EU-Russia Regional Cooperation and Energy Networks: Implications for Democratic Governance in the Russian Northwestern and Southern Regions

by Ekaterina Turkina

PhD Candidate, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs

Ekaterina Turkina was a recipient of a EUCE Dissertation Fellowship for the 2008-2009 academic year.

This summer, I received a dissertation fellowship from the European Union Center of Excellence. The fellowship supported my research aimed at exploring the effects of EU-Russia regional cooperation on governance in the Russian northwestern and southern regions. Academic debate on EU external relations has mainly been focused on the EU’s capacity to export its norms and standards beyond its borders within different legal frameworks, such as Partnership and Cooperation Agreements, Stabilization and Association Agreements, or the European Neighborhood Policy. Very little research has been devoted to the analysis of the character, the degree, and the effects of EU involvement in the domestic transformation of its neighboring countries, or to the internal factors that would account for the resistance to or acceptance of EU norms. Moreover, studies of EU-related democratization processes and acquisition of norms of good governance in EU neighboring countries are mostly concerned with national-level changes, and countries exhibiting authoritarian tendencies (e.g. Russia or Belarus) are often considered to be impervious to EU influences.

Focusing on EU–Russia regional cooperation, my dissertation argues that cooperation networks between the EU and the regions of its neighboring countries can serve as actor-based mechanisms for the indirect transfer of EU norms into regions’ internal policies, build support for democracy among local and regional actors, and improve governance in the neighboring countries at the subnational level, even when national-level conditions are not favorable for EU influences.

Despite deteriorating political relations between the EU and Russia over a number of issues, regional cooperation between the two sides has grown substantially in both depth and scope. Russian northwestern and southern provinces are actively participating in various projects and regional neighborhood programs in the Northern Dimension and the Black Sea Synergy cooperation initiatives. My dissertation explores how EU–Russia regional cooperation in the Northern Dimension and the Black Sea area influences regional policy-making processes and to what extent it can enhance democratization and improve governance in the Russian northwestern and southern regions. It also examines internal conditions that can inhibit or catalyze EU-related transformations.

I employ a three-pronged methodology. First, I conducted longitudinal analysis of democratic governance in the Russian regions, which showed that cooperation with the EU has a statistically significant positive effect on democratic governance. An important internal factor negatively affecting democratic governance turned out to be energy (as measured by the number of energy companies in the region and region’s dependence on oil and gas revenues).

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APRIL CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Thursday, April 2
Pizza & Politics:
“The EU and the Obama Administration: A New Chapter in EU-U.S. Relations”
William Burros, Senior Advisor in the Political and Development Section of the European Commission Delegation in Washington, D.C., will lecture on the topic of the EU and the Obama administration as a new chapter in EU-U.S. relations. 12:00 noon, 4217 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Sandra Hall at ssh13@pitt.edu.

Monday, April 6
Roundtable Discussion:
“Misreadings in International Relations Theory: Realism, Neorealism, and Ideology Critique”
Hartmut Behr, Professor of International Politics at Newcastle University (UK), will begin with a brief presentation on the topic of misreadings in international relations theory, followed with time for questions and discussion. 10:00-11:30 a.m., 4209 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Thomas Allen at tfa3@pitt.edu.

Monday, April 6
Lecture:
“Politics of Recognition and the European Union”
Hartmut Behr, Professor of International Politics at Newcastle University (UK), will critically reflect on the politics of international recognition in Europe and the Western World, which is informed by the legacies of a Hegelian perspective on international law. This perspective and others contribute to the neo-realist approach that continues to dominate international relations, both the discipline and the political field. 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Thomas Allen at tfa3@pitt.edu.

Tuesday, April 7
Conference:
“The EU & NATO in the 21st Century: Security Collaborators or Competitors?”
This one-day conference will bring together academics and practitioners to explore how the EU and NATO are coping with the evolving defense and security environment in Europe and beyond and its impact on transatlantic relations with the U.S. This event is free for all students, faculty, and interested community members. 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m., Pittsburgh Athletic Association. For more information, please contact Thomas Allen at tfa3@pitt.edu.

Wednesday, April 8
Pizza & Politics
“Completing the Single Market: Liberalization of the Postal Sector”
Harrison Grafos, PhD Candidate, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, will present on the liberalization and administrative reform of the postal sector in France and Germany. Grafos was a recipient of a EUCE Summer Pre-Dissertation Fellowship, as well as a 2008-2009 academic year Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship. Pizza and soft drinks will be provided. 12:00 noon, 4217 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Sandra Hall at ssh13@pitt.edu.

