



**Europe in times of change:
challenges and policies in a complex political order**

EUI Max Weber Programme and James Madison University 12th
Graduate Symposium

12th April 2019

EUI, Badia Fiesolana, Emeroteca



Co-funded by the
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The Max Weber Programme and the James Madison University's M.A. Program in European Union Policy Studies are pleased to announce the 12th 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 highlights ever diverging problems in the EU, including economic, social, political, and security issues. The conference will culminate with a keynote lecture by Dr. Federica Bicchì, Professor of Political Science at London School of Economics and Political Science.

Symposium Organizers:

Silvia D'Amato, Max Weber Programme & James Madison University in Florence,
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Badia Fiesolana, Emeroteca, EUI

Europe in Times of Change: Challenges and Policies in a Complex Political Order

10.00 – 10.10 Opening Remarks

Silvia D'Amato, Max Weber Fellow & JMU Adjunct Faculty

Karin Tilmans, Program Coordinator, MWP-EUI

Panel 1 (10.10 – 11.10): Political Economy & Trade

Chair: Aydin Yildirim

Discussant: Elsa Massoc

- Annabelle Giaccone (10.10-10.25)
“Under Attack: Trading Digitally in the Age of Vulnerability”
- Marisa Lewis: (10.25-10.40)
“Carbon Tax: A Political Tool or an Impactful Environmental Policy?”
- George Vergara: (10.40-10.55)
“Explaining Airline Competition Differences Between the EU and U.S.”
- Papers discussion (10.55-11.10)

11.10-11.25 Coffee Break

Panel 2 (11.25 – 12:40): Foreign Policy

Chair: Iakovos Iakovidis

Discussants: Matteo Capasso & Igor Rogeljia

- Katherine Hayes (11.25-11.40)
“The Protection of Cultural Heritage Sites as a Mechanism for Further European Union Foreign Policy Integration: An Analysis of Language and Objectives”



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- Jonathan Hatter (11.40-11.55)
“A Poisoned Well: An Analysis of Divergent Narratives and their Consequences in Turkish Accession from 2013 to Present.”
- Alba Jakupi (11.55-12.10)
“Stabilization and Association Agreement Between Kosovo and the European Union”
- Chelsea Jones (12.10-12.25)
“Analyzing the concept of human security and R2P as a part of EU foreign policy.”
- Papers discussion (12.25-12.40)

12:40 – 13.45 Lunch upon invitation

Panel 3 (13.45 – 15.00): Defence and Security Policies

Chair: Silvia D’Amato

Discussants: Richard Willson & Silvia D’Amato

- Eric Myhre (13.45-14.00)
“Supranational or Compartmental: Applying the Question of European Union Identity to the Topic of Disinformation”
- Albana Krasniqi (14.00-14.15)
“Approaching the End of the Dialogue: Could a Land Swap between Kosovo and Serbia (Un)lock their Way Into the EU?”
- Jack Ricci (14.15-14.30)
“Russian Intelligence Activities in the European Union: Operations, Policy Responses, and the Future Dynamics”
- Joshua Pickett (14.30-14.45)
“Foreign Fighters: Examining how Foreign Fighters will become a greater threat to Europe if Fighters are left in former ISIL territories”
- Papers discussion (14.45-15.00)

15.00-15.15 Coffee Break

Panel 4 (15.15 – 16.30): Social and Welfare Politics

Chair: Helen Callaghan

Discussants: Per Andersson & Jens van’t Klooster

- Fortuna Sahiti (15.15-15.30)
“Gender Policies: An Analysis of the Efforts by the Western Balkans to Reduce the Gender Pay Gap”
- Egzona Bexheti (15.30-15.45)
“Kosovo in the Process of EU Enlargement: Implementation of Political Criteria as one of ‘Copenhagen criteria’”



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- Margaux Glovier (15.45-16.00)
“Investing In Our Future? What Comparing The Gap Between Total And Youth Unemployment In Italy And The United States Teaches Us About The Socioeconomic Consequences Of Raising A Generation Of Disadvantaged Youths?”
- Catharine Carstens (16.00-16.15)
“Putting Up...or Shutting Out? Accommodation of Welfare Chauvinism by Denmark’s Social Democrats”
- Papers discussion (16.15-16.30)

Break (16.30-17:00)

17.00-18.00

Keynote lecture

Federica Bicchi

London School of Economics and Political Science & European University Institute

‘European Diplomacy in Times of Uncertainty’

European diplomacy, composed of both Member States’ diplomatic services and the EU, represents an interesting experiment that challenges our understanding of diplomacy. This talk will first provide an overview of what diplomacy is and does, before analysing how the European Union works and how its various parts coordinate (or don’t). The focus will then shift to current challenges and their impact on the European and EU context.

