THE FODDER CRISIS AND PEACEMAKING IN IRELAND

by Dr. Andrew Strathern and Dr. Pamela J. Stewart
Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh

In May and June, we worked in County Donegal along a border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Our research in Ireland has included studies of language (Ulster Scots), peace-making, and religious history, but this summer, we focused on the Eurozone financial crisis, from which Ireland is gradually emerging, and its effects on farmers. The Fine Gael-led government of Prime Minister Enda Kenny has sought to introduce order into the banking sector and to raise revenue by imposing new taxes such as the contested property tax.

This spring was particularly wet and cold, delaying the growth of grass for fodder and making it hard for farmers to manage herds of cattle. In March, large snowfalls in County Antrim in Northern Ireland resulted in widespread deaths of livestock. The last two winters were also wet and 2012 was a cold year. Altogether, the climatic impact has forced Donegal farmers to import fodder from places like France and Scotland. The price of imported bales of hay reached nearly twice the ordinary rate of 45 Euros-per-large-bale. This on top of the ongoing economic downturn in Ireland, and Europe as a whole, has produced a growing concern over the future of farming and the fate of rural Ireland.

Talking with farmers, we realized how carefully they think about their management strategies and problems. They have to think effectively from year

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On Tuesday, Sept. 10, the European Union Center of Excellence/European Studies Center held its Welcome Back Reception to kick off the new school year. Pictured above (left): Dr. Adam Shear, a professor in the Department of Religious Studies and Director of the Jewish Studies Program talks to Dr. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, a professor from the Department of French and Italian Languages and Literatures. Also pictured above (right): Dr. Michelle Egan American University professor and Chair of the European Union Studies Association, speaks to Evgeny Postnikov, the Library Research Advisor for the EUCE/ESC and a PhD candidate at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

**The Real Price of Cheap Food**

On Thursday, Sept. 12, Malin Olofsson visited the EUCE/ESC and gave a lecture titled “The Real Price of Cheap Food.” Olofsson is a Transatlantic Media Fellow and Investigative Reporter for Sveriges Radio, Sweden’s National Radio Network. Olofsson discussed her work as an environmental investigative journalist on problems with industrial food production, climate change, and sustainability. She has won numerous awards, most recently “The Great Journalism Prize of Sweden,” in 2011.
CHARTING THE CAREERS OF EU LEGISLATORS

by William T. Daniel, Assistant Professor
Francis Marion University, Dept. of Political Science

If you turned on a cable news show this summer, you were probably unable to avoid prognostications from political pundits on the futures of names like former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton or Texas Senator Ted Cruz. While the career plans of politicians are fun to debate around the dinner table, political scientists have taken a more systematic view of how and why politicians position themselves, not only for reelection, but also for further political office. My recent dissertation research for a PhD in the Department of Political Science focused on this popular and important question in the less familiar European Parliament (EP).

While some estimate that Parliament now has a role in the drafting of over 80 percent of European legislation, EP elections have been described as ‘second order’ in their importance to both voters and politicians, alike. Compared with national political contests, the EP is routinely mischaracterized as less interesting, less powerful, and less worthy of attracting high visibility politicians. This popular view also contributes to the stigmatization of EP members (MEPs), who are seen as a cache of political amateurs, retirees, and extremists. Many political scientists have been quick to defend the growing power of the EP within the EU legislative process and point to the expanding batch of MEPs who do prefer to build their elected careers at the EU—rather than national—level. But, we still do not know much about who seeks office to the EP, why they seek it, and how they use it to further political careers.

Generous grants from the EUCE/ESC funded my dissertation fieldwork, which was aimed at collecting new quantitative sources of data on the political careers and personal backgrounds of all MEPs elected to the EP. It also provided me with the resources necessary to interview more than fifty current and former MEPs and their staffs in Brussels, Paris, Warsaw, Berlin, and Luxembourg between the summer of 2010 and the spring of 2012. Using data collected from the interviews and quantitative sources, I argue in my dissertation that MEP careers have become more central to European political life, as the rate of MEPs seeking reelection has grown alongside advances in the Parliament’s legislative power and professional capabilities. While stable membership favors the development of institutional memory, it also cements the power base of those select legislators who pursue extended careers at one level of office.

Perhaps more interesting than my finding on the growth of reelection seeking, is the variation that still persist in the careers of MEPs. Simply put, MEPs from some countries take EP service more seriously than others and this affects how much power they hold in the passing of EU legislation. Thus, my dissertation also identifies systematic differences in the national political institutions that control the nomination of MEPs for election—particularly the degree of federalism and political decentralization found in each member state and its impact on local political party organizations—and connects these differences with divergence in MEP career tenures.

