

Making sense of Europe at a time of crisis

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This year, the SEI celebrates its twentieth anniversary. To mark this occasion, we are organising a major two-day conference on 'The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?' The conference takes place at a time when the European integration project faces momentous challenges; indeed, a potentially existential Euro zone crisis that represents the greatest challenge in its history. The current crisis places huge questions marks over the future shape - and, indeed, very survival in its present form - of the European Union. At the same time, many commentators see the solution to this crisis as deeper political and economic integration; at least for those EU members who are part of - or wish, at some stage, to join - the Euro zone.

The SEI was set up as a research and postgraduate training centre in 1992 with Prof Helen Wallace (who will give a keynote address at our conference) as its founding Director. Its aim was to provide a focus for inter-disciplinary research, postgraduate training at Masters and doctoral level, continuous professional development and consultancy with a focus on European integration and policy. Over the last twenty years, it has developed into an outstanding centre of excellence in contemporary European studies. Our Masters programmes have produced over 600 graduates, 200 with financial support from, among others, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Open Society Institute, Croatian and Maltese governments, the European Commission and the Lady Monica Cockfield Memorial Trust. Our doctoral programme has produced more than 70 PhDs.

The aim of the anniversary conference reflects the SEI's twenty-year mission: to subject the challenges that Europe faces to thorough, scholarly

analysis and set out options for, and analyse the risks and opportunities involved in, future ways forward. Specifically, the conference will examine in detail: European values, identity and citizenry; the future of the European economy; and the position of Europe in the world. The design of the conference also reflects the four 'pillars' on

which the SEI's distinctive core intellectual mission, and what makes its approach to studying and research contemporary Europe distinctive, has been built.

The first of these 'pillars' is inter-disciplinarity. For the SEI, inter-disciplinary teaching and research is based on the notion that you need to bring to bear insights from a variety of disciplines in order to make sense of the key issues confronting contemporary Europe. Problems such as migration in Europe, EU enlargement, economic and monetary union, and European security, to name a few, require an inter-disciplinary approach. Inter-disciplinarity was part of the original Sussex ethos dating back to when the University was established in the 1960s and the SEI is now one of main repositories of this tradition. The SEI is thus the hub of a network of scholars researching contemporary Europe at Sussex and beyond from a range of disciplines: political science, law, sociology, economics, geography, anthropology, international relations, history, linguistics and media studies.

SEI's commitment to inter-disciplinarity is exemplified by the fact that - alongside political scientists like Helen Wallace, Jorg Monar and myself - SEI's Directors have included an economist, Prof Jim Rollo, and that one of the current Co-Directors is a lawyer, Prof Sue Millns.

What's inside...

Features	Research	Activities	Dispatches
<p>SPECIAL ISSUE: Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?</p> <p>16-32</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Right to Cultural Identity •Populism in Europe •The Politics of Racism •Centre for Migration Research <p>33-55</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender Equality • LPS PhD conference • Conference on Future of ECHR <p>56-71</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •European Influence on USA •Foreign Affairs Committee conducts on EU <p>72-75</p>

(Contributions from all of these can be found in this issue of *Euroscope*) It is also reflected in the disciplinary range and breadth of the outstanding scholars and analysts who will be addressing the twentieth anniversary conference.

The second 'pillar' is breadth and inclusivity. The SEI has always treated Europe as a whole and not just 'the EU' or 'Western Europe'. It has engaged actively with the often 'forgotten' parts of the continent, particularly the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe that form the 'new EU' (my own area of research expertise) and the 'European neighbourhood'. European studies' researchers have sometimes treated these countries as simply an 'add on'. The SEI's breadth and inclusivity, on the other hand, has given a broader perspective both its researchers and students. As a result, many of the latter have often found it easier to find jobs working in the European institutions or in jobs which bring them contact with the European integration process.

The third 'pillar' is grounded, policy-relevant research at the academic cutting edge. The SEI comprises outstanding academic researchers. It is a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence that produces bold and ambitious scholarship that pushes forward the conceptual and theoretical boundaries of knowledge. This is demonstrated by, among other things: its role in directing the ESRC's major One Europe or Several? programme (1999-2004); editorships of several high-profile journals in recent years (the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, *Party Politics*, *Government and Opposition*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Politics*, and *Representation*); an impressive publication record, with in-house publications that include over 130 working papers; a vibrant community of doctoral researchers; a strong record of external research funding; and a widespread diet of research activities including conferences, workshops and a high-profile weekly seminar series.

But the SEI also believes strongly in making its research policy relevant and accessible to a wide range of non-academic audiences, including: policy-makers, think tanks, NGOs, the media and business community. All SEI researchers engage with, and produce research that is relevant to, non-academic audiences as a core element of the Institute's rationale and ethos. This also underpins our development of a vibrant network associated 'practitioner fellows' from European

governments, international organisations, media, NGOs and business. Our current practitioner fellows (soon to be upgraded and re-launched as 'Senior Advisers') include, for example, Prof Alan Mayhew, a former European Commission official and adviser to various governments on their EU accession negotiations (who writes for this issue of *Euroscope* about the Euro zone crisis). This approach has included major programmes of continuing professional development for European civil servants via the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Chevening Fellows scheme. It is reflected in the fact that the opening address at the twentieth anniversary conference (which will also be this year's SEI annual lecture) will be given former Vice-President of the European Commission Lord Brittan of Spennithorne and other conference speakers include the current Polish Minister for Europe and SEI alumnus Piotr Serafin.

Finally, in recent years in particular, the SEI has developed a critical fourth distinctive 'pillar' to its core mission: integrating the European and national levels by studying how the European integration processes inter-acts with, shapes and is shaped by domestic political processes. Recent European referendums and elections that point to the collapse of the 'permissive consensus' have, to take one example, demonstrate the absolute necessity of understanding this European-domestic inter-face. The SEI's expertise in this area is embodied in the development of the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN), a 100-strong international network of scholars researching the impact of European integration on parties, elections and public opinion, convened by Prof Paul Taggart and myself.

The SEI's ability to take the lead in this emerging academic sub-field of the domestic politics of European integration is just one example of how the Institute has engaged with and placed itself at the forefront of new areas of scholarship in European studies. This has given its postgraduate students and researchers an 'edge' when trying to sell themselves as European academic and policy specialists. Taken together, these four 'pillars' have given SEI a crucial advantage over other European studies research and postgraduate training centres over the last twenty years. They will continue to do so in the future, as Europe and the European project faces new, and ever greater, challenges that will determine if this future is likely to be one of progress or decline.

Who we are...

euroscope is the newsletter of the Sussex European Institute (SEI).

It reports to members and beyond about activities and research going on at the SEI and presents feature articles and reports by SEI staff, researchers, students and associates. The deadline for submissions for the Summer term issue is: 1st March 2012.

Co-Editors: Amy Busby, Anne Wesemann & Rebecca Partos
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The SEI was founded in 1992 and is a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and a Marie Curie Research Training Site. It is the leading research and postgraduate training centre on contemporary European issues. SEI has a distinctive philosophy built on interdisciplinarity and a broad and inclusive approach to Europe. Its research is policy-relevant and at the academic cutting edge, and focuses on integrating the European and domestic levels of analysis. As well as delivering internationally renowned Masters, doctoral programmes and providing tailored programmes for practitioners, it acts as the hub of a large range of networks of academics, researchers and practitioners who teach, supervise and collaborate with us on research projects.

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Where to find euroscope!

euroscope is easily accessible in the following places:

- the SEI website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/euroscope>
- via the official mailing list, contact: euroscope@sussex.ac.uk
- hard copies are available from LPS office
- via its new and dedicated facebook group and fan page called 'euroscope', where you can also join in discussions on the articles

Also feel free to contact us to comment on articles and research and we may publish your letters and thoughts.



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Features Section: The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?

This issue of *euroscope* is a special edition presenting articles on the very contemporary developments in the European Union by also looking back on the last year "in crisis". You can find our special Features pieces on pages 16-32 and other topic related articles in the Research section. The Dispatches section also contains articles from our associates.

Message from the Co-Director...



Prof Sue Millns, SEI Co-Director

Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, SEI Co-Director



As a new academic year begins, we are delighted to extend warm greetings to all those about to commence postgraduate research and study at the SEI and say 'welcome back' to more long-standing members of the SEI family both at Sussex and beyond. You can see from reports from previous Masters, and current doctoral, students that you are joining one of the most vibrant and exciting contemporary European studies postgraduate research and training centres.

In this issue of Euroscope, we are delighted to showcase the research and activities of colleagues, students and researchers within the SEI and to position the present achievements in the context of our twentieth anniversary celebrations. These celebrations will culminate in a two-day 20th Anniversary Conference on 'The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?' being held at the University of Sussex on 27-28 September 2012 and in the 2012 Annual Lecture being given by Lord Brittan of Spennithorne on 27 September.

While 'crisis' is a familiar theme in debates about Europe at the present time, we hope to demonstrate throughout our celebratory activities and through the current edition of Euroscope that for many the EU is nevertheless synonymous with progress and with reform, and that the present challenges facing the EU may be approached in a spirit of critical engagement, reflection and resilience.

We are delighted that all of the former and present Directors of the SEI have made a contribution to this issue of Euroscope, each reflecting their disciplinary interests, their hopes and their fears for the future of the EU. In the opening feature,

Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak reflects upon the history of SEI, its aims and ambitions and the ways in which these have been met over the previous two decades. Prof. Susan Millns discusses the progress of Europe in terms of the developments in human rights protection and in particular the pursuit of equality goals. This theme is echoed by Prof. Jörg Monar in his evaluation of the benefits of EU citizenship both actual and potential. The feature by Prof. Helen Wallace provides a clear reality check on the effects of the financial crisis on EU policy developments.

While she argues there is no shortage of other issues to be addressed, the centrality of the Eurozone crisis has dominated the agenda and left little energy for the promotion of other matters such as the external challenges facing the EU. Finally, Prof. Jim Rollo too offers a critical appraisal of the Eurozone crisis and the prospects for its resolution. Presenting a series of immediate necessary measures, he raises the question of the political attainability of any positive resolution and the consequent disintegration of the Euro system.

In a similar vein, we welcome the contributions of colleagues new and old to the present issue. SEI visiting professorial fellow Prof. Alan Mayhew picks up the theme of the never-ending Eurozone crisis and gives an update on the German position as its Constitutional Court gives a hugely significant ruling on the compatibility of Eurozone measures with the German Constitution.

SEI-linked Prof. Paul Statham, the new Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, too picks up this theme and discusses the evolution from the previous constitutional crisis to the present financial one in the context of the 'winners' and 'losers' in the game of European integration. The present issue of Euroscope also features updates on the Greek elections and the French elections together with presentations of current SEI research on citizenship, identity, populism, migration, political parties, Euroscepticism, racism and much more.

You can also read about some major successes that SEI scholars have had in securing research funding over the last few months. We are delighted to have secured a 20,000 Euro European Commission grant for a project on 'The Future of Europe in an Age of Changes, Challenges and Chances'. This will co-fund our twentieth anniversary conference and a further, more focused, series of four workshops.

These prestigious events will bring together leading academics, practitioners, policy-makers, NGOs and think tanks to build and expand upon the themes discussed and assessed at the conference and will seek to determine the risks and opportunities which may make the difference between progress and decline in Europe. As you can see, a number of other SEI-based scholars have also been successful in securing funding for their research, including: Dr Dan Hough, Dr Sue

Collard, Mr Francis McGowan, Prof Paul Taggart and Dr Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Finally, a few words of welcome, congratulations and farewell. Firstly, welcome to Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff who joins SEI as a Senior Visiting Research Fellow for three months working with Dan Hough and the newly launched Sussex Centre for Corruption Studies. Welcome also to Gregor Zons from the University of Cologne who joins SEI for one term as a visiting doctoral student. Congratulations to Dr Lee Savage, who has been an ESRC post-doctoral fellow at SEI since last October, on his appointment as lecturer in European Politics at King's College, London.

Well done also to Dr Stijn van Kessel and Dr John FitzGibbon who obtained their doctorates at SEI earlier this year and have been appointed as lecturers at Loughborough University and Canterbury Christ Church University respectively. And a very sad farewell to SEI-based Professor of Politics Tim Bale who is joining Queen Mary University of London after nine years as a wonderful colleague and friend.

We hope that our readers enjoy this feast of news and commentary and appreciate that it represents the fruits of two decades of reflection at the University of Sussex upon a continually changing European space. We hope too that the next twenty years, and indeed the future of both the SEI and EU, continue in a spirit of progress in what is indeed an age of changes, challenges and chances.

The SEI Diary



The SEI Diary provides snippets on the many exciting and memorable activities connected to teaching, researching and presenting contemporary Europe that members of the SEI have been involved in during summer and early autumn 2012.

April / May

25 April - French Presidential election round table

SEI-based scholars Dr Sue Collard, Dr Sally Marthaler and Dr Adrian Treacher, together with Politics undergraduate students, presented at the SEI round table on 'The French Presidential Election'.

2 May – European Conservatives and Reformists

Dr Przemyslaw Biskup (University of Warsaw) presented a paper on 'A Marriage of Convenience or Ideological Passion? The British Conservatives and Polish Law and Justice Party in the European Conservatives and Reformists Group' at the SEI research seminar.

Eurozone growth

SEI-linked Prof Mariana Mazzucato wrote in the 'Guardian' that the new emphasis on growth is the due to the failure of austerity.

10 May – Poland and the EU roundtable

SEI organised a round table on 'Poland and the EU: Pre-Accession Ideals versus Post-Accession Realities' jointly with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies/ University College London (SSEES/UCL) Centre for European Politics Security and Integration at SSEES/UCL.

The speakers were SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, together with Dr Agnieszka Lada (Polish Institute of Public Affairs) and Dr Przemyslaw Biskup (University of War-

saw) who were over in Britain as SEI visiting fellows.

EU-US Trade Agreement

SEI-linked Reader in Economics Dr Peter Holmes (Economics) commented on the progress of a new trade agreement between the US and the EU for 'Bloomberg Business-week'.

Economy anomaly

SEI-linked Prof Mariana Mazzucato talked about the austerity-growth conundrum of the eurozone crisis on BBC Radio 4's 'The World Tonight'.

16 May - Doctoral research outline

SEI-based PhD researcher Will Hammonds gave a research outline on 'The practice and politics of preventing radicalism' at the SEI research seminar.

23 May – Comparative fracking

SEI-based lecturer in Politics Francis McGowan presented a paper on 'Comparative Fracking: the unconventional politics of a conventional gas' at the SEI research seminar.

SEI alumnus publishes book on Political Leadership

Dr Mark Bennister, who received his doctorate from Sussex University, has published a book entitled *Prime Ministers in Power: Political Leadership in Britain and Australia* (Palgrave).

The book draws on his doctoral research,

which was supervised by Prof Paul Webb and Prof Tim Bale.



SEI member receives British Academy Small Grant

Dr Sue Collard was successful in my application for a British Academy Small Grant, worth just under £10,000, to develop an existing project investigating the participation of non-nation EU citizens (NNEUCs) in local elections in England.

23-26 May - Populism in Latin America

Dr Cristóbal Kaltwasser presented a paper called Explaining the Absence of Populism in Latin America at the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) conference, in San Francisco, USA.

24 May - French Expats and Elections

Dr Sue Collard gave a paper at a conference at QMC London organised by the French Politics sub-group of the PSA on the French Presidential Elections. The paper focused on the vote of French expatriates.

30 May – Gender mainstreaming round table

SEI-linked PhD in Law student Monica Beard and visiting doctoral researcher Raquel Vano Vicedo gave presentations at the SEI round table on ‘Gender mainstreaming and human rights in Europe’.

June:

Congratulations to SEI Doctoral Student

Congratulations to Stijn van Kessel, who obtained his doctorate at the SEI in January 2012, and who was appointed as Lecturer in European Politics at Loughborough University in the autumn.

13 June – Ethnography of the European Parliament

SEI-based PhD researcher Amy Busby presented a paper on ‘The everyday practice and performance of European politics: An ethnography of the European Parliament’ at the SEI research seminar.

13 June – Doctoral supervisors training

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak gave a presentation on ‘The professional development of the PhD student’ as part of the Sussex School of Law, Politics and Sociology PhD Supervision Refresher Training Event.

Barclays banking scandal

SEI-based Professor of Politics Tim Bale suggested how David Cameron could react to the Barclays banking scandal for the Bloomberg news agency.

Banks must learn to reward the good risks

SEI-linked Prof Mariana Mazzucato wrote in the ‘Guardian’ that banks’ unwillingness to lend means that the most innovative companies are being hit hardest during the credit crunch.

Italy and the Eurozone Bailout

SEI Diary

SEI-linked Prof Mariana Mazzucato explained why Italy will request financial help from Europe in 'Bloomberg Businessweek'.

14-15 June - Political Parties and Migration Policy

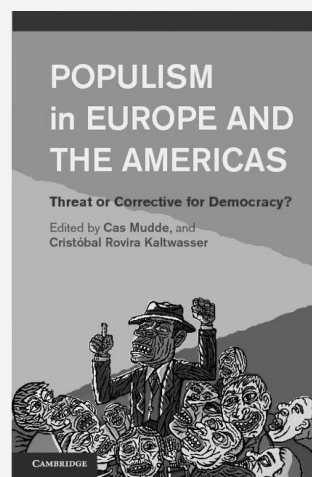
Prof Tim Bale and SEI doctoral student Rebecca Partos presented a paper entitled "We are not in politics to ignore people's worries: we are politics to deal with them." Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study' during a workshop at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

19 June - SEI Fellow publishes co-edited book

SEI-based Visiting Fellow Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser has published a co-edited book with Cas Mudde on 'Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?' (Cambridge University Press 2012).

New EPERN election briefing on Slovenia

The European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) based in the SEI has published a new election briefing on the Slovenian elections in December 2011 by Alenka Krašovec (University of Ljubljana) and Tim Haughton (University of Birmingham), which is available free at:
www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/research/europeanpartieselectionsreferendumsnetwork/epernelectionbriefings



July

SEI Secures European Commission Funding for Future of Europe Project

SEI has secured a 20,000 euro European Commission grant for a project on 'The Future of Europe in an Age of Changes, Challenges and Chances'. This will involve five prestigious events aimed at bringing together leading academics, practitioners, policy-makers, NGOs and think tanks to assess the risks and opportunities which may make the difference between progress and decline in Europe.

Teaching at British Council-run Summer School, Kosovo

Dr Adrian Treacher taught classes on different aspects of European integration to students from the University of Pristina, Kosovo and 'Young Cell Scheme' (YC) scholars. The

scheme, which is European Commission-funded, awards scholarships to young Kosovars who then undertake a year's Masters in the EU, in specified fields (European Law, European Affairs and Public Policy, Economics and Public Finance) before returning to work for the Kosovar government for three years applying the expertise they've accumulated during the Masters. For 2012-13, Sussex is set to have YCS scholars in both the Economics and Politics departments.