Chaired by Silvia D’Amato

Federica Bicchi is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics and Political Science as well as Part-Time Professor in the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute in Florence.



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Symposium Papers

Abstracts

Panel 1: Political Economy & Trade

Annabelle Giaccone

Under Attack: Trading Digitally in the Age of Vulnerability

The rise in digitalization has sparked the Fourth Industrial Revolution, raising new concerns and deep divisions throughout the European Union (EU). While the adoption of the Digital Single Market Strategy on May 6, 2015 attempted to adapt to the increasingly digital world, it further highlighted differences among Member States. This paper argues that cross-national variations in digital trade restrictiveness can be explained by the number of cyber-attacks a Member state experiences. This study differs from existing explanations in that it takes a technological perspective and attempts to explain a digital question with a digital phenomenon. The paper tests this hypothesis through a combination of anecdotal and quantitative evidence. Anecdotal evidence regarding the evolution of cyber-attacks in France in Germany suggests that both countries responded to cyber-attacks with strict national legislation towards digital issues. A simple linear regression of the number of cyber-attacks on a country's Digital Trade Restrictiveness assesses the magnitude of the relationship between these variables for a sample of 28 EU Member States. While the data suggests a causal relationship between the two variables, further research is required to provide a more complete explanation for the variation in question.

Marisa Lewis

Carbon Tax: A Political Tool or an Impactful Environmental Policy?

Many European states have introduced carbon tax regimes into their national policies, as a way to combat the growing concerns of global warming and climate change. This paper explores the impact of national carbon tax regime in European states on the amount of carbon dioxide that is produced. It does this by comparing carbon tax regimes in Norway, Sweden, and France, in order to understand how each of these regimes works within their respective state and establishes national limitations on the amount of carbon dioxide that is produced. This paper then goes into an analysis of the amount of carbon dioxide produced per capita by all 27 EU member states and Norway, and then compares this average to the carbon dioxide per capita rates of the three case studies, in order to see if the establishment of a carbon tax regime has a direct impact on decreasing the pollution of carbon dioxide. This paper finds that although there are some indications that the establishment of a carbon tax may decrease national carbon dioxide per capita, due to the multisource nature of carbon dioxide emissions, carbon taxes cannot be found to have a direct link to the amount of carbon dioxide per capita that is emitted by a state.



George Vergara

Explaining Airline Competition Differences Between the EU and U.S.

The airline industry generates billions of euros and dollars of revenue each year for the European and American economies. Despite similar levels of economic development, modernization, and number of passengers taking to the skies each year, airline competition in the European Union (EU) and the United States (U.S.) varies significantly. This paper aims to further explain why airline competition varies so greatly in the U.S. compared to the EU despite their similarities in other aspects. While acknowledging that a multitude of factors have contributed to the variation, the present paper focuses on governmental structural differences between the EU and the U.S. Specifically, it highlights the causal role of historical developments in regulatory measures and lobbying. The research examines a wide variety of policy documents, court cases, and lobbying statistics to support this claim. It specifically explores DOJ antitrust investigations, the post-9/11 airline market, and lobbying procedures in the U.S. When assessing the EU market, various EEC regulations, the Single European Act, Commission initiatives, and the lobbying work of A4E are specific cases of analysis. The result shows that the different nature of European and American economic philosophy, combined with the different historical developments and influence of lobbying over policymaking, supports the claim put forth.