Why do these differences in career behavior matter? My work correlates seniority and other personal differences of MEPs with their productivity in the legislature’s committee system. For example, I find that political parties from federal countries (like Germany) not only nominate longer-serving MEPs than those in unitary countries (like France), but that these differences impact the abilities of political parties to advance their preferred policies in EP committees. While MEP career advancement is perhaps still ‘second order’ in interest to most European politicians, the uneven development of the legislature’s membership profile has unexpected consequences for the majority of European legislation that now passes through the EP.

In May, I was grateful to receive a EUCE/ESC grant to present research at the European Union Studies Association’s (EUSA) biennial meeting in Baltimore. The grant made it possible for me not only to learn about the recent research of key scholars of EU politics and connect important names with faces, but also to solicit feedback on my research. By presenting some of the work mentioned above before a specialized audience, I was able to benefit from feedback that will no doubt continue to help me transform my work on MEP careers from a PhD dissertation into a broader research agenda.
UPCOMING GRANT AND FELLOWSHIP DEADLINES

THE NATIONALITY ROOMS SUMMER STUDY ABROAD SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

The University of Pittsburgh has announced the 2014 Nationality Rooms awards. Eligibility requirements include: being a U.S. citizen or permanent resident, a full-time undergraduate or graduate student for the fall and spring terms prior to studying abroad, a full-time student for the fall and spring terms following the study abroad, proposal must relate to career goals, and you must have foreign language skills. For more details, inquire at the Nationality Rooms Programs office, 1209 Cathedral of Learning, e-mail Scholarship Administrator Christina Lagnese at mcl38@pitt.edu, or visit http://www.nationalityrooms.pitt.edu/scholarshipsgrants. Information sessions begin Oct. 9 and will be held once a week until Jan. 8 for undergraduates and Jan. 15 for graduates. Deadline: Jan. 9, 2014 for undergraduates and Jan. 23, 2014 for graduates.

EUCE/ESC TRAVEL GRANTS

The EUCE/ESC has funds available to graduate students to help defray costs involved in traveling to and participating in regional, national, or international scholarly conferences. In order to be eligible, graduate students must 1) be presenting a paper (i.e. not acting as discussant or chair) and be on the program of the conference; 2) Be presenting a paper that has some aspect of European life, historical or contemporary, domestic or international, or European integration as its main focus. (Topics in the humanities as well as in the social sciences and those dealing with the countries of Europe and/or the European Union are eligible. For contemporary East European countries, topics must deal with links to or impact of the European Union.) For more information, visit http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce. No Deadline.

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to year and anticipate difficulties. Given the shortages of fodder resulting from two bad years of weather, and the impossibilities of keeping a surplus of winter fodder, farmers were already worrying about the next winter and spring. The main need was for a good growing season this summer, to enable them to process sufficient fodder, whether as silage or hay, to make it through another bad season. Some farmers had to take a first cut and hope for another one later, while others waited until later in order to get a large, single harvest. Luckily, the weather improved by the end of June, and the farmers were able to get their work done.

Historically in Ireland, subsistence problems of those living on the land have resulted in mass emigration, principally to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This process began again following the collapse of the so-called Celtic Tiger economy in 2008. We attended a conference held with European Union support by Donegal County Council as a part of its History Links project, which explores histories of migration to Scotland and New Zealand, as well as to the U.S. The conference, held at the Letterkenny Institute of Technology, was intended to stimulate awareness of the long histories of migration that have produced the wide Irish diaspora and of contemporary needs for out-migration.

Farming families, however, wish to keep their farms going over numbers of generations. The viability of farms over time depends not only on the changes of weather but also on the outcomes of periodic negotiations within the European Union structures regarding

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EUCE/ESC NEWSLETTER:

Director: Professor Ronald H. Linden
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EUCE/ESC would like to thank the Delegation of the European Union for support for the Center.
This month, EUCE/ESC newsletter editor Gavin Jenkins interviewed alumnus **Kristen E. Sukalac**, a consulting partner at Prospero & Partners, an independent consultancy based in London that helps food and agriculture organizations achieve sustainable success. Before joining Prospero & Partners, she spent a decade managing external relations in global agribusiness trade associations and was a researcher in a European affairs think tank. In 1994, she graduated from the University of Pittsburgh with degrees in Political Science and French, as well as a West European Studies certificate. Sukalac also earned a Master's degree at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, where she studied the Politics and Administration of European Integration. She is currently working towards an executive Doctorate of Business Administration (EDBA) from the Université Paris Dauphine.