Friday, April 24
EUCE/ESC Graduation Awards Ceremony
Please join EUCE/ESC in congratulating our departing seniors and graduate students as we wish them all the best in their future endeavors. Refreshments will be served. 4:00 p.m., Pittsburgh Athletic Association. For more information, please contact Karen Lautanen at kal70@pitt.edu.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS:
Friday, May 8
Conference:
“Language, Literature, and Identity in the EU”
This one-day conference will bring together linguists, anthropologists, and scholars of literature to look at the patterns of intersection between language, literature, and expressions of identity in the changing and enlarging contexts of the EU. For more information, please contact Professor Andrew J. Strathern and Dr. Pamela J. Stewart (Strathern) at 412-648-7519.

SPOTLIGHT ON HARTMUT BEHR
Hartmut Behr is Professor of International Politics at Newcastle University (UK) and has taught and conducted research at such institutions as the Universities of Cologne and Tokyo and the Virginia Institute of Technology. He is the author of Zuwanderungspolitik im Nationalstaat (Immigration Politics in the Nation-State) and Entterritoriale Politik (De-territorial Politics) and has published widely in international journals including the European Journal of International Relations, International Political Economy, and the Review of International Studies. Professor Behr’s new book, War, Peace and Ethics, will be published this fall.
Followers of this newsletter may have noted a growing trend of students from varied academic backgrounds combining Arabic language coursework with European studies. Linguists, political scientists, and sociologists alike have been drawn to a phenomenon which has unfolded over the last three decades, as an Arabic-speaking population first of North African immigrants and soon of a multifarious linguistic minority spread across Europe. As a law student, I count myself among those who have tried to identify and examine the ramifications of this social and cultural shift. Through academic and professional experiences for which I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the University of Pittsburgh and its dedicated support of international education, I can attest to the rise of Arabic as a truly European language.

I have had the extraordinary opportunity to combine two years of my law school career with Arabic language coursework thanks to the generosity of the European Studies Center and the Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship. When I began studying Arabic in the fall of 2007, I often joked about a daunting fact I once read: that true fluency in the language takes 20 years to achieve. I began this challenge no stranger to foreign languages – Arabic was the fifth language I had formally studied, including a bachelor’s degree in French. Now in the thick of a fourth-level Arabic course, wading through the intricacies of case markings, verb patterns, and (mostly) Arabic-only class instruction, I can confirm that the maxim may actually be quite optimistic. Nonetheless, with patience and practice my long-term goal of a reading fluency in Modern Standard Arabic seems to be within reach. As a soon-to-be lawyer and dedicated student of world politics, I believe now more than ever in the value of primary source interpretation, particularly the ability to read untranslated cases, contracts, and legislative material to truly grasp the nature of a conflict.

In this, my second year as a FLAS Fellow, I have noted an additional unexpected but invaluable benefit to this experience: the study program encourages the exploration of a truly interdisciplinary education. Language coursework in itself reveals quite a lot about a culture, and I have had the good fortune of extending that foundation into my legal curriculum. An immigration law class introduced the variations in U.S. and European policy. The following semester, in a seminar on Islamic law and jurisprudence, I focused my research on the evolution of the concept of nationality among Arabic-speaking states. I found that in Northern Africa, a fusion of shari’a and European ideals created a distinctive regional identity apart from either larger community and that these nations face a unique international pressure from Europe and the U.S. to aid Western anti-terror and border control efforts. This course also provided insight into the Islamic notions of contract formation, which in turn has altered my perspective on the global dealings at issue in my International Business Transactions course. Each class has complemented the others in unanticipated ways, always calling back to those fundamentals of language and culture at the center of my Arabic language courses.

Further, through an opportunity created by the Center for International Legal Education and funded by the Nordenberg Fellowship, I spent three months of the summer of 2008 as an intern in the Legal Service of the European Commission in Brussels. There I witnessed the daily struggles of a government system which functions officially in three languages, formally recognizes 23 languages, and applies law to countless more linguistic minorities in 27 nations. Significant populations in most European countries speak languages afforded no official national or EU recognition, and member states maintain competence to at least indirectly impose strict language requirements on those people living within its borders. In Brussels, the European continent’s policy hub, I attended lectures on the state of immigration law in the EU. Recent years have seen a remarkable liberalization of border control in the so-called Schengen countries (which includes most of the EU and Scandinavia). Yet as these boundaries have fallen away, the divide between Europe and its bordering nations has arguably deepened. Concerns ranging from national security to immigration control have made movement between Mediterranean Europe and Northern Africa tighter than ever. Those who do immigrate to Europe often live in segregated areas such as my own predominantly Moroccan neighborhood in Brussels, where Arabic dominates French in shops and on the streets.