Panel 2: Foreign Policy

Katherine Hayes

The Protection of Cultural Heritage Sites as a Mechanism for Further European Union

Foreign and Security Policy Integration: An Analysis of Changing Language and Objectives

Culture and cultural heritage have long been ignored or pushed into the background when it comes to being considered in foreign and security policy decisions by major world players, including the European Union. However, as the EU's desired Common Foreign and Security Policy continues to face large hurdles due to indifference and even repulsion towards continued integration and a larger focus on national sovereignty, the governing bodies of the EU have sought new ways to further integration in this field without relying on solely military action or policy. One such way they have found to do this has been through the protection of cultural heritage and, as such, greater support for UNESCO initiatives and programs. Since 2012, global unrest has only grown, especially in the Middle East and North Africa. As a result, more and more cultural heritage sites are being threatened or destroyed by armed conflict. This paper demonstrates through an analysis of changing language, and thus changing objectives, within official EU statements, speeches, and documents, the EU's changing view about the usefulness of cultural heritage in creating a common foreign and security policy. The underlying belief of this is the thought that by investing in the protection of cultural heritage sites through UNESCO, the EU helps to stabilize tumultuous regions by rebuilding a sense of identity and solidarity. Thus, culture must be brought to the forefront of foreign and security policy for the EU and is a way to continue to grow European integration in this area.



Jonathan Hatter

A Poisoned Well: An Analysis of Divergent Narratives and their Consequences in Turkish Accession from 2013 to Present

Since being accepted as a candidate in 2005, the Republic of Turkey has been part of erratic accession negotiations with the European Union. While initially hopeful, EU and Turkish narratives around this process have oscillated wildly between three separate states: convergence, cooperation, and divergence. This paper explores the steady changes in these themes and what they mean for Turkey's public opinion and its future accession negotiations. Through its analysis of these themes, this paper concludes that institutional narratives on accession have a substantial impact on the way accession is viewed by the Turkish public. With this in mind, an exploration of causal links in the narratives of EU and Turkish institutions on the matter are key to determining the path of future negotiations, or perhaps even their cessation. Considering that the success of accession is largely dependent on popular support, the severe divergence in accession narratives has consequences for the future of Turkey's accession bid. In light of this linkage of public opinion and narratives, it seems clear that the processes of accession actually lead to a culture of count-conduct amongst Turkish leaders and increased the strength of Eurosceptic sentiments, rather than inculcating European values. As such, the process of accession needs to be re-evaluated, instead being replaced with a strategic partnership.

Alba Jakupi

Stabilization and Association Agreement Between Kosovo and The European Union

The collapse of Yugoslavia resulted in tremendous conflicts across Western Balkans territories. Since the mid 2000s, the EU has become a key security and stability provider in these countries in order to help in the process of reconciliation and prosperity, while also offering annexation to the EU, upon the condition of the fulfillment of basic criteria. Hence, in 2005 the EU's relations with the Western Balkans states and territories transformed from the "External Relations" to the "Enlargement" policy segment. As of 2015, Albania, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia are officially recognized as state candidates for membership, whereas Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina are now potential candidates. Specifically, with the Stabilization and Association Agreement with Kosovo, the EU closes the circle of such agreements with all states of the Western Balkans. Considering that the accession of Kosovo to the European Union is finally part of the future enlargement agenda of the EU much has been done on the side of Kosovo towards this direction with the expectation to fulfill all needed criteria. Hence, the aim of this paper is to briefly analyze Kosovo's path towards joining the EU, with a special focus on the implementation of the SAA, ERA and IPA, and an overall scrutiny upon the differences of SAA's of the aforementioned states. The paper is mainly written based on secondary sources and data gathered from the Government of Kosovo.

Chelsea Jones

Analyzing the Concept of Human Security and R2P as a part of EU Foreign Policy

The traditional notion of security has changed significantly since the end of the Cold War. We now live in a world where war is no longer being fought primarily against nations but within nations. The concept of human security put forward by the United Nations is viewed through the lens of the individual rather than the state. By having a right to the "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want", this paper examines how EU foreign and defense policies have evolved since human security



and the Responsibility to Protect have emerged. This paper analyzes both concepts against the five main documents of EU defense policy, Common Foreign and Security Policy (1992); European Security and Defense Policy (1999); European Security Strategy (2003); Common Security and Defense Policy (2009); and the European Union Global Strategy (2016). By examining both the literature and a real case study on how the EU reacted to Libya, this paper concludes that both concepts have had profound impacts on the evolution in EU foreign and defense policy.