SEI Scholars secure grant for populism project

SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Taggart and Marie Curie Inter-European Fellow Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser have obtained a £30,000 British Academy International Partnership and Mobility (IPM) grant to undertake a three-year project on 'Populism in Europe

and Latin America: A Cross-Regional Perspective'.

Conservative party revolt

SEI-based Professor of Politics Tim Bale predicted how a small revolt can turn into a big one on 'London South East'.

SEI Faculty Win Teaching Awards

SEI-based Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough, and doctoral student and associate tutor Amy Busby, have both won teaching prizes in the 2012 University of Sussex awards, for established and early career staff respectively.

12 July – Polish Catholic Church and Europe

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak gave a guest lecture on 'The attitude of the Polish Catholic Church towards European integration' at the AGM of Faith in Europe (the British Christian churches' European network) which was held as a joint briefing meeting with the Wyndham Place Charlemagne Trust at the 'Churches Together in England' headquarters in London.

20 July – SEI doctoral student celebrate at summer graduation

SEI PhD students John FitzGibbon, Ariadna Ripoll Servent and Ezel Tabur received their doctorates at this year's University of Sussex summer graduation ceremony.



(SEI faculty at the summer graduation ceremony)

Science funding and the future of the banks

SEI-linked Prof Mariana Mazzucato discussed science funding and the future of the banks on BBC2's Newsnight.

August:

SEI Scholar secures grant for shale gas project

SEI-based Senior Lecturer in Politics Francis McGowan won a British Academy/Leverhulme small grant to fund his research into the politics of shale gas in Europe and North America. The project will be carried out over the next two years and the grant (£9,600) will fund fieldwork and research assistance.

Congratulations to SEI scholars

Dr Lee Savage, an ESRC post-doctoral fellow at the SEI since October 2011, who was appointed Lecturer in European Politics at King's

College, London; and Dr John FitzGibbon, who obtained his doctorate at the SEI earlier this year, who was appointed as Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Canterbury Christ Church University.

New SEI Working Paper on Democracy in the UK

The SEI has published a new working paper on 'Who is willing to participate, and how? Dissatisfied democrats, stealth democrats and populists in the UK' by SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Webb. It is available at www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/publications/seiworkingpapers

SEI Diary

New EPERN election briefing on Croatian EU Accession

The European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) based in the SEI has published a new briefing on 'Croatia's EU ac-

cession referendum, 22 January 2012' by Andrea Čović (University of Zagreb), which is available for free at www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epern-ref-no18.pdf

September:

4 September: UACES 42nd Annual Conference

SEI doctoral student Amy Busby presented a joint paper entitled "Coping with the information overload": an exploration of MEP assistants' backstage role in the everyday practice of European Parliament politics' at the UACES conference, Passau, as part of a panel she and Ariadna Ripoll-Servent organised.

6 September: ESRC First Years' Scholars Conference

SEI doctoral student Rebecca Partos attended the ESRC's conference for scholars in their first year of doctoral research, at the Hilton Hotel, Brighton. Organised by Sussex's Doc-



toral School, the event featured networking opportunities and study skills workshops. Rebecca was featured in a short promotional film along with five other ESRC-funded researchers from Sussex.

6-7 September - Corruption Centre launched

200 delegates attended the launch of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) whose acting Director is SEI-based Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough.

European Citizenship research award

SEI was awarded £5,450 from the Arts and

Humanities Research Council's European Proposal Support Fund to assist in the preparation of a multi-partner collaborative European project on 'Citizens' Resilience in Times of Crisis'.

Eurosceptic parties in Europe

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak discussed whether the euro zone crisis was leading to an upsurge in support for Eurosceptic parties in 'El Mundo'.

7-9 September: Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) Conference

Prof Tim Bale and SEI doctoral student Rebecca Partos presented a paper entitled "We are not in politics to ignore people's worries: we are politics to deal with them." Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study – The Conservative Party, Immigration and Asylum, 1960-2010' during the EPOP conference, University of Oxford.

Departing SEI member published book on Conservatives

Prof Tim Bale, who is leaving Sussex after nine years, has published a book entitled *The Conservatives since 1945: The Drivers of Party Change* (OUP).



SEI Secures European Commission Funding for Future of Europe Project

The SEI secured a 20,000 Euro European Commission grant for a project on 'The Future of Europe in an Age of Changes, Challenges and Chances'. This will involve five prestigious events aimed at bringing together leading academics, practitioners, policy-makers, NGOs and think tanks to assess the risks and opportunities which may make the difference between progress and decline in Europe. The events have been organised around a series of themes and questions with the aim of providing a cumulative understanding of some of the key challenges that face the continent and determine the UK's position within Europe in the present age of austerity and change.



The first of these events will be the SEI's planned high profile twentieth anniversary conference on 'The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline' to be held at Sussex on 27-28th September 2012. Here the Commission will provide additional sponsorship for an event that is already substantially funded by the University of Sussex through the Higher Education Innovation Fund. The keynote speaker will be former European Commission Vice-President Sir Leon Brittain, who will deliver the SEI's annual public lecture as the opening conference address. More details of the conference themes and programme can be found at its dedicated website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/newsandevents/sei20anniversaryconference>.

Four, more focused workshops will follow building and expanding upon the themes discussed at the conference. These will run from November 2012 through to June 2013 and cover: challenging financial times in Europe; social citizenship and migration in Europe; EU foreign policy and the external action service; and Euroscepticism in the UK and reconnecting the UK public with the EU.

SEI Co-Director Prof Sue Millns commented: 'We are delighted to have secured European Commission funding for this project. It draws upon the SEI's research strengths and interdisciplinary expertise in all of the main areas where Europe currently faces major challenges; as well taking advantage of our broader 'reach' to practitioners and networks of scholars working in these fields at Sussex and beyond. The Commission grant is an important and welcome re-affirmation of SEI's visibility as a leading international centre for research and debate on the strategic issues facing Europe and the UK, as we celebrate our twentieth anniversary and look forward to the future.

These events and the publications that arise from them will make a major contribution to high-level academic and policy-making discussions on the future of the European integration project. They will provide an excellent opportunity for us to think creatively about the future of Europe and present solutions to the problems which currently face European governments and citizens at a time when the European project appears to be threatened by unprecedented economic and financial challenges.'

Forthcoming Events

Workshop on 'Citizenship – 20/20 Visions' **Wednesday 24th October 2012** **12.30-5pm**

On Wednesday 24th October 2012 the SEI will hold a half-day workshop on the theme of 'Citizenship – 20/20 Visions'. This is a collaborative event taking place under the umbrella of the Citizenship and Democratization research theme of the University of Sussex and the idea behind it is to facilitate collaboration between colleagues from all areas across the University with a view to sharing and developing research into citizenship.

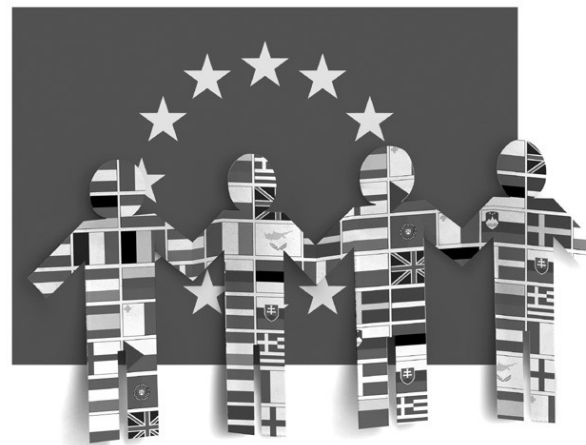
It is hoped that this initial venture will be followed by a second, external facing event that will bring in participants from outside the University (such as policy-makers, government officials, NGOs, legal practitioners) together with other European partners and that this event will establish a network of academics and stake holders with a view to collaborating on funded research projects in this area.

The first event has deliberately been envisaged to have a broad remit and will cover many aspects of citizenship at the national, European and global levels. It is expected that it will encompass 4x15 minute presentations followed by questions which will be attended by all workshop participants.

This will be then followed by a number of break-out groups for more targeted discussion into areas such as citizenship and migration; citizenship and family life; citizenship and political participation; citizenship and human rights. The second event, which is conditional upon the success of the first, will be held shortly afterwards. It is anticipated that this second meeting might be specifically targeted at a discussion of EC Framework Programme 7 initiatives in the area of citizenship

The event sits squarely within the remit of the Citizenship and Democratization University research theme in that it will clearly address issues of citizenship from a contemporary perspective and will bring in national, European and international perspectives.

For more information please contact the workshop organiser, Professor Susan Millns (Sussex Law School, Co-Director Sussex European Institute): email S.Millns@sussex.ac.uk; or the Citizenship and Democratization Theme Leader, Prof. Steve Burman: email S.F.Burman@sussex.ac.uk.



AHRC award for SEI collaborative research into European Citizenship

The SEI has been awarded £5,450 from the Arts and Humanities Research Council's European Proposal Support Fund to assist in the preparation of a multi-partner collaborative European project on 'Citizens' Resilience in Times of Crisis'. The project, which falls under the EC's Framework Programme 7 initiative on Participation and Citizenship in Europe, will build upon the research of a number of colleagues in the Sussex European Institute, the School of Law, Politics and Sociology and the School of Global Studies.

The project which is being coordinated by Prof. Susan Millns, Co-Director of the SEI and member of the Sussex Law School, aims to advance the knowledge base that underpins the formulation and implementation of policies by the EU and Member States to promote respect for, and the exercise of, the rights of citizens in times of 'crisis'. In evaluating in particular the response of citizens to the many different forms of crisis that affect modern societies (notably economic and financial crises, political crises and social crises) the project aims to highlight the capacity of citizens to develop resilience and resistance (as opposed to fatalism, disinterest or disengagement) in the face of challenges to citizens' well-being and welfare.

The overall objective is to understand, from a comparative perspective, historical patterns and future trends in the respect, protection and fulfilment of the rights of EU and non EU citizens in the face of the multi-dimensional crises affecting all aspects of modern life. The project's specific objectives are:

- To investigate which rights stemming from EU citizenship (eg free movement, residency, voting) are most at risk in times of crisis.
- To examine how citizens can adapt successfully to transformations in society and social structures and what challenges they face in doing so.
- To ascertain how crises can shape relations between citizens and state institutions leading to opportunities to resist, innovate and find creative solutions to social, political and economic problems.
- To examine how citizens can best claim their rights in crisis situations (eg through access to justice and participation in public life) as opposed to through violence, protest and crime.
- To investigate alternative forms of resilience in times of crisis (eg through the use of social networks, art and literature, media, family structures, community projects and social and generational solidarity).
- To examine the particular resistance strategies of vulnerable and marginalized communities (eg women, children, the elderly, migrants, religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities).

Forthcoming Events

Sussex European Institute 20th Anniversary Conference **The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?**

Bramber House
Thursday 27- Friday 28 September 2012

Thursday 27 September 2012

12.00-13.00 Registration and buffet lunch

13.00-14.30 Welcome and Open Session

Introduction by Professor Paul Taggart (Head of the Department of Politics, Sussex European Institute (SEI))

SEI Annual Lecture

Speaker: Lord Brittan of Spennithorne:
The European Union; is there Life After the Eurocrisis?

14.30-15.00 Refreshments

15.00-16.45 Session 1: European Values

Chair: Professor Susan Millns (Co-Director, SEI)

Speaker: Professor Jo Shaw (University of Edinburgh) *European Citizenship in Times of Crisis*

Speaker: Professor Christian Joppke (University of Bern) *European Identity in the Face of Islam*

17.00-17.30 Plenary Session

Chair: Professor Aleks Szczerbiak (Co-Director, SEI)

Speaker: Dame Helen Wallace (Founding Director, SEI)

The Future of Europe

17.30-19.00 Reception in Bramber House

Address by Professor Stephen Shute (Head of the School of Law, Politics and Sociology)

Friday 28 September 2012

9.30-10.30 Plenary Session

Chair: Professor Paul Statham (Director, Sussex Centre for Migration Research)

Speaker: Professor Loukas Tsoukalis (University of Athens, President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP))

The Crisis in the Eurozone and the Prospects of Exiting in One Piece

10.30-11.00 Refreshments

11.00-13.00 Session 2: The Future of the European Economy

Chair: Professor Jim Rollo (Former Co-Director, SEI)

Speaker: Professor Paul de Grauwe (London School of Economics)

No End to the Eurocrisis – Can the Monetary Union Survive?

Speaker: Dr Peter Holmes (University of Sussex)
“Rebalancing in Trade” in the Eurozone

Speaker: Professor Alasdair Smith (Deputy Chairman, UK Competition Commission)

Competition, Structural Reform and Strategic Industrial Policy in the Union Speaker: Mr Piotr Serafin (Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland)

Monetary Union and the Future of the EU: a View from a Non-Eurozone Europhile Member State

13.00-14.00 Lunch

14.00-16.00 Session 3: The Position of Europe in the World

Chair: Professor Jörg Monar (Sussex European Institute (SEI))

Speaker: Professor Michael Smith (University of Loughborough) *The EU’s Position in the World Since 1992: Confidence, Challenges and Crisis*

Speaker: Professor Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne) *The (Weak) Performance of CFSP after Lisbon: Internal (Institutional) Challenges and External (Geo-Political) Pressures*

Speaker (TBC): Professor Antonio Missiroli (BEPA/European Commission)

16.00-16.30 Rapporteur: Professor Paul Statham **Closing remarks:** Professor Susan Millns

16.30-17.30 Cocktails

Forthcoming Events

SEI Research in Progress Seminars

AUTUMN TERM 2012

Wednesdays 14.00 - 15.50

Friston 113

26.09.12

SEI round table on "Europe in Crisis"
Prof. Alan Mayhew/Prof Jorg Monar
University of Sussex

21.11.12

Innovating out of Europe's crisis
Prof Mariana Mazzucato
University of Sussex

03.10.12

New Political Parties as Innovators - Their
Formation and Success
Gregor Zons
University of Cologne/University of Sussex

28.11.12

On Ring-Fencing the Common Foreign and
Security Policy of the European Union
Dr Paul James Cardwell
University of Sheffield

10.10.12

Local ownership versus EU missions - lessons
from Kosovo
Florian Qehaja
Kosovar Centre for Security Studies

05.12.12

Participation and Representation of Roma in
Europe: Between Presence and Influence
Dr Aidan McGarry
University of Brighton

31.10.12

The politicization of Europe
Prof Paul Statham
University of Sussex

Everyone is welcome to attend!

*To be included in our mailing list for seminars,
please contact Amanda Sims,
email: polces.office@sussex.ac.uk*

07.11.12

PhD research outline presentation on
'Institutional Evaluation in the Mexican Federal
Government: searching for an evaluation model'
Blanca Lopez
University of Sussex

14.11.12

Societal transformation and programmatic
choice in the CDU
Prof Simon Green
Aston University

**Sussex
European
Institute**

Features

Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?

Progress Towards Gender Equality in Europe

Prof Susan Millns
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As the Sussex European Institute celebrates its 20th anniversary and reflects upon the progress or decline of the European Union during that time, one issue that deserves a mention is the phenomenal attention paid to the necessity to protect fundamental rights in Europe during the last two decades and as part of this the important quest to attain equality between individuals and to prevent discrimination upon a range of different grounds.

The pursuit of gender equality is very much bound up in this recent quest for social justice, however, the history of anti-discrimination measures based on sex begins at pretty much the same time as the European Communities themselves with the inclusion of the equal pay for equal work provision in the original Treaty of Rome. Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome) now Article 157 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU)) stated that Member States must ensure that men and women receive equal pay for equal work, and it was the sole basis upon which all subsequent policy in the area of gender equality was founded

Originally intended to curb unfair competition created by existing wage disparities across



Member States (MS) it , became a source of justification for advancing a variety of equality demands for .working women

On the basis of the equal treatment principle ,the EC in the 1970s adopted two directives that would become the bedrock of the Union's gender equality policy. The 1975 Equal Pay Directive (EPD) provided for the elimination of discrimination in all aspects of remuneration between men and women for work of equal value. Additionally, the 1976 Equal Treatment Directive (ETD) exhorted member states to ensure equal treatment in access to employment and working conditions.

The principle of sex equality was subsequently extended in the sphere of social security, where a 1979 Directive vowed to ensure equality of men and women. With its landmark 1976 *Defrenne II* decision the Court of Justice took a bold step in stating that equal pay for women and men was a right enforceable in national courts, regardless of the existence of national implementing legislation. By doing so, it transformed the treaty provision into a directly enforceable right that could be

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claimed by individuals against their own governments. for the adoption of common EU laws and policies, including with regard to anti-discrimination. Following the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty, gender equality (along with nationality-based differences) became a point of reference for developing a wider principle of equal treatment, and more broadly, for developing the Community's fundamental rights doctrine.

On the basis of Article 157 TFEU, the Court also pronounced a general principle of equal treatment, which it subsequently used to justify broader interpretations of EU secondary legislation. Since those momentous developments of the 1970s, the ECJ/CJEU elaborated and extended the EC/EU primary and secondary legislation on gender equality through its case law in scores of cases .

These somewhat humble beginnings of the gender equality principle belie the progress that has been built subsequently upon their foundations. Over the past twenty years, it was in particular the Treaty of Amsterdam that marked a new stage in the progress of gender equality policy in the EU, arguably one from formal to substantive equality.



By introducing changes to Article 157 TFEU, it acknowledged the need for *positive measures* to promote equality between the sexes. The Amsterdam Treaty also instituted a 'mainstreaming' principle (under the then Article 3(2) EC and now Article 8 TFEU), with which the Community acknowledged a positive obligation to dismantle persisting inequalities between men and women in all its activities. These new elements were seen as a move towards "constitutionalizing" a more proactive approach with regard to gender equality on the part of the Community.

While this represents general progress on the one hand, the diversity of legal-constitutional orders and judicial systems across EU Member States, along with the decentralized transposition of EU equality legislation on the other, have resulted in uneven levels of rights protection, which in turn has been seen as a barrier to the fundamental right to free movement. At the same time, they have also been a constant source of pressure pushing

A legal provision defining an obligation for Member States to combat discrimination (then Article 13 EC, now Article 19 TFEU) also introduced with the Amsterdam Treaty has led to widening the purview of equality policy. It formed the ground for the adoption of three new directives prohibiting discrimination on grounds of race and ethnic origin beyond the narrow confines of employment, extending the prohibition of employment-specific discrimination to a number of grounds such as religion, sexual orientation, disability and age and ensuring an obligation to ensure gender equality in access to goods and services in the public and private sectors.

In 2002, as a way of codifying the relevant case law of the ECJ and the secondary legislation that had been put in place over the previous twenty years, the EU adopted the Equal Treatment in Employment Directive. Substantial amendments of the 1976 Equal Treatment Directive added definitions of

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indirect discrimination and sexual harassment. They also require Member States to set up equality bodies to promote, analyze, monitor and support equal treatment between women and men.

With a view to consolidating legislation and tidying up existing provisions, the EU adopted its 'Recast' Equal Treatment Directive in 2006.

