

# Strategic Narratives of Identity: The EU, Europe and the World

International Symposium  
European Union Centre Network NZ (EUCN NZ)



27 February 2015  
The Undercroft  
University of Canterbury

<b>Contents</b>	1
Welcome to the Symposium	2
Biographies and Abstracts of Keynote Speakers	
<i>Professor Alister Miskimmon</i>	3
<i>Professor Ben O’Loughlin</i>	4
Conference Programme	5-7
Abstracts	8-16
Biographies	17-22

**Welcome to the Symposium *Strategic Narratives of Identity: The EU, Europe and the World***

Symposium approaches the subject of the global recognition of the European Union (EU) in an increasingly multipolar world. Symposium engages with the concept of strategic narrative and features key notes from the authors of the Strategic Narrative Theory

***Professor Alister Miskimmon (Royal Holloway, UK)***

***Professor Ben O’Loughlin (Royal Holloway, UK)***

Contributors study external reactions to the EU within a tripartite scheme of strategic narrative: formation, projection and reception. Special analytical focus is on reception – Symposium, among other contributions, show-cases the NCRE’s leading multinational research project “EU external perceptions”.

Symposium is open for everyone and free of charge

**Symposium Coordinator:** Associate Professor Natalia Chaban, Jean Monnet Chair  
National Centre for Research on Europe/European and European Union Studies (GCLS)  
University of Canterbury, New Zealand  
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## Biographies and Abstracts of Keynote Speakers



### Professor Alister Miskimmon

Alister Miskimmon is the Chair of the Department of Politics and International Relations at the Royal Holloway University of London. He is also the Co-Director of the Centre for European Politics and the Reader in European Politics and International Relations. He has published extensively and is a co-author of the Strategic Narrative Theory.

His professional affiliations account for memberships of the Executive Committee of the: International Association for the Study of German Politics (IASGP), the University Association for the Study of Contemporary European Studies (UACES), the Standing Conference for Heads of European Studies (SCHES), the American Political Science Association (APSA) and the International Studies Association (ISA).

His research interests are: Strategic Narrative; International Relations; European and global security issues; German politics; German foreign and security policy; theories of European integration and Europeanisation. He is currently working on two books with Prof Ben O'Loughlin and Prof Laura Roselle on the concept of strategic narrative. The first book outlines the conceptual basis of strategic narrative, which seeks to integrate the study of international communication with International Relations. The second book is an edited collection applying strategic narrative to a range of cases including power transition, European integration and terrorism.

### **Title: Theorising Strategic Narrative**

Can international organizations construct and deploy an effective strategic narrative? The European Union has relied on a strategic narrative from its inception to the present day. This narrative has aimed at building support within Europe for deeper integration and sought to forge influence internationally. Over the years this narrative has shifted from a grand strategic vision of the people of Europe to a narrative of strategic calculation in the post-Cold War period. The formation, projection and reception of the EU strategic narrative is complicated by the hybrid nature of the institution - reflecting both supranational and intergovernmental aspects, which complicates efforts to speak with a single voice in international affairs. This paper argues that the EU has in recent years lost a vision for a shared narrative of European integration, thus hampering the EU's strategic impact. This has been most clearly witnessed in EU crisis management in which diverging and occasionally conflicting narratives have emerged.



### **Professor Ben O'Loughlin**

Ben O'Loughlin is a professor of International Relations at the Royal Holloway, University of London. He is Director of Research in the Department of Politics and International Relations. Ben specialises in international political communication. He was co-investigator of the ESRC-funded project, *Legitimising the Discourses of Radicalisation: Political Violence in the New Media Ecology*. Before that he was a researcher on the ESRC project *Shifting Securities: News Cultures Before and Beyond the Iraq War*, part of the New Security Programme. Both projects were awarded the highest possible grade, Outstanding, by the ESRC's reviewers. He has published extensively on security and conflict in

the new media ecology. Ben is a founding Editor of the journal, *Media, War and Conflict* (Sage, from April 2008).

His current research addresses two questions. In international affairs - how do states use strategic narratives to project their interests and identities to shape the behaviour of other actors? In domestic politics and society, how are digital technologies creating "the new mass" society, the return of a dense social mainstream which people unconsciously locate themselves inside or as 'radicalised' outsiders?

