molly Bashay – **Irish Agriculture and Europe 2020**
Discussant: Eirini Karamouzi
- Jessica Dabrowski -**The Assessment of Austerity measures in the EU Effects and Long Run Implication**
Discussant: Zoe Lefkofridi
- Abby Ware – **For Better or for Worse: the EU's Economic Partnership Agreements with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries**
Discussant: Robert Lepenies

13:30-14:30 Lunch Break (*Sala della Colonna, Badia*)

14:30 – 17:00 Session 3

Foreign and Security Policy

Chair: Besir Ceka

- Liz Hammer – **The Transatlantic Divide: How the US and EU are Diverging in the Development of a Grand Strategy and Responses to the Terrorist Threat**
Discussant: Gregorio Bettiza
- Eric Keefer - **An Analysis of Foreign Aid to Africa from the European Union and People's Republic of China**
Discussant: Simone Tholens
- Briar Dunn – **Reluctance, transparency, and the benefits of giving up: Europe's Secret Future**
Discussant: Thibaud Boncourt
- Matt McCormick - **Snowden Syndrome: A look at the US-EU Relationship**
Discussant: Valerie McGuire
- Aaron Wade - **One Union, Twenty-Eight Voices: The European Union's Search for Coherence in Security and Defense Policy**
Discussant: Pablo Kalmanovitz

17:00 - 17:15 Coffee Break

17:15 – 18:15 Session 4

Keynote Lecture: (EU) Citizenship with a Price Tag?

Jelena Džankić, Marie Curie Fellow, European University Institute

Abstract of keynote lecture

The spread of the global economic crisis enticed many countries to consider attracting investors to become their citizens. The mushrooming of investor programs, which permit rich individuals to gain residence in the underlying countries and eventually access their citizenship, has become a mechanism of securing an infusion of capital into the struggling economies. The lecture will first look at the relationship between the notion of citizenship and the different types of preferential naturalization of investors: naturalization through residence, discretionary naturalization, and detailed investor citizenship programs. In order to examine whether the economic utility of the investment to the state can suffice to override some or all other criteria for naturalization, we will explore legal and normative dimensions of the notion of “genuine ties” questioning whether preferential treatment of investors can be justified

in the context of merit-based naturalization. In the second part of the lecture, the focus will be on classifying investment-based citizenship and residence programs in all the 28 European Union (EU) Member States, and on discussing the implications of investor citizenship and residence programs on the notion of EU citizenship. Starting from a brief theoretical examination of membership in national and supranational polities, we will then compare how different countries regulate access to membership on grounds of wealth.

Short bio of keynote lecturer

Jelena Džankić is a Marie Curie Fellow at the European University Institute (EUI). From 2011 to 2013, she did post-doctoral research at the EUI as a Jean Monnet fellow. She is also the expert on Montenegrin citizenship at the EUI's European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO) on Citizenship, and has an interest in investor citizenship programs. Jelena holds a PhD in international studies from the University of Cambridge (New Hall College). Before coming to the EUI, Jelena was part of the CITSEE team at the University of Edinburgh and a Teaching Fellow in Comparative Politics at University College London (UCL).

18:15 Conclusion

- Besir Ceka/Tamara Popić
- Caterina Paolucci

Abstracts of the papers presented at the symposium

Session 1: Social Policy

Evi Fuelle – Solving the Demographic Dilemma: Pro-Natalism and Replacement Migration as Solutions for Europe in the 21st Century

Europe must prepare for social security in the 21st century in the midst of drastically changing demographics. By the year 2030, Europe will be the oldest population in the world, with an average age of 44.7, double that of Africa. Aging will have a direct consequence on the way the labor force is structured, and will significantly increase the demand put on social welfare systems. This increased demand on welfare systems is accompanied by harsh economic circumstances following the 2008-2009 financial crisis, which have driven many states to seek alternative policies to adjust their social policies. What policies have already been implemented by Member States to address these changing demographics, and which of these policies have been successful? Why have certain countries adopted certain methods and not others? In an attempt to examine the effectiveness and application of social policies aimed at correcting the “demographic dilemma,” this paper will examine two different policies that have been implemented in France and Germany. Specifically, this paper intends to examine the effectiveness and application of the policies of pro-natalism and “replacement



migration.” This paper will attempt to explain how France and Germany have employed different attempts to alter public policy in order to address issues of fertility and the availability of the labor force. It will examine the extent to which changes in immigration policy can be employed by European Union (EU) Member States in order to “fill the gaps” within the EU labor force, and conversely, the way in which population engineering using pro-natalist policies can positively affect fertility rates.

