



European  
University  
Institute

MAX WEBER PROGRAMME FOR POST-DOCTORAL STUDIES



## **James Madison University and EUI Max Weber Programme**

### **5th Graduate Symposium**

European Policies After the Lisbon Treaty

**San Domenico di Fiesole, Villa La Fonte, 6 June 2012**

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 political science with a concentration in European Union Policy Studies present their 5th Joint Graduate Symposium on European policies.

The symposium aims to establish a platform for JMU master 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 Graduate Symposium is just one of the events created by the active collaboration between the EUI and JMU. The two institutions engage in a number of other events throughout the year.

If you would like to be informed about joint projects, to propose collaborations, or to join existing collaborations between the EUI and JMU, please contact the EUPS Academic Coordinator, Caterina Paolucci ([paoluccx@jmu.edu](mailto:paoluccx@jmu.edu)).

### **Symposium organizers:**

Tina Freyburg, EUI MWP / ETH Zurich  
Caterina Paolucci, JMU

## EUI Max Weber Programme and James Madison University 5th Graduate Symposium, 6 June 2012

### EVENT SCHEDULE

#### 9:15 – Registration & Coffee

#### 9:15 – 9:30 Welcome & Opening (*SALA CONFERENZA*)

- Karin Tilmans (EUI, Max Weber Programme)
- Caterina Paolucci (JMU)

#### 9:30 – 11:00 Session 1 (Parallel Workshops)

##### Workshop 1a: Justice and Home Affairs (*SALA A*)

Chair: Karolina Podstawa (EUI)

- Mary Catherine Aesy: EU-NATO Relationship on Counter-Terrorism Policies
- Cassandra Kornacki: The Formation of EU Counter-Terrorism Policies After 9/11 - A Theoretical Assessment  
Discussant: Jonathan Bright (EUI, SPS)
- Laura Schillinger: Addressing the Obstacles to Efficiency of the European Arrest Warrant
- Jessica Owens: Combating Illicit Drug Use in the European Union  
Discussant: Marat Markert (EUI, SPS)

##### Workshop 1b: EU Relations to the USA and United Nations (*SALA B*)

Chair: Andrea Wechsler (EUI, MWP)

- Chris Mulholland: EU-US Trade and Economic Relations - Possibilities for Expanded Partnership  
Discussant: Malorie Schaus (EUI, Law)
- Joanna Sandager: EU-US Airline Alliance Policies - Prospects for Convergence  
Discussant: Emma Linklater (EUI, Law)
- Chelsea Richter: European Cooperation at the United Nations General Assembly - An Analysis of European Union Member States' Voting Behavior  
Discussant: Pedro Riera (EUI, SPS)

#### 11:00 – 11:15 Coffee Break

#### 11:15 – 12:45 Session 2 (Parallel Workshops)

##### Workshop 2a: EU Migration and Asylum Policies (*SALA A*)

Chair: Tina Freyburg (EUI, MWP)

- Leah Burton: External Conflicts and the Formation of the Common European Asylum System
- Elke Milner: Comparing Compatibility and Effectiveness - French and Czech Roma Policy within the European Union
- Mary Cate Thalgot: The Sensationalism of Human Trafficking within the European Union  
Discussant: Oriane Calligaro (EUI, RSCAS)

### **Workshop 2b: EU Foreign Policies (SALA B)**

Chair: Chiara Steindler (EUI, JMU)

- Colby L. Bohn: To Go or Not To Go: The EU's Rationale in Military Engagements
  - Marisa Myers: A More Effective Common Foreign and Security Policy under Lisbon? The Case of Libya
  - Meredith Pritchett: NATO and EU Responses to the Arab Spring - Comparing Libya and Syria
- Discussant: Edoardo Bressanelli (EUI, RSCAS)

**12:45-14:00 Lunch Break (GARDEN)**

**14:00 – 15:30 Session 3 (Parallel Workshops)**

### **Workshop 3a: EU Economic and Energy Policies (SALA A)**

Chair: Tamara Jonjic (EUI, JMU)

