



The Past, Present, and Future of the EU: Multidimensional Perspectives

EUI Max Weber Programme and James Madison University
10th Graduate Symposium, 7th April 2017

EUI, Badia Fiesolana, Emeroteca

The Max Weber Programme and the James Madison University's M.A. Program in European Union Policy Studies are pleased to announce the 10th Joint Graduate Symposium.

The symposium gives JMU's MA students in European Union Policy Studies an opportunity to present and discuss their own research with Max Weber Fellows and the wider EUI community in an academic setting. This year, the symposium discusses the past, present, and future of the EU through multidimensional perspectives including economy, national/international security and European/foreign affairs. The symposium will culminate with a keynote lecture by Prof. Stefano Bartolini, Peter Mair Chair in Comparative Politics, Department of Political and Social Sciences at EUI.

Symposium Organizers:

Akisato Suzuki, Max Weber Programme, EUI, Akisato.Suzuki@eui.eu
Trajche Panov, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, trajche.panov@eui.eu
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**The Past, Present, and Future of the EU:
Multidimensional Perspectives**

10:00 – 10:15 Opening coffee

10:15 – 10:30 Opening Remarks

Chair: Akisato Suzuki

- Caterina Paolucci, Academic Coordinator, JMU
- Karin Tilmans, Program Coordinator, MWP-EUI

Panel 1 (10:30 – 12:30): Conventional and Unconventional Security Issues in Europe

Chair: Karin Tilmans

- Laura Benbow, “Winter is Coming: An Analysis of the New ‘Winter Package’ on European Security and Defence”. Discussant: Stefano Marcuzzi
- Katelyn Weeks, “Russia’s Sphere of Influence and the Mediterranean”. Discussant: Jonas Driedger
- Natalia Muniz, “What Factors Lead to Islamic Radicalization in Europe? A Case Study on Discrimination and the Marginalization of Muslims in France and the United Kingdom”. Discussant: Tine Gade
- Anna Sullivan, “An Analysis of the Common Agricultural Policy’s Effectiveness in Eliminating Food Waste”. Discussant: Gary Winslett

12:30 – 13:30 Lunch upon invitation

Panel 2 (13:30 – 15:00): Political Economy and the EU

Chair: Caterina Paolucci

- Nori Rubin, “Labor Market Problems in Hungary: Examining How Corruption and Government Mismanagement Have Led to Youth Unemployment and Brain Drain”. Discussant: Maxim Goryunov
- Emily New Cruse, “Trading For Inequality? Globalisation and Income Inequality in European Union Member States”. Discussant: Vera Scepanovic
- Erika Campoverde, “Business as Usual: Why the EU-US Privacy Shield is Worth Preserving”. Discussant: Aris Trantidis

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee break

Panel 3 (15:30 – 17:00): Foreign Affairs of the EU

Chair: Trajche Panov

- Jennifer Richards, “The Effectiveness of Soft Power in the European Union’s Neighbourhood Policy: A Case Study of Tunisia”. Discussant: Alexander Katsaitis
- Alexander Muydinoff, “Russian Energy Strategy vis-à-vis the European Union and the Rise of ‘Turkish Stream’”. Discussant: Johann Robert Basedow
- Jesse Giammarino, “China’s Grand Strategy and the EU: An Analysis of Chinese Geoeconomics towards Member States’ Stances on the South China Sea”. Discussant: Paul van Hoof

17:00 – 18:00

Keynote lecture

Prof. Stefano Bartolini

Peter Mair Chair in Comparative Politics
Department of Political and Social Sciences
European University Institute

The European Parliament: Obstinate but obsolete?

Chaired by Akisato Suzuki

Stefano Bartolini has been teaching at the University of Bologna (1976), the European University Institute (1979 and 2004), Florence (1985), Trieste (1990), and Geneva (1991). He has directed the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the EUI (2006). He is currently ‘Peter Mair’ Professor in Comparative Politics in the SPS department of the EUI, Florence. His research interests focus on Western European political development, comparative methodology, institutional analysis, European integration and empirical political theory. His most recent books include *Restructuring Europe. Centre formation, system building and political structuring between the nation state and the EU* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005); *The Role of Parties in Twenty-First Century Politics. Responsive and Responsible* (edited with Luciano Bardi and Alexander H. Trechsel, London, Routledge, 2015); *The Political*, forthcoming (2018).

