



Friday, February 10th, 2023

Researching Europe 2

Ph.D. workshop in the framework of the Jean Monnet Project “Debating Europe”

www.debating-europe.de

Dieser zweite internationale Workshop bringt Promovierende, die zum Thema Europa und EU forschen, aus sechs verschiedenen Ländern der EU und von sieben verschiedenen europäischen Universitäten und Hochschulen zusammen. Er dient der Vorstellung der Forschungsprojekte sowie dem kollegialen Austausch zwischen Peers und Lehrenden zu Fragen der Methode, Theorie und Inhalte. Darüber hinaus bietet der Workshop an, in einer experimentellen Art und Weise wissenschaftliche und andere arbeitstechnische Rahmenbedingungen der Promotion zu diskutieren

This second international workshop assembles doctoral candidates researching on Europe and the EU from six different EU countries and seven different European Universities. The doctoral students are invited to present their research projects and discuss methods, theory and topics among peers and teachers in an open and cooperative debate. Besides the workshop offers to discuss the scientific, operational and practical framework of writing a doctorate in an experimental manner among the peers and teachers.

Organisation: Jean Monnet Network „Debating Europe“ and Jean-Monnet-Chair „Bridging the Gap“ (Fulda University of Applied Sciences), <https://www.hs-fulda.de/en/studies/departments/social-and-cultural-sciences/about-us/jean-monnet-chair-1>

Direction: Prof. Dr. Claudia Wiesner (Fulda University of Applied Sciences)

In Zusammenarbeit mit / In cooperation with:

Niilo Kauppi (Helsinki University)

Kim Zilliacus (Helsinki University)

Meta Novak (University of Ljubljana)

Willy Beauvallet (Université Lyon)

Cécile Robert (Sciences Po, Lyon)

Ana Matan (University of Zagreb)

Ruzha Smilova (Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia)



Conference Link:

PhD-Workshop: Researching Europe 2
Ausgerichtet von Maria Keller

<https://hs-fulda.webex.com/hs-fulda/j.php?MTID=mfaab9ba73d0867eacbf333a83974c533>

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Meeting-Kennnummer: 2733 636 1860

Passwort: Europe

Tagesordnung: Ph.D. workshop in the framework of the Jean Monnet Project "Debating Europe".

Über Videosystem beitreten

Wählen Sie 27336361860@hs-fulda.webex.com

Sie können auch 62.109.219.4 wählen und Ihre Meeting-Nummer eingeben.

Über Telefon beitreten

+49-619-6781-9736 Germany Toll

Zugriffscod: 273 363 61860



Friday february 10th, 2023 - Timetable:

8.45 Welcome

9.00h-11.00h: EU-Policies from Macro to micro (Chair: Meta Novak, Ana Matan)

- **Keller, Maria**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences
Beyond the glass ceiling. Female Leadership in the institutions of the European Union
- **Diedrich, Nicola**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences
Micropolitics in the EU Institutional System. Opportunities, Deadlocks and Dynamics in EU anti-discrimination policy
- **Cavic, Vesna**, University of Zagreb
The impact of europeanization on changes in higher education policies in Croatia
- **Pluschke, Muriel**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences
Top-down and bottom-up dynamics of the European public in the local

11.15h-13.15h: EU-Policies from Macro to micro (Chair: Cécile Robert, Niilo Kauppi)

- **Coronel Crespo, Daniel**, Sciences Po Lyon
The financialization of the ecological transition policies of the European Union: the emergence of a framework for sustainable finance as an instrument of European public action.
- **Baumann, Sara**, University of Ljubljana
The impact of focusing events on public policies through the example of man-made disasters
- **Bežovan, Mijo**, University of Zagreb
Influence of business consultants on the absorption capacity of local self-government units in the use of ESI funds
- **Konrad Valentina**, University of Ljubljana,
The Role of Social Movements in EU Climate Policymaking