Alex Martello- Laboring Over Employment Policy? The Cases of Latvia and Slovenia

Ten years have passed since the 2004 enlargement. Many of these new member states had witnessed a divergence of their social policies after the collapse of their socialist systems despite some predictions that there would be convergence to the West European model. Furthermore this divergence has remained even after EU accession despite efforts such as the European Employment Strategy (EES). Though, if the EU has put so much emphasis on employment issues, why do some CEE states seem to be lagging in this field while others are closer to the EU’s promoted standards? To answer this question, this paper will examine the possible explanatory variables for divergence in labour policy—domestic political and economic conditions, the role of the IMF and World Bank, and the role of the EU—while only focusing on the pre-crisis period. The empirical section of this paper will be a comparative case study on Latvia and Slovenia, showing to what extent these variables have influenced the unemployment benefit systems of these two states. From this research, I have found that initial policy responses to the post-liberalization recessions varied depending on the philosophies of ruling elites and influenced the subsequent trajectory of employment policy. This policy shifted along neoliberal lines in Slovenia after EU membership (contrary to the EU’s push for policy more aligned with the European Social model) coinciding with political party changes. Latvia on the other hand experienced slight convergence in employment policy spending after governing party changes during the mid-2000s. This was interesting because Slovenia has traditionally been perceived as having the most robust social system of the CEE states. Latvia, on the other hand has typically been seen as having very neoliberal social policies. Due to the EU simultaneously supporting neoliberal macroeconomic principles (where it has strong competence) and supporting stronger social policy (where its competencies are comparatively weaker), I conclude that left or right governments focused on different aspects of EU objectives to follow in order to pursue their own policy agendas based on ideologies and economic needs.

Marshall Tunstall – A Freedom Left Behind: The Failure of Collective Bargaining in the European Union

This paper will discuss the topic of employee representation in the workplace and the failure of labour unions to reach their desired goals through collective bargaining. Its purpose is to challenge the success of collective bargaining as a means to properly ensure economic security to wage earners within the European Union. It will attempt to answer one central question: Why has collective bargaining ceased to provide social welfare benefits across the European Union, particularly in Continental European countries and Nordic countries where it has traditionally been so successful? It will explore the shortcomings of collective bargaining as a primary tool with which to attempt to bring about economic security for its users. First, I will give a bit of background regarding the variety of social protection systems in Europe and as well as the typical traits of the European social model. This section will be most deeply seated in the previous academic literature and will serve to provide both definitions and context for the rest of the paper. Then I will demonstrate the failures of

collective bargaining to adequately achieve its goals of providing social and economic protection to the labor force, and special attention will be devoted to the regions of Europe that have relied upon collective bargaining as a primary source of social protection for decades. These failures are embodied in the statistical evidence of low values for important economic goals that labor unions seek as well as in the practical examples of the Viking and Laval cases. These two European Court of Justice cases demonstrate the contradiction between the free movement of capital and goods and the free movement of people, or labor, which has been the central stumbling block for all attempts to create a Pan-European right to strike law. Finally, I will express my conclusions on the possibility and practicality of a future in which collective bargaining once again plays a key role.

Session 2: Economic policy

Molly Bashay – Irish Agriculture and Europe 2020

In the interest of preventing forecasted negative climatic changes, some Annex I, or developed, nations accepted and ratified the Kyoto Protocol, promising to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. EU Member States pushed even further on this initiative, agreeing to continue to reduce GHG emissions past the Kyoto benchmark. The resulting environmental benchmarks were enveloped in the Europe 2020 Strategy. One environmental target in particular — the reduction of GHG emissions levels by 20% relative to 1990 levels — is proving most difficult as Ireland is a net food producer country where one third of its national emissions are generated by agricultural practices. This paper seeks to understand whether Ireland can comply with greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) reduction targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy without economically crippling its agricultural sector. Various mitigation and abatement strategies are posed against current Irish agricultural statistics and evaluated on feasibility and cost-benefit. Ireland is not projected to reach its 2020 emissions reduction goals with existing practices, but with an assortment of environmental fiscal reforms and restructuring of agricultural procedure, GHG emissions can be accurately accounted for and abated, ushering in compliance.

Jessica Dabrowski - The Assessment of Austerity measures in the EU Effects and Long Run Implication

The following research claims that austerity measures in a depressed economy will turn out to be a self-defeating strategy in the long run. It will give an over view of the Eurozone crisis followed by a review of austerity measures and their implications. Specifically, it will critically examine the social costs of cuts to social welfare programs and its distributional effects on EU countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland. These countries have been selected based on the extensive affect the financial and economic crisis had on their budget causing them to be among the countries in the EU with the greatest reduction in employment, highest increase in deficit and/or decline of GDP.