Followed by a Reception

Symposium Paper Abstracts

Panel 1: Conventional and Unconventional Security Issues in Europe

Laura Benbow

Winter is Coming: An Analysis of the New “Winter Package” on European Security and Defence

The European security landscape has experienced significant shifts since 2003. These shifts have necessitated a new coordinated strategy for security and defence. In November 2016, HR/VP Federica Mogherini announced a multi-strand approach, calling it the “Winter Package on Security and Defence” with the European Union Global Strategy at the centre. This new “Winter Package” contains multiple provisions with implications on the future of European security and defence and the Common Security and Defence Policy. The coordination of defence and security to more effectively combat security threats to the European Union continued as a priority, with the “Winter Package” as the most recent step. This paper looks at key moments in European defence policy starting with the 2003 European Security Strategy and examines influences, key provisions, inherent issues and challenges, and future implications of the “Winter Package.”

Katelyn Weeks

Russia’s Sphere of Influence and the Mediterranean

For centuries, the Mediterranean has played a crucial role in global affairs. At the crossroads of Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, it has become a naval theater that great powers seek to control. While the Mediterranean was not always the focus of Russian foreign policy, it has become the most important arena for Russian military, economic, and political interests. With the expansion of the EU and NATO perceived as a threat to its strategic interests, Russia has sought to keep its foothold in the Mediterranean region by expanding its spheres of influence in southern Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. A historical analysis of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries will be taken to determine how Russia’s spheres of influence in the Mediterranean have expanded over time. This study asserts that Russia’s sphere of influence is larger today than any other point in history.

Natalia Muniz

What Factors Lead to Islamic Radicalization in Europe? A Case Study on Discrimination and the Marginalization of Muslims in France and the United Kingdom

Across Europe there has been an increase in xenophobia and Islamophobia due to recent terrorist attacks and the large influx of asylum seekers from predominantly Muslim countries. This is problematic because Islamophobic attitudes and discrimination towards European Muslims can encourage Islamic radicalization that leads to terrorism. It can be argued that failed integration, conservative agendas and nationalistic sentiments, when associated with socio-economic disadvantage, can lead to Islamic radicalization in European countries. This paper aims to determine whether discrimination and the marginalization of Muslims in the European Union leads to higher rates of Islamic radicalization through the analysis of two different cases, the United Kingdom (UK) and France. Each of these countries have failed to find a strong approach to integrate Muslims into their societies, have had an increase in

nationalism and Islamophobia in recent years, and their Muslim communities face socio-economic disadvantages compared to non-Muslim citizens. The UK and France have both suffered from terrorist attacks executed by home-grown radicals. Therefore, the analysis of these two cases has determined that the discrimination and marginalization of Muslims does lead to more instances of radicalization and terrorism.

Anna Sullivan

An Analysis of the Common Agricultural Policy's Effectiveness in Eliminating Food Waste

On February 2nd 2017, the European Commission initiated public consultations for a new round of reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), in an effort to continue simplifying and modernizing one of the European Union's longest standing policies. Food waste reduction has far-reaching effects beyond the agricultural sector and into society. This paper analyzes the positive and negative externalities of food waste on the EU at its supranational level and within the national economies and societies of its member states. Examining the shortcomings and inefficiencies of CAP in being a comprehensive and modern policy, this paper resolves that there is not sufficient merging of social infrastructure to support the agricultural convergence that the policy requires to be fully implemented. Rather, there should be specialized, regional agricultural policy supported by a general, overarching European agricultural policy. The concluding findings are that the high costs of this outdated policy are not worth the low effectiveness. With the 60th Anniversary of the Rome Treaty fresh on European leaders' minds, it is an advantageous time for the EU to come together on a common goal, counteract the negative effects of euroscepticism, and become global leaders in eliminating food waste.

Panel 2: Political Economy and the EU

Nori Rubin

Labor Market Problems in Hungary: Examining How Corruption and Government Mismanagement Have Led to Youth Unemployment and Brain Drain

Following the fall of communist regimes, Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) faced a fast transition from planned economies to market economies. Hungary is a prime example of a post-socialist country that did well following the transition, but in more recent years there has not been a great deal of development. Youth unemployment was not an initial issue, since there was a high demand for skilled labor and positions were easily filled. Today, the country faces high youth unemployment rates. Brain drain occurred following 1989, and predominantly among the intellectual and skilled population, but as the economy stabilized this became less of an issue. After joining the EU, Hungary witnessed some emigration, mainly among youth groups, but not to the same extent as Poland and other CEE countries. Following the financial crisis and the failure of government policies to address labor market issues, more people are likely to leave the country resulting in higher rates of brain drain. At the same time, Hungary is experiencing severe labor shortages as citizens move abroad for more prosperous opportunities. Corruption and clientelism have also been a major problem in Hungary and other post-socialist countries. With the failure of the EU to live up to people's expectations and the eruption of the financial crisis, the current government has reverted to old authoritarian practices that in a corrupt environment are disadvantaging citizens and

preventing the country from further growth and development. The government's main focus should be on increasing spending in areas such as education, health care and focusing on active labor market policies.