14.15h-15.45h EU, democracy, democratisation (Chair: Ruzha Smilova, Ana Matan)

- **Kaja, Zhylien**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences
The Western Balkans and EU: A never-ending story?
- **Held, Christoph**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences
A Comparison between Chantal Mouffe and Claude Lefort - No escape from the liberalism trap
- **Chehoudi, Rafea**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences, *United Nations and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and North African from 2000 to 2020*

16.00h-17.00h EU, Security Policy and the Global Order (Chair: Claudia Wiesner)

- **Juric, Dragan**, Zagreb University,
The Influence of EU's CSDP on Croatian Foreign and Defense Policy Description
- **Petliaeva, Daria**, SCIENCES PO Lyon
The EU as an external actor of democratization in Russia // Perspectives of democratization in Russia through the process of Europeanisation
- **Calzolari, Fabio**, Fulda University of Applied Sciences,
Is it the Beginning of a New Era? How the Russo-Ukrainian War is Changing the European Union from Within United Nations and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and North African from 2000 to 2020



Abstracts:

Sara Bauman, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

The impact of focusing events on public policies through the example of man-made disasters

The doctoral dissertation will focus on the research of the effect of man-made disasters on policy change. I will be interested in how such events affect policy outcomes that will be understood as policy change or no policy change. More specifically I will focus on the case of Slovenia and the effect of ecological and industrial accidents that will be understood as focusing events. In addition to the theory of focusing events, I will also lean on the theory of multiple streams framework that will help me understand the context of the focusing event and network analysis that will help me understand how the actors contributed to the policy outcome. The focus on actors comes from the literature review that found them to be crucial in such research. I will use a mixed methods approach; however, it will primarily be a qualitative approach, which will heavily lean on interviews with relevant actors.

Bežovan, Mijo, University of Zagreb

Influence of business consultants on the absorption capacity of local self-government units in the use of ESI funds

Significant financial resources are offered to Croatia through the European structural and investment (ESI) funds for the purpose of development and adjustment to European standards. A significant part of these funds is directed to local self-government units (LGUs), for which ESI funds are the main opportunity for development. During the process of preparation and implementation of EU projects, LGUs can use the services of consulting companies (CC) and this paper will investigate the impact of CC on the absorption capacity of LGUs guided by the concept of Europeanization and EU influence on policy-making in Croatia. Using the methodological triangulation based on the use of survey methods, case studies, focus groups, and interviews, this paper strives for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, along with a regression analysis of available data from the Operational Programs 2014-2020, a synthesis of the obtained results will be presented.

Calzolari, Fabio, Is it the Beginning of a New Era? How the Russo-Ukrainian War is Changing the European Union from Within

In 2022, Russia invaded the sovereign country of Ukraine, triggering a global crisis. President Vladimir Putin considered the move and subsequent military operations an answer to NATO policies, which he felt were misled and threatened the survival of his nation. However, the collective West saw the affair as a brutal expression of Russian imperialism. Though it is doubtful when and how the Russo-Ukrainian War will end, it is sure that the humanitarian catastrophe unveils deep ideological divisions within the EU as to approach Moscow. In this context, the article analyses the geostrategic reconfiguration the block has undergone since 2022. Specifically, it documents how the conflict shifts the power balance from Central to Eastern Europe. Political Realism, or the view of international relations stressing that countries' policies are often based on self-interest, drives data analysis.

Outcomes argue that Eastern Europe, in general, and Poland and Baltic states, in particular, from the very beginning of the invasion, have moved swiftly to support Ukraine, with whom they share a common history under the USSR. Moreover, they have established themselves as NATO linchpins, a role the UK occupied before Brexit. Interestingly, this new position permits them to challenge Germany and France's pre-eminence in the EU. For the post-Soviet republics, a *complete* victory of Kyiv means not only the humiliation of a historical enemy but also offsetting the status quo at home and having access to Ukraine's vast resources and educated workforce. In parallel, such an event will solidify US influence over the continent via



NATO - an organisation it de facto manages - and the easternisation of the European centre of gravity.