**Q:** What classes at Pitt influenced you the most and how did they help you for your career?

**A:** I think the single most helpful class I took at Pitt was Critical Writing. It taught me how to be a critical thinker in the positive sense of the word. Instead of looking for evidence to support my pre-existing perspective, it taught me to consider multiple ways to interpret a text or situation and to look for patterns in the evidence, not in my assumptions, to guide me to a new perspective. That skill helps me on a daily basis, whether it's to better understand different stakeholder perspectives or to avoid an error of judgment because I am blinded by my own pre-

**Q:** Where have you lived and worked in Europe?

**A:** I first spent the summer of 1992 in Nantes, France, in part thanks to a Nationality Room scholarship. In 1994, I went to Bruges, Flanders, Belgium to do my Master's Degree at the College of Europe. In 1995, I tried my luck at an internship in Brussels. The first internship only lasted three months, but my second one led to a job offer (coupled with a working visa, importantly). I stayed in Brussels until 2001, when I moved to Paris. From the time I arrived in Bruges, I’ve always studied and worked in multinational contexts. It is sometimes fatiguing dealing with cultural differences all the time, but I find it very enriching. If you acknowledge them and remain aware of them, cultural differences can actually facilitate relationships. At the end of the day, we are all unique individuals, but our group identities can lead us into the mistaken belief that someone else – whether a co-worker or a spouse – should automatically understand us. Cultural differences are a reminder that you should always start by assuming the other person is different by explaining yourself, and looking for any signs of miscommunications, or misunderstanding. That can allow you to nip problems in the bud. It can also be an opportunity to be more open to a different way of appreciating the world.

One thing about living like this is that you become neither fish nor fowl. Psychologically, you can't go home again, which means you have to understand that this openness to the world will probably create more distance with your family and childhood friends. That can be hard, but it can also create wonderful opportunities for sharing with one another. And once you become anchored far away from home, family stress can increase. Continued on Page 6
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We lost my grandmother last year after several months of her health being like a roller coaster ride. Dealing with that was complicated by the distance and the time difference. But thank goodness for modern technology, which helped a lot. When I first moved to Belgium, I frequently had phone bills that were $400 per month. Now I can have a video call with someone in my family for free. When I got married two years ago, we did a webcast to allow family who couldn't travel to participate, and my father, who had health problems that prevented him from travelling, gave the first toast via internet. That would have been impossible 20 years ago.

Q: What are your responsibilities as a consulting partner at Prospero & Partners?

A: At Prospero & Partners, we work primarily with clients in the agri-food sector, which is facing unprecedented demands: the population is expected to grow to nine or ten billion people, yet the environment is already suffering from the negative impacts of trying to feed everyone alive today. It's a really complex situation, and I believe there is nothing more critical to our common future. We don't really think about it, but almost anything you can think of ultimately depends on agriculture. My job is providing strategic counsel and support to clients to help them make the necessary adjustments for the whole system to become more sustainable. That might mean helping a mature company learn how to be an adaptive, learning organization. It might also mean helping producers of a new technology become established, which is easier said than done. One of the first hurdles for many innovations is a regulatory framework that was built to manage yesterday's technologies. We are currently helping several industrial sectors engage with European authorities to have their technologies recognized and to help the regulators understand what kind of framework is needed for these innovative sectors to flourish while protecting end-users and consumers.

Q: What advice would you give to a student who is interested in following in your footsteps?

A: Psychological resilience is an important quality for this kind of life. You have to be able to deal with ambiguity and uncomfortable situations and have the humility to admit that you don't have all the answers. To give a very down-to-earth example, there were several occasions when my residence status was up in the air for various administrative reasons. I had no idea when the situation would be resolved and could only hope that it was going to go in my favor. I've always been someone who followed the rules, and I found this period of “irregularity” to be extremely stressful. At one point, I worried that the police would be on my doorstep to deport me when I got home every day. You shouldn't underestimate how wearing that kind of situation can be.

I've also seen many Americans falter because they seem to base their idea of immigrating to another country on Hollywood movies. The reality is decidedly unglamorous and entails struggling to get a work permit, starting with internships that pay a pittance and living in a shoebox. You also have to understand that while you might be amazing in your local context, there are probably 20 people even more amazing applying for any job you want overseas, and they don't necessarily need work permits. Because I spoke decent French, some German and a smidgeon of Russian when I came to Europe, I felt pretty good. But almost everyone at the College of Europe spoke at least three languages fluently, including the women working in the cafeteria. It was very humbling and frustrating to realize how much I still had to learn. Those of us who have been here a long time and who have integrated can usually tell in the space of one conversation whether someone is cut out for the international lifestyle or whether they're going to make a hasty return home. It seems very hard for people to make that same evaluation for themselves, though, so I'd suggest not burning too many bridges too soon and make the transition a gradual one. The other piece of advice that I would offer is to find mentors now and throughout your career. I have been privileged to have several outstanding mentors, including Alberta Sbragia, Pitt's Vice Provost for Graduate Studies (who was responsible for the West European Studies program when I was at Pitt). She was instrumental in helping me navigate the transition from my undergraduate program to grad school, including helping me deal with the stress of having to make irrevocable decisions about some programs months before others let me know if I was admitted. She has continued to be an inspiration and an anchor, and I am grateful for her guidance and support. Without her, I don't know where I'd be today, but it wouldn't be the same place!
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farm subsidies under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). June saw an intensified negotiation over the CAP provisions, during the time of Ireland’s presidency of the Union (a position that rotates between countries). The major issue centered on the apparent resolve of the EU’s Agriculture Commissioner to introduce a system of a flat payment per hectare of land rather than a system based on the farm’s productivity. Production-based criteria favor the practices of intensive farming. Farmers with less production and poorer land do not do so well, although special consideration is supposed to be given to less favored areas, such as hill farms. The new system looked as though it would reverse this trend. While it could help to equalize the distribution of subsidies, it would mean disincentives for production. Each country in the EU also has some leeway for implementation of policies, and it is at this level that the debate was finally resolved with a round of compromises.