### **Title: Soft Power and the Search for the National Interest Strategic Narrative Theory: Future Directions**

This paper considers soft power from the perspective of policymakers for whom soft power is part of a broader set of foreign policy strategies and practices. When Joseph Nye coined the term in 1990 his concern was how the US could project a grand strategy for a post-Cold War era. Today, the strategic environment is different. There have been shifts in the distribution and nature of power, the status of 'hard' power, and the emergence of digital connectivity and 'the people' as an actor in international affairs. In this light, how do policymakers conceive 'influence', and who are they trying to influence and why. In this light of these strategic considerations, how do public and cultural diplomacy become framed? What tensions emerge between national strategy and the organizational goals of public and cultural diplomacy institutions and others 'enlisted' by the state? Analysis presented is based on first hand engagement advising a UK parliamentary committee on soft power and international influence since 2013. While Cameron's conception of the national interest as a global race is problematic, soft power must be made to advance his government's economic and security strategies. However, in the formation of soft power strategies I argue that the national interest is found as much as it is pursued. Since the formation process involves taking into account how one's country's image is perceived by others, we find soft power debates lie at the centre of an cycle of national narrative formation, projection and reception, a cycle through which interests are perpetually reconstructed through relational identity management and feedback.

### Conference Programme: 27 February 2015

8:45-9:00	Registration
9:00-9:45	<p>Greetings from the UC, the NCRE and the UC</p> <p><b>Key note: Theorising Strategic Narrative</b> Alister Miskimmon (Royal Holloway, UK)</p>
9:50-11:20	<p><b>Discussion 1:</b> <b>Strategic Narratives and Strategic Partners: Contestation in Action?</b> Chair: Natalia Chaban</p> <p>This panel focuses on such narratives of the EU as ‘Coherent and Effective International Actor’, ‘Development Power’, ‘Economic Powerhouse’ and ‘Soft Power’</p> <p><i>Improving Communication amongst Strategic Partners?</i> <i>Perceptions on the EU’s fledgling Delegations</i> Serena Kelly (presenter) and Natalia Chaban (both of University of Canterbury, NZ)</p> <p><i>Too Good to be True? Germany’s image in China and its relevance to China’s strategic narrative</i> Wenwen Shen (University of Victoria in Wellington, NZ)</p> <p><i>China in the eyes of the EU: Project introduction and preliminary findings</i> SHI Zhiqin and LAI Suetyi (both of Tsinghua University, China)</p> <p><i>A Contest for the Hearts and Minds? Chinese Public Diplomacy meets African Public Opinion</i> Floor Keuleers (Leuven University, Belgium)</p>
11:20-11:45	Coffee break
11:45-1:15	<p><b>Discussion 2:</b> <b>Strategic Narratives and Strategic Issues: Energy</b> Chair: Martin Holland</p> <p>This Panel explores projection and reception of such narratives as ‘Green Europe’, ‘Sustainable Energy Europe’, ‘Leader in Global</p>

	<p>energy Governance’, ‘Normative Power Europe’, ‘Moral Power’</p> <p><i>Considering the EU as a moral exemplar through a Virtue Ethics lens</i> James Headley (University of Otago, NZ)</p> <p><i>Perceptions of the EU as a Normative Power in the Energy Field: the Case of India</i> Olga Gulyaeva (University of Canterbury, NZ)</p> <p><i>China views the EU in energy governance: Norm Exporter, Partner or Outsider?</i> LAI Suetyi (Tsinghua University, China)</p> <p><i>An Emerging EU Strategic Narrative? Twitter Communication during the EU’s Sustainable Energy Week</i> Jessica Bain (Leicester University, UK) and Natalia Chaban (presenter) (University of Canterbury, NZ)</p>
1:15-2:15	Lunch (catered to the Undercroft)
2:15-4:15	<p><b>Discussion 3:</b> <b>Strategic Narratives and Individuals: perspectives from NZ</b> Chair: Milenko Petrovic</p> <p>This panel focuses on such narratives as ‘Europe as an Education Hub’, ‘Fortress Europe’, ‘Butter Mountains and Wine Rivers’, ...</p> <p><i>International student mobility - Key for the future?</i> Gabriel Weibl (University of Canterbury, NZ)</p> <p><i>Pro-European Attitudes in Ukraine: Witnessing the Dramatic Increase</i> Dmytro Khutkyy (Kiev International Institute of Sociology, Ukraine)</p> <p><i>European Integration in the Eyes of NZ elites: Historical Perceptions</i> David Hall (Victoria University Wellington, NZ)</p> <p><i>NZ Diplomats on Integrating Europe: Archival Research</i> Grace Millar (Victoria University Wellington, NZ)</p>

4:15-4:30	Coffee
4:30-5:00	Key Note: <b>Strategic Narrative Theory: Future Directions (tbc)</b> Ben O'Loughlin (Royal Holloway, UK)
5:00-8:00	Drinks and dinner for the presenters at Shilling's Club

## Abstracts

### Key note:

(27 February 9:00-9:45)

Title: **“Strategic Narratives of Identity: The EU, Europe and the World”**

Author: **Professor Alister Miskimmon (Royal Holloway, UK);**

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Can international organizations construct and deploy an effective strategic narrative? The European Union has relied on a strategic narrative from its inception to the present day. This narrative has aimed at building support within Europe for deeper integration and sought to forge influence internationally. Over the years this narrative has shifted from a grand strategic vision of the people of Europe to a narrative of strategic calculation in the post-Cold War period. The formation, projection and reception of the EU strategic narrative is complicated by the hybrid nature of the institution - reflecting both supranational and intergovernmental aspects, which complicates efforts to speak with a single voice in international affairs. This paper argues that the EU has in recent years lost a vision for a shared narrative of European integration, thus hampering the EU's strategic impact. This has been most clearly witnessed in EU crisis management in which diverging and occasionally conflicting narratives have emerged.