Keywords: Russo-Ukrainian War, EU, USA, Regionalism

Cavic, Vesna, University of Zagreb

The impact of europeanization on changes in higher education policies in Croatia

The EU strives to enhance educational policies through the application of standards, indicators for their measurement and continuous evaluation. The effects of Europeanization differ between countries, and within countries, because formal institutional and political changes are much more visible than changes in identities and values. This research describes changes in higher education policies in Croatia under the influence of the Europeanization process, considering the institutional framework within which the higher education system develops, the characteristics of actors, their interests and capacities. The research develops a model of policy change that is based on the theoretical assumptions of historical institutionalism. The research deals with the impact of Europeanization on the development of higher education policies and the analysis of factors that determine and redefine the characteristics of Europeanization. It also (re)defines the term Europeanization and develops indicators of Europeanization in the field of educational policies.

Keywords: policy change, educational policies, higher education, Europeanization

Chehoudi, Rafea, United Nations and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and North African from 2000 to 2020

This research seeks to determine the effect of the United Nations' democracy promotion on democratization in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA region) between 2000 and 2020. The dissertation scrutinizes the correlation between the level of democracy and democracy funding provided by the United Nations to state and non-state actors in the MENA region. This is conducted, first, by (1) examining the literature about the United Nations and its role in promoting democracy; (2) designing a mixed-methods research design using both qualitative and quantitative approaches; (3) identifying the extent to which the UN has a positive or a negative influence on democratization in the region. The trend in academic writing about the United Nations is to place emphasis on its efforts to advance international peace and provide economic and social assistance to developing countries. Less is known about the role of the United Nations in democracy promotion, and in particular, there has not been much academic research that examines whether the UN's democracy promotion strategies are effective. My project will assess whether the United Nations can actually contribute to the democratization process and whether it has any significant impact on the development of democratic governance inside the recipient countries, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA region).

Coronel Crespo, Daniel, M2 Sciences Po Lyon

The financialization of the ecological transition policies of the European Union: the emergence of a framework for sustainable finance as an instrument of European public action.

Financialization of public policy refers to the incorporation of private financial sector principles and methods (including ways of thinking about problems, calculation techniques, and decision-making principles) into policy. This often leads to the redefinition of public problems as financial problems that can be addressed through the involvement of private financial actors. This dissertation argues that the financialization of European climate policy has resulted in the legitimization of "sustainable finance" as a key component of the EU's strategy for addressing climate change. To support this argument, the study investigates the emergence of a sustainable finance framework as a tool for European public action between 2018 and 2021 using qualitative sociology methods. This analysis examines the roles and



relationships of private and public sector actors in the legitimation process of sustainable finance, and sheds light on the institutional and political dynamics at play at the European level. The financialization of public policy and the increasing interdependence between public policy and financial actors have reshaped the landscape of public action and the public sector. Understanding these processes is crucial for understanding how climate change is being constructed as a public problem at the EU level and the form in which the EU's green transition strategy has been constructed.

Key words: Financialization of public policy - Financial actors - European climate policy - Sustainable finance - EU's strategy for addressing climate change - Interdependence between public policy and financial actors

Diedrich, Nicola, Hochschule Fulda

Micropolitics in the EU Institutional System

Opportunities, Deadlocks and Dynamics in EU anti-discrimination policy

The development of EU anti-discrimination policy is influenced by various actors (Council of the European Union, European Parliament, European Commission, and European Court of Justice). In the context of treaty changes, the adoption of legal acts and policy-programs, inter- and intra-institutional agreements and especially the preceding negotiation processes between and within the actors, the development of EU anti-discrimination policy is driven or blocked. These negotiation processes, which can also be referred to as inter-institutional dynamics, reveal micro-politics in the EU institutional structure. The dissertation examines to what extent the inter-institutional dynamics (e.g.: negotiation processes, political interests, and actions of the central actors) influence the shaping of EU anti-discrimination policy. The research project provides new insights for explaining political decision-making and development processes and their impact on legislation and contributes to closing a research gap in the field of micropolitical design approaches within the EU. A qualitative research design is planned, consisting of a document analysis and expert interviews. Based on the document analysis, (institutional) patterns of action, controversies and development tendencies will be made visible. Connected with these findings, the expert interviews serve to provide causes and explanatory approaches for inter-institutional processes and strategies of design in EU anti-discrimination policy.