The FLAS Fellowship has provided me with an irreplaceable education on the scope of these issues on both personal and institutional levels. I hope that my experience with the challenges of this linguistic and cultural divide will make me a more aware member of the global legal community as I move forward with my Arabic studies and begin a career in international transactional law.
**Fellowships, Grants, and Opportunities**

**Summer University: “Normative Power Europe? European Political Culture in Global Politics”**

European University Viadrina in Frankfurt, Germany welcomes advanced students and young researchers from the social sciences, economics, humanities, and law to the Viadrina Summer University, June 15-July 1, 2009. The Summer University combines lectures, small seminar discussions, student presentations, practical training, and case studies. Applications from candidates who already hold a first degree and/or have specialized in issues related to the program will receive preferential treatment. The deadline for applications is April 15, 2009. Visit [www.kuwi.eu-frankfurt-o.de/de/studium/summeruniversity/index.html](http://www.kuwi.eu-frankfurt-o.de/de/studium/summeruniversity/index.html) for more information.

**EITM Europe Summer Institute 2009**

Mannheim University’s Faculty of Social Sciences and the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research will conduct the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) Europe Summer Institute on the problems of testing theoretical models from a political-economic perspective. The institute will take place from June 29-July 11, 2009 and is designed for advanced graduate students and junior faculty whose research and teaching would benefit from training seminars on the link between methods of empirical analysis and theoretical models. The application deadline is April 15, 2009. For more information, please visit [eitm.sowi.uni-mannheim.de](http://eitm.sowi.uni-mannheim.de).

**Call for Papers**

**Sport and the EU: Looking Back, Thinking Ahead**

The organizers of the 2009 4th Annual Workshop at the University of Stirling Scotland invite papers addressing the legal, management and policy issues that pertain to the relationship between sports and the EU. The aim of the workshop is simply to provide a supportive, stimulating environment for considered discourse among those interested in the EU’s relationship with sport. Those wishing to present a paper should register for the workshop and submit a 150-word abstract to Dr David McArdle, School of Law, Airthrey Castle, University of Stirling, Scotland FK9 4LA (or e-mail d.a.mcardle@stir.ac.uk). The deadline for submitting abstracts is April 16, 2009. For more information, please visit [www.sportandeu.com](http://www.sportandeu.com).

**Call for Papers: 8th Annual Transatlantic Studies Association Conference**

The 8th Annual Transatlantic Studies Association Conference to be held July 13-16, 2009 in Canterbury, United Kingdom, invites proposals by individuals, full panels of three speakers or a series of related panels focusing on a particular theme or topic. The panel topics include: literature and culture; planning and the environment; economics; history, security studies, and international relations; and interdisciplinary perspectives on transatlantic relations. Each of the five panels will accept a broad range of proposals with the sub-panels receiving proposals that fit with their nominated themes. Proposals in a 300 word abstract and brief CV should be submitted by May 1, 2009. Please direct any initial questions to Alan Dobson at alan.dobson@transatlanticstudies.com or the relevant panel coordinator. For more information about the panels and panel coordinators, please visit [www.transatlanticstudies.com](http://www.transatlanticstudies.com).

**Call for Proposals: London School of Economics Hellenic Observatory**

The London School of Economics’s Hellenic Observatory invites researchers with an interest in contemporary Greece to submit an application for funding in order to carry out a project on one of the following themes: inflation and price rigidities in Greece; causes and characteristics; assessing the impact of privatization in Greece on the subsequent management of the enterprise(s); the effect on GDP of the opening-up of closed professions within Greece. Applications should be submitted electronically by 5:00 p.m. (GMT) on April 30, 2009 to Hellenicobservatory@lse.ac.uk. Please visit the Hellenic Observatory website for more details on how to apply: [www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/HO%20Call%20for%20Research%20Project.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/HO%20Call%20for%20Research%20Project.pdf).