Panel 3: Defence and Security Policies

Albana Krasniqi

Approaching the End of the Dialogue: Could a Land Swap between Kosovo and Serbia (Un)lock their Way Into the EU?

Following a long and intense series of negotiations aspiring the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, recent developments have shown that representatives of both parties may now be looking forward to concluding the dialogue process through a bilateral agreement. With the European Union as the mediator and the dialogue as a path towards the parties' integration thereto, many would expect for the final agreement to be funded in EU values and principles. Nevertheless, a potential deal recently set forth by the presidents of Kosovo and Serbia triggered a torrid debate in both the local and international community for its controversial provisions, as it entails ethnic-based land swap. Hence, this paper aims to address this issue by first providing an overview of the key events in the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia while focusing on the developments that lead to the sparking of the armed conflict and Kosovo's declaration of independence. Subsequently, it will offer an overview of the dialogue process between the parties, to then tackle the detrimental impacts that an ethnic-based land swap would entail, not only for the concerned parties but for the region as a whole in respect to their ambitions towards EU integration. Conclusively, the paper will present an analysis of the reactions caused thereof and the need for both Kosovo and Serbia to focus on solutions which would not risk the overall integration process.

Eric Myhre

Supranational or Compartmental: Applying the Question of European Union Identity to the Topic of Disinformation

The proliferation of disinformation is not a new phenomenon. However, the increasingly interconnected nature of the global environment means that disinformation is more effective now than ever before. Western societies are simultaneously experiencing a growing political stratification and third-party intervention in their respective democratic processes and institutions. State actors have utilized social media, hybrid warfare tactics, and automated disinformation tools to exacerbate divisions in society. Therefore, it is crucial that such societies develop sufficient capabilities to proportionately counter third-party interventionism. This paper aims to examine the relative counter-disinformation measures taken by the European Union (EU) in order to draw comparisons to those measures taken by individual EU member states. Thus, we are applying the classic EU debate of supranationalism versus state sovereignty to the topic of disinformation. In doing so, we hope to assess whether a supranational, EU-based strategy is more effective than a compartmental, member state-based strategy to counter disinformation. We first examine the body of EU action, followed by an examination of Baltic, Swedish, and German actions with the hope of ascertaining which pathway facilitates a more effective response.



Jack Ricci

Russian Intelligence Activities in the European Union: Operations, Policy Responses, and the Future Dynamics

This paper provides an overview of recent Russian intelligence operations in the European Union, the EU responses to these operations, and the steps that the EU should take in the future. By highlighting the past cases and responses one can begin to analyze the complexity and dynamism of the issue and the factors that make it so difficult to address at a supranational and national level. By examining the successes and failures of these responses one can begin to create a framework for how the EU can respond in the future to best assure the security and the integrity of its democracy. Recent foreign intelligence operations have demonstrated that international law and norms are far from being effective and upheld and that this challenge will be one that the EU will need to efficiently deal with. This paper argues that more forceful targeted sanctions, increased funding for organizations combating disinformation, and an EU policy to detain intelligence agents violating domestic law are all recommendations supported in addition to the realization that a more cohesive response at an EU level is needed.

Joshua Pickett

Foreign Fighters: Examining How Foreign Fighters Will Become a Greater Threat to Europe if Fighters are Left in Former ISIL Territories

This paper will explore the challenges presented by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, (ISIL) and, in particular, the return of foreign fighters to their home countries within Europe. The main question is whether these returning fighters still present a threat to Europe and how member states can cope with this situation. The transition between their presence to the battle ground and an ordinary life is a parameter that needs to be studied, as well as the role of their families and their direct environment. At the end, I will propose some policy recommendations that the European Union could adopt to prevent Further radicalization and to achieve integration.