- Andrew Forte: Should the Eurozone Maintain a Monetary Union Without the Implementation of Uniform Fiscal Requirements
  - Kelsey Gleason: Renewable Energy Policy Suggestions and Options for the EU to Achieve the Europe 2020 Goals
  - Christina Craver: The Entrepreneurial Spirit: Transatlantic or Trapped by Cultural Boundaries?
- Discussant: TBA

### **Workshop 3b: Implementation and Compliance with EU Policies (SALA B)**

Chair: Justin Valasek (EUI, MWP)

- NaliniMargaitis: Compliance With The Nitrate Directive: A Case Study of Estonia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Poland
  - Lyndy Amato: The Role of Universities in Meeting Labor Market Demands: A Comparison of Germany and Finland
  - Janet Thompson: Animal Welfare Issues on EU Fur Farms
- Discussant: Alanna O'Malley (EUI MWP)

**15:45-16:15 Best Paper Award Ceremony (SALA CONFERENZA)**

**17:00 – 18:00 Keynote lecture (SALA CONFERENZA)**

Prof. Chris Reus-Smit (EUI, SPS): The Nature and Importance of Special Responsibilities in World Politics.

The language of special responsibilities is ubiquitous in world politics, with policymakers and commentators alike speaking and acting as though particular states have, or ought to have, unique obligations in managing global problems. Surprisingly, scholars are yet to provide any in-depth analysis of this fascinating aspect of world politics. This path-breaking study examines the nature of special responsibilities, the complex politics that surround them and how they condition international social power. The argument is illustrated with detailed case-studies of nuclear proliferation, climate change and global finance. All three problems have been addressed by an allocation of special responsibilities, but while this has structured politics in these areas, it has also been the subject of ongoing contestation. With a focus on the United States, the lecture argues that power must be understood as a social phenomenon and that American power varies significantly across security, economic and environmental domains.

## Abstracts

### Workshop 1a: Justice and Home Affairs (SALA A)

*Mary Catherine AESY*, “EU-NATO Relationship on Counter-Terrorism Policies”

This paper examines the NATO-EU relationship in the area of counter-terrorism. The relationship the EU currently has with NATO is strained and many improvements need to be made. The EU’s counter-terrorism strategies are analyzed to demonstrate how it must rely and work with NATO to effectively fight terrorism around its borders. This is illustrated by explaining the Berlin Plus agreement and the sharing of resources between the two organizations. The paper highlights a few of the ongoing EU-NATO joint operations to combat terrorism to show how they are able to work together in the field. This paper argues that many changes need to be made to the current strategy of the EU in order for it to be able to act effectively and speak with one voice on foreign affairs issues. Policy suggestions are then put forward which would make cooperation between NATO and the EU more effective.

*Cassandra KORNAKCI* “The Formation of EU Counter-Terrorism Policies After 9/11 - A Theoretical Assessment”

In the post-9/11 environment there was a notable shift in the way the threat of terrorism was viewed in Europe. Terrorism was seen as an extreme act to be committed by those who failed to fulfill European ‘norms’ and in order to combat this external threat, counter-terrorism policies began to be formed under the Community framework of the European Union. The policies formed were a result of securitization; a process in which policy-makers garner support for extreme policies through a dialogue which plays off of the emotions of citizens. The success of the securitization process can be understood through a theoretical lens. Using the theories of Louis Althusser and Friedrich Nietzsche this paper assesses the relationship between state and citizen which can be applied to the current formation of counter-terrorism policies. The results of this research show that terrorism has continuously been constructed as an outside threat which plays off of citizens insecure emotions regarding their own security. These findings contribute to an understanding of how counter-terrorism policies are formed and the way that terrorism is viewed in the post-9/11 world.