This measure systematizes the existing legislation on equal pay, equal treatment, occupational social security and the burden of proof. It includes provisions on remedies and enforcement, adequate compensation, recourse to judicial and conciliation procedures and the burden of proof, and comprehensively sets out member state obligations to ensure the adoption of appropriate penalties, prevent discrimination, protect against victimization, ensure gender mainstreaming and to disseminate information.

Marking a significant shift away from gender equality in employment and towards a more holistic view of equality as a fundamental right, the EU made legally binding its Charter of Fundamental Rights with the Lisbon Treaty which came into force in December 2009.

The Charter contains a basic equality before the law guarantee (Article 20), as well as a provision which is similar to that in Article 19 TFEU (Article 21) and a reference to positive action provisions in the field of gender equality (Article 23). The adoption of the Charter itself was a significant development and despite criticisms of its content it marks a step forward for the legitimacy, identity and human rights commitment of the EU.

While the degree of progress in the field of gender relations in Europe is palpable, the battle to secure women's substantive equality is not yet won and much remains to be done for the future. A central critique of both

national and EU gender equality law in Europe remains the predominance of negative rights, as well as the individualized, 'complaints-led' and judicial enforcement approach that runs through it. Such an approach has been seen to be largely inadequate to tackle macro-level substantive inequalities that reproduce structural injustice.

As a result, the future of gender equality within the European Union looks both challenging and ripe with potential. Strategies for gender equality are tightly linked to strategies on development and European integration more generally.

These have developed significantly in shaping European views on the socio-economic and political advancement of women during the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

While the approaches to gender equality expressed through the decades are different ways of approaching the same latent problem, there have been significant shifts in the conceptions and legal instruments used. Now the EU possesses a whole arsenal of gender equality tools which are at the disposal of interested litigants including equal treatment, positive action, mainstreaming and fundamental rights.

As all those with an eye for gender justice know, however, there is often a significant gap between law in the books and law in practice. Enforcement remains a key challenge as do those issues which remain at the fringes of EU competence such as gender parity and tackling domestic and sexual violence against women.

Providing benefits directly to citizens: the EU's unfulfilled potential

Prof Jörg Monar

SEI Professor of Contemporary European Studies and SEI Co-Director 2001-6

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More than a decade ago I participated in Berlin in a discussion with Klaus Hänsch who was at the time President of the European Parliament. In a quite poignant phrase he declared the European Union's political credibility to depend on its capacity "*zu schützen und zu nützen*" – which can be translated as "to protect and to be useful". I still remember this phrase because it highlights the need for a political system – such as the EU – which has not been built on established national identities and the full powers and legitimacy of established state structures to prove itself by delivering some fundamental benefits to its citizens.

Citizens clearly expect their respective countries to "protect" them against quite a range of risks, be they of a security, social, economic, health, or other nature. They also expect them to be "useful" to them, and this even on a broader range of issues from education, infrastructure, public transport over the regulation of employment and housing contracts to support for the elderly.

The fact that one could easily fill a page or more just listing what citizens expect from their countries in terms of "protection" and "usefulness" indicates a fundamental problem of the EU, and one which partially explains why the current Eurozone crisis has led in many quarters to a fundamental questioning of the European construction as such: This problem is that the Member States – as "Masters of the Treaties" – have over the last six decades given relatively few and limited powers to the EU to *directly* protect and be useful to European citizens.

The fields in which substantial powers have been transferred – such as external trade and competition policy - are mostly far removed from the citi-



zens' daily lives and concerns and/or are – as in the case of the Internal Market - partially obscured as EU fields by the national legislatures and administrations implementing them.

On top of this national politicians and administrators have little incentive to give credit to the EU for the many instances in which its measures have actually made a positive difference to citizens' lives and well-being. It is hardly surprising then that citizens – if one of the most visible results of European integration, the Euro, experiences major difficulties – show little attachment (or in some cases even hostility) to a "Union" which they think has given them few benefits and protection - and suddenly even appears as source of major problems.

The EU's "area of freedom, security and justice" (AFSJ) is a good example for the (huge) potential and (extensive) limitations of the EU as a direct provider of benefits to European citizens. It has at its core the ensuring of the absence of controls at internal borders (within the Schengen group), a rationale of protection ("to ensure a high level of security" – Art. 67(3) TFEU) which includes both police and criminal justice measures, is intended to contribute to a better management of migration challenges (which according to *Eurobarometer* remains a matter of concern to many citizens) and is aimed at the facilitation of access to justice in cross-border cases.

The potential of "protective" and "useful" action for EU citizens in all fields covered by the AFSJ is as obvious as it is huge: Security and justice belong to the most fundamental public goods public authorities can be expected to provide, and the potential benefits of common EU action on migra-

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tion challenges in an area of open internal borders are obvious enough.

However, in its over ten years of existence now the fundamental treaty objective of the AFSJ – which has been frequently presented as a project “for” the citizens – has primarily resulted in a gradual facilitation and strengthening of coordination and cooperation between national authorities in the different justice and home affairs fields covered by the AFSJ. While this has increased the effectiveness of cross-border cooperation – and this in some cases, such as the introduction of the European Arrest Warrant, to a very significant extent – most of the results achieved can only impact on the citizen indirectly via the improved cross-border cooperation possibilities of his own national authorities.

It is true, AFSJ policies have contributed to the maintenance of the “open” Schengen borders – which citizens may see as a benefit when crossing them – but this achievement remains to a considerable extent at the mercy of national security and migration control considerations – as the recent negotiations of the “Schengen package” have shown, and citizens have no claimable right to move into another Member State without being subject to controls. It is also true that a few of the AFSJ legal instruments adopted – such as the 2003 Legal Aid Directive – define certain rights for EU citizens, but these rights are limited to cross-border proceedings (which drastically reduces the number of potential beneficiaries) and are subject to a range of conditions, restrictions and applicable national standards.

At the risk of a slight oversimplification one could say that the AFSJ as a project for the protection and use of the citizen has turned out to be one that has primarily benefitted the cross-border cooperation of police officers, border guards, judges, prosecutors and countless ministry officials dealing with migration control and the fight against cross-border crime. The progress made in this respect should not be underestimated: The creation and significant growth of special agencies like Europol, Eurojust and Frontex has fundamentally improved the support national authorities can call upon

when responding to cross-border challenges. Yet even in the cases where progress made within the AFSJ really matters citizens see very little of the EU in that. Exceedingly rare, for instance, are the cases in which national police forces or prosecutors give full credit to Europol or Euro just for having provided essential support.

With Member States not having been willing to transfer any operational powers to EU institutions in the – admittedly sensitive – AFSJ fields, having rejected any more extensive harmonisation of their legislation for the sake of common European standards and procedures and not having adapted national structures to any sort of a European model citizens still only see national authorities, officers, judges, prosecutors and officials in charge – and hardly any trace of the EU ‘protecting’ and ‘being of use’ to them.

There is a lesson for the “future of Europe” – the theme of this special issue – in this tale of an “area” for the European citizen which turned out to be primarily an area for ministries, police forces and judicial authorities: As long as the Member States continue to deny the European Union – often with “subsidiarity” as a subterfuge – the means to provide at least some degree of protection and usefulness to its citizens directly, under its own name, via its own means and powers and not mediated, controlled and obscured by national intermediaries there is little chance that this European construction will ever enjoy the support and legitimacy on the side of its citizens which it merits and needs because of its sole capacity to respond to challenges which no Member State can any longer master on its own.

It can, unfortunately, not be excluded that EU decision-makers will never muster the political courage and decisiveness to enable the EU to use its full potential – but this then would not be the result of any objective impossibility or fate: Not for the first time in history it would just be another case of having preferred (apparently) *safe* stagnation and decline to (apparently) *risky* change and new horizons.

The Never-ending Eurozone Crisis!

Prof Alan Mayhew
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Progress towards a solution to the eurozone crisis is sometimes so slow that you wonder if we are not going backwards.

The crisis is now clearly a political crisis and underlines the difficulty of trying to run a monetary union without a lender of last resort, in which the members of the monetary union run independent fiscal policies and where national constitutional courts can overrule decisions made by democratically elected governments.

The fiscal compact, discussed in the summer 2012 edition of *Euroscope*, has only been ratified by seven countries to date with German and French ratification still outstanding. The ratification of a fundamental pillar of the eurozone's strategy to tackle the debt problems of member states, the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), is held up because the German President is rightly not prepared to sign the treaty before a decision of the German Constitutional Court (expected on September 12) is taken. If the ESM treaty is declared unconstitutional, it is difficult to see how monetary union can survive in anything like its current form.

Politicians in many of the Eurozone countries are using the eurozone crisis for their own political ends. In Germany, the CSU is demanding the expulsion of Greece. In Greece, Syriza has been defending a position which rejects eurozone conditions for the Greek bailout but supports staying in the monetary union. In Italy, Mario Monti is having to defend himself against populist propaganda from Silvio Berlusconi's party and extreme left and right-wing parties throughout the eurozone see electoral gains in opposing measures to stabilise the monetary union. These politicians are in-



terested in political gains at a potentially devastating cost to the EU and world economies.

At the same time Angela Merkel's policy of step-by-step reform, with eurozone support for indebted countries linked to tough conditions aiming at structural reform, is nevertheless showing the first signs of working. Ideally the indebted countries need to improve their competitiveness vis-a-vis the stronger surplus countries in the eurozone. Without the possibility of devaluation, this means essentially reducing production costs - wages and salaries are obviously the principal component of those costs. On the other hand, the surplus countries need to run more expansionary fiscal policy and tolerate a somewhat higher rate of inflation.

Indeed this rebalancing is what seems to be happening. Real effective exchange rates have fallen sharply over the last three years in Ireland and Spain and have started to decline in Greece, Portugal and Italy. In some countries it appears that there may already be evidence for a positive impact on exports, though one would expect this normally to take some time to come through into the statistics. Of course the corollary of this development is that domestic demand has declined sharply as government budget cuts and falling wages have negatively impacted it.

In Germany on the other hand, the trade surplus with other eurozone countries has contracted sharply. Germany's trade surplus overall has continued to rise to a point where it exceeds that of China, but this is a result of demand from non-eurozone countries, especially those in south-eastern Asia. The latest figures show that Germany has a trade surplus with China! Many German companies are complaining about the loss of markets in southern Europe, which is a direct result of eurozone conditions linked to eurozone financing!

While costs in the indebted eurozone countries are being squeezed, those in Germany are contin-

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uing to rise following generous wage settlements across many sectors. Real wages and salaries have barely risen in Germany since the mid-1990s, partly explaining Germany's strong competitive position. However today with rising real wages and a strong employment outlook, private consumption, together with net-exports is underpinning slower but continuing economic growth.

There is little doubt that this rebalancing of economies, involving substantial structural change in southern Europe, is an important element for medium and long term economic growth and for stability in the monetary union. However the risk of an imminent collapse of the monetary union is still high, making medium and longer term considerations of secondary importance.



The basic problem of trust is still hampering the implementation of measures which would go a long way to solving the most urgent elements of the eurocrisis. The surplus countries are hesitant to help the indebted countries because they fear moral hazard - the risk that the latter do not act on their promises of reform once they have received assistance from the surplus countries.

This problem is especially acute for the German government which faces a general election in the autumn of 2013. The survival of the euro is of the utmost importance to the German economy yet the potential cost to Germany of measures to solve the Euro crisis is high in the minds of Ger-

man voters. Angela Merkel is experiencing extreme popularity amongst electors because she is seen as most likely to defend key German financial and economic interests. Yet she is also under formidable pressure to agree to measures to stabilise the eurozone, including allowing the ECB to increasingly buy up bonds issued by the indebted member states.

To resolve this problem Germany has been at the forefront of proposals to move towards political union in the EU. This would imply a degree of centralisation of fiscal policy and a move towards a banking union. However it is inconceivable that the key elements of a political union can be put in place in the short or medium term. For democratic governments in the eurozone member states to agree to give up their sovereignty on budgetary issues to a central authority today seems illusory - and most definitely so in Germany.

With the German Constitutional Court already deciding on whether current eurozone measures are compatible with the German constitution, politicians of all colours are now raising the need for a referendum on sovereignty issues associated with the development of the monetary union and possibly leading to some modification of the German constitution. Other eurozone member states will have similar issues. It will be several years before we see the results of these deliberations, which are a prerequisite for the development of political union.

It seems therefore that the most likely near-term outlook for the eurozone is not dissimilar from our recent experience - frequent eurozone summits, frequent crises with interest rates rising to unsustainable levels in some countries, occasional crisis loans to member states and interventions by the ECB short of its recognition as lender of last resort.

However the probability of a failure of the monetary union, with all the negative spillovers to European integration, remains significant.

The Future of Europe

Prof Helen Wallace

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What a difficult time to be discussing the future of Europe! The eurozone crisis at the time of writing remains unresolved. The pressures on the Greeks are overwhelming and it is not clear whether they will be able or allowed to remain inside the euro system. The pressures on other national economies are severe, especially Italy, Portugal and Spain. And all the rest of us are vulnerable to the spillovers from the continuing arguments and the difficulties of resolving these problems. The pressures on the stronger economies, and not least on German politicians, are similarly severe, since the buck seems to stop with them.

Meanwhile there is no shortage of other issues for European policy-makers to address. The economic issues facing European countries spread wider and deeper than the eurozone issues, not least the disturbing problem of youth unemployment. Moreover Europe's neighbourhood is faced with huge challenges. The Arab Spring has yet to produce well-anchored democratisation across North Africa. In the Middle East the travails of the Syrian people beggar description, while the tensions around Iran are a source of great concern. Yet electorates in the member states of the European Union are less than enthusiastic about investing in further integration or collective action – and sadly this is especially so in the UK.

How then should we evaluate the prospects for the health of the 'European project'? Whether we like it or not a great deal hangs on whether the eurozone problems can be resolved. The EU after all started out as an economic project (of course with political objectives) and much of its credibility depends on its capacity to address core economic issues. While the monetary and fiscal issues are the ones currently in the limelight, the sustainability of the market integration process as such is also crucial. To maintain the robustness of the four freedoms of goods, services, capital *and* labour is vital

and none can currently be taken for granted. Thus the preservation of the single market remains a core priority, as does its further consolidation. The Sussex European Institute (SEI) and its members have already made huge contributions to this by way of underpinning

research and analysis – the work is not yet finished!

The vitality of European market integration thus is crucial for the member states of the EU – and for all of them. Remarkable progress has been made in pulling the countries of central and eastern Europe into the core European economy. We can all take pleasure in just how much has been achieved in this respect – another dimension of integration in which the SEI has invested productively. This is a continuing process with further gains to be achieved. Moreover we should note that the recent enlargements of the EU have added to, not detracted from, the capacity of the EU to face up to its challenges. This is all the more important given that the evolution of the global economy and the rise of other economic powers are making it even more necessary to sustain the robustness of the European market place and its productive capacity.

One of the costs of the recent economic turbulence is that it has not left much energy or adrenalin among European policy-makers for dealing with the external challenges facing the EU. A decade or so ago there were high expectations that the EU could and would reinforce its voice in the world and enhance its resources for dealing with foreign policy and security purposes. Indeed the provisions of Treaty of Lisbon were *inter alia* intended to do precisely this. Regrettably progress has been disappointing. Too much time has been spent on procedures and mechanics and not enough on substance. Much more needs to be done to set the EU on a clearer course, both at the level of detailed relationships with other third countries and at the

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overarching level of focused core objectives. It is not so difficult to lay out an agenda of what needs to be done. It is much harder to say what are realistic expectations and especially in a period in which European citizens have developed such a lack of enthusiasm about the integration project. Euroscepticism, both a soft version of disenchantment and a hard version of outright antipathy, is now a widespread phenomenon across many EU countries. Hard economic times do not lend themselves to stimulating enthusiasm for engagement beyond the nation state or to optimism about the future. Finding a way to engage younger generations in associating their aspirations about the value of European integration seems to be long overdue. Here too the SEI has been at the forefront in developing a deeper understanding of Euroscepticism, its character and its consequences.

In times such as these, when it is argued that the eurozone crisis requires a redefinition and extension of collective powers and disciplines, while publics remain unconvinced, we come back to the issue of the democratic deficit within the EU system. On the one hand, there are calls for yet an-

other process of treaty revision, while on the other hand national politicians are nervous about whether or not they can win a mandate from their domestic electorates for any such development. We may well be in for another bumpy ride on this front. Evidence from last time round (the Constitutional Convention, the failed Constitutional Treaty and the contested Treaty of Lisbon) makes it hard to be sanguine about the chances of taking further treaty reforms forward.

The UK is in an odd position as regards all of these challenges. The UK is outside the eurozone but much affected by what happens. The UK has much at stake in the robustness of the single market and should be one of its great champions. If the EU is to punch its weight in its neighbourhood and in the wider world, then it surely needs the input of experience and assets that the British can bring to the table. Yet almost forty years since the UK joined the then European Communities on 1 January 1973 the country is going through yet another period of doubt about whether it can or will be a full-hearted member of the EU. It is not an easy time to be a British Europhile!

In the Long Run We Are All Dead: Desperate Reflections on the Future of the Eurozone

Prof Jim Rollo

**SEI Emeritus Professor and SEI Co-Director
1999-2011**

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There is a wide consensus that the current crisis of the eurozone arose because the governance of the euro is incomplete. The answer therefore is to move quickly and decisively to a fiscal union. The consensus runs from eurosceptics like the British prime minister through the eurocrats of the EU Commission to the Chancellor of Germany, the de facto hegemon of the EU, and even to the financial markets.

In reality the consensus turns out to be a different mix of functional and institutional responses depending on the person speaking. That is because all have different preferences for the end point of



European integration and/or sit on a different part of the creditor/debtor spectrum. It also reflects the fact that each of the national crises that afflict the eurozone has different expressions. Greece in particular appeared to be a fiscal problem from the start as did Portugal. Ireland and Spain became fiscal problems but started as private debt problems as low ECB interest rates drove credit to unsustainable levels. Fiscal policy in Ireland and Spain was only loose if you thought that in the years before 2007 fiscal surpluses ought to be in excess of 4% of GDP.

There were however two common factors to the crisis in all four countries. First of these was that competitiveness vis a vis Germany declined steeply after the German squeeze on real wages that began in the year 2000. Secondly was that domestic banks became over extended either funding government or private borrowing. Add to these that, in a single market, foreign banks also became involved thus building contagion into the system when things went wrong. A hyper competitive Germany built up credits from its export surpluses with the rest of the eurozone.

The counterparty to which credits was mounting debt in the deficit countries. In essence Germany was lending the rest of the eurozone the money to buy its exports. German consternation at the ensuing debt explosion is understandable (after all they produced more, paid themselves less and consumed less) and so is its demand that it should be paid back. Indeed it is typical of creditor nations down the ages but does not reduce its culpability in this sorry mess.

Fiscal Union tomorrow

As the complexity of the diagnosis has increased so has the proposed treatment mix. Perhaps the most elegant response to date is by Nicolas Veron of the Brussels think tank Bruegel who proposes a four-fold union consisting of a fiscal union, a banking union, a competitiveness union and a political union to bind them.