### Discussion 1:

(27 February 9:50 – 11:20)

Title: **Strategic Narratives and Strategic Partners: Contestation in Action?**

Chair: Associate Professor Natalia Chaban

Title: **Improving Communication amongst Strategic Partners? Perceptions on the EU's fledgling Delegations**

Authors: **Dr Serena Kelly (presenter) and Associate Professor Natalia Chaban** (both of University of Canterbury, NZ); serena.kelly@canterbury.ac.nz; natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz

This paper focuses on perceptions of the newly formed European Union Delegations (EUDs) in the three “emerging” powers of the Asia-Pacific – China, India and Russia. As strategic partners of the EU, these three countries were included in the early list of priority countries for the European External Action Service (EEAS), with China-EU and EU-Russia relations regarded as particularly important. The choice is due to their rapid economic rise as well as growing global political and security concerns. The paper identifies differences in perceptions

across the three locations (e.g. different images due to different priorities in the respective bilateral dialogues; or a higher degree of awareness of the EUDs' activities in Russia and China in contrast to India). Although the EUDs are still young on the world stage, a number of studies have emerged addressing 1) the EEAS' role and function and 2) internal EU institutional repercussions. By contrast, research focussing on perceptions of the EEAS' communication with the receivers of the EU's diplomatic messages and external recognition of the EU and the EEAS as a diplomatic actor remain rare. This paper addresses these two scholarly deficits. The paper explores perceptions of the EUDs in three Strategic Partners and seeks to understand whether the EU's post-Lisbon diplomatic outreach is a) more coherent (due to the creation of the EEAS) and b) more effective. At the forefront of this paper are perceptions of the EU, as well as an evaluation of its efforts at communication, and information exchange.

**Title: Too Good to be True? Germany's image in China and its relevance to China's strategic narrative**

**Author: Dr Wenwen Shen** (Victoria University of Wellington); [wenwen.shen@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:wenwen.shen@vuw.ac.nz)

As the leading exporter in Europe, Germany makes up one third of EU trade with China. Besides a strong economic tie, Germany is admired in China for the strength of its economy, the quality of its products, its manufacturing prowess and achievement in arts and sports. The Chinese leadership is also more willing to engage in dialogues over sensitive issues such as rule of law and human rights with Germany than with other European or North American counterparts. While Germany scores high if not the top in global soft power survey, the Chinese leadership vows to increase its soft power abroad. One of the central premises of soft power is that other actors should admire its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness. In the Chinese case, it is not just German industrial success that is worthwhile emulating, but the rise of Germany since the end of the WWII and its leadership in Europe coupled with due respect also finds its place in China's strategic narrative. This narrative of praising Germany for having regained the trust of its former victims is not just a strategy of shaming Japan, but is also widely considered as an exemplar and desirable solution towards reconciliation in the East Asian context. This paper looks at Germany's image in Chinese media and official discourse in relation to China's territorial dispute with Japan, and analyses how Germany's de facto leadership the European Union is reflected China's strategic narrative and its relations with its own neighbours. This paper also aims to clarify the general misunderstandings and misperceptions of Germany's normative/soft power in eyes of Chinese elite and public discourse.

**Title: China in the eyes of the EU: Project introduction and preliminary findings**

Authors: **Professor SHI Zhiqin and Dr LAI Suetyi** (both of the Tsinghua University, China); shizhq@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn; cherlai1212@yahoo.com.hk

China and the EU have started the second decade of their strategic partnership, the bilateral relation entered a mature and stable stage. In the first decade, several research examined how the EU was perceived by China. Yet, no similar research has been conducted on the perception of China in the EU. In addition, China under President Xi Jinping's new leadership has become more confident and assertive in its external relations. Since Xi's entered power, China has shifted from the principle of 'keeping a low profile' (Tao Guang Yang Hui) to the assertive principle of 'striking for achievement' (Fen Fa You Wei). Judging from the actions taken by the current sole superpower, the US, and its Asian alliances namely Japan and the Philippines against China in the past few years, China feels antagonism in the present international stage. In this regard, how the EU, which has not only been China's largest trade partner since 2005 but also China's largest source of technology and crucial partner in today's multi-polar world, perceives China's international role and China's rise is important. China needs the EU to remain as its partner, a partner in peace, growth, reform and civilization. In the coming policy-making, China can only make the appropriate decision by knowing how it is understood by its partners. This research project (2014-2016) devotes to identify the perception as well as misperception of China in the EU. It is done by conducting media analysis and key-informant interview in four major locations within the EU, Brussels, France, Germany and the UK. From a social constructivist perspective, this research examines how the perception of China in the EU impacts on the China-EU relations and vice-versa. Eventually, it provides policy recommendations for the Chinese government in how to strengthen the partnership with the EU