*Laura SCHILLINGER*, “Addressing the Obstacles to Efficiency of the European Arrest Warrant”

This policy paper, addressed to the European Commission by an independent think tank, seeks to develop two policy solutions to deal with problems that have arisen with the European Arrest Warrant (EAW). While the EAW has certainly been useful for police and judicial cooperation among the Member States, it has also brought to light several problems. The two that will be addressed in this paper deal with offences that are no longer subject to dual criminality, and the overuse of the EAW for minor crimes. By focusing on these two areas, the EAW can be made more effective, more efficient, and more respected on the world stage. The paper begins with a brief introduction to the European Arrest Warrant, including the recent changes it has gone through and proposed policy solutions. Next, an overview of the two issues selected will be provided, explaining their importance and how they have been negatively affecting the EAW. Then, the two policy suggestions will be discussed, addressing the relevant institutions and

actors with plans for implementation and further recommendations. The Commission, European Parliament, and Council will all play a key role in strengthening the EAW, but it is with the Commission that legislative initiative begins, and the Commission needs to understand the importance of action. The EAW can be a powerful tool for police and judicial cooperation in the European Union, and with continued reform and development, it will be.

*Jessica OWENS, “Combating Illicit Drug Use in the European Union”*

Europe has continually experienced problems with illicit drug use since the beginning of the twentieth century. As the European Union has grown, it has developed common ideas and suggestions to cope with the drug problem. Although there are some commonalities amongst the Member States, there is a clear lack of cohesion that has contributed to the growth of the illicit drug problem. Current action plans dedicated to alleviating this problem are not working because there are no concrete guidelines in place and policy is left up to the national governments. In order to rectify this situation the European Union must reexamine the scope of the drug problem and develop a binding common drug policy.

Workshop 1b: EU Relations to the USA and United Nations (SALA B)

*Christopher MULLHOLLAND, “EU-US Trade and Economic Relations - Possibilities for Expanded Partnership”*

The US and the EU, as the leading trading blocs in the world, have the most to lose if the WTO diminishes in relevance. They need to take the lead and broker a Doha deal as soon as possible by utilizing parallel but separate sectorial preferential trade agreements with each other that can be introduced into the WTO for adoption by a wider group of countries. Bilateral agreements should focus on areas where each side has the most to gain: namely, a reduction of regulatory non-tariff barriers in investment and intellectual property rights and negotiation of a zero-tariff agreement. However, forging a united front within the WTO remains a formidable task while trade disputes between the EU and US exist. The EU and US need to work together within the High-Level Regulatory Forum and the Transatlantic Economic Council to negotiate these agreements and find common solutions to the ongoing trade disputes involving beef hormones and genetically-modified organisms.

*Joanna SANDAGER, “EU-US Airline Alliance Policies - Prospects for Convergence”*

In the past three decades collaboration between airlines, in the form of international airline alliances, has broadened in both scope and purpose. This has provided more opportunity to consumers and enabled many carriers to operate more efficiently; however, such deep collaboration between carriers poses threats to market competition. As the scope and depth of airline alliances continues to grow, the EU and US should deepen their coordination by converging on a number of competition policies and practices. This paper argues that despite “remarkable similarities” between the two regimes, a number of fundamental differences exist between the regulatory approaches used by the EU and US competition authorities. Based on a 2010 joint EC-DOT report, this paper analyzes these differences and prospects for convergence in four parts: competition authority and mandates, legal tests, procedures for review, and remedies.



*Chelsea RICHTER*, “European Cooperation at the United Nations General Assembly - An Analysis of European Union Member States’ Voting Behavior”

This research focuses on the issues of coordination and cooperation of EU member states in forum of the United Nations. The EU’s development policy, as enumerated in the Lisbon Treaty, is based on the UN framework for development. The treaty states that development policies of the EU and its member states are to “compliment and reinforce each other.” Given the coordination at all levels between each actor, one can hypothesize that votes of the EU member states within the UN General Assembly would also reflect a common EU position and in turn one another’s in terms of development. The research explores whether or not this hypothesis holds true. In the area of development do EU member states act (vote) in a coordinated manner within the UN, and if so, to what degree? This question is answered through the exploration of the development policies of the UN, the external development policies of the EU and the coordination that takes place between the two entities and their shared member states. Changes in this policy area implemented due to the Lisbon Treaty are taken into consideration as it the issue of shared competences. The research concludes that there is a high level of coordination between member states at the UN level.