I will not spell these out and instead refer the reader to the original on the Bruegel website (www.bruegel.org). Veron recommends rapid action on all fronts and who can blame him given the volatility of sentiment towards the euro in financial markets. But the very ambition of the agenda when confronted by the history of slow reaction by the EU to the developing crisis suggests that this is unlikely.

The traditional (Monet) method of European integration used economic integration as a driving force for political integration and to a degree depended on 'not wasting a crisis' to push economic integration to pull political integration along behind

it. The rising tide of electoral euroscepticism across the union already suggests that this approach has run out of road. A leap forward to a fully fledged economic federation with a division of fiscal powers between the centre and the member states and which requires intensified political integration to make a reality looks like a near impossibility in the short to medium term.

Short term crisis today

In the meantime the eurozone is still in deep trouble: interest rates on southern members' government bonds in the secondary market see-saw, but around unbearably high averages. New bond issues are generally auctioned at interest rates lower than in the secondary market but with shortening maturities. Greek debt is now essentially held by foreign governments and international financial institutions but the debt load and repayment schedules are widely seen as unsustainable especially as the Greek economy continues to shrink (at around 6% pa in the second quarter of 2012).

The fall in real wages has failed to improve international competitiveness other than by crushing consumption, which is effective at closing the external deficit but hardly politically sustainable. Greek exit from the euro is calmly discussed by northern elite commentators as if it had no implications for the rest of the system as Spain hovers on the edge of a rescue package, Italy's austerity package looks rocky and the rating agencies threaten even Germany with a debt downgrade.

In these circumstances to spend time designing the ideal future is surely wrongheaded at best. In the long run we are all dead. If we neglect the crisis in the short term the whole edifice of the EU is at risk not just the euro. In the short term markets need to be reassured. What is needed immediately is that:

- The European Stabilisation Fund needs to be considerably boosted (say doubling to €1.5 trillion) as a signal to markets that there is enough money to deal with Spain and it needs the freedom to act quickly and independently

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- The Greek programme should be loosened to allow more time to reach fiscal balance and to extend debt repayment schedules and reduce interest rates (this is pretty well inevitable anyway either formally or by effective default). Externally funded investment (EIB and Structural Funds in the near term) should be boosted. All with the aim of returning growth to Greece as quickly as possible and raising potential growth rates in the future
- The ECB scheme to lend to the banks against the collateral of government bonds should be extended indefinitely to reduce market unease about banking and/or sovereign failures
- An elimination of imbalances inside the euro zone which in essence requires a big boost to consumption in Germany.

The alert reader will no doubt respond by asking whether this outcome is not just as politically unattainable as the longer term proposition of a four-fold union. To which I can only respond 'too true' and hence my desperation.

A lose-lose policy

I remain convinced however that, in the absence of immediate and radical action, a Greek default and exit from the euro seems inevitable. After that who knows where the last domino will fall but total disintegration of the euro system cannot be ruled out. At which point, as Germany contemplates the consequential and likely huge devaluations of the successor currencies to the euro in its main markets, Mrs Merkel and other proponents of austerity now and burden-sharing fiscal union in the long term may rue their policy choices since 2008.

I hope to goodness that I am wrong.

From Constitutional Dreams to Euro-Zone Nightmares

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When the European Union's elite embarked on Constitution-making, their intention was to make the EU into a meaningful political community. In the end, these good intentions failed, not least because they were famously rejected by the French and Dutch people in referendums in 2005. Nonetheless, controversies in the Constitution failure sowed the seed for a process that occurs outside the control of elites and has advanced ever since: an increasing visibility for the EU in public debates in the mass media across the re-

gion; and a growing contestation over EU decisions within the national politics of member states. In short, the EU is increasingly politicised.

Much has changed since Europe's Constitutional moment. Now, debt crises in Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Spain, and Italy, have brought the consequences of European integration, and its flagship project, the single currency, sharply into focus. In an era of massive austerity cuts and bailouts, the peoples of Europe are no longer oblivious to the consequences of advancing integration, nor do they view it with a passive benevolence. Increasingly they make themselves heard and mobilise over Europe in the news, on the streets, and at the ballot box.

The 'indignant' Spanish unemployed, the German taxpayers, and French pensioners, all raise their voices to demand why they have to pay the price. Austerity cuts imposed on Greece were greeted with violent outbreaks outside the Parliament in Athens. Meanwhile, Europe is often the main news item across the region, as people tune in to discover the consequential outcomes of elite-level decisions in Brussels, Berlin and Paris.

This unfolding EU politicisation is likely to be shaped by a combination of factors: the structural conflict and potential for producing elite divisions; the (lack of) control by political elites; high media salience and public attention; and the mobilisation of public protest.

First, the potential for transnational elite divisions between executives from creditor and indebted countries is structured into the crisis. The conflict is structured around a powerful core of 'strong' countries (especially Germany and France), on one side, and a periphery of 'weak' relatively indebted countries (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Ireland and Italy), on the other. Other EU member states position themselves in alliances to these blocs, dependent on whether they see themselves as potential creditors (e.g., the Netherlands) or debtors (e.g. Slovakia). This includes those who are not 'euro' members (e.g. the United Kingdom). Overall, there is a very high potential for deep and long-term divisions between the blocs over the terms of EU membership. It is difficult to see how the 'old' EU politics of an enforced consensus and formal unity in decision-making can withstand such pressures.

There is also a very strong potential for elite divisions within each country's national polity as a result of this new power constellation. This is because national governments not only advance their positions within EU-level negotiations, but they also have to carry the agreed package through their own national polities. For 'strong' countries' governments this means justifying payments to support 'weak' countries in front of their domestic voters, while for 'weak' countries' executives, it means passing domestic austerity measures as a condition for receiving financial support. Such conditions are rife for political challenges from opposi-



tion parties. Even the government of the strongest country, Germany, has faced significant domestic political pressures. Among the weaker countries, governments have fallen in Greece and Italy, to be replaced by technocrats. It is especially

difficult for the governments of 'weak' countries because sovereignty and the popular mandate are effectively suspended. Importantly, national executives have provided little formal access to citizens in their decisions to ratify their bailout commitments. To their publics, these seem like decisions imposed by executives and civil servants from 'strong' countries, the ECB and IMF, who they have no chance to vote in or out. This *democratic legitimacy* problem provides additional incentives for 'bottom-up' mobilisation.

Generally, a political context where national political elites have institutionally underwritten the passage of unpopular policy measures presents exactly the type of closed opportunity structure that provokes extra-parliamentary challenges by social movements and marginal parties. The degree to which such opposition can become a form of mass politics, by expressing coherent demands, or the basis for a social movement or party competition, remains unclear. However, protests by Southern Europe's 'indignant', the 'Occupy' camps across European cities, the rise of new radical right nationalist populist parties, and public sector strikes against spending cuts show a high potential for oppositional politics.

The high media attention for the Eurozone crisis also contributes to politicization. Gabriel Almond (1960) in his classic research on public opinion argued that the 'general public' –in distinction to

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the 'attentive public' and 'policy and opinion elite'—only knew or cared much beyond their immediate concerns at the exceptional time of 'crisis'. Financial instability, compounded by political instability, has created a climate of risk and public uncertainty that has increased the public thirst for knowledge. Mediated public debates influentially translate the Euro-crisis into: conflicts within a country; conflicts between EU countries, or blocs of countries (North versus South, centre versus periphery); over democracy (elites versus citizens), or between social constituencies (winners and losers of debt reduction measures).

Carried by public debates, the Eurozone crisis has become a mediated stage for playing out which countries, which actors and which constituencies, are the new power-holders and 'winners', and which the 'losers' of integration. Public contestation and the discursive struggle has torn apart the old universalism that the EU is somehow an equal partnership between countries, and their citizens. On the contrary, some countries are more equal than others, and some constituencies 'win' and some 'lose', as a result of market integration. Central to understanding the politicisation of the crisis is that *identity* questions follow behind the restructuring of social relationships across the region ac-

ording to *interests* in the redistribution of resources. Public debates make clear to people, whether they belong to a constituency (national, group) of 'winners' or 'losers', and this transforms the basis for political competition.



The Politicization of Europe: Contesting the Constitution in the Mass Media

by Paul Statham and Hans-Jörg Trenz
(Routledge Studies on Democratising Europe)
Publication Date: 26 Sep 2012 | ISBN-10:
0415635667 | ISBN-13: 978-0415635660

Greek Elections 2012: What happened?

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In 2012, Greece, ever a vanguard in the eurozone crisis, provided a striking illustration of the impact of economic austerity on party system stability. The May election, following two years of an EU/IMF programme built around heavily front-loaded austerity, produced such a fragmentation of the vote that it was not possible to form a credible government. This spectacular democratic failure resulted in the unprecedented recourse to a second election six weeks later.

The meltdown of the Greek party system was all the more striking given the system's stability over

the preceding decades. Since the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974, Greece had been ruled by one-party majority governments, with the socialist PASOK and centre-right New Democracy (ND) alternating in power apart from a few months of coalition rule in 1989-90.

The latter was the product of a temporary change in the electoral law rather than a decline in the electoral supremacy of the two main parties. In the nine parliamentary elections of 1981-2004, the combined PASOK-ND vote share only once fell below 80 per cent. In 2007 a new electoral law based on proportional representation favoured small parties.

While the PASOK-ND vote fell marginally, its all-time low in 2009 was still over 77 per cent. The lynchpin of the system was PASOK, which spent less than four years in opposition in 1981-2004 and returned to power in 2009 after a five-year interlude, winning a landslide 10 per cent lead over ND.



The communist KKE, elected to every parliament since 1974, was the main recipient of the protest vote and permanent third party from 1981. The 'renewal left' also participated in all but two post-1974 parliaments, represented by a series of euro-communist and successor parties, the latest being the Radical Left Coalition (SYRIZA). The only new party was the radical right LAOS, first elected in 2007, whose emergence was linked to the increasingly explosive issue of undocumented migration. But these were all minor players, condemned to permanent opposition.

The attrition of the parties in parliament began with the May 2010 ratification of the first EU/IMF bailout agreement, when four MPs were expelled from their respective parties for not following the party line. The culmination was the expulsion of 45 MPs following the passage of the second bailout in February 2012. By the dissolution of parliament in April 2012, just two-and-a-half years after the election, almost one-fifth of parliamentarians had left their original parties, founding five new ones.

Setting a post-dictatorship precedent, this parliament had already produced two governments. From June 2011, with recession turning into depression after just one year of austerity, the PASOK government was in danger of losing its parliamentary majority. It finally collapsed in November when a proposal to legitimate the austerity programme by referendum sparked international outrage and a domestic cabinet revolt. With

elections viewed as a luxury Greece could not afford, a PASOK-ND-LAOS coalition was formed under the premiership of an unelected former central banker. Under crisis conditions, the coalition broke a taboo in legitimating far right government participation. This government, with a popular mandate derived from the parliamentary arithmetic of a pre-crisis election two years earlier, negotiated the crucial deal to restructure Greece's private sector debt backed by a second bailout package including controversial commitments to cut the minimum wage by 22 per cent and limit collective bargaining.

The May elections revealed the full extent of party system delegitimation. In a country trapped in a deepening depression, the vote was a cry of confusion and despair. The two-party system collapsed, with the combined PASOK-ND vote reduced from over three-quarters to less than one-third of the electorate. Since 1974 the election winner had always enjoyed a minimum 41 per cent vote share; ND as first party now polled less than 19 per cent. The previously dominant PASOK was evicted from its pivotal position as one of the two major parties by SYRIZA, the smallest parliamentary party in 2009.

Three new parties entered parliament, the largest number since the first post-dictatorship elections of the 1970s. Two were breakaways: the Independent Greeks from ND and the Democratic Left from SYRIZA. Completely outside traditional party structures, the neo-nazi Golden Dawn, a criminal group responsible for multiple violent attacks on immigrants, was precipitated from the 0.3 per cent of the lunatic fringe in 2009 to almost seven per cent of the vote. Over 19 per cent of the vote went to protest parties of every hue which failed to meet the three per cent threshold for parliamentary representation.

The 50-seat bonus for the first party meant that in theory the parliamentary arithmetic could support coalition government formation. But the devastating verdict on the party system, including the resounding rejection of both former major parties, made it exceptionally hard to form a government with democratic legitimacy.

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The June election, framed as Greece's last chance to stay in the eurozone, was largely shaped by the 50-seat bonus which meant government formation essentially hinged on which party came first. In the duel between the new pair of leading players, both ND and SYRIZA increased their vote by over 10 per cent, their combined total of 56 per cent suggesting a possible future shape for a reconsolidated two-party system. The same seven parties were returned to parliament as in May and with one exception (KKE), in the same order. The pure protest vote for parties which did not enter parliament fell below 6.5 per cent. A coalition government was formed, commanding 48 per cent of the vote, based on the two familiar parties of government, ND and PASOK, plus the Democratic Left.

If the June election restored a semblance of normality, the overall impact of the dual election suggests anything other than 'business as usual'. Of the five parties in the 2009 parliament, only SYRIZA emerged a winner in 2012, receiving more than five times its previous highest vote share in June. In

contrast, PASOK, the previous system lynchpin, was reduced to a minor player with dim future prospects while ND saw its vote reach historic lows unthinkable before the economic crisis. The third austerity government participant, LAOS, failed to be re-elected, replaced as the expression of the anti-immigrant vote by Golden Dawn, a more extreme voice for more extreme times. The KKE, despite its consistent opposition to austerity, was sidelined, relegated first to fifth and then to seventh party and displaced as main outlet for protest voting by more dynamic exponents.

This degree of system rejection suggests that the relentless rapidity of the economic depression engulfing Greece has broken down previous political affiliations, making the former political margins into mainstream and bringing a move from one-party to coalition government. With many of the middle class facing dispossession and more than one in two young people unemployed, unless Greek economic prospects can somehow be stabilized, continuing party system destabilization seems likely.

Expatriate voting in 2012 French elections

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The question of expatriate voting has become increasingly salient in Europe since the spread of democracy and the increase in migration, but it is approached in very different ways across the member states of the EU.

At the least generous end of the spectrum is Ireland, where voting is strictly tied to residence in the homeland (though there are reciprocal voting agreements with the UK). Some countries put a time limit on the right to vote after expatriation, such as Denmark (two years), the UK (15 years), and Germany (25 years), but most allow their expats an indefinite right to vote, exercised through external voting, organised in the country of residence by the relevant consular authorities.

In addition to this permanent right to vote, political representation, either through special consulta-



tive bodies or through specific parliamentary seats, is enjoyed by expatriates from Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Croatia and France. France has thus one of the most generous regimes for expatriate voting, and this provides a strong con-

trast with the restrictive British attitude, which has led two expats to take the British government to the ECHR for breach of their fundamental right to vote.

The French case also highlights the growing interest shown by some other EU states towards their expatriate populations, Italy would be another good example. The 'French Abroad' (*les Français de l'Étranger*) have had the permanent right to vote in

all elections in France since 1913, but they had to travel to France to exercise it. After the Second World War, expat associations active in the resistance won their campaign for political representation via a small number of dedicated Senators elected from their country of residence, as well as through elections to a consultative body set up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

But since the recent legislative elections in June, France's expat community has been granted an even greater input into national politics, with 11 new deputies elected to represent new 'global' constituencies, drawn up according to the numbers of French expats officially registered on consular lists across the world. These constituencies therefore vary enormously in size: the smallest covers the whole of Switzerland and Lichtenstein, and the biggest includes 49 countries in Asia and Oceania.

The impetus for this reform came from a campaign pledge by President Sarkozy in 2007 to extend expatriate representation from the Senate to the National Assembly. This promise was inspired partly by the growing numbers of expats registering with the consular authorities in their country of residence: an increase of 50% over the last 15 years was recorded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, rising to over a million in 2012, enough to tip the balance of an election.

This was particularly relevant because since the introduction of external voting in 1981 for presidential elections, the French Abroad had shown themselves to be significantly more sympathetic to the Right than the rest of the French population. Sarkozy must therefore have calculated that this reform would virtually guarantee a clutch of safe seats for the UMP. It was pushed through parliament following a major constitutional revision, unsuccessfully challenged by the opposition, who accused the governing majority of blatant gerrymandering in the process of redrawing the constituency boundaries that ensued. The Right was widely predicted to win 9 of the 11 new seats.

In the presidential election of April / May, Sarkozy unsurprisingly won just over 53% of the second round expatriate vote, compared to 48.36% of the total vote, while Hollande scored only 46.95%

against 51.64% of the total vote, thus confirming the traditional domination of the Right amongst the expatriate community. But in the legislative elections that followed, the Left unexpectedly won 8 of the new constituencies (7 for the socialists and 1 for the ecologists), leaving only 3 for the Right. A number of reasons can be put forward to explain these results: first, the Socialist Party was better organised in terms of investiture of official candidates, helped largely by the Federation for the French Abroad, the party's international network.

The equivalent network of the UMP failed to prevent the multiplication of dissident candidates so that voters were often confused as to who the official UMP candidate was. Second, the 'parachutage' of three government ministers with no obvious connections to the constituencies where they were standing, caused much resentment, and all were accused of using their government positions to fund their campaigns. Third, the 'presidential dynamic' played a key role, as in metropolitan France, and this caused the Right to demobilise in many regions where they were traditionally strong.

This major 'victory' for the Left was however seriously undermined by the very low participation rates averaging only 20%, bringing into question the very legitimacy of the new deputies. Some of the reasons for this low turnout could be gleaned from the very active expatriate blogosphere: technical issues dominated, largely relating to difficulties encountered with electronic voting being used for the first time in a national election, but there were also logistical and administrative obstacles.

Some people were irritated to the point of not voting because of the high number of candidates in each constituency (ranging from 16 to 21), who bombarded voters with dozens of emails (their addresses were made available to the candidates via the consular lists). But more substantively, 'politico-cultural distance' was acknowledged by one of the expat associations as playing a major role, especially for those permanently settled abroad, or even born abroad and never lived in France; this was even more applicable to those with dual nationality and therefore voting rights in their country of residence. Given that the cost of

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the election of the 11 deputies was estimated at 15-20 million euros (ten times the cost per deputy as for deputies resident in France), there will no doubt be a probing enquiry into the whole operation: it remains to be seen whether or not these new deputies will establish for themselves an en-

during place at the heart of French national politics.

A full length article on this subject will appear in a special issue of Parliamentary Affairs on the French elections, in early 2013.

The 2012 French Presidential Campaign and 'Europe'

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As regards the European economy, it seemed as though, last time round, a key referent point was the 'Anglo-Saxon' economic model whereas in 2012 this was largely replaced by the supposedly German model for austerity, as represented by the Fiscal Pact, in response to the eurozone crisis. Socialist candidate Hollande pledged to renegotiate the Pact, with its strong emphasis on a forced reduction of national budgets, in order that more emphasis be put on measures to stimulate growth. This strategy was proving successful according to opinion polls so it can be no coincidence that the incumbent, Sarkozy, of the centre-right, increasingly pushed the growth angle too.