**EUSA Conference 2009: Call for Monographs**

The Edwin Mellen Press will be attending the eleventh biennial meeting of EU specialists in Los Angeles, California on April 23-25, 2009 and welcomes monograph proposals on any theme related to the EU from a variety of disciplines. Monographs that foster a critical understanding of the Member-States, historical development, institutions, processes, policies, programs, and culture of the EU are encouraged. There is no page limit and monographs in all languages will be considered. If you would like to speak with an editor during the conference about your book idea please stop by the book display for an informal conversation with our editor, Katharine Clark. You may also contact her to set up a formal appointment to discuss your abstract or manuscript by e-mailing kelark@mellenpress.com. Please visit [www.mellenpress.com](http://www.mellenpress.com) to view a current list of titles.
Ironically, my first contact with Germany and its language occurred while I was living in France. I had just finished college in 2002 with a major in politics; the French Ministry of Education granted me a teaching assistantship at a lycée (high school) in Alsace, the perfect opportunity to try out teaching and living in the geographic heart of the European experiment. Observing debates that year at the European Parliament in Strasbourg over the divisive U.S.-led Iraq war showed me (more than any theoretical classroom debates ever could) that Europe still had a long way to go before reaching agreement on a common security policy, much less a common destiny. In Alsace, I befriended a German teaching assistant, Ulrike, at the high school and began to learn more about Germany, its people, language, and culture. After our teaching in Alsace ended, Ulrike and her friend invited me to spend a week in Berlin, touring the capital. The week proved amazing! Biking past the lush Tiergarten and imposing Bundestag, under the Brandenburg Gate and along the Unter den Linden, through Friedrichstraße Station, around Museum Island and the Palace of the Republic…

I recounted unforgettable Berlin to my family upon my return to the United States and fully determined to integrate Germany into my future academic and career plans. I began a master’s program in public administration at New York University in fall 2003 with a focus on Europe and public policy. When my Berlin friends invited me back to attend a German language course at the Goethe Institute for a few weeks during the summer, I jumped at the opportunity to fully immerse myself in the language. Although I still sometimes stumbled over the nuances of dative and accusative declensions, I returned to New York ready for still more Deutsch in the spring. My master’s thesis documented a high-stakes clash of American and European regulatory styles in the global auto industry, for which I interviewed French, German, Japanese, and U.S. officials. I completed my degree, but my passion for studying Europe had not ended. I decided to continue on to the doctorate, which would allow me to pursue additional research opportunities in Germany and Europe.

At the University of Pittsburgh, the European Studies Center has awarded me several Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships for German, one used at Middlebury College’s German School. The fellowships, for which I am extremely grateful, have allowed me to make tremendous progress in the language over the past three years. Indeed, I have been fortunate to have learned from talented instructors in both Pittsburgh and Middlebury. The German proficiency I have built up will culminate in a year-long dissertation research stay in Cologne at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, beginning next fall.

My dissertation centers on administrative reform in the European postal sector, focusing comparatively on Germany’s Deutsche Post and France’s La Poste, in addition to the EU dimension. With each case illustrating two different paths and results with regards to organizational change, I ultimately seek to broaden our understanding of how bureaucracies evolve and adapt in the face of rapidly shifting environments and conflicting demands. In the German case, for instance, rather than continue its long-established, existing path, Deutsche Post and government officials pursued dramatic organizational change, leading to liberalization of the market and privatization of the former state administration. Yet how did the postal organization succeed in such dramatic reinvention and reform? Moreover, why did economic liberalization and later, privatization, come to be seen as a solution? The opportunities provided through the FLAS fellowships have equipped me with the critical linguistic skills to confidently explore these questions, shedding light on broader administrative reform patterns.
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Since Russia’s oil and gas exports to Europe account for over 75 percent of its energy exports and the EU is highly dependent on Russian oil and gas, the energy variable is linked to the EU in my analysis.

Second, I proceeded with an in-depth analysis of regional cooperation and energy variables. I conducted social network analysis (SNA) of EU-Russia regional cooperation networks and networks of energy companies and provincial governments to examine the embeddedness of the northwestern and southern regions in the regional cooperation and energy structures, identify the key actors of the networks, and analyze their propensity to influence decision-making processes in the regions. The analysis showed that regional cooperation plays an important role in creating links among Russian local organizations, NGOs, companies, educational institutions, and province governments and their respective partners in the EU countries.

The northwest region, which has a higher level of democratic governance, appeared to have denser and less centralized network governance structures than the southern region. Northwestern networks showed the prevalence of horizontal modes of policy-making, while southern networks happened to be vertically differentiated. In the southern region, energy structures turned out to be much more dense, centralized, and vertical, with stronger direct and indirect effects on regional policy-making. While major actors in the southern networks appeared to be provincial governments, in the northwestern networks major actors were companies, educational institutions, and public and non-profit organizations.

Third, I conducted interviews with representatives of energy companies and provincial public officials, businessmen, professors, educational leaders, and NGO representatives involved in regional cooperation with the EU. The EUCE dissertation fellowship enabled me to travel to six northwestern and five southern provinces. The objective was to understand why there is such a difference in the regional cooperation and energy structures and how the networks influence regional policy-making. The findings show that the difference in the network structures can be explained by the following factors:

- **historical legacy and geopolitics**
  The Russian northwestern region has been interacting with the EU countries much more intensely than the southern region due to geographic proximity and historic ties to Europe. Thus, in the northwestern region, the EU actors had extensive knowledge of organizations and companies that could be involved in regional cooperation, while in the southern region, cooperation initiatives were established mainly through provincial governments. Additionally, in the northwestern region, the EU and Nordic European countries are the main foreign actors, while the southern region has many important actors interested in the region besides the EU, such as Turkey, the Caucasus countries, the U.S., and Iran.