Workshop 2a: EU Migration and Asylum Policies (SALA A)

*Leah BURTON*, “External Conflicts and the Formation of the Common European Asylum System”

The development of a Common European Asylum System in the EU has been forced by integration very slowly for several decades. Because of the desire to protect the national interest of the Member States, the EU has been very gradual at enforcing a common policy causing an ongoing debate among the Member States of how far each state needs to go to protect refugees. This article is going to analyze the formation of the CEAS and how it has been impacted by Member States over the years. The paper is going to discuss the influx of asylum seekers from the Yugoslav Wars, Iraq, and touch on the consequences from the most recent Arab Spring. It will discuss the development of the CEAS and uploading and downloading from Member States as well as pushing and pulling. It will also describe the current flaws of the system, and it will conclude with an emphasis on how important harmonizing the CEAS is for the EU to become a stronger actor in the global arena and will promote deeper integration and cooperation. The paper will also describe the need for further development.

*Elke MILNER*, “Comparing Compatibility and Effectiveness - French and Czech Roma Policy within the European Union”

Until recently, Roma-related issues have not been high on the political agenda of the European Union member-states or the EU, and currently, most policy is dealt with at the national level. The Roma remain Europe’s largest and most vulnerable ethnic minority; current EU and national policies are not sufficient to promote social inclusion of the Roma in Europe. Through use of the social conflict theory and qualitative analysis of EU and national documents as well as other literature written on the matter, I investigated the compatibility and effectiveness of Roma-related policy within the Czech Republic and France. I found that the newer, central eastern European state’s Roma policies were more in line with the ideals and standards of the EU than the western, founding member of the EU, despite my original assumption of the opposite. I reason that this is attributed to the policy overhaul necessitated by the accession agreements the Czech Republic underwent in order to join the European Union, and conclude

that the European Union lacks legitimate oversight in the case of ensuring human rights and social inclusion, which is hindering the development of an inclusive European identity.

*Mary Cate THALGOTT, “The Sensationalism of Human Trafficking within the European Union”*

Human trafficking is high on the agenda of many governments worldwide. Within the last few decades there has been an increase of numbers of people who are trafficked around the world. The focus of many governments has been to combat this growing problem, however researchers have indicated that these numbers are not as high as they are broadcasting them to be. The European Union through political discourse of human trafficking is using sensationalism to frame the issue as an epidemic. Although, they do not personally have a large campaign fighting against the issue, they fund organizations to create awareness. This paper will focus how the European Union frames themselves using political discourse in positive light via the organization *Stop the Traffik*.

#### Workshop 2b: EU Foreign Policies (SALA B)

*Colby L. BOHN, “To Go or Not To Go: The EU’s Rationale in Military Engagements”*

The European Union’s military strategy has tending to be one which stresses soft power and normative actions. However, in recent years, there has been an increase in both military and civilian missions on an EU level, rather than by individual Member States, giving the Union more of a presence on the international stage. EUFOR RD Congo and Operation Concordia were two missions, which actions, structure, and rationale can be explained through constructivism and rationalism in regards to the countries being assisted. Although these missions are not unique to the Union, they can help researchers better understand why the EU decides to participate in certain engagements with regards to previous historical relationships and agreements, as well as how they might be viewed by outside actors.

*Marisa MYERS, “A More Effective Common Foreign and Security Policy under Lisbon? The Case of Libya”*

The Lisbon Treaty (2009) introduced several revolutionary changes with the aim of making EU foreign policy more effective and coherent. Unfortunately, the alterations institutionalized by the Lisbon Treaty have only had minimal impact on the functioning of EU foreign policy. The effectiveness of these changes depends on the political will of the member states to implement them; for this reason, the Lisbon Treaty does not alter EU foreign policy in its own right. This paper seeks to evaluate the success of these changes through analysis of the European Union’s response to the Libyan crisis. Based on this analysis, this contribution will also make suggestions for improvement in the area of foreign and security policy. The EU must take steps both in the short and long term (many of which are interrelated) to develop its own foreign policy. In the short term, the EU should increase the leadership capabilities of the High Representative and the EEAS, work to smooth inter-institutional relations, utilize positive public opinion, and develop its hard power capabilities. In the long term, the EU must devise a European grand strategy for foreign policy and use external factors/shocks to foster its own development. The European Union has an extensive diplomatic machine that it can use within its own borders to facilitate the development of CFSP (particularly CSDP). The personalities of foreign policy officials as well as synergy between institutions is essential in building a credible, coherent, complete European foreign policy.