**Title: A Contest for the Hearts and Minds? Chinese Public Diplomacy meets African Public Opinion**

Author: **Floor Keuleers, PhD candidate** (Leuven University, Belgium)  
floor.keuleers@soc.kuleuven.be

The engagement of so-called 'emerging' versus 'traditional' donors on the African continent has become a hotly debated topic for academics and practitioners alike. In addition to implications of a more economic and strategic nature, a recurring idea within these debates is that of a 'competition for the hearts and minds of Africans'. One of the factors sparking this idea is the notion of a large-scale Chinese charm offensive, visible in such diverse initiatives as high-level visits, student exchanges and mobile newspaper feeds. So far, however, commentary on the precise nature of this charm offensive and on the extent to which it is successful has remained both speculative and fragmented.

This paper seeks to offer a more systematic and empirically-grounded discussion, structured around the notion of public diplomacy. The first section characterizes the nature and goals of Chinese public diplomacy in Africa, linking these to the strategic narratives of peaceful development and a harmonious world. It also argues why public diplomacy is of more analytical purchase here than the popular term ‘soft power’. The second section uses Cull’s taxonomy of public diplomacy practices to arrive at a systematic discussion of the initiatives China has been deploying on the African continent. This unified conceptual lens allows for identifying how various practices are interconnected, and which challenges each of them faces. On the basis of this overview, it is argued that one of the five components identified by Cull, namely ‘listening to foreign publics’, has so far been neglected. The last part of the paper, therefore, pays particular attention to this aspect. It looks at how China is currently being evaluated on the African continent, specifically in comparison to ‘traditional’ donors. In order to do so, the paper analyses survey data drawn from various sources (PIPA, Pew, Afrobarometer).

## **Discussion 2:**

(27 February 11:45-1:15)

### **Strategic Narratives and Strategic Issues: Energy**

Chair: Professor Martin Holland

**Title: Considering the EU as a moral exemplar through a Virtue Ethics lens**

**Author: Dr James Headley** (University of Otago, NZ); james.headley@otago.ac.nz

As part of his Normative Power Europe framework, Ian Manners has proposed that Virtue Ethics (VE) can provide a useful paradigm for understanding the relationship between the European Union’s internal policies and its external normative impact. The EU sets a virtuous example by living up to the principles that it promotes in the world which are based on the norms that constitute its identity. However, the application of Virtue Ethics to International Relations (IR) has generally been under-researched, with the exception, for example, of work by Chris Brown and recent articles by Jamie Gaskarth and Alex Prichard. Such theorists tend to apply VE to political leaders of an entity rather than to the entity itself, because they want to avoid anthropomorphizing states or state-like entities. I argue, however, that because VE focuses on the nature and identity of an agent in contrast to more act-focused ethical theories, it is therefore a fruitful way to understand how an entity might be considered to be a virtuous actor. Indeed, I would argue, that it has been an unacknowledged element in some Constructivist IR writings that focus on state identities, although it has tended to be downplayed in the desire to establish Constructivism as the basis of an empirical research programme.

In this paper I examine self- and other- understandings of the EU as a moral exemplar through the lens of Virtue Ethics. How does the understanding among EU leaders of the EU as a moral exemplar shape policy approaches? How do other states react to EU claims of being a moral exemplar? And is there a tension between the exceptionalism that might be entailed by considering the EU as uniquely virtuous, and the VE idea of individual moral exemplars being representatives of the values of the wider community of which they are a part?

**Title: Perceptions of the EU as a Normative Power in the Energy Field: the Case of India**

Author: **Dr Olga Gulyaeva** (University of Canterbury, NZ);  
olga.gulyaeva@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

India's relations with the European Union (EU) in energy affairs started in 2004 at the fifth EU-India Summit. Yet, while their relations have featured a number of signed agreements and completed negotiations, the actual achievements of the dialogue in energy matters are still questionable. Comparative analysis across time of the EU and India in energy affairs can shed light on whether the EU is recognised as a 'normative' power.