Abby Ware – For Better or for Worse: the EU's Economic Partnership Agreements with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries

As a way to further integrate less developed countries into the world economy, the EU has formed Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. While most ACP countries are relatively weak in trade with the EU and the rest of the world, EPAs attempt to do more than create typical free-trade arrangements; they have additional objectives that aim to enhance the socio-economic conditions of ACP countries through opening up EU markets and allowing wide-ranging trade cooperation in powerful sectors of trade, including services and standards. Some scholars, however, have noted certain challenges that make it difficult for ACPs to effectively implement successful trade liberalization, including the lack of institutional capacities and inter-regional cooperation in those regions. This leads to a broader question of whether EPAs are beneficial and harmful for ACP countries. As the EU seeks to establish a stronger political and economic presence across the ACP, and effectively across the entire globe, this paper aims at reaching a better understanding of the EU's political, economic and social actions under EPAs. Furthermore, this paper will measure the effects of EU actions in ACP countries and determine if EPAs are beneficial economically, politically and socially for ACP countries.

Session 3: Foreign and Security Policy

Liz Hammer – The Transatlantic Divide: How the US and EU are Diverging in the Development of a Grand Strategy and Responses to the Terrorist Threat

The definition of what a grand strategy entails is substantially debated both in the academic and practitioner realms of foreign policy studies. It has essentially been agreed that a grand strategy dictates a country's foreign policy objectives and governs the legislation, decisions at executive level, and deployment of troops in order to achieve these goals. Both the European Union (EU) and United States (US) are having an identity crisis in terms of developing new grand strategies post-Cold War. The two actors are currently on different paths in their development of a grand strategy, and that has to do with different historical contexts, different options being available to each actor, and a differences in how they view the world. These differences can be illustrated when the actors' responses to September 11, 2001, the 2004 Madrid bombings, and the 2005 London bombings. This paper aims to illustrate why each actors is taking such a diverse path in their creation of a grand strategy and how this is coupled with their responses to the terrorist threat.

Eric Keefer - An Analysis of Foreign Aid to Africa from the European Union and People's Republic of China

This paper attempts to discern the similarities and differences between foreign aid sent to Africa by the European Union and People's Republic of China. This paper will begin with an analysis of the historical evolution in development aid provided by both the EU and China. The European Union, in a traditional ‘Western’ approach, incorporates contingent requirements, primarily focusing on human rights, rule of law and democratic practices or reforms. This method is starkly contrasted by the relatively recent ‘Beijing Approach’, in which the donor-recipient framework is replaced by a mutually beneficial partnership. In this method, very little of Chinese aid is delivered as traditional ODA

Briar Dunn – Reluctance, transparency, and the benefits of giving up: Europe’s Secret Future



As the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) further evolves, there is going to be much resistance by all parties involved. Globalization is inevitably pushing for the unity of the intelligence community of the Union, and even more for one organization to lead the way for the streamlining of all crucial intelligence. The European External Action Service (EEAS) – under the leadership of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security policy – has been taking the necessary strides to lay the foundations for a unified Intelligence Agency. The paper will analyse the brief history of the Situation Center (SitCen) and its evolution into the Intelligence Center (IntCen). Then it will delineate why the Union cannot move forward with a Common Foreign and Security Policy if the intelligence community remains reluctant in sharing information. Finally, it speaks on the term “streamlining,” and its effects of enhancing the EEAS’s transparency, thus producing the many benefits of cooperation. Ultimately, for the European Union to improve its defence on all fronts, all parties involved must allow for the EEAS to mandate control, thus leading the way for a true Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Matt McCormick - Snowden Syndrome: A look at the US-EU Relationship

The case of Edward Snowden has been on the minds of European politicians and citizens alike. Mr. Snowden exposed the fact that the National Security Agency in the United States had a set of listening devices that were recording Angela Merkel’s telephone conversations. This discovery sparked a widespread dialogue and debate about the US involvement in spying activities, and the continuum of personal privacy versus security. Much of the existing literature on the subject looks at this issue from a personal privacy perspective, but there is a distinct lack of literature addressing the effect that Edward Snowden had on the fundamental transatlantic relationship between the United States and the European Union. A great deal of the literature paints a picture of a large-scale revelation on the part of Europe, but looking more closely at the matter, this is not necessarily the case. This paper will argue that the actions of Edward Snowden’s are certainly worth consideration, but upon closer examination of the statements and attitudes of European politicians (especially members of the European Parliament and heads of state), there is no major “shock to the system” as some would suggest in light of these recent events. Negotiations may have been suspended and may be in need of some revision, but the mutually beneficial aspects of data sharing in fighting terrorism are important enough that these negotiations will continue.

Aaron Wade - One Union, Twenty-Eight Voices: The European Union’s Search for Coherence in Security and Defence Policy

Under the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union has created a Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), which commits the Member States to progressively work together in conflict prevention and crisis management, in order to strengthen the EU’s external power. Has there been any advancement in these crucial areas of defense policy? The paper takes a close look at the European Union’s Crisis Management in order to show how divided and uncoordinated the EU action still is when it comes to foreign policy, including defense and security. A special focus on the crisis management of Libya and Mali, analyzing the coherence of the European Union bodies will show the crucial limits of the CSDP. The explanation of the lack of coherence will be centered on four different levels of analysis: Horizontal, institutional, vertical, and multilateral. The paper will conclude with suggestions on how to close the coherence gap.