Held, Christoph, Hochschule Fulda,

A Comparison between Chantal Mouffe and Claude Lefort - No escape from the liberalism trap

Chantal Mouffe and many who follow her tradition are drawn to Claude Lefort's theory of democracy. Above all, his powerful figure of thought of the "empty place of power" as a constitutive moment of modern democracy, lends itself to the deconstructivist and postfoundational approaches of radical democratic theory. Although Mouffe attempts to circumnavigate the problems of anti-institutional theories of democracy and at the same time criticise liberal theories, she herself is unable to think beyond a liberal, representative democracy precisely because she wants to hold on to the theoretical project of the indeterminacy of modern democracy. The presentation will briefly outline Mouffe's contradictory position and address the historical references to Lefort, why this form of radical democratic theory, despite its own radical claim and transgressive rhetoric of populism, cannot leave the liberalism trap and instead engages in theory-political mirror battles.

Juric, Dragan, Zagreb University,

The Influence of EU's CSDP on Croatian Foreign and Defense Policy Description

Title: The Influence of EU's CSDP on Croatian Foreign and Defense Policy Description of my doctoral thesis: The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) is a part of the wider Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, which aims to coordinate actions and form a



common position of member states in matters related to foreign policy and international security. The Republic of Croatia, as a member of the EU, actively participates in missions and operations under the auspices of the CSDP and – as its integral member – is exposed to influence of the CSDP. In my doctoral research I will try to explain what influence the CSDP has on Croatia's foreign and defense policy, how it is exerted, whether it weakens or strengthens over time, to what extent the goals and actions of the EU and Croatia coincide in terms of foreign policy and defense, and does ZSOP strengthen or weaken Croatia's sovereignty? The significance of the CSDP and its impact on Croatia's foreign and defense policy is part of a wider debate about the nature of the CSDP-NATO relationship, the oscillating commitment of America as a guarantor of European security, and the EU's acutely unsatisfied need for defense autonomy.

Kaja, Zhylien, Fulda University of Applied Sciences

The Western Balkans and EU: A never-ending story?

The Western Balkan (WB) countries' accession to the EU is stagnating. Given its geographical location, the region is important to the EU in terms of security, stability, trade, and transit routes. Against this background, the question arises of how the WB can qualify for EU membership and meet the accession criteria since they have made little progress and continue to face political, economical, and social problems. Specifically, this research focuses on the political criterion of enlargement, which requires democracy promotion, the rule of law, human rights, and minority rights through stable institutions. The current state of democratic development in the WB is a tendency towards autocratisation. Stemming from the neo-Gramscian literature civil society was perceived as the bearer of democratization and the agent for setting limits on state power. In the case of the WB, however, civil society plays a subordinate role in political processes, and the EU also negotiates the accession process primarily with the elites. Therefore, this study will pioneer in taking into account the perspectives of representatives of civil society in Albania, Kosovo, and Serbia in order to explore what political tools they consider crucial for the acceleration of the accession process and the creation of sustainable democracies.