Empirically, this research focuses on how two leading Indian newspapers (The Times of India and The Economic Times) represented India's dialogue with the EU. The three frames of sustainability, competitiveness and security of supply were traced in three peak time periods: (1) one week before and one week after the Joint Declaration of Enhanced Energy Cooperation was signed on the 10th of February 2012, (2) one week before and one week after the Doha Climate Change Conference in 2012 and (3) one week before and one week after the Warsaw Climate Change Conference in 2013. The findings address the problem of the place of the EU as energy actor in the visions of two prestigious Indian newspapers.

**Title: China views the EU in energy governance: Norm Exporter, Partner or Outsider?**

Author: **Dr LAI Suetyi** (Tsinghua University, China); cherlai1212@yahoo.com.hk

China and the EU are today's world first and third biggest energy consumers. Owing to physical distance and the fact that both China and the EU are energy-importers, there has been a relative lack of interaction in energy field thus far. Accordingly, little in the existing studies of EU-China relations focused in energy issues. In recent years, while China became the world's biggest energy consumer, largest carbon-emitter as well as largest investor in renewable energy in 2011, the EU has been facing challenges in securing its energy supply due to domestic antagonism towards nuclear power and worsening relationship with Russia. Adding also the role of energy-related carbon emission in the international climate change

negotiation, energy became a crucial area for cooperation for world players like China and the EU. This paper devotes to examine EU-China energy interaction, especially the perceptions of the EU's role. The analysis based on primary empirical data from three research projects, and identified China has yet to view the EU as a prominent global energy player or a major energy partner. Instead of passively receiving norms sent by the EU in the energy dialogues, this paper argued that China has been a selective a norm-taker.

**Title: An Emerging EU Strategic Narrative? Twitter Communication during the EU's Sustainable Energy Week**

Authors: **Dr Jessica Bain** (Leicester University, UK) and **Associate Professor Natalia Chaban** (presenter) (University of Canterbury, NZ); jb441@le.ac.uk; natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz

This paper approaches the subject of the global recognition of the term 'Normative Power Europe' in external energy governance by engaging with the concept of strategic narratives. The paper considers reactions to the EU as a normative energy actor within a tripartite scheme of strategic narrative formation, projection and reception (Roselle et al., 2014; Miskimmon et al., 2013). The definition of a narrative suggests a presence of an actor, an action, a goal or intention, a scene and instrument. Those were identified for the emerging 'Sustainable Energy Europe' narrative and tested in one empirical case study: Twitter communications surrounding the EU Sustainable Energy Week (EUSEW) 2013. In its method, our analysis is among the first to empirically explore the EU's social media communication efforts. Answering a call for richer methodologies, which view social media data not as 'quantitative data, rather qualitative data on a quantitative scale' (D'Orazio, np), our analysis uses an original methodology and codes the Twitter data using a nuanced qualitative framework.

**Discussion 3:**

(27 February 2:15-4:15)

**Strategic Narratives and Individuals: perspectives from NZ**

Chair: Dr Milenko Petrovic

**Title: International student mobility - Key for the future?**

Author: **Gabriel Weibl, PhD candidate** (University of Canterbury, NZ); gabriel.weibl@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

One of the main goals of the European Union (EU) in supporting international student mobility (ISM) through its Erasmus type study exchanges is the building and strengthening of

European identity. The other aims are to increase mobility, employability and language competencies of individuals and international students are often regarded as a future highly skilled mobile workforce. In addition, ISM is believed to enhance people's personal development. This study examines students' identity narratives as well as their changing perceptions of mobilities and about their home countries. International students' construct their identities and biographies according to their experiences abroad and based on their 'personal' agendas, which are in many cases in line with the EU's objectives concerning student mobility. However, while ISM is considered a positive phenomenon by students with a consequent effect on the development of their multiple identities with emphasis on cosmopolitanism, study abroad does not boost everyone's confidence when it comes to the job market. Moreover, how do international students reconcile their possible future employment abroad, increased competition for jobs and lesser employment opportunities because of intensified global mobility and migration? This paper is based on a longitudinal study at three locations between 2010 – 2013 (New Zealand – six universities, the UK – University of Oxford and the Czech Republic – Charles University). The empirical data originate from anonymous on-line surveys (N=563), face-to-face semi-structured interviews (N=90), twelve on-line diary-type questionnaires (N=81 to 44), a semi-structured Skype interview (N=46) and an open-ended email survey (N=39).

**Title: Pro-European Attitudes in Ukraine: Witnessing the Dramatic Increase**

**Author: Dmytro Khutkyy** (Kiev International Institute of Sociology, Ukraine);  
khutkyy@gmail.com

For decades, the public opinion in Ukraine has been essentially split between pro-Russian (the desire to join the Customs Union with Russia) and pro-European (the aspiration to join the EU) orientations. It is peculiar, that many people were willing to join both, despite the fact that it is politically impossible (if not take into account hypothetical views of wider Europe, embracing EU and Russia in one union). Therefore, it is academically and politically important to trace the dynamics of geopolitical orientations of the population of Ukraine and identify demographic and social causes of the differences.