Sarkozy also called for a greater future role for the European Central Bank (ECB) in order to prevent future crises. Interestingly, he had initially claimed that the eurozone crisis was solved but he then used the spectre of France becoming another Greece to try to persuade voters that they needed a leader with national and international experience (something which Hollande was claimed not to have). Moreover, Sarkozy stated that an Hollande victory would lead to massive speculation against the euro. The other two principal protagonists had contrasting views on the euro. Le Pen, on the far-right, opposed it altogether and promised to restore the national currency, not least, she argued, because the EU had not been supporting French jobs. Melenchon, on the far-left, vowed to retain the euro but to place tighter controls on the ECB.

On the subject of the EU more generally, both Melenchon and Le Pen were quite assertive. The



former talked of France needing to reassert its national sovereignty while the latter, in supporting this line, actually called for a renegotiation of the EU treaties. Sarkozy, meanwhile, had to distance himself from offers of support by German Chancellor Merkel in order to appeal

to the Eurosceptic audience.

Immigration was a key issue during the campaign, particularly in the context of the Schengen Zone. Although Melenchon and Hollande were quite liberal, both Le Pen and Sarkozy took a hard line, with a positive impact in the polls in the case of Le Pen. Sarkozy spoke of withdrawing France from the Zone unless policy was tightened while Le Pen simply said France would leave come what may.

As for foreign policy, the candidates really did not have much room for manoeuvre given the prevailing dominance of the Gaullist mantras of a strong international role for France and a strong defence, of France's universalism and exceptionalism. To this end, and in the context of economic pressures on the defence budget, no alternative was presented to the policy of ever greater cooperation with other countries, building on the Franco-British model.

Finally, in terms of implications for Europe, euroscepticism in France seemed to be on the rise along with an increasing desire to reclaim national sovereignty and to challenge the German dominance of Eurozone policy.

On-Going Research

This section presents updates on the array of research on contemporary Europe that is currently being carried out at the SEI by faculty and doctoral students.

Sussex Centre for Migration Research

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As the new Director for the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) I would like to invite all members of SEI who have research interests in migration and ethnic relations to consider the Centre as a possible location, forum or sounding board for their research. One of my aims is to reach out across the disciplines and Schools in the University to include new members, topics, and approaches, and add to the existing core of SCMR researchers, who with notable exceptions mostly come from Global Studies.

Of course, being interdisciplinary is something that universities often talk about, but is often hard to achieve. So starting more modestly, I just wanted to say that I very much see the SCMR as a broad church, and anyone who wants to join in, in any way, great or small, is welcome to send me an email and meet for a coffee, or come along to the SCMR research seminars. These will be held on Wednesdays throughout the term at 4.30pm in the Global Studies Resource Centre, which is just round the corner from the more famous Dhaba Café.

By way of introduction, my own research over the last 20 years has been built around thematic fields: 1) cross-national comparative approaches to migration and ethnic relations politics, with an emphasis on mobilisation by migrants and minori-



ties, public policy responses, and their consequences; and 2) studying the emergence of a European transnational political space and public sphere, referring to multi-level governance, Europeanisation processes, civil society, social movements, and political communication, journalism, the media.

The general approach has been to study the relationships between state institutions, executive actors and policy-making, on one side, and the field of collective action, mobilisation, NGOs, civil society, social movements and public debates, which link decision-making to citizens, on the other. Most of my research has been comparative covering several countries, and usually based on original data, so this has required a research infrastructure of funded projects (ten so far) and collaborations with researchers across Europe.

Notable outputs have been *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics* (2000), *Contested Citizenship* (2005), *The Making of a European Public Sphere* (2010), all collaborations with Ruud Koopmans, and most recently *The Politicization of Europe* (Routledge) with Hans-Jörg Trenz, which is

due out shortly (see other article in this edition of Euroscope).

My curiosity in the social sciences and Europe has roots in Sussex. I confess to being a Sussex undergraduate in the old days when 'Euro' populated Arts A, courses came with a language and a year abroad (mine in Berlin, before the Wall came down!), and most courses were a take on or variety of Marxism. It was a chance conversation with Anne Stevens, my personal tutor, that set me on the road to applying for the European University

Institute, in Fiesole, after she'd received a letter saying that they were having difficulty filling the British quotas. I started at the EUI in 1989. Since then I have held research positions at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB) 1996-9, the University of Leeds, 1994/5 and 1999-2006, where I was appointed Professor in 2005, and until April this year, the University of Bristol.

The Ineffectiveness of Anti-Corruption Agencies

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From 1 October 2012 together with Robert Blaszczak, Research Fellow in the Department of Politics, I will be undertaking British Academy funded research on the Polish Anti-Corruption Agency (the CBA). The project will take six months and will ultimately lead to bigger and broader research on anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) in other countries.

Our research has three clear goals. Firstly, it will analyse why so many anti-corruption agencies – and over the last half-century over 50 countries have in one way or another created such institutions – have been largely ineffectual.

These agencies frequently appear to promise a lot and yet few convictions are achieved, cultures don't appear to change, law changes look more like window-dressing or, even worse, attempts to delegitimise opponents, and the ACAs' impact tends to remain negligible. The stand out 'success stories' such as the agencies in Singapore and Hong Kong, so we contend, are likely to work because of circumstances that are unique to them and lesson-drawing to large, more complicated states is either difficult (if one is optimistic) or downright impossible (if one is more pessimistic).

However, this story is not necessarily one of total doom and gloom. Anti-Corruption Agencies may not be the panaceas that many of their advocates



seem to hope, but they could, in the right circumstances, contribute in small ways to cleaning up public life in specific ways. We will illustrate this by developing a typology of factors that are likely to contribute to ACAs having some sort of positive impact. This typology will then be

applied to the case of the CBA in Poland. The CBA is a relatively new creation (it dates back to 2006) and after a rocky start it appears to have found its feet.

We aim to fit the CBA's development in with what we believe to be best practice, ultimately contributing to both the broader literature on how ACAs might have positive impacts in general as well as to how the CBA itself may look to become more effective. Both of us will be speaking to members of the CBA, as well as some of its supporters and critics, and ultimately it is hoped that the project's findings will have a genuine impact on the CBA's efforts to counteract corruption in Poland in the future.

Non-national EU citizens in local elections in England

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In April I was notified that I had been successful in my application for a British Academy Small Grant, worth just under £10,000, to develop an existing project investigating the participation of non-national EU citizens (NNEUCs) in local elections in England.

The right to vote and stand as a candidate in local elections is one of the fundamental rights bestowed on EU citizens by the Treaty of Maastricht, yet very little research has so far sought to establish the extent to which it has actually been exercised, and my project aims to fill this gap. Following on from a case study of France while on research leave there in 2008, I turned my attention to the UK during the local elections of May 2011.

At national level, data is available for numbers of NNEUCs registered on the electoral rolls, but not for how many actually voted. This information can however be obtained by examining the marked registers at the level of individual electoral authorities. A pilot study carried out last Summer in Brighton & Hove revealed that 26.16% of the 8824 registered NNEUCs had voted, compared to a total turnout of 44.19% (higher than the average of 38% because of voting in the referendum held on the same day).

An on-line survey investigating the reasons why people did or didn't vote, is about to be launched, and will be followed up by semi-structured interviews, in an attempt to understand the factors that influence the exercise of this vote: nationality, age, level of education, length of residence in host country, profession, political culture etc.

The local electoral authorities are interested to identify any obstacles to voting that might emerge from this survey so that they can rectify any problems deriving from the electoral process, such as lack of information. The British Academy funding will be used to replicate this pilot study across a selection of other cities in England: the marked registers of Leicester and Bedford are currently being scrutinised, with Manchester and Cambridge to follow.

I will be presenting preliminary results of the research so far at the Sixth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics organised by the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union in Tampere, Finland, from 13 – 15 September. Final results will form the subject of a peer-reviewed article some time in 2013. I have also been asked to write the section on 'The Participation of EU Citizens on the EU's Democratic Functioning' for the UK contribution to the 2012 Annual Report of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) in Vienna, set up in 2007 to protect the fundamental rights of people living in the EU.

The results of my research will be of interest not only to the FRA but also to many other EU institutions, especially as 2013 has been designated as the European Year of Citizens. Finally, I will have the opportunity to present this research at a workshop on Citizenship planned for 24 October under the auspices of the SEI.

SEI scholars secure grant for populism project



SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Taggart and Marie Curie Inter-European Fellow Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser have obtained a £30,000 British Academy International Partnership and Mobility (IPM) grant to undertake a three-year project on 'Populism in Europe and Latin America: A Cross-Regional Perspective'.

This is a joint project with Pierre Ostiguy from the Institute of Political Science at the Catholic University of Chile that seeks to develop a number of workshops with the aim of comparing contemporary manifestations of populism in Europe and Latin America.

It is expected that the interaction between area specialists dealing with these regions will contribute to gain new insights into at least three subjects:

- 1) the concept of populism as such and its regional particularities;
- 2) the factors that hinder and foster the (re) emergence of populism;
- 3) the existence of different strategies to deal with populism, which can be seen as more or less successful from a democratic point of view.

SEI scholar secures grant for politics of shale gas project

SEI-based Senior Lecturer in Politics Francis McGowan has won a British Academy/Leverhulme small grant to fund his research into the politics of shale gas in Europe and North America.

The project, *Reactions to Shale Gas Development in Europe and the US: Risk Perception and Political Contestation in Comparative Perspective*, will be carried out over the next two years and the grant (£9,600) will fund fieldwork and research assistance.

Shale gas has become a topic of considerable interest and controversy in recent years.

Pioneered in the USA, production has risen from negligible levels in the early 2000s to nearly 30 per cent of US gas production in 2011, transforming US energy markets and raising the question whether the resource could have an equivalent effect in other regions.

However, while advocates have emphasised its potential to improve energy security, cut ener-

gy costs and reduce carbon dioxide emissions (by displacing coal), opposition to the option has emerged, based on perceived environmental, safety and health problems.

In North America, local, state and national opponents have challenged further development with limited success. By contrast, in Europe such groups have emerged in advance of the development of shale gas and, in a number of countries, have been effective in politicising the issue: opposition and governing political parties have become involved and, in some cases, governments have reversed plans to license exploration and production.

Francis has been exploring the development of shale gas for the last two years, initially focusing on its implications for energy security and then assessing its significance as a case study in the relationship between regulation and innovation.

The new grant takes the research in a new direction, exploring the domestic politics of shale gas: what has been the reaction to the experience (or prospect) of shale gas development in different parts of North America and Europe.



- In particular, the research aims to answer a set of specific questions about the politics of shale gas:
- What accounts for the diverse outcomes in the development of and response to shale gas?
 - What has motivated the opponents of shale gas and what strategies have they adopted?
 - How have political parties become involved in the “politicisation” of shale gas and what factors have determined the stances they have adopted?
 - How has the energy industry sought to influence governments and address public concerns?
 - How have institutional structures, political cultures and traditions of mobilisation shaped the politics of shale gas?
 - How have protagonists at the local, national and transnational levels co-operated and coordinated with one another?
 - What role has been played by the media in shaping the debate around shale gas?

Sussex Corruption Centre Launched

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These are exciting times for everyone associated with the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC). First and foremost, September 2012 sees the SCSC welcome its first cohort of postgraduate students on to the MA in Corruption and Governance.

At the time of writing, it looks like 15 students from all around the world will arrive to begin their studies on 20 September. Students on the course, the only one of its type in the UK, will be taking an interdisciplinary approach to analysing three tantalisingly simple questions; what is corruption, why does it flourish and finally, and perhaps most importantly, what can be done about it. The students come from a variety of backgrounds and the SCSC is really happy to be welcoming them on board.

By the time you read this the SCSC will also have staged its launch conference. The event, for which nearly 250 people have registered, took place on 6/7 September at the offices of Clifford Chance in Old Bank Street, Canary Wharf. Interest in the conference has been truly overwhelming, illustrating that the SCSC is certainly tapping in to issues that are of real contemporary interest.



The highlight of the launch conference was a keynote given by Sir Christopher Kelly, the chairman of the Committee on Standards in Public Life. A wide array of other speakers from organisations such as the OECD, Transparency International

and the Institute of Business Ethics will be speaking alongside academics, business leaders such as Ian Tyler (CEO of Balfour Beatty) and representatives from legal firms such as Clifford Chance. More details of the conference will be available on the SCSC's website.

Academics within the SCSC are also involved in various research projects. Professor Benjamin Hoff is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the SCSC, and he is conducting research into the anti-corruption efforts of the German Laender. Professor Hoff will be in the UK for three months, and alongside his research he will be contributing to the SCSC's seminar series. The SCSC is also pleased to welcome (back) Rob Blaszczyk, once a student of politics here, and now a Research Fellow on a British Academy-funded project analysing the successes and failures of Poland's anti-corruption agency, the CBA.



A Right to Cultural Identity in a Future (UK) Bill of Rights?

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The question of whether or not the inclusion of a right to cultural identity in any future UK Bill of Rights is appropriate, necessary and/or desirable has been the focus of my attention in recent months. The UK Bill of Rights Commission has recently launched a second round of consultation, inviting views on a range of rights additional to those in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and in the UK Human Rights Act.

These include the right to equality, socio-economic rights, children's rights and environmental rights. However, there has been minimal discussion to date on the possible inclusion of culture, identity and language rights. Given the links between the UK (or British, as remains the preference in some circles) Bill of Rights agenda and recent debates about what it means to be British (the answer apparently much clearer now thanks to Danny Boyle's Opening Ceremony for the Olympics) and over the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, the omission to date appears rather surprising.

It is of course true that debates over such issues contributed significantly to the derailment of the Northern Ireland Bill of Rights process, not just once but on a number of occasions. My research aims to identify lessons that can be learnt from this process, particularly in relation to the proposed inclusion of an individual right to cultural identity similar to that found in Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966. Article 27 provides that: 'In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.'

Article 27 is itself a fairly minimal minority rights guarantee and has been used primarily by indigenous peoples, yet analogous provisions are found in the South African Bill of Rights, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and in the New Zealand Bill of Rights to name a few. My research therefore also explores how these provisions have been used and interpreted by the relevant judicial (or quasi-judicial) authorities, as well looking at the significance of recent developments in European minority rights law. This includes looking at recent jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights as well developments under the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The omission of the inclusion of a right similar to that found in Article 27 in the most recent consultation document issued by the Northern Ireland Office on a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland in 1999 was justified on the basis that questions relating to the accommodation of cultural, linguistic and ethnic minorities was very much part of a national debate started by the Green Paper on a UK Bill of Rights and Responsibilities and 'cannot be said to reflect particular circumstances in Northern Ireland.'

Yet an examination of responses to the UK Bill of Rights Commission's initial consultation suggests that a proper debate about these issues in the context of the Bill of Rights has so far failed to

materialise. It is intended that these and other issues raised by the Commission's second consultation document will be the focus of discussions at the next seminar of the Sussex Law School's Centre for Responsibilities, Rights and the Law and in

advance of the closing date for responses. For further details, please visit the Centre website at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/law/research/centreforresponsibilities>.

Populism in Europe and the Americans: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?

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Is populism good or bad for democracy? With this question in mind, I contacted Cas Mudde in the summer of 2009 and we started an intensive exchange of emails, which led us to the organisation of an academic workshop on this topic.

The workshop took place at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) in August 2010 and was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. We were very lucky to find a great team of experts, who presented a draft paper about the ambivalent relationship between populism and democracy in eight countries of Europe and the Americas: Austria (Franz Fallend), Belgium (Sarah de Lange), Canada (David Laycock), The Czech Republic (Seán Hanley), Mexico (Kathleen Bruhn), Peru (Steven Levitsky and James Loxton), Slovakia (Kevin Deegan-Krause) and Venezuela (Kenneth Roberts). At the same time, we had four well-known discussants on this topic: Carlos de la Torre from the University of Kentucky, Wolfgang Merkel from the WZB, Paul Taggart from the University of Sussex, and Kurt Weyland from the University of Austin at Texas.

This two-day workshop was an extremely interesting event, which was crucial for gaining new insights in at least three subjects. First, we discussed the advantages of a minimal defini-

tion of populism as a thin-centred ideology, particularly when it comes to developing a concept that travels well for undertaking cross-regional research. Second, we talked about the ways in which populism can have not only



negative, but also positive effects on democracy. Finally, we debated the reasons why populism in certain occasions works as a threat to democracy, while in others can operate as a democratic corrective.

After the workshop, we gave all the contributors a couple of months to re-write their chapters for the edited volume, and I worked with Cas in revising the theoretical framework and in writing a conclusion for the edited volume. The next step was to finish the manuscript and send it for review at Cambridge University Press. Fortunately, the two anonymous reviewers were very sympathetic to the book project and did ask only for some minor corrections.

This edited volume has been just published under the title *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Given that there is almost no cross-regional research on populism, the main aim of this book is to open up the canon on the study of the ambivalent relationship between populism and democracy across the world.

After all, the theoretical approach developed in the edited volume can be used to analyse various countries from not only Europe and

the Americas, but also other world regions. With the benefit of hindsight, I would say that one of the main lessons that I have learned from this book project is the relevance of undertaking cross-regional research. By fostering an exchange between experts working on different regions, it is possible to generate a fruitful interaction between different area study traditions, which can learn a lot from each other. This is particularly true when it comes to generating cumulative knowledge and trying to make generalisations.

Senior Visiting Fellow from Berlin

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Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff is a Senior Research Visiting Fellow at the University of Sussex for three months between August 2012 and the end of October 2012. He holds a PhD from the Humboldt-University of Berlin (2006) and is an Honorary Professor for Health Politics and Economy at the Alice-Salomon-University of Applied Science in Berlin.

From 1995 till 2006 Dr Hoff was Member of the House of Representatives of the German state of Berlin. After this, he worked for five years as General Secretary in the Ministry of Health, Environment and Consumer Protection in the state of Berlin.

His main research and working interests include party politics, on the one hand, and corruption and good financial governance, especially in development countries, on the other. He has published in *Development and Cooperation* and in the (German language) journal *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*. In 2007 he edited two volumes on State debt and Federalism reform in the budget crises.



During his time at Sussex, he will work on an overview about measures and instruments for fighting corruption in Germany with a focal point of the healthcare system and on good financial governance in specific sectors. Political Observer of the German development describes the public administration in Germany as relatively immune to corruption and suspects this as a result of the inheritance of 'Prussian bureaucratic integrity'. Others says those times are gone forever and point to relevant scandals at the beginning of the 1980s and the end of the 1990s.

We can agree with both positions if we simultaneously differentiate firstly between the political and the administrative sector and secondly between the parties, on the one hand, and the elected political actors in the head of ministries or in the government, on the other. In the public administration in Germany a widespread, low-level-corruption doesn't exist. But a high-level-corruption involving a small-number of senior figures in the federal

Research

party system and in some German Land Governments does. The vulnerability of the German Laender to corruption and party patronage goes hand in hand with the influence in regional banks, broadcasting corporations and some other public companies and confirms that federalism multiplies the point of access and influence and thus disperses opportunities for corruption.