- **ethnic composition**
  The northwestern region is more or less homogeneous in terms of ethnic composition, while the southern region is multiethnic with a clan-based structure of society, which leads to vertical differentiation and centralization in network structures.

- **EU motivation**
  EU institutions and countries bordering the Russian northwestern region are interested in economic, cultural and civil society developments in the region, while the main driving force of interaction with the southern region for the EU is energy.

As far as the effect on regional policy-making is concerned, regional cooperation networks proved to be an effective mechanism for the transfer of EU norms into the regions’ internal policies, especially in the northwestern region due to their horizontal and decentralized structures. Regional cooperation networks help improve governance and create civic connection, which in turn creates reciprocity, trust, and community engagement by disseminating information, connecting citizens, enabling direct participation of people and their organizations, improving the quality of representation (in provincial governments), and enhancing political commitment for people’s participation. On the contrary, energy networks proved to have a negative effect on democratic governance by encouraging complacency in policy-making and creating incentives for rent-seeking.

Ekaterina Turkina came to the U.S. on the Russian Young Leaders program and has worked for the American Councils and the United Nations Development Programme in Moscow. She has received awards from numerous sources, including the Council of Europe and the U.S. State Department.
Christopher Burdick has moved over to the Treasury Department’s Officer of Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes as a Policy Advisor. His portfolio will include handling anti-money laundering and corruption issues in Eastern Europe. Burdick will also serve as Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Council of Europe’s Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL). He received a BA in Political Science and Economics from Pitt in 2001, which included a certificate in West European Studies. From 1999-2000, he also worked in the EUCE as an Undergraduate Research Assistant.

Chad Damro has been recently appointed Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium where he will teach a core course in the fall on “External Aspects of EU Internal Policies” for the MA in EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies. Damro received his PhD from Pitt in Political Science in 2002.

Sabine von Dirke, an EUCE/ESC affiliated Associate Professor in Germanic Language and Literatures at Pitt, recently published “Sleepless in the New Economy: Money, Consumption, and Unemployment in Current Literature,” in Über Gegenwartsliteratur (About Contemporary Literature), edited by Mark Rectanus (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2008), 141-156, as well as “The RAF as Historical Trauma and Pop Icon in Literature since the 1980s” in History and Cultural Memory of German Left-Wing Terrorism, 1968-1998, edited by Gerrit-Jan Berendse and Ingo Cornlis (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2008), 105-125.

Patrik Marier recently published Pension Politics: Consensus and Social Conflict in Ageing Societies (London: Routledge, 2008) as part of the Routledge/EUI Studies in the Political Economy of the Welfare State Series edited by Martin Rhodes and Maurizio Ferrara. Marier is currently a Canada Research Chair in Comparative Public Policy at Concordia University in Montreal and received his PhD in Political Science from Pitt in 2002.
TO THE POINT...

If you would like to be added to the EUCE/ESC newsletter’s electronic distribution list, please email the Center at euce@pitt.edu. Include the subject line “Newsletter” and your name, address, and affiliation. You can also call us at 412-648-7405 or send a fax to 412-648-2199. In addition, the latest edition of the newsletter and a complete, updated list of events can always be found at our website: www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/euce.html.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS
- April 2 - Pizza & Politics: “The EU and the Obama Administration.” 12:00 noon, 4217 Posvar Hall.
- April 6 - Roundtable Discussion with Hartmut Behr. 10:00-11:30 a.m., 4209 Posvar Hall.
- April 6 - Lecture: “Politics of Recognition and the EU.” 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall.
- April 7 - Academic Research Conference: “The EU & NATO in the 21st Century.” 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Pittsburgh Athletic Association.
- April 8 - Pizza & Politics: “Completing the Single Market.” 12:00 noon, 4217 Posvar Hall.
- April 24 - EUCE/ESC Graduation Awards Ceremony. 4:00 p.m., Pittsburgh Athletic Association.

University of Pittsburgh
UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
EUROPEAN UNION CENTER OF EXCELLENCE
EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTER
4200 POSVAR HALL
PITTSBURGH, PA  15260

Phone: 412-648-7405
Fax: 412-648-2199
E-mail: euce@pitt.edu
www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/euce.html