For this aim, a structural and historical analysis of opinions of population of Ukraine concerning regional geopolitical unions – European Union and Customs Union has been conducted. The study is based on data of nation-wide representative sociological surveys. The findings clearly demonstrate that the internal differentiation of opinions in Ukraine is significantly ambivalent and polarized. It was discovered, that after years of prevalence of pro-Russian orientations, from the end of 2013 till the end of 2014, there is a marked geopolitical reorientation from Customs Union to European Union in Ukraine. At present, the proportion of proponents of EU outnumbers the share of adherents of CU three times. As for the causes, it was found that ethnonational identities, life experience, ideological views,

opinions about the unions and interpretations of political events influence the attitudes towards these unions.

**Title: European Integration in the Eyes of NZ elites: Historical Perceptions**

Author: **David Hall** (Victoria University Wellington, NZ); halldavi3@myvuw.ac.nz

Elite New Zealanders who have had or have an interest in New Zealand's relations with the EU have been interviewed. Their immediate thoughts on the EU are generally to recall (i) the history of the EU's formation and especially its role in putting an end to the ongoing cycle of major European wars; (ii) the ongoing difficulties in holding the EU together; and (iii) the impact of the EU on New Zealand's trade. In general, perceptions of the EU are positive mainly because of the strength Europe gains economically from unification into a single trading bloc. There is also a general perception that the intense fears, at the time the EU was formed, that New Zealand would suffer economic disaster should Britain join have not been realised; indeed, the EU's formation is seen mainly as positive for New Zealand. Specific advantages for New Zealand are in dealing with a single body rather than separate nations over trade matters. The EU is recognised as an important trading partner though that importance is declining especially in comparison with Asia. Apart from trading issues the EU is not seen as a strongly unified power; it is still seen as a collection of autonomous states. That prevents it from filling its undoubted potential as a superpower. The need to achieve consensus prevents the EU from making rapid responses to international emergencies for which the EU might be expected to take a lead role. Its structure prevents the clear, strong, leadership necessary for a superpower to take a lead role in international politics.

**Interviewees**

2 - ex-Prime Ministers

4 - ex- leading Public Servants all of whom were engaged in EU negotiations

5 - farmers who were or are leaders in farming politics

2 - active farmers whose produce is sold to the EU

1 - leading Economist who specialises in EU matters

1 - New Zealander who lived in Britain at the time of Britain's first engagement with the EU and whose family were New Zealand farmers

### **Title: NZ Diplomats on Integrating Europe: Archival Research**

Author: **Dr Grace Millar** (Victoria University Wellington, NZ); [grace.millar@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:grace.millar@vuw.ac.nz)

“‘Our Significant economic interests should be safe-guarded’: New Zealand officials’ views on European Unity 1940s-1960s”

In 1966, New Zealand officials responded to a British official that claimed that New Zealand’s position on European unity had changed. They stated: “New Zealand had always understood that Britain might find it politically commendable to go into Europe, and the New Zealand concern was simply that our significant economic interests should be safe-guarded.” This paper demonstrates that this summary is accurate, but hides the complexity of New Zealand’s position, and how much New Zealand elites changed their position as global economic and political situations changed.

### **Key Note:**

(27 February 4:30-5:00)

**Title: Soft Power and the Search for the National Interest Strategic Narrative Theory: Future Directions**

Author: **Professor Ben O’Loughlin (Royal Holloway, UK)**; [Ben.OLoughlin@rhul.ac.uk](mailto:Ben.OLoughlin@rhul.ac.uk)

This paper considers soft power from the perspective of policymakers for whom soft power is part of a broader set of foreign policy strategies and practices. When Joseph Nye coined the term in 1990 his concern was how the US could project a grand strategy for a post-Cold War era. Today, the strategic environment is different. There have been shifts in the distribution and nature of power, the status of ‘hard’ power, and the emergence of digital connectivity and ‘the people’ as an actor in international affairs. In this light, how do policymakers conceive ‘influence’, and who are they trying to influence and why. In this light of these strategic considerations, how do public and cultural diplomacy become framed? What tensions emerge between national strategy and the organizational goals of public and cultural diplomacy institutions and others ‘enlisted’ by the state? Analysis presented is based on first hand engagement advising a UK parliamentary committee on soft power and international influence since 2013. While Cameron’s conception of the national interest as a global race is problematic, soft power must be made to advance his government’s economic and security strategies. However, in the formation of soft power strategies I argue that the national interest is found as much as it is pursued. Since the formation process involves taking into account how one’s country’s image is perceived by others, we find soft power debates lie at the centre of an cycle of national narrative formation, projection and reception, a cycle through which interests are perpetually reconstructed through relational identity management and feedback.