In this context, there are three places where intervention with measures and instruments for fighting corruption in Germany is possible and effective:

- Introduction of a law to protect whistleblowers,
- Combine the Internal Audit Units in the public administration of all levels with competences for fighting corruption and

·Give corruption a name and a face because corruption dreads the light of day and feeds on myths, denial or minimisation.

We can see the links between measures for fighting corruption and the basics of good financial governance: the transparency of public finances, and all four stages in the budgetary process, the important role of external and internal budget control institutions like Supreme Audit Institutions (SAI) and others. Good financial governance means the application of the principles of good governance (e.g. accountability, performance, participation, rule of law) to the system of public finance and its subsystems.

Dr Hoff intends to present different parts of this research in a seminar to members of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption as well as the SEI.

Formation and success of new political parties

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Gregor Zons is a PhD student at the International Max Planck Research School on the Social and Political Constitution of the Economy (IMPRS-SPCE) in Cologne, which is a cooperative graduate programme of the University of Cologne and the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne.

He studied economics and political science at the University of Cologne, with a focus on statistics. His main interests are comparative politics and, in particular, party systems and party competition.

In his dissertation, he examines the formation and success of new political parties in devel-



oped democracies. The recent rise and success of the German Piratenpartei illustrates the on-going relevance of this topic.

Gregor searches for explanations for these phenomena on the level of the programmatic competition between parties. This also includes the conceptual and empirical distinction between the programmatic supply by existing parties and the demand side, which are electoral concerns. In this context, he analyses the influence of programmatic innovations on the fate of new political parties. Hence, he also aims for inferences on party competition and the stability of party systems in general.

At the moment, Gregor is revising the first project of his dissertation, which is a quantitative study on the formation of new parties. The article shows that existing quantitative studies aiming at general explanations for the emergence of new political parties, firstly, miss an adequate distinction between the programmatic supply by existing parties and electoral demands in conceptual and empirical terms.

types of new political parties, which are *splits* on the one hand and *genuinely new parties* on the other hand, which is the second major point that the paper criticises. In contrast to this, the article illustrates that the logic of formation is different for these two subtypes. The hypotheses are tested on a data set covering elections of 22 OECD countries from 1960 to 2002.

Considering this distinction, the paper argues that the programmatic homogeneity of existing parties is a strong determinant for the incentives of new party formation. Additionally, the magnitude of this effect varies according to societal conditions. Existing quantitative studies do also not differentiate between sub-

In Sussex, Gregor will elaborate ideas for future projects that build on this research agenda. These include the interdependence between the success of new political parties and the previous formation stage as well as conceptual ideas on the role of programmatic innovations in the context of party competition.

Party-Based and Identity-Based Euroscepticism

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In May, during my short research visit to the SEI, I had the honour to present projects, concepts, and ideas concerning two interlocking fields of my research interest. The first one considers the relations between the leading right-wing conservative parties of Britain, Poland and the Czech Republic, on the example of their co-operation within the European Parliament's European Conservatives and Reformers Group.

lar. Therefore the choice of the SEI as my preferred destination, with its leading research both on Eurosceptical movements and on UK's European policy-making, was an obvious one.



The other concerns the postdoctoral book I have been working on for the last two years, to be devoted to the influence of the changing models of British national identity on the UK's involvement into the European integration. My research interests meet in many ways the interest of the SEI research community in general, and those of Professor Szczerbiak, Professor Taggart, and Professor Bale in particu-

During my ten days in Brighton I was kindly offered a chance to address the SEI community during the research-in-progress seminar, when I presented the findings of the project concluded at the University of Warsaw and concerning the European Parliament's Eurosceptic conservative alliance. I am most obliged to Professor Szczerbiak for another invitation to contribute on development of Euroscepticism

Research

in Poland during the SEI's & UCL SSEES's round table on Poland and the EU. What was particularly valuable from my point of view was the discussions and comments that followed.

I value very highly the chance to consult the leading members of British academia on topics of my interest, and to lay the fundamentals for closer co-operation. For instance, the warm welcome offered by the SEI did greatly facilitate my trip to Sheffield to consult Professor Simon Bulmer. A kind recommendation from Professor Szczerbiak smoothed the progress of the *State of the Union 2012* seminar project. It was organised at the University of Warsaw by the British Socio-Political Studies Research Group *BRITANNIA* in May, with participation of Professor Bale and Professor Bulmer.

In the longer term, the visit to the SEI will contribute to my preparation for a grant appli-

cation concerning co-operation of the British, Polish and Czech Eurosceptics in the European Parliament, with participation of the researchers from all three countries. My colleagues from the Warsaw University and I have already established co-operation with researchers from the Charles University of Prague. We are still looking, however, for British colleagues to get on board.

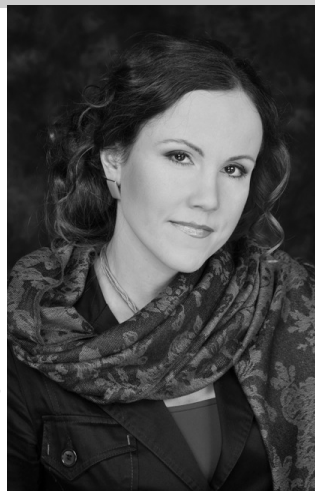
From my more personal perspective, I have greatly benefited from conversations with Professors Szczerbiak, Bale and Taggart concerning my interest in Britain's EU policy-making and British Eurosceptics. As a first step to concluding my book project I would like to prepare a working paper on this topic. Last but not least, I took my time to profit from the University of Sussex's great library. Many thanks to the SEI! I am looking forward to visiting Sussex again!

Poland – an unknown country

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In May 2012 I stayed at the SEI as a Visiting Research Fellow. The aim of the visit was, among others, to prepare a future research project on the perception of Polish European policy in the United Kingdom, mainly among experts and its political elite. The Institute of Public Affairs, where I work in Poland, conducts studies of the perceptions of European societies regarding Poland. So deeper research among a specific group would be pertinent and have added value, especially during the present EU-crisis when debate on a common vision of Europe is much needed.

During my stay I had a chance to undertake some preliminary interviews in Sussex and



London, as well as discuss the main aspects of the Polish European policy with colleagues from SEI during the research-in-progress seminar and the SSEES/UCL round table in London.

The questions asked and remarks made by the interviews' partners and participants helped to understand what aspects of Polish policy are interesting and important for the British experts and what the research that I will undertake should concentrate on. They also helped me to come to some preliminary conclusions. I hope I will continue this research and stay in close contacts with the ex-

perts from Sussex whose support and openness I enjoyed so much during my stay.

Poland has been, and still is not, a very well-known country, if at all, in the UK. The country itself, its citizens as well as its politics remain a mystery for many British people and elites. And this is after eight years of Polish workers supporting the British labour market, Polish children raising the level of education in the British classrooms and many flights bringing British beer fans to Cracow for entertaining weekends. The BBC programme warning fans before Euro 2012 that they might come back in a coffin should they decide to go to Poland for the championship is good evidence of this ignorance.

Poland's accession to the European Union and the subsequent opening of the British labour market to Poles have contributed to the intensification of contacts between Britons and Poles and to a sharper image of Poland. Over half of those interviewed (53%) in 2011 stated that they had had some contact with Poland and/or Polish people. Even though, Poland still remains an unknown country, in comparison with results of a survey from 2001, there has been a clear drop in the number of people who do not have an opinion on Poland. The presence of Poles in the United Kingdom itself is viewed positively: over half of Britons consider the opening of the labour market to Poles was the right decision.

However, the Polish European policy still is a non-issue in the British press and politics. There are only a handful of politicians and journalists who one might expect to have a greater knowledge of or interests on Poland. With its EU-enthusiastic society and pro-integration attitude, Poland remains far from the current British way of thinking about Europe and its future. There are still a few little ties that could combine both countries. How-

ever, the same positive opinion on the EU-enlargement and openness towards neighborhood policy create a base for common actions. There is the next multi-annual financial framework's negotiations where Poland is the biggest net-receiver and the UK one of the biggest payers, as well as the countries' totally different attitudes towards climate policy, which provoke misunderstandings.

The British government will most probably not find in Poland an ally to block possible upcoming reforms bringing the EU closer to a political union, since Warsaw intends to enter the eurozone in the future and has ambitions to play an important role in the EU. Nevertheless, some ad-hoc coalitions are possible. It would be good if the British policy makers understand this.

The opening towards Poland can not only be profitable in some of the EU-negotiations but also well met by the young, well-educated and well integrated Poles in Great Britain. And their voices in the local and European elections will count as much as their engagement and energy counts for the British economy.

Let's hope that the opinion presented by a BBC journalist after the European Cup, commenting: 'after a tournament that started amid fears of hooliganism and racism, both Ukraine and Poland had every right to celebrate an event that did both countries great credit' and 'the people of Poland and Ukraine were friendly, welcoming and unfailingly polite and helpful. Perfect hosts', will carry sufficient weight to ensure the British elites that it is worthwhile to look a little bit further across Europe, even as far away as Poland.

The Politics of Racism

Dr Juan Ramon Fallada
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Juan Ramon Fallada spent three months at University of Sussex as a research visitor under the supervision of Dr James Hampshire. He began his short stay in mid-January and left at the beginning of May. He is a PhD student at the University of Rovira i Virgili, sited in the south of Catalonia, Spain. During those months, he has been working on the last chapters and the final arrangements of his PhD thesis, which has been titled *Las políticas del racismo. Eficiencia y discriminación racial* ('The politics of racism. Efficiency and racial discrimination').

In that sense, the campus has offered him the stimulating and propitious academic environment that is needed in his specific situation. Particularly, it has to be mentioned that the fruitful comments of his supervisor have contributed greatly to guiding him in the last stages in his research.

To answer the question what racism is has been the main question of the research. As the problem of racism nowadays is closely related to the immigration phenomena, special attention has been given to this field. However, it has to be remarked that, although the purpose has been to understand the ways racial discrimination takes place in the present days, an historical approach has been central in some chapters.

A main concern has been to understand how racist prejudices and racial discrimination is justified nowadays in contrast to past periods. Synthetically, racist prejudices would be basically hidden behind the allusion to cultural differences and/or individual behaviour.



Therefore, the links between behaviour, intentions and legitimacy discourses have articulated the answer to that concern and, moreover, the research in itself. From unconscious and not desired racial prejudices and

behaviours, to conscious, collective and organised ones, racist manifestations have been graded and, therefore, distinguished among them.

Additionally, to find out which are the connections between racism and other forms of discrimination, particularly that one which invokes the (de)merits of individual behaviour and which is largely considered justified in contemporary Western societies, has been the other pivotal issue.

The functionality of discrimination is to instrumentalise those discriminated. But in explaining modern ways of discrimination, a critical role has been given to practical knowledge derivable from scientific knowledge about instrumental uses of human capabilities.

How to scientifically use individuals efficaciously and, even more relevant, how to use them efficiently, is what modern ways of discrimination have in common and what distinguishes them from previous forms of discrimination.

A summer at the Home Office

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During the summer I've been on a four month ESRC internship at the Home Office. I was a research officer in the Migration and Border Analysis Unit which is part of Home Office Science.

Specifically I was working for the UK National Contact Point for the European Migration Network, and I was tasked with writing a policy and research report on the UK's student immigration system. This involved summarising policy, the higher education system and the process of obtaining a student visa, as well as the research evidence which has been collected on various aspects of student immigration.

Whilst my PhD research focuses on economic immigration policy changes under the New Labour Government, my research analyses the way in which institutions can inform and change policy. This includes looking at how inter-departmentalism can produce conflict and frame immigration policy in different ways.

Writing the EMN students report gave me a first hand experience of departmental conflict as the Department of Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and the Home Office have divergent objectives and perspectives on the issue of international students.

These, at times contradictory, positions were reflected in both the comments they gave on my report and the evidence they wanted me to cite. My experience further reinforced the idea that immigration policy is never made in a vacuum; multiple departments contribute and develop immigration policy in subtle ways.

Intra-departmental divergence was also apparent at times, with different parts of the Home Office and the Border Agency calling for different types of evidence and policy focus in the report. Communicating and joining-up within a de-

partment can be a challenge in itself, such as between policy teams and operational staff in the Home Office. For example, in another report on establishing identity of asylum seekers and returns, trying to determine which units were involved in the process was far more difficult than I'd imagined.

My colleagues proved to be valuable assets. Not only giving advice about careers in government, but in giving me interviews and further contacts. Some of my colleagues had over twenty years of experience working in government research on immigration, and their insights into the role of evidence in immigration policymaking and their perspectives on Home Office culture has strengthened my thesis arguments.

Their outlook on the changing research agenda and how different types of evidence are valued by different ministers was especially interesting. Aside from the wider benefits of professional development and a welcome break from the PhD, the internship was incredibly constructive to understanding the Home Office and immigration policymaking. Needless to say I'd highly recommend undertaking an ESRC internship!

EU Border Management: Fieldwork in Greece

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I conducted fieldwork in Greece in early April 2012 as part of my doctoral project which investigates the EU external border management policy. More specifically, it explores the role played by the EU agency Frontex, in increasing cooperation of EU member states in the field of border management.

Greece is the EU's gateway for irregular migration with its 'porous' borders, and thus Frontex has coordinated a number of joint border activities in the area. By interviewing the border guards officials stationed in the Greek borders, I aimed to better understand the operations organised by Frontex and explore the understanding of officials about the role of Frontex.

Firstly, I visited Piraeus, a port near Athens to talk with the head of the Frontex Operational Office (FOO). The FOO has been the first and only regional office of Frontex. The FOO head, who has worked for the Greek police, explained to me the work of this new regional office within the context of the last Greek migration crisis and Frontex Joint Operations. It was an invaluable experience for me to receive his views on the role, tasks and challenges of Frontex based on his rich experiences in the field of border management.

The FOO officers also arranged for me to meet with a high ranking official of the Greek Coast Guard, which is located right next to the FOO. The official was open and friendly in welcoming a Japanese student who suddenly visited and asked issues about border management and irregular migration. The topics discussed

ranged from impact of the Greek government's tight budget in having less Frontex coordinating operations than the Greek borders actually need to the interviewee's view on the contribution of member states to Frontex. It was interesting how the interviewee framed the challenge of the Greek borders as regards irregular migration: it is a European problem, therefore other member states have to help us.

Secondly, I flew from Athens to Alexandroupoulos, a city near the Greek-Turkish land borders to talk with a Frontex officer in the mission in those areas. Since I did not receive permission to enter the Greek-Turkish borders, which is the military area, the officer and I met up and had an interview in the lobby of the hotel in which Frontex has set up an office room for its staff in Alexandroupoulos.

The interviewee was a 'seconded national expert', a national police officer of an EU Member State who was sent to Greece as a temporary Frontex officer to help Greece as a member of Frontex border operations. It was thus great for my study to know his view both from the national point of view as well as that of Frontex. In addition, since he had been involved in various Frontex activities before the mission in Greece, he provided me with his ideas on the changes that Frontex might have produced in the whole framework of the border management at the EU level.

In sum, my fieldwork in Greece enabled me to explore how Frontex operates in Greece and how border guard officials and those who come from different Member States, cooperate with each other under the Frontex framework. I also acquired an insight into the understanding of officials regarding the impact of Frontex. I would like to thank the Francois Duchene European Travel Bursaries for its financial support..

Completing the Fieldwork Stage

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My research topic is about explaining the implementation challenges for Albania in preparing for EU membership. As a single case study, it involves in-depth exploration of the process of implementation and the factors that affect it. For this reason, I had to plan a year-long period of fieldwork. I started in the summer of 2011 and finished the last interview by July of this year. After doing a pilot stage and choosing four different sectors for the sample (Competition, Trade Policies, Agriculture and Environment), I started with gathering documents and data in the respective ministries. This was not easy, since not all materials are public and accessible.

However, after three to four months I managed to have most of the documents I was interested in and started to review them. This improved the background knowledge required for my thesis, especially for these specific sectors, and helped me to make some necessary changes and reconfiguration of the interview questions. After this period of document-gathering and analysis, I could start the interviews, probably the most interesting part.

First of all, except for a few cases, getting in touch with the participants was not as difficult as I was expecting. My research did not require interviews with elite politicians, so perhaps this made things easy. Creating contact with high and medium rank civil servants was not difficult, as they seemed very interested in the topic and keen to discuss about it.

The information and data gathered during the interviews and the unavoidable snowball effect made me enlarge the list of participants, since suggestions on other persons involved in the

process seemed to be important. I interviewed key persons responsible for designing and implementing EU-related policies in this sector, which proved to be an essential part for understanding this process.

Considerable differences in perception and understanding of procedures between civil servants (even within the same institution) were some of the most interesting findings which I tried to elaborate further, as part of my hypotheses. The same happened with interest groups' representatives who were part of my sample. As expected, their understanding of, contribution to, and influence of the process presented patterns that differed between the sectors.

This was different for the third group of my sample: EU officials in the Commission and in the delegation in Tirana. Although they were all very open and willing to be interviewed, it was difficult to extrapolate differences in attitudes and behaviour between them.

They were somehow 'affected' from a certain path dependency in terms of institutional culture of their office and thus offered a quasi-unified version of every answer (where possible). However, this part helped me in completing the triangle of the participants (together with Albanian civil servants and interest groups) for the interview by giving the EU perspective of the same process. I found fieldwork to be a very exciting stage of the programme. It provided me with good contacts, data, in-depth information, curiosities, stories, and finally some new perspectives on my research.

Community Energy Pioneers in Finland

Mari Martiskainen

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Problems caused by climate change and rising energy prices have meant that people are increasingly thinking about their energy consumption. At the high end policy level, the European Union has set a target to increase renewable energy generation to 20% and reduce carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions by 20% below 1990 levels by 2020.

My EPSRC-funded DPhil study, which I started in 2010, focuses on the development of community energy. There are several ways to define community energy, but in my research I understand it as renewable or energy-saving projects initiated by groups of ordinary citizens. My research approaches community energy as a form of grassroots innovation and compares its development in two European countries, UK and Finland. In the UK, community energy has flourished in the last five years.

I want to find out why that is the case by comparing the UK with another EU country, Finland, which has similar energy generation sources to the UK, but much less citizen-led community energy activity. I am especially interested in how community energy projects develop, learn and potentially spread. Supported by the Francois Duchene European Travel Bursary, I conducted a second round of fieldwork interviews in Finland in June 2012.

My first Finnish case is Ylä-Kivelä, a 1980s block of 40 apartments located in Keuruu, central Finland. In 2009 it became the first apartment block in the country to replace an oil-based heating system with a combined pellet and solar thermal heating system. Motivated by expensive oil prices and the availability of local pellet supply, the



block's caretaker explored potential alternatives to oil. The residents at Ylä-Kivelä had little previous knowledge about renewable energy. However, they trusted their caretaker and went ahead with the project.

Payment for the heating system was arranged by a five-year payment plan guaranteed by the block (85%) with additional support from the Finnish government's Energy Fund (15%). The residents have been pleasantly surprised by how well their project has turned out, providing them with substantial savings in heating bills.