*Meredith PRITCHETT, NATO and EU Responses to the Arab Spring - Comparing Libya and Syria*

The circumstances of Libya in 2011 and the ongoing situation in Syria have been, and continue to be, major stories in the news. This paper highlights some of the conditions within these two countries and then tries to answer questions regarding the NATO and EU response to the different situations. Those responses are challenged and policy changes are proposed. While the aim of this paper is to propose a new policy in which the EU, NATO and the international community need to take a stand against the Syrian Regime, the overall purpose of this paper is to better understand the reactions of both the EU and NATO towards the Arab Spring, specifically in Libya and Syria. Turkey and France's severe action and reaction in Libya played a large part shaping, or possibly re-shaping, both the EU and NATO's response, and so we will identify those actions and the possible reasons behind them. We will also look at the influence the Russian and Chinese veto has had on the situation in Syria.

Workshop 3a: EU Economic and Energy Policies (SALA A)

*Andrew FORTE, "Should the Eurozone Maintain a Monetary Union without the Implementation of Uniform Fiscal Requirements"*

The development of an Economic and Monetary Union was an essential step towards an ever-closer union for Europe. Apprehension over relinquishing national sovereignty prevented the EMU from developing the complementary fiscal policy necessary to ensure long-term stability within the Eurozone. In order to ensure consistency in the market, the Stability and Growth Pact, coupled with the Maastricht criteria, were utilized to select which countries were best-suited to join the EMU. Poor oversight and overly-generous exemptions to these criteria resulted in a lack of fiscal responsibility at the national level. The financial collapse catalyzed an assessment of international markets, revealing the unsustainable levels of debt accrued by some of the Eurozone members. The lack of supranational fiscal power hindered the prevention of such conditions, while membership in the EMU obstructed the ability to address isolated market shock by means of traditional methods, such as devaluing currency. This resulted in a number of options. Each country in trouble now had to decide whether it should leave the Eurozone or pursue financial assistance. The European Union now must determine what course of action is most appropriate to prevent future crisis from developing. The primary options would be to abolish the EMU, to require a uniform fiscal policy, or to attempt to maintain the status quo. The recommended course of action would be to adopt a two-speed fiscal and monetary union which employs aspects of maintaining the status quo for certain countries; while others must accept technocratic assistance until such time that they are self-sustaining. The overall reaction to this policy recommendation will be positive, with particular support from the strongest economies in the Eurozone, as well as from the international communities. By doing so, the Eurozone members will be able to stabilize the market and prevent isolated instances of market shock. The result of such reform will be an increase in investor confidence. Furthermore, the risk posed to the global markets will be diminished, securing the Euro as one of the key reserve currencies worldwide.



*Kelsey GLEASON*, “Renewable Energy Policy Suggestions and Options for the EU to Achieve the Europe 2020 Goals”

In this paper, the potential challenges of meeting the 20% renewable target will be explored—these range from a lack of consensus in policy practices to insufficient levels of research and development. It is important to remember that the EU reaching its renewable energy target is essential for two reasons: attaining energy security, and decreasing greenhouse gas emissions to curb the effects of global climate change. The European Union is a global leader in the research, development and application of renewable energy. However, between the member states disparate levels of ambition in determining the targets in the sectors of electricity, heating and cooling, and transport are present. Delineating measures of how much each member state has to do is dependent on the current level of development in each member state’s renewable energy sector. Keeping open lines of communication between each member state to ensure that struggling member states have the ability to implement the most successful policies with the advanced technologies will be the key to reaching their 2020 benchmarks. An increased investment in research and development of a cost and energy efficient way to create biofuels is vital to wean the European market’s dependence on foreign petroleum imports and decrease greenhouse emissions.. Expanding investment in renewable energy would not only create jobs in the European market, but it would also improve trade balance within European energy markets while leading the way in the creation of new technologies.