## Bibliographies



### **Associate Professor Natalia Chaban**

A native of Ukraine, Dr. Natalia Chaban earned her Ph.D. in Linguistics in 1997 (focus on political and media discourse analysis). She has held research and teaching positions at Cherkasy State University (Ukraine), Lund University (Sweden), and at the University of Maryland at College Park (USA). Her interdisciplinary expertise has been engaged in designing cross-cultural learning activities for the US Peace Corps, Ukraine.

Dr. Natalia Chaban joined the NCRE in March 2002. At present she is Deputy Director at the Centre. In addition to her position at the NCRE, she is Adjunct Associate Professor at the Centre for Study of European Politics and Society, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beer Sheva, Israel.

Natalia is actively pursuing her research interests in the fields of cognitive and semiotic aspects of political and mass media discourses, image studies and EU Identity outside the EU. She is currently directing a multi-national research project “The EU in the Eyes of Asia Pacific” which involves 20 locations in Asia-Pacific since 2004 and is widely published on this subject (including three co-authored books and numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals). Natalia is also a co-leader of a ‘mirror’ perceptions project – “Asia in the Eyes of Europe”. Her other research interests include studies of primary and return migration to and from the EU in cross-cultural and public diplomacy contexts and independent Ukraine as a new fledgling democracy in Europe. Natalia is a co-editor of a newly established peer-reviewed journal “Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies”.

Natalia teaches at both under-graduate and post-graduate level and supervises Honours, Masters and PhD students. In 2006, she was awarded a University of Canterbury Teaching Award. She has significant experience in analysing EU Identity outside the EU, markedly advancing methodological training in this regard. She has designed and facilitated 30 extensive research workshops in various locations training international researchers (both young and experienced, from Asia-Pacific and Europe). As a Member of the NCRE Internal Advisory Board (since 2002) and NZ EU Centers Network Advisory Board (since 2005), Natalia contributes to the development of the EU Studies in New Zealand.



### **Dr Olga Gulyaeva**

Dr Olga Gulyaeva is a Research Assistant at the NCRE at the University of Canterbury (Christchurch, New Zealand). In 2009, Olga graduated from the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow, Russia), majoring in Cultural Studies. In 2014, she did her PhD in European Studies at the University of Canterbury. Olga's research interests are related to mass media reflection on political events.



### **David Hall, PhD candidate**

After completing a career in space science in the United Kingdom, working mainly in collaboration with other Europeans and finishing as Director of Science at the British National Space Centre, David Hall studied Humanities in general before choosing History as his prime subject. In 2010, he graduated with an Honours Degree in Humanities with History from the Open University in the United Kingdom. He moved to New Zealand at the end of 2010 and has studied, at Honours level at Victoria University Wellington, history of the New Zealand sheep Industry in the 1940s. He has now completed his third year studying for a PhD with the provisional title – Emerging from an Entrenched Colonial Economy: New Zealand Primary Producers and the EEC, 1945-1975.



### **Dr James Headley**

James Headley is a senior lecturer in Politics at the University of Otago, New Zealand. He has published academic articles and book chapters on Russia-EU relations, and nationalism in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He is the author of *Russia and the Balkans: Foreign Policy from Yeltsin to Putin* (Hurst and Co./Columbia University Press, 2008) and co-editor of *Public Participation in Foreign*



### **Dr Lai Suet Yi**

Lai Suet Yi (Cher) finished her doctoral studies in National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, in 2012. Her PhD thesis focuses on the contribution of Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) on Asia-Europe relations, regionalism and inter-regionalism. Cher obtained her Bachelor degree in European Studies from Hong Kong Baptist University in 2006. Her honour paper was on “the role of France in the Treaty of European Constitution”.

Since 2006 she has been a researcher, and then trainer and manager, for series of perception-focus project including “EU in the eyes of Asia”, “Asia Through the eyes of Europe” and “China in the eyes of EU”.

She has published numerous academic journal articles and book chapters on the external image of the EU, Asia-Europe relations, China-Europe relations and ASEM. Between July and October 2010, Cher completed an internship in World Programme desk of the Brussels-based European Policy Centre. In 2013 she took two post-doctoral fellowships in Monash University (Australia) and Peking University (China). At present, she is a Post-doctoral Fellow in the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University (China), researching and teaching China-EU relations.



### **Dr Serena Kelly**

Dr Serena Kelly is an early career academic who has published extensively on EU external relations both individually and with colleagues in international peer reviewed journals. Dr Kelly’s PhD was the first in-depth study to explore the potential impact of the EU’s post-Lisbon European External Action Service. This research interest has informed her post-doctoral research activities. Since completing her PhD, Dr Kelly has worked on a number of interdisciplinary and international projects, most notably making a key contribution to the NCRE’s flagship

Perceptions of the EU project. She is currently undertaking research looking at perceptions of the EU in New Zealand.