My other case is a Residents' Association located in Kaakonjoja, Valkeakoski. The Association has approximately 250 members consisting of detached houses built in the 1950s. In 2008 several heat pump models were entering the Finnish market and two of the Association's members were interested in these as a potential to save on heating bills.

However, they could not find trustworthy independent information on various heat pump models. In order to fill this gap, the Residents' Association ran a feasibility study on heat pumps, aided by technical experts in Tampere University and EU Leader funding (which funded 90% of their project). 46 heat pump models were included in the study, out of which three pumps were recommended as the most suitable for the Kaakonjoja houses and by June 2012 around 120 pumps have been installed.

Both Ylä-Kivelä and Kaakonoja are pioneering cases of community energy in Finland. They involve technologies that were new and mostly out of the ordinary to the residents. In both cases known 'community leaders' initiated the projects. In Ylä-Kivelä, their caretaker was a trusted figure in the apartment block, whilst in Kaakonoja, the chairman had a reputation for organising various events and excursions over the years. The two Finnish community energy projects are different in organisation, but both show similar reasons for success: they had motivated and committed lead-

ers who benefited from pre-existing community cohesion, they had the ability to seek technical expertise and external funding, and they willingly learnt from others. During the rest of my DPhil I aim to find out how the Finnish experience compares to the UK by examining a biomass-heated Community Centre in Lyndhurst, New Forest, and a climate action network in Balham, London. I am grateful for both the EPSRC and the Francois Duchene European Travel Bursary to be able to research this relatively niche, but clearly up and coming area of energy policy.

The Politics of Preventing Radicalisation

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I started my doctoral research project in October 2011. The project looks at the development of preventative counter-terrorism policy during the period of 2001 to 2011, often referred to as 'Prevent'. Prevent was notable for a pre-criminal approach, often described as a 'hearts and minds' or root causes strategy, which was emulated by a number of other European countries and the US.

The study will chart how approaches to preventing terrorism changed during this period, including the introduction of integration and extremism strands alongside security responses to violence. It will then look at the factors that explain why changes in the configuration of the policy came about.. I work on the project part-time, splitting my time with my work as a policy analyst and researcher. During my career I have worked in a number of fields including local government, private consultancy and currently in higher education for Universities UK. During this time I have worked on the Prevent agenda both in the UK and for the European Commission and bring prior knowledge of its development the key dynamics.

Similarly my experience of policy analysis also gives me some grounding in the mechanics of public policy and the factors that may cause changes over time. The project is an opportunity for me to make a contribution to understanding the Prevent

agenda and the policy process more generally, whilst also developing my skills as a researcher.

My supervisors, Shomit Saggat and James Hampshire, have provided excellent guidance on designing a piece of academic research. In addition, my presentation to the department provided an invaluable opportunity to test some of the thinking in the study in order to further develop my research outline. As with all projects it is important that my project develops a clear framework for the purposes of conducting a quality piece of research, particularly in a field that is often dominated by commentary and conjecture. For example, the study will have to account for how competing approaches to the priorities for a preventative policy, the selection of instruments and divergent approaches to implementation translate into a policy.

The study will focus on central government and local agencies such as the police, local government and education institutions. It will also look at the role of advocacy organisations and think tanks active in the field, including those Muslim groups at national and local levels who were a principle target of the policy. The study will be qualitative and will include analysis of public and administrative documentation as well as funding data associated with the policy. The project will also include a selection of targeted elite interviews with those who have had involvement in the development and delivery of the policy over time to explore any hidden dimensions of the policy and reasons for change.

New SEI Working Papers

SEI Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies present research results, accounts of work-in-progress and background information for those concerned with European issues. There are 2 new additions to the series. They can be downloaded free from: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-10.html>

SEI Working Paper: No 130

A product of their bargaining environment: Explaining government duration in Central and Eastern Europe

By Lee Savage

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Abstract

Since the transition to democracy in the early 1990s, more than 60 percent of governments in Central and Eastern Europe have terminated prematurely.

This article seeks to understand why some governments in the region survive longer than others. I argue that the nature of party

system development in the region has facilitated the emergence of a polarized pattern of party competition. As the party system structures the government bargaining process, it is contended that indicators of bargaining environment complexity are essential to understanding why some governments are more durable than others.

The Cox proportional hazards model is used to estimate the effect of bargaining environment variables. The results show that ideological diversity of the bargaining environment and the length of the coalition formation process are both significant indicators of government duration in Central and Eastern Europe even after controlling for economic performance, majority status and the regime divide.

SEI Working Paper: No 131

Who is willing to participate, and how? Dissatisfied democrats, stealth democrats and populists in the UK.

By Paul Webb

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Abstract

This article draws on a new survey of British citizens to test the hypothesis that there are two quite distinctive types of attitude prevalent among those who are 'disaffected' with politics, the 'dissatisfied democratic' and

'stealth democratic' orientations, the former being more widespread in the UK. While neither manifests a high level of trust for the political elite, the dissatisfied democratic citizen is politically interested, efficacious and desires greater political participation, while the contrary is generally true of the stealth democrat.

However, although stealth democrats are unwilling to engage in most forms of participation or deliberation, they are ambiguous about direct democracy, which can be attributed to the populist nature of stealth democratic attitudes.

New EPERN Briefing Papers

The SEI-based European Parties Elections & Referendums Network (EPERN) produces an ongoing series of briefings on the impact of European integration on referendum and election campaigns. There are two new additions to the series. Key points from this are outlined below. EPERN papers are available free at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/research/europeanpartieselectionsreferendumsnetwork/epernelectionbriefings>

EPERN
European Parties Elections
and Referendums Network

EPERN BRIEFING PAPER:

No. 69

“Europe and the parliamentary elections in Slovenia December 2011”

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Key points

- Two parties, Zoran Janković List-Positive Slovenia and the Civic List of Gregor Virant, both established two months prior to the elections, won 37% of the vote.
- Although Positive Slovenia led by Ljubljana’s mayor Zoran Janković won the elections it was not able to form a coalition. In contrast, former prime minister Janez Janša managed to forge a five party coalition with his Slovene Democratic Party (SDS) at the helm.
- Both liberal democratic parliamentary parties - Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS), which had been the dominant party of Slovenian politics for a more than a decade, and Zares, the party created by important former Liberal Democracy MPs - failed to cross the electoral threshold.
- The Slovene National Party lost its parliamentary representation for the first time since 1992.
- In contrast, for the first time a former parliamentary party (New Slovenia) which had not crossed the electoral threshold in the previous election managed to re-enter the parliament in 2011.
- As with previous national parliamentary elections in Slovenia, EU topics were largely absent in the electoral campaign.
- The electoral campaign was characterized mainly by economic and social questions, allegations of corruption and clientelism, as well as a battle for the post of prime minister between Mr Janković and Mr Janša



EPERN REFERENDUM BRIEFING

No. 18

“Croatia’s EU accession referendum, 22 January 2012”

Andrea Čović
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Key points

- Following on closely from the parliamentary election of 4 December 2011, Croatia’s EU accession referendum was held on 22 January 2012.
 - This was the second referendum in post-communist Croatia; the first one had been the country’s 1991 vote to declare independence from Yugoslavia.
 - It was also the first accession referendum held after the 2003 referendums of
- the fifth EU enlargement round.
 - With a parliamentary consensus over EU membership as the key foreign policy goal, Croatian anti-EU campaigners had no political coherence and were unable to mobilise their target groups to cast No votes in large numbers.
 - The biggest surprise was the unexpectedly low voter turnout of only 43.3%, which was lower than in any previous EU accession referendum.
 - Nevertheless, institutional amendments passed in 2010 allowed for a valid outcome based only on the majority of votes cast: a 66.27 % Yes votes overpowered the 33.13% cast against accession.
 - The voting demographics were surprisingly balanced, with a relatively similar percentage of supporters and opponents of accession found among



Andrea Covic discusses the Croatian EU accession referendum with SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak at a British Council seminar in Zagreb

SEI DOCTORAL STUDENTSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

The SEI welcomes candidates wishing to conduct doctoral research in the following areas of our core research expertise:

- Comparative Politics - particularly the comparative study of political parties, public policy, political corruption and comparative European politics.
- European Integration - particularly European political integration, the political economy of European integration, European security and EU external policy and the domestic politics of European integration, including Euroscepticism.
- British Politics - particularly party politics, public policy and the politics of migration.
- Citizenship and Migration - particularly the politics of race and ethnicity.

The University of Sussex has been made a Doctoral Training Centre (DTC) by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

As a result of this, applications are invited for ESRC doctoral studentships through the SEI for UK applicants (fees and maintenance grants) or from those from other EU states (fees only).

Applications are also invited for Sussex School of Law, Politics and Sociology (LPS) partial fee-waiver studentships for applicants from both the UK/EU and non-EU states.

Potential applicants should send a CV and research proposal to Professor Aleks Szczerbiak
(a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk).



Activities

SEI staff and doctoral students and Politics undergraduates report back on their experiences of the exciting activities they have recently organised and attended.

Gender Equality and Intersectionality at the Socio-Legal Studies Association Annual Conference 2012



On 3-5 April 2012 Dr. Charlotte Skeet and Prof. Susan Millns from the Sussex Law School gave papers at the Annual Conference of the Socio-Legal Studies Association that was held at De Montfort University Leicester. Negotiating an unexpected East Midlands spring snow fall, the pair formed part of a panel session on 'Intersectionality' that had been organised by Dr. Skeet.

Charlotte presented her work on 'Au Pairs Intersectionality and Gender Equality in the 21st Century'. This paper located an analysis of the role and status of the 'au pair' as an intersectional legal category in the context of human and civil rights and discourse on gender equality in the present century. It addressed the question of whether au pairs form an exception to the norm or whether the construc-

tion of the distinct category of the 'au pair' reinforces normative discourses in relation to women's equality.

The first section of the paper mapped the legal position of the au pair in the UK and included a discussion of recent changes in regulation of the au pair experience. The second section drew on empirical research which examined the actual experience of au pairs in the UK and considered the fluidity of this category for women seeking migration opportunities. Finally, the paper analysed the promotion of gender norms through the notion of the au pair and considered how these contribute to wider discourses on legal equality in the UK and Europe.

Pursuing a similar agenda of the legal position of women situated in an intersectional context, Susan Millns presented a paper that had been co-authored with Dr. Skeet on 'Legal Mobilization and Gender in the UK'. This contribution analysed women's contemporary use of rights to mobilize and pursue claims for gender equality and gender justice in the UK. While the legal literature on women's rights in the UK tends to focus on case law analysis and legal reform, literature from political science looks at women's mobilization in the context of political struggles for equality.

This paper employed an interdisciplinary perspective drawing from both law and politics, to examine women's social mobilization around rights claims investigating which women use rights (eg individuals, elites, NGOs) and how they use rights (eg as lobbying tools, court based challenges, shields, swords or political mobilizers).

The paper employed two case studies by way of example: the first looking at the right to bodily integrity, sexual violence and domestic

abuse against women; the second examining women as refugees and asylum seekers. Each of the case studies situated women's mobilization around rights emanating from national sources, EU law and the European Convention on Human Rights, as well as international human rights instruments. This research is due to be published shortly in a special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* edited by Dia Anagnostou and Susan Millns on 'Gender Equality, Legal Mobilization and Feminism in a Multi-Level European System'.

High Level Conference on the future of the European Court of Human Rights 18th - 20th April 2012

The SEI and Sussex Law School welcomed delegates to the High Level Conference on the Future of the European Court of Human Rights which was held in Brighton on 18-20 April 2012. The Sussex Law School has for many years expressed a critical but passionate support for the whole project of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), both in its teaching and its research.

For the past 20 years, the SEI has also critically engaged with processes of European integration and contemporary European issues. Many Sussex Law School and SEI scholars working on this topic, at this crucial moment in the development of the European Court of Human Rights, are strongly committed to the Convention and to its importance in both the United Kingdom and wider Europe.

Their commitment is based on a number of factors:

1. They are proud that the United Kingdom has played a crucial role in the global development of human rights.

The evolving principles which are enshrined in

Magna Carta of 1215, the *Petition of Right* of 1627, and the *Bill of Rights* of 1689, not to mention the involvement of British lawyers in the creation of the US *Bill of Rights* of 1789, all provide the direct antecedents to the ECHR. Our country's involvement in the overthrow of European totalitarianism in 1945 justified British lawyers in taking a leading role in the drafting of the ECHR in 1950.

2. Since that time, they feel the need for a strong statement of our collective European understanding of human rights has not diminished. The ECHR they argue, has proved to be crucial in the transition of former Soviet states in Eastern Europe to democracy and in defending Europe as a whole from a range of authoritarian challenges for over 60 years.

3. But they also feel there is no room for complacency in this area and that there are new, immediate and even more dangerous threats to our human rights in Europe as a result of a wide range of current developments, including:

- the financial crisis and the installation of technocratic governments in Greece and

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Italy (and possibly other states) with the mission of imposing austerity measures, irrespective of democratic support; contains details of the UK state of the art report along with that of 8 other European countries (see <http://www.juristras.eliamep.gr/>).

- internationally mobile crime in Europe and the establishment of new transborder responses such as the unrestricted mutual access to DNA databases under the Prüm Convention and mutual assistance; Human Rights in Europe
- through the European Investigation Order, none of which have so far been brought under effective due process scrutiny; The SEI held a roundtable on 18 January 2012 as part of its Research in Progress Seminar Series. The speakers, Zdenek Kavan, Dr Charlotte Skeet and Professor Susan Millns, highlighted different aspects of current human rights protection in Europe both under European Union Law and under the European Convention on Human Rights. Particular attention was paid to the situation of minorities and the ways in which their rights are still not adequately protected in Europe.
- the continuing erosion of rights protections for those accused of terrorist offences or illegal immigration.

4. In addition, they argue that the European Court of Human Rights has a distinguished record of promoting important and highly beneficial change in the United Kingdom itself. They feel that its case law has resulted in very significant improvements to our prison system, criminal justice, childcare, family and welfare law, to name but a few areas.

Do We Need a UK Bill of Rights?

A workshop held in the Law School in October 2011 on the topic, 'Do We Need a UK Bill of Rights?' discussed the questions posed by the Commission on a Bill of Rights' Consultation Paper and informed the Centre's response to this Consultation.

They also argue that new threats emerging, for example in respect of the interception of electronic communications and press freedom, all argue strongly for the retention of the ECHR as an overarching protection for British citizens.

The subsequent discussion also addressed: whether there was a need for a UK or British Bill of Rights, the process of drafting such a Bill and the role of the Human Rights Act 1998. The submission, drafted by Deputy Director of the Centre Elizabeth Craig, can be found at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/law/documents/centrerrlawresponsefinalword.pdf>

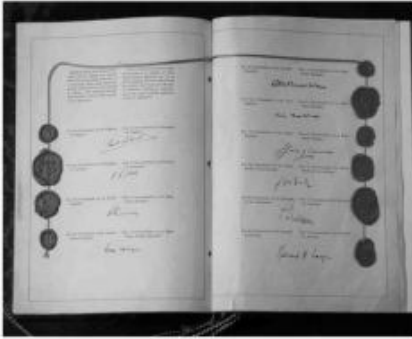
The JURISTAS project

The *JURISTRAS* project, funded the European Commission and coordinated in the UK by Professor Susan Millns, Co-Director of the SEI, has examined processes of human rights litigation in the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and the effects of its judgments on national laws, judicial attitudes and policy making in the UK. The project website

We have expertise at the Sussex Law School in a range of relevant areas such as the importance of retaining the ECHR as part of English Law (Marie Dembour. M.Dembour@sussex.ac.uk), the potential consequences of including legal responsibilities in a Bill of Rights (Jo Bridgeman. J.C.Bridgeman@sussex.ac.uk), the scope for

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recognition of children's rights (Jane Fortin. Emc22@sussex.ac.uk) as well as the importance of the ECHR to criminal procedure (Jane Fortin. Jane.Fortin@Sussex.ac.uk), women's rights (Charlotte Skeet. C.H.Skeet@Sussex.ac.uk), (Richard Vogler. R.K.Vogler@Sussex.ac.uk), and minority rights (Elizabeth Craig.



Wealth and Poverty in Close Personal Relationships' in Oñati, Spain

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encouraging dialogue and exchange between disciplines and across issues and jurisdictions.

On 3 and 4 May 2012 a number of members of the Sussex European Institute and School of Law, Politics and Sociology took part in a workshop on "Wealth and Poverty in Close Personal Relationships" held at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law (IISL) in Oñati in Spain.

The workshop was organised by Prof. Susan Millns from the Sussex European Institute, together with Dr. Ruth Woodfield from the Sociology Department at Sussex and Dr. Simone Wong from the Law School at the University of Kent.

Also presenting papers and in attendance were Prof. Heather Keating, Craig Lind and Nick Beard from the Sussex Law School and a further 15 participants from all over Europe and North America. The participants were drawn from the disciplines of law, sociology, social policy and economics with a view to



The workshop provided a space for the workshop participants to explore the ways in which money matters are structured and governed within close personal relationships and the extent to which they have an impact on the nature and economic dynamics of relationships. At a time of global, European and domestic economic crisis, the financial aspects of domestic and familial relationships are

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more important and more strained than ever before. The workshop provided the opportunity to discuss relations of intimacy in sexual and non-sexual domestic relationships, and economic (inter)dependency, by interrogating how, when and why money matters in close personal relationships.

In what way(s) does it affect or lead to individuals being, or willing to become, economically vulnerable? Are some (women, for example) more prone to vulnerability than others? How do familial and domestic relationships affect the acquisition of wealth in households and equally how do they contribute to the poverty of individuals.

The workshop also explored governmental and legal responses by investigating the privileging of certain types of domestic relationships (through fiscal and non fiscal measures), and the differential provision on relationship breakdown. Papers presented over the two-day workshop were, intellectually, highly stim-

ulating and raised very challenging questions, particularly in the current climate of budget and welfare cuts flowing from the global and European financial crises.

The workshop aimed to seek new insights into the ways in which law and policy, by regulating the financial aspects of domestic and familial relationships, can be deployed as an effective instrument of governance in 'stabilising' or 'mainstreaming' forms of domestic relations and in ending or perpetuating inequality in relationships. The workshop organisers are very much looking forward to the publication of the workshop papers which are being written up for inclusion in a special edited collection, the aim of which is to provide an interdisciplinary perspective on the distribution of wealth and poverty in personal relationships.

For more information on this workshop and others in the 2012 series, visit the website of the IISL: <http://www.iisj.es>



2012 Slavonic and East European Studies conference

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The British Association of Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) 2012 annual conference was held at its usual venue, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge between 31 March and 2 April. The BASEES conference is a truly interdisciplinary event that attracts academics from various fields within the humanities and social sciences, all united by their focus on Eastern Europe and states of the former Soviet Union.