Keller, Maria, Hochschule Fulda

Beyond the glass ceiling. Female Leadership in the institutions of the European Union

In the member states of the European Union, women are underrepresented in politics and political leadership positions. In institutions of the European Union, however, the picture looks slightly different, especially since the European elections in 2019. Ursula von der Leyen was voted the first female president of the European Commission and 13 of 27 of commissioners are female. The European Parliament has about 40% female members, 43% female heads of committees and since January 2022 its first female president for 20 years. Thus, in EU-institutions women take up political leadership positions and break through the so-called glass ceiling, seemingly better than on the national level. This raises two questions: 1. Which factors influence women's access to these political leadership positions? 2. How does the rising number of women in political leadership positions in EU-institutions influence gender equality within these institutions?

The dissertation therefore aims at identifying best practices in women's access to political leadership by analyzing and comparing the central supranational EU-institutions: European Parliament, European Commission and Council of the European Parliament by focusing on women in leadership in the respected institutions. This will be achieved by using a qualitative research design using expert interviews with members of the respected institutions.

Keywords: Gender and Politics, Gendered Leadership, European Union, female representation



Konrad Valentina, University of Ljubljana, valentina.konrad@fdv.uni-lj.si

The Role of Social Movements in EU Climate Policymaking

Consultation with citizens on their views, needs and demands is the cornerstone of democratic politics. This thesis provides a starting point for a debate on the provision of institutionalised mechanisms at the level of the European Union, which is faced with a lack of input legitimacy and the distance of the European demos from decision-making processes. The latter results in search for non-institutional approaches to public policy-making in which social movements play an important role. In this study, social movements are defined as groups of individuals, united by a common interest, acting as collective actor and trying to influence specific public policies. In order to enforce their interests, they engage in variety of activities, including protests and the use of social media. Although the political action through social movements is becoming increasingly common, the existing literature on their relationship with European Union leaves many conceptual gaps, especially in the field of their emergence, functioning, performance and the role in the decision-making processes. To this end, I base my research on the study of social movements, their bottom-up functioning and their role in European Union climate change policy-making.

Petliaeva, Daria, daria.petliaeva@etu.univ-st-etienne.fr

The EU as an external actor of democratization in Russia // Perspectives of democratization in Russia through the process of europeanisation

While at this stage, when the Russian aggression is going on in Ukraine, it might seem premature to look at the perspectives of democratization in Russia, we argue that the topic is of vital importance for the future of the European continent, and has its right to be on the research agenda. The Russian aggression seems to have confirmed the thesis according to which peace in Europe depends on the democratic character of the EU neighborhood. In this regard, we contend that the EU, as not only Russia's biggest geographical neighbor, but also an experienced democracy promoter, is certain to play an important role in the process of the country's political democratization. It is possible to formulate the general problem of the research in the following way: What are the tools and limits of the EU's promotion of democracy in Russia? Our research is likely to mainly combine the approaches of post-soviet and european studies and to refer to academic aspects of transitology and political sociology. Jakob Tolstrup's theory of Gatekeeper elites and Linkages might be the starting point for the research. Given the current geopolitical context, the research on such a topic has many limits, nevertheless it is useful to start an academic discussion on that.

Pluschke, Muriel, Hochschule Fulda

Top-down and bottom-up dynamics of the European public in the local

Local daily newspapers are rarely in the focus of research on the European public. However, because of their important functions at the local level, they are not to be neglected and can contribute to the politicization of the EU by acting as a hinge between the actors from politics, the mass media and civil society, their strategies and activities as well as the reporting in the medium itself. In order to take a closer look at this, the dissertation analyzes how politicians (Members of the European Parliament, MEP), as top-down actors, and civil actors, as bottom-up actors, affect local journalists and their EU reporting in local newspapers. The research questions are: How do local newspapers design the top-down and bottom-up dynamics of the formation of a European public? How do MEPs (top-down) affect the local newspapers and how is this represented by journalists? How do the population and civil society actors (bottom-up) affect the local newspapers and how is this taken up and illustrated by local journalists? With the help of a qualitative content analysis in local daily newspapers as well as expert interviews and a comparison across three countries (Germany, Austria and France) it can be determined, how these dynamics create, map and Europeanize the local public spheres.