Emily New-Cruse

Trading For Inequality? Globalisation and Income Inequality in European Union Member States

Globalisation and economic inequality are theoretically and rhetorically linked by both scholars and political party leaders through neoliberalism and the increase in inequality that has been demonstrated to accompany the implementation of neoliberalist policies. Globalisation, by definition, leads to an increase in interconnectedness between states, particularly between their economies; this interconnectedness can lead to the spreading or sharing of economic structure and policies, technological innovations, novel manufacturing techniques, etc. This transfer usually takes place with one state in a dominant role, transmitting their norms and structures to a weaker, more subordinate state; the EU and its member states take on this dominant role globally due to their economic size and capacity. The paper seeks to demonstrate the connections between the increased participation in globalisation by EU member states and the perceived rise of income inequality in Europe from 2000 to 2015. The results of fixed effect models are not statistically significant and indicate that more research is to be done and that globalisation does not account for a majority of the variation present over time in income inequality.

Erika Campoverde

Business as Usual: Why the EU-US Privacy Shield is Worth Preserving

The digital economy is developing rapidly worldwide. In the new digital era, companies can record consumer data in many ways. Commercial websites log their visitors' behavior through consumer tracking software and record user details during transactions. Due to these data aggregators, companies can create individual user profiles and target consumers with advertising campaigns and offer consumers products and services that are tailored to their needs. For this reason, collecting information has become the lifeblood of scheming effective electronic marketing strategies, and is one of the main income generators for companies. The interconnectedness of the markets has also increased the transatlantic flow of data, allowing companies to grow their business and the global economy. However, innovation and customer data sharing has brought forth privacy concerns as well. Users are becoming concerned about how their personal information is being used. For this reason, the EU – US Privacy Shield was designed by the U.S. Department of Commerce and the European Commission to provide companies on both sides of the Atlantic with a mechanism to comply with EU data protection requirements when transferring personal data from the European Union to the United States.

Panel 3: Foreign Affairs of the EU

Jennifer Richards

The Effectiveness of Soft Power in the European Union's Neighbourhood Policy: A Case Study of Tunisia

The EU relies on soft power to implement its foreign policy objectives in its Neighborhood. With its lack of military might and its reluctance to make use of economic sanctions in the Mediterranean, the EU has demonstrated its preferred use of soft power tools such as financial assistance through the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). This paper analyzes the effectiveness of that use by examining several key objectives of the EU-Tunisia partnership from 2007 to 2013: economic development and development of the education system. The former is an issue long at the heart of EU-Tunisian relations and is of great importance to both the EU and its partner country while the latter is a vital issue to Tunisia, particularly pre-Revolution. Based on the analysis of factors in these two issue areas, we make a determination that soft power has been largely ineffective in advancing the objectives of the EU in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

Alexander Muydinoff

Russian Energy Strategy vis-à-vis the European Union and the Rise of “Turkish Stream”

Some studies have already been done on the relevance of the energy factor in Russian foreign policy. Energy affairs at a global and regional level have changed. This paper will examine how Russia has used energy as an instrument of foreign policy vis-à-vis the European Union in the context of rising Turkish Stream pipeline. Russia’s energy leverage resembles a multipurpose economic weapon that can handily be used at home, in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and in Eastern Europe. This paper argues that Russia’s foreign policy has three main goals: economic and political domination of the CIS, economic and political domination throughout Eastern Europe, and finally, to weaken the European Union by monopolization of suppliers to key countries. The implications in the absence of a policy action to further diversify the EU energy supplies might lead to continuation of overreliance on Russia and turn Turkey into a major energy hub country on the European periphery.

Jesse Giammarino

China’s Grand Strategy and the EU: An Analysis of Chinese Geoeconomics towards Member States’ Stances on the South China Sea

In this era of globalization, it is becoming increasingly difficult for countries to separate bilateral trade and foreign policy because the two are closely linked. The South China Sea dispute symbolizes this problem as countries have attempted to stay neutral due to contextual political and economic relations with the different claimants. The EU member states have faced this issue due to relations with China and ASEAN countries. China has sought the support of external states including EU members to back its claims in the sea. Its grand strategy for domestic and international goals are relevant to the sea because of the tools used to influence the positions of other countries. This paper examines the effectiveness of China’s foreign policy tools in influencing the Czech Republic, France, Poland, and the United Kingdom’s policies in the dispute. The findings suggest that the stances did not change for the four countries due to increased diplomatic or economic relations with China. Views did change more broadly for Poland and the Czech Republic, but France and the UK maintained their positions and activities in the sea, despite threats by China to stop.