The diverse but interlocking concerns of people in northwest Ireland are shown in the events that have taken place this year. The city of Derry (or Londonderry) has been the site of sectarian divides, with a very long history. This year, however, it was named as the UK’s City of Culture, and it hosted a large pageant called The Return of Columcille, after its patron saint (also known as St. Columba, who founded a monastic outpost in Iona, Scotland). Columcille is important to West Donegal heritage, and using him as a figure of unity was a bold stroke. It went well with the opening of a bridge linking the predominantly Protestant Waterside area on the eastern banks of the Foyle River with the predominantly Catholic area (and the major shopping center) on the west. This elegant construction is a walkway for pedestrians, and is aptly named the Peace Bridge.

At the rural level, cross-community projects, also aided by government and EU funds, continue in quieter ways. The Ulster-Scots Agency, based in Belfast, has a regional office in the market town of Raphoe, as well as a new Heritage Center at Monreagh further north. Both outlets are active in sponsoring events that bring people of different cultural or religious backgrounds together, with special visits and with sponsored exchange stays where people simply get together and talk. The sharing of experiences and cultural ideas between Presbyterians and Catholics helps people recognize the Irish and Scottish components of heritage that make up Donegal’s mosaic. In the community where we stayed, the church’s Minister is very active in his concern for the farmers. He held a special day of prayer one Friday in the church in which people were invited to come and quietly pray for the land and those who depended on it. All these processes reveal a people trying to adjust both to the minutiae of their immediate lives and to the more encompassing context of the Eurozone economic crisis.

We left Ireland for Scotland on June 15, shortly before tensions over the ‘marching season’ swung seriously into play. The marching season in Northern Ireland is the time when various sectarian-based parades take place in locales with histories of spatial conflict. The largest Protestant parades occur on July 12, commemorating the victory of Protestant forces under Prince William of Orange over the Catholic forces of King James IV at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Belfast has historically been the site of severe tensions over the routes that marches take, whether by Protestant ‘Loyalists’ or by Catholics identifying with the Republic of Ireland. Conflicts have been somewhat ameliorated in recent years owing to the successes of the shared devolved governance of Northern Ireland. However, this year violence returned to the Belfast streets, causing injuries to large numbers of police, including some flown in from Scotland to control the riots, and prompting difficult questions about whether police should be armed. Belfast this summer, then, contrasted strongly with Derry. €
IN MEMORIAM: DR. LORELLA CEDRONI

The EUCE/ESC mourns the loss of Dr. Lorella Cedroni, who was a Distinguished Fulbright Professor at EUCE/ESC during 2008. She passed away on Aug. 28 due to complications from cancer. She was 52 years old. Dr. Cedroni was a professor of political philosophy and political theory at the University of Rome La Sapienza.

Vice Provost for Graduate Studies Dr. Alberta Sbragia remembers Professor Cedroni as a dynamic colleague and instructor who loved teaching and students. “She was a wonderful representative of the Italian Fulbright program,” Dr. Sbragia said. “She is fondly remembered by those in Pittsburgh who knew her as a colleague, a teacher, and a warm and caring friend who was also a wonderful guide to Rome when her friends from Pittsburgh visited her.”

While at the University of Pittsburgh, Professor Cedroni became friends with Dr. Carla E. Lucente, who is the Honorary Consul of Italy in Pittsburgh, as well as the Co-Director of the Center for International Relations at Duquesne University. “Lorella was a wonderful person and a great scholar,” Dr. Lucente said in an e-mail. “She loved teaching, loved her students, and was a great colleague and friend. She always spoke fondly of her time in Pittsburgh, in particular at Pitt.”

Professor Cedroni published 10 books, including *Gender, Space, and Power: A Conceptual Framework*, *Political Representation: Theory and Models*, and *The Political Language of Transition between Populism and Anticulture*.

In 1999, Professor Cedroni earned a PhD in Political and Social Sciences from European University Institute, Florence.

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