Panel 4: Social and Welfare Politics

Egzona Bexheti

Kosovo in the Process of EU Enlargement: Implementation of Political Criteria as one of “Copenhagen criteria”

The European Union (EU) as a unique economic and political union was founded in the 1950s to cultivate European values, peace, and prosperity. Since then, it has grown from 6 countries to 28, becoming a home for more than 500 million people. The EU continues to be very attractive to the non-member countries across the Europe continent and it is open for all democratic European countries that want to join. Specifically, since the early 2000s, the EU has opened the doors of membership to the countries of the Western Balkans. Yet, a part of Balkan is also Kosovo. This paper analyses the case of Kosovo and its path towards the EU integration. Hence, the paper offers an overview of the Union and its relations with Balkans. Here, the paper shows that while joining EU is a choice and all of the countries have in theory the opportunity to move forward on their way to it, this means that they have to fulfil the criteria set by the Union. Hence, the paper specifically focuses on Kosovo’s process of the enlargement and the implementation of the political criteria, also known as one of the three “Copenhagen Criteria”. Ultimately, this paper provides a clear account of what



has been achieved so far in terms of the stability of the institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.

Fortuna Sahiti

Gender Policies: An Analysis of the Efforts by the Western Balkans to Reduce the Gender Pay Gap

The issue of the gender pay gap in the Western Balkans is certainly not 'simple' socio-political issue. This is particularly true as we are dealing with post conflict states that still suffer the consequences from the previous regimes and the enormous harm experienced after the fall of the former Yugoslavia. By analysing the historical development of the female emancipation in the Western Balkans, we look at the key factors that have caused the imbalance of income and we explore the reasons this problem that the Western Balkans continue facing today. In order to do so, this paper sheds light on the current legislation in the Western Balkans regarding the status of women in the field of income and pay gap, what measures the states of the former Yugoslavia have taken towards decreasing the gap and finally, whether or not those efforts have been successful. The paper also provides recommendations on what could be done to reduce the discrimination in income that women face in all the fields of the job market across the Western Balkans.

Catharine Carstens

Putting Up...or Shutting Out? Accommodation of Welfare Chauvinism by Denmark's Social Democrats

Welfare chauvinism first appeared in academic literature when Norwegian and Danish political parties began framing immigration as a threat to the social democratic system's survival; since then, it has become a cornerstone of populist ideology in Europe. A form of quasi-retrenchment, welfare chauvinism has been advanced in Denmark by the Danish People's Party (DF), which sees immigration as a threat to the welfare state and presents chauvinism as the cure – pursuing one form of retrenchment to “prevent” another. DF's electoral popularity puts the Social Democratic party (S) between a rock and a hard place, torn between the electoral necessities of accommodating chauvinism and maintaining support for the welfare state. In this paper, I argue that indirect retrenchment is too politically costly an option for S to pursue; instead, it will accommodate DF's chauvinism by supporting direct retrenchment. I hypothesize that, via votes in the Danish parliament from 2004 to 2019, S has attempted to make it more difficult to obtain citizenship and residency rights (thus making it more difficult to obtain benefits) and make it easier for these rights, and thus the benefits, to be revoked. My findings broadly, but tentatively, support this claim. I also find that S has supported a third form of direct retrenchment: encouraging repatriation of foreigners to their home countries, which would entail a loss of benefits.

Margaux Glovier

Investing In Our Future? What Comparing The Gap Between Total And Youth Unemployment In Italy And The United States Teaches Us About The Socioeconomic Consequences Of Raising A Generation Of Disadvantaged Youths

Recent literature on the rampancy of youth unemployment in Europe has consistently blamed the long-lasting impacts of the 2008 Financial Crisis for the high number of youths who are unable to



find work. Nevertheless, in the United States, which was also impacted by the Financial Crisis, youth unemployment has largely returned to pre-crisis levels. This paper therefore seeks to identify alternative explanations for the high youth unemployment levels in Europe, which are consistently higher than total unemployment levels. This paper specifically compares Italy, the European country with the widest gap between youth and total unemployment, to the United States, which possesses a narrow gap between youth and total unemployment compared to Italy and Europe as a whole. In order to account for variations between total to youth unemployment gaps in Italy and the United States, this paper shows that governmental policies play a significant role in affecting how many youths are able to find employment. In particular, this paper addresses three areas of national economic policy that have major implications for youth unemployment rates: hiring and firing policies, startup policies, and gig economy policies. Overall, this paper demonstrates that the flexibility of a nation's economy as determined by economic policies, particularly when it comes to technology and social media fields that youths are especially talented in, have a profound impact upon the gap between youth and total unemployment rates.