*Christina CRAVER*, “The Entrepreneurial Spirit: Transatlantic or Trapped by Cultural Boundaries?”

This paper builds on Mueller and Thomas’ research linking cultural dimensions of individualism and uncertainty avoidance to entrepreneurialism. The first part of this paper will briefly go over some of the scholarly literature available in regards to entrepreneurship. The following section will discuss the methodology used in analyzing Geert Hofstede’s cultural dimension rankings in comparison with 2009 Eurobarometer surveys on entrepreneurialism. The third section will test three hypotheses on survey responses to determine whether identified individualist/collectivist and high uncertainty avoidance/low uncertainty avoidance characteristics are present when asked in relation to entrepreneurship. Final conclusions will then be made along with a brief overview of study limitations and recommendations for further study.

Workshop 3b: Implementation and Compliance with EU Policies (SALA B)

*Nalini MARGAITIS*, “Compliance With The Nitrate Directive: A Case Study of Estonia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Poland”

Contamination of water remains a concern throughout the globe, even in a developed area such as the European Union. This paper analyzes drinking water contamination of four Eastern European States: Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia. The study includes analysis regarding the current legal basis set up in order to prevent contamination and specifically explores the chemical compound, nitrate. Ultimately, the study reveals the level of nitrates found in drinking water within these nations in order to determine any harmful effects. Upon conducting proper assessment, this study concludes the necessity for a common monitoring system that will guarantee compliance by all member states.



*Lyndy AMATO*, “The Role of Universities in Meeting Labor Market Demands: A Comparison of Germany and Finland”

The modern research university was founded on the ‘Humboldtian idea of the University’ where the goal was to discover truths and the acquisition of knowledge was an end in and of itself. However, over the years, the primary missions of higher education shifted away from solely research and teaching. Universities have acquired a ‘third mission’ to aid local, regional and national economic development by providing an educated labor supply and useful research. There has been a massive expansion of tertiary education over the last half century, however, there is still a significant mismatch between available skills and available jobs within Europe. As the services sector and demand for medium to high skilled labor continues to grow, this mismatch is likely to increase unless people acquire more education and training. European governments recognize this problem and use a number of steering mechanisms to help incentivize universities to pursue activities that are in the best interests of the state. This paper compares the educational systems and the government’s role in the educational system in Finland’s social and democratic system and Germany’s social market model. These models are similar, however, in that they both extensively make use of targeted funding to support university sectors and research projects they deem most beneficial to society. The ever-changing global and European economic situation makes it impossible to predict which skills exactly will be needed in the future. Therefore, students are encouraged to acquire a broad range of flexible skills that allow them to adapt to the markets’ changing needs, though there is an increased emphasis on applied research and majors relating to sciences, engineering, computers, and technology.

*Janet THOMPSON*, “Animal Welfare Issues on EU Fur Farms”

Within the EU, the world’s largest producer of factory farmed furs, the welfare of fur farmed animals is regulated by the Council Directive 98/58/EC on the protection of animals kept for farming purposes and Council Directive 93/119/EC on the protection of animals at the time of slaughter. In 2001, the European Commission’s Scientific Committee on Animal Health and Animal Welfare (SCAHAW) issued a report which highlighted the problems on EU fur farms and made several recommendations for improving animal welfare. Eleven years later, the EU has yet to develop any fur-farming specific legislation. This paper addresses the welfare problems, specifically associated with mink and fox farming, focusing on domestication, cage environments, handling practices, stereotypies, and killing methods. It concludes with the recommendation that the EU implement a full-phasing out of fur farming by 2030, while ensuring better animal welfare standards in the interim period through fur farming specific legislation, special subsidies for cage enrichment, and increased monitoring of farms.