### **Floor Keuleers, PhD Candidate**

Floor Keuleers is a PhD Fellow of the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) at the Leuven International and European Studies (LINES) Institute of the University of Leuven. Her PhD research investigates African perceptions of the EU as a development partner, and how these compare to African perceptions of China. She holds an MPhil in Development Studies (University of Cambridge, 2012), a Ma in Comparative and International Politics (University of Leuven, 2011) and a Ba in Political Science (University of Antwerp, 2010).



### **Dr Dmytro Khutkyy**

Dr. Khutkyy is a Ukrainian scholar, combining teaching at the Department of Sociology at National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, applied research at the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, academic research on international post-doctoral programs, and civic activism within the Electronic Democracy Project in Ukraine. Currently, he pursues a study on global trends at the University of California-Riverside, USA, as a Fulbright Visiting Researcher.

Dr. Khutkyy’s major fields of expertise include macro and global social change, civic activism, and futures studies. He has published several articles on geopolitical attitudes of Ukrainians.

Khutkyy, D.A. (2014). Prichyny Formirovaniya Mneniy Naseleniya Ukrainy o Regionalnyh Geopoliticheskikh Soyuzah (Causes of Formation of Opinions of Population of Ukraine about Regional Geopolitical Unions). *Visnyk Odeskoho Natsionalnoho Universytetu. Seriya: Sotsiologiya i Politychni Nauky*, 19, 9-19.

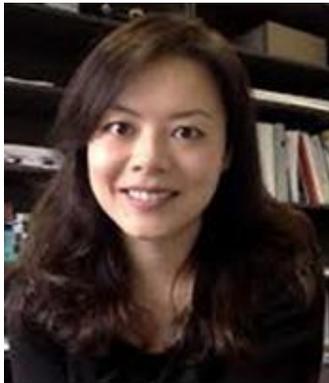
Khutkyy, D.A. (2014). Mneniya Naseleniya Belarysi I Ukrainy o Regionalnyh Politicheskikh Soyuzah: Mezhranovye Razlichiya i Dinamika (Opinions of Population of Belarus and Ukraine about Regional Geopolitical Unions: Differences and Dynamics). *Crossroads*, 107-120.

During the dramatic events in Ukraine, Dr. Dmytro Khutkyy studies sociological aspects of the protests and intersocietal relations, with primary focus on the opinions of populations in Ukraine and Russia.



### **Dr Grace Millar**

Grace Millar recently completed her PhD in history; she is currently working on publishing from her thesis, titled 'Families and the 1951 Waterfront Dispute.'



### **Dr Wenwen Shen**

Wenwen Shen is currently working on the convergence and divergence in the EU institutions' and Member States' approaches towards China since the Lisbon Treaty. By analysing the trends in the EU's economic, political and social-cultural engagement with China, I ask to what extent the pressure from Europeanization has shaped the preferences and options of Member States, and how China interprets and responds to the EU's internal squabbles and competing interests.

She is also part of a Jean Monnet Multilateral Research Group on EU-China Security Cooperation, focusing on human security. In addition, I am working on a manuscript on the EU's promotion of human rights towards China (1989 - 2013). Her research areas include: EU-China relations; EU Member States' bilateral relations with China; The EU's promotion of human rights in its external relations, normative power Europe; The role of the EU in the Asia Pacific; and Human rights and human security.



### **Professor Shi Zhiqin**

Shi Zhiqin is the dean and a professor of the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University. Shi joined Tsinghua University in 1997. Before that, he was educated in Henan Normal University (B.A.), the Central Party School of China Communist Party (Master in Laws) and Peking University (Ph.D. in International Politics). Shi's research focuses on comparative political parties, comparative politics,

European social democracy, and Sino-European Relations. He teaches undergraduate and post-graduate courses on comparative politics, history of contemporary international relation and Sino-European Relations.

He publishes in both Chinese and English, including single-author books namely *Globalisation and the transformation of social-democrat parties in Europe* (in Chinese), 2007, Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Publisher and *Transformation of Italian Communist Party and Political Reforms in Italy* (in Chinese), 2006, Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Publisher. Shi also actively engages with the international academic community and has been visiting scholars in University of Illinois, Columbia University, University of Texas, Northwestern University and la Maison de L'Homme (Paris). At present, he leads a new research project 'China in the eyes of the EU', which examine the perceptions of China in news media and among decision-makers in the EU.



**Gabriel Weibl, PhD candidate**

Gabriel Weibl is a PhD candidate at the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury. He has been living in different countries since 2002 and comes from a multicultural background. He will be finishing his doctoral studies in March 2015. His research interests are: international student mobility; knowledge transfer, intercultural competence; construction of identities and cosmopolitanism.