As such, the audiences for panels at the conference can be eclectic with scholars of film and linguistics attending presentations on party politics and economics. This can make for an interesting question and answer session enlivened by idiosyncratic contributions – a colleague once presented a paper at BASEES on the development of the technology sector in Russia and was subsequently asked by a participant to give his views on the employment prospects for piano tuners in the country.

The major benefit of presenting at an interdisciplinary conference of this type is that a researcher will have to face the proverbial ‘critical but non-specialist audience’ and it is therefore a good exercise in communicating research.

Despite (or perhaps because of) its status as an interdisciplinary conference, BASEES attracts the leading names in Slavonic and East European political science and at the 2012 event papers were delivered by, among others, Stephen White (Glasgow) and Richard Sakwa (Kent).

I presented a paper on the role of ideology in government formation as part of the ‘Political Institution’ panel chaired by Allan Sikk (SSEES, UCL) and was fortunate enough to enjoy a lively discussion of my research which will contribute to my book which will be published next year. In a well-organised panel that consisted of presenters with overlapping research interests there were three further papers, two of which were particularly interesting: Philip Köker’s (SSEES, UCL) research on presidential activism in Eastern Europe and Sergiu Ghergina’s (GESIS, Köln) paper on the success of ethnic parties in post-communist states.

The highlight of the conference was Ivan Krastev’s (University of Sofia) keynote address on ‘Eastern Europe and Europe’s Crisis’. In it, Krastev compared the current economic crisis in Spain, Greece, Italy and Portugal with the post-communist transition in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. Krastev believes that while populations and politicians in post-communist Eastern Europe were united in their belief that radical change was necessary and some pain must be endured to achieve that, no such consensus exists in the countries mired in the current economic crisis.

In fact, government-led efforts to try and improve the economic fortunes of Spain, Greece,

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Italy and Portugal have often been met with resistance from the electorate. Krastev also noted the changed political environment, in particular the European Union which enjoys a lower degree of trust among EU citizens than it did in the 1990s.

He concluded by sounding a warning for the Eurozone economies: although the break-up of the Eurozone seems unthinkable to many, the same was said of the Soviet Union in the early-to-mid 1980s.

Rights and Responsibilities: Global Perspectives

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The School of Law, Politics and Sociology held their inaugural PhD conference entitled 'Rights and Responsibilities: Global Perspectives' on 14 June in the BSMS building. The theme of the conference was chosen on the basis of its broad context application to support wide range participation, with particular consideration given to the variety of PhD topics being researched within the School. The interdisciplinary event also aimed to engage students from outside the University who had research interests in the areas of rights and responsibilities. With over 50 delegates in attendance, representing nine different universities from across the country, the School more than achieved these aims.

Professor Stephen Shute, Head of School, kick-started the day with a warm welcome to delegates. This was shortly followed by four thoroughly interesting conference papers, covering topics from each of the three disciplines within the School. Helen Dancer of Sussex Law School provided the first paper on 'Equal Rights, Customary Law and Women's Claims to Land in Tanzania'. This was followed by Michael Fretas Mohallem from University College London who spoke on 'The Role of Constitutional Courts in the Development of Post-National Law'. The second session saw Tom Semlyen from King's College London speaking about 'Diversity and Social Exclusion: two re-



sponses to inequality' before Laila Kadiwal from Sussex's Sociology Department took to the stage to give her paper, 'Negotiating the Nation: The "Official" verses Popular Understanding of "Tajik" Nationality in Post-Soviet Tajikistan'.

The conference then welcomed Christopher Hall, Senior Legal Advisor at Amnesty International, who had been invited to give the plenary presentation entitled 'Using international law to make positive change'. Drawing on his personal experiences as a practising international lawyer, Christopher relayed several fascinating cases where international law had been used to make positive changes to global human rights. A big thank you to him for travelling to Sussex to provide an exceptional plenary presentation.

The afternoon session commenced with ten poster presentations, allowing delegates to present their research over the lunch period in the more informal setting of the Medical School foyer. This relatively new addition to social science conferences proved to be a popular format for presenting research and was of immense benefit to those who took part. After lunch the conference broke into five streams covering the themes of rights and responsibilities within the respective disci-

plines of law, politics and sociology. A fascinating range of papers made for a thoroughly enjoyable end to the day.

In all the conference was a resounding success, not only because it provided Sussex students with an excellent opportunity to present their research to an academic audience but also be-

cause it showcased the research talents of Sussex University's PGR community to the rest of the country. We look forward to making the conference even bigger and better next year.

Many thanks to all of those students and academics who attended and for their help making the event an enjoyable and interesting day.

'Rights and Responsibilities' DPhil conference

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The morning dawned for Sussex's first ever DPhil-led conference. As I headed onto campus I had to battle with the urge to flee far, far away and bury my head in the sand...or, at the very least, Brighton's pebble beach. It was not only the first conference that I was to attend as a shiny new DPhil student, but it was also the first one in which I would participate.

And it was a daunting prospect. Luckily, like the campus as a whole, the conference was created in the spirit of inclusiveness. DPhil students were able to participate in a variety of ways, from plenary papers in the morning by students nearing the completion of their thesis, to presenting in the afternoon workshops or, for the less masochistic amongst us, providing a poster presentation of their research.

Yinked from the more science-y disciplines, poster presentations over the lunch period enabled newer DPhil students to summarise their thesis into snazzy A3 size posters and enabled the wider conference to obtain an overview of their research. Those presenting posters were able to engage in discussions with those interested, offering a refreshing alternative to the awkward small talk inflicted



upon conference attendees during lunch. These conversations facilitated the mood of dialogue and debate during the afternoon conferences, where I joint-presented a paper.

The wider conference theme of rights and responsibilities provided a wide ambit from which the discussions during the afternoon workshops could start.

Four workshop streams broadly tailored the debates to a particular notion or idea where three presentations kicked-off proceedings and facilitated discussions on the wider theme. Topics ranged from the reconceptualisation of international criminal law to gender mainstreaming during peace building, ensuring that there were plenty of interesting subjects for the discerning young academic to intellectually gorge on.

The role of the European Union provided a key topic of discussion with debates centring on the EU's role in the promotion of democracy and the issue of immigration and voting during European Parliament elections. All discussions were done in the spirit of academic enhancement, designed to provide new and

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fresh thinking on the topics presented. As a result, no objects were thrown at those presenting and heckling was kept to a minimum.

The conference was widely attended by DPhil students both from Sussex and institutions further afield such as Manchester and Oxford. Sussex masters students also participated and added another welcome dimension to proceedings. Debate was rampant, but civil, even when a certain student (i.e. not me) threatened to spill a bottle of rather nice complementary wine at the after-conference recep-

tion. This was followed by a social event in Brighton, where the finer parts of the city's nightlife were sampled and *ahem* the drinking was utterly responsible.

All in all, I was right to ignore my survival instinct (which is never entirely reliable, I am a postgraduate after all) and I am thoroughly glad that I turned up for the conference. It was a highly enjoyable and memorable day (although the night may forever remain hazy). I am looking forward to next year.

Migration Research Graduate Student Conference 2012

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'Exploring Migration: the Graduate Student Conference' was held on 21-22 June 2012 with the financial support of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) and the Moving out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium. Building on the success of the first SCMR conference last year, Gunjan Sondhi, Vanessa Iaria (both in the Global Studies school) and I organised the event this year, aiming to explore the latest theoretical and empirical developments in the interdisciplinary field of migration.

Europe, it became apparent, was the focus for many participants. A diverse range of topics were discussed: legal points of view; the issue of lesbian asylum seekers in the UK; the liberal paradox of liberal democratic countries; and the persecution of trafficked persons, building on the case law from countries such as the UK, Ireland, Italy, France and Spain. We also considered 'super-diversity' cities (including London) from comparative perspectives. Moving closer to the migrants themselves, we also learned of the migrants' protest movements in Greece and Switzerland. The study of migration from the EU as a form of return migration was also explored.



The conference represented a multiplicity of migration-related research. The academic background of presenters varied from history, human geography, anthropology, economics, international relations, politics and law. Some adopted quantitative methods and others

qualitative and mixed methods. While some were in the writing-up stage, others were half-way, or had just started their doctoral research. Consequently, some presented their research design and theoretical and methodological framework while others gave an account of their preliminary research findings.

Though participants were research students, their professional experiences were rich: solicitors, consultants and researchers for NGOs and international organisations were in attendance. These wide academic/professional backgrounds provided participants with opportunities to receive constructive feedback from different points of view.

The networking opportunity was one of the best parts of the conference. Researchers had

come from Italy, the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and the UK. During the various panel discussion times, breaks and dinner (in which external participants enjoyed the locally produced beer), participants exchanged the views on the topics discussed and the difficulties and challenges they had had in conducting research. Sharing experiences is such an important part of study, however it does not always happen in day-to-day work. The conference thus helped construct networks and share experiences.

It was a great opportunity for me to develop my capacity for organising a conference and presenting my work. Deciding the themes of

the conference, selecting the submitted abstracts (we received many more than we could accommodate), making panels and chairing a panel: these were truly exciting experiences.

An early concern of ours related to the financial aspect of holding a conference, but we were fortunate enough to find two institutions to help us make all necessary arrangements. I gave a presentation on the EU border management policy, and received helpful feedback from the floor, which ranged from my ontological perspective to the findings of the study. Overall, it was an enjoyable intellectual event for those migration researchers early on in their careers.

'Political Parties and Migration Policy Puzzles'

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In mid-June, I travelled to the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, to attend a two-day workshop on political parties and migration policy in Europe. Held at CERGU (Centre for European Research), the event was thought-provoking in terms of the variety – and level of sophistication – of papers presented.

The first day began with Alexandre Afonso of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Germany, whose paper, which looked at immigration control in Switzerland, focused on intra-party competition on (in which parties are regarded as spaces of competition rather than unitary actors). This is in contrast to much of the current literature with its emphasis on inter-party competition, which fails to consider power relationships between party leaders, party 'bases' and factions. This was followed by Jan Rovny of CERGU whose paper looked at immigration in Central and Eastern Europe (traditionally a region of emigra-



tion, now, increasingly, a place to which immigrants are attracted). His presentation considered whether immigration complements or replaces the ethnic minority issue and found it to be determined by long-standing party ideologies. Umut Korkut of Glasgow Caledoni-

an University considered how right-wing parties in Hungary and Turkey deal with the issue of immigration in the absence of any significant number of immigrants.

During the second panel, Frøy Gudbrandsen, University of Bergen, Norway, presented a paper on government responsiveness to asylum policy in the Scandinavian countries. Most interesting of all, she found that governments were more responsive to their 'own' voters than the median voters that much of contem-

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porary political science assumes parties to be constantly chasing. Kristian Jensen, Aarhus University, Denmark considered whether political competition on immigration and integration issues are nationally distinct in a comparative piece which looked at Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Gregg Bucken-Knapp of University of Stirling, Jonas Hinnfors, University of Gothenburg, Pia Levin of Uppsala University, Sweden and Andrea Spehar of CERGU presented a paper on differences in labour migration policy preferences of mainstream Finnish and Swedish political parties.

Finally, Tim Bale presented our (much awaited) joint paper on Conservative Party immigration policy change, entitled “‘We are not in politics to ignore people’s worries: we are politics to deal with them.’ Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study’. This was followed by Andrew Morrison of COSLA Strategic Migration Partnerships who looked at the competing ideologies and strategies of political parties at Holyrood and Westminster. Helen Drake of Loughborough

University gave a paper on France and the party political immigration ‘agenda’.

The last panel saw a presentation by Pontus Odmalm of Edinburgh University on cleavage stability and the dynamics of party competition with regard to the immigration ‘issue’ in Sweden and the Netherlands. Mikko Kuisma of Oxford Brookes gave a paper on ‘the economic nationality of the True Finns’ immigration discourse’. Last but by no means least, Mark van Ostaïjen of Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands, presented a paper on political populism and migrant integration policies.

Both Tim and I answered questions about our paper (its content and structure) and we were pleased to receive so many helpful suggestions. The call for more tables was unanimous, and we have revised our paper to accommodate this demand, as well as updating the section on process-tracing (cheers Kristian!). With many thanks to the organisers Gregg, Jonas and Andrea, the chairs of the panels and the contributors for a very diverse and engaging workshop.

Croatian students reflect on MACES

**Biljana Birac, Branko Horvat
and Ruzica Misir
MACES student’s, 2011-12**

As the last generation of Croatian civil servants who have been granted scholarships to attend the MACES programme, we cannot stress enough how extremely fortunate we feel for having been given the opportunity to join this unique academic experience. In spite of the fact that we all come from different academic and work backgrounds, the programme managed to answer all of our diverse interests.

This interdisciplinary programme combines and covers the creation of contemporary Europe and the European integration from his-

torical, political, legal and theoretical points of view and allows students to focus on the development of their different interests.

We believe that these characteristics make the MACES programme stand out in the variety of European integration study programmes offered today. Through the rich selection of diverse subjects, we were all able to pursue our interests, in particular the ones related to our work.

In the view of Croatia’s accession to the EU in July 2013, we believe that with the knowledge acquired through the MACES programme we will be able to respond with competence to the challenging work which will come with the

accession. Furthermore, the wide selection of round tables and research in progress seminars organised by the Sussex European Institute gave us an additional input for the development of future possible interests.

Another important aspect for us was getting to know the British educational system, which differs from the Croatian one in many ways. For example, writing essays proved to be quite a big challenge, as we were not used to such types of examinations before.

However, this did not discourage us from studying in a different way, finding solutions to the problems from different perspectives and developing critical thinking at the same time. We can most certainly say that overcoming this obstacle would not have been possible if we did not have such wonderful tutors and professors, who were always available and eager to help us.

Moreover, going on a study trip to Brussels as part of the MACES programme, gave us a unique opportunity to visit the town which is synonymous with the European Union. While

visiting EU institutions, talking to its various representatives and getting their impressions and views on specific issues such as enlargement, we got a direct and valuable output which will once again prove to be very important for our work in Croatia.

However, we would also like to say that studying at the University of Sussex is not just about studying. Starting with our wonderful classmates and flatmates in the student accommodation, we have met so many wonderful people from different countries all over the world. In other words, Sussex gave us an invaluable experience in terms of learning about other cultures, customs, and also knowledge about British people and their way of life which could not be learnt from the books.

Going for a Sunday roast, watching the Olympics with friends or going to the Brighton beach to breathe some fresh air is definitely something invaluable. To conclude, it is hard to put into words all the experiences from the last year. All we can say once again is that we feel extremely lucky to have been given the possibility to study here.

Brussels a hub for different European nations

Hubert Paul Farrugia
MACES student, 2011-12

Although I had spent the past four years of my life becoming an even bigger Europhile on a fulltime basis, I admit that I had not visited the European institutions yet. It was a great opportunity to put whatever I studied during my BA and Masters into tangible facts. The visit to the European institutions is a must do for all those European Studies and European Politics students to be able to appreciate how the real 'heart' of the European project really works.



Through the press (especially the traditionally Eurosceptic British one), one may get an idea that these institutions are made by some na-

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tionless ultra-federal daleks also known as 'those Europeans'. Upon arrival in this busy city, one realizes that the population is immensely multicultural and multilingual making Brussels a hub for different European nations, regions and cultures. Restaurants, bars and even supermarkets are run by and cater for many cultures and countries. This connects perfectly everyday life inside the European institutions, a unity of diverse backgrounds with the aim of creating a better Europe.

The first visit we paid was the Commission building. After being introduced to an abstract sculpture showing the size of member states in proportion to the height of a stickman (even a 5-foot-3 m overlooked Malta) we had interesting presentations describing the Lisbon treaty amendments, how the multi-annual Financial Framework works and last but not least, the current debt and banking crisis, probably the EU's biggest challenge at the moment.

Perhaps the most informative visit for me was the one to the committee of the regions. As I was born and raised in Malta, which is the smaller than the size of an average region in most member states, I previously failed to understand the value it adds to the EU. Its role grown over the years both due to political dynamics, were regions have been delegated powers from central governments and also in recognition of the principle of subsidiarity.

As seen in the Baden-Baden-Württemberg visit, regions from different Member States may have similar interests to those within their own country and hence can lobby together. Speaking about lobbying, the sheer presence of European as well as international companies, corporations and consulates is impossible to ignore. One of the most heavy lobbied laws in recent years, ACTA, was a hot

topic debated by SEI students with Mr. Saryusz-Wolski, an MEP during our visit to the European Parliament. The current Eurozone crisis was also discussed and was the foremost issue raised in our discussions in the almost all the talks we had with various officials in almost all the institutions we visited.

The visit to the Croatian Representation was filled with dedication and enthusiasm towards Croatia's imminent entry. It was a reminder of how much delicate work the process of negotiation entails. The discussion with Mr Korte was a good session bringing us up-to-date with the state of affairs in DG Enlargement. The visit to the UK Representation showed how different countries have different methods and attitudes towards representing their interests.

As this is a European Studies course and not just EU studies, I was pleased that we also got the chance to visit NATO Headquarters. After an early rise to visit this high-security compound, we were greeted by two enthusiastic speakers who described the role of NATO and the ever changing challenges it faces. Unlike what some commentators say, the role of NATO is far from dead but is actually changing its role to a more intelligence based security organization. The nature of warfare, security and threats are changing and so is NATO.

Overall this was a truly memorable visit which gave me a huge impetus towards writing my dissertation over the summer. As discussed in our visit to the Commission with Mr Hans Nilsson, the continuous enrichment and hard work of the EU's institutions shows that despite the current economic storm, the European project is alive and kicking with dedication to over-ride this storm like never seen before.

SEI Scholars Win Teaching Awards



SEI-based Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough, and doctoral student and associate tutor Amy Busby, have both won teaching prizes in the 2012 University of Sussex awards, for established and early career staff respectively.

This follows on from last year when the Sussex Department of Politics, where many of the core faculty who teach on SEI's Masters programmes are based, were awarded a Sussex team teaching prize following a nomination from the student body; and Dr Hough's earlier success in winning a national award by the Political Studies Association (PSA) for teaching excellence.

In his statement supporting Dr Hough's nomination, Head of the Politics Department Paul Taggart - himself a one-time PSA national teaching award winner - said that 'Dan sets an impossibly high standard of energy, commitment and engagement with his topics and his students. He is profoundly successful in his teaching. Students find Dan to be accessible, challenging and committed. He always takes on teaching with enthusiasm whether or not it is his core research agenda.' Professor Taggart drew particular attention to Dr Hough's teaching on a Research Skills and Methods course, 'without doubt the most difficult course to teach' which 'he makes a success

(through being) innovative, energetic and forward looking'.

Amy Busby was nominated by one of her Politics undergraduate students who said that Amy, delivers 'stimulating, challenging and inspiring teaching, uses innovative approaches which do make a difference to student learning, has recognition and support of student diversity, has effective organisation, management and delivery of courses and offers support and feedback to students on their progress and development'. Writing in support of Amy Busby's nomination, Professor Taggart described her as 'one of the very best of our groups of Associate Tutors' who has 'taught on a range of courses and...always had a strong sense of professionalism and quality in teaching.'

This brings the total number of teaching awards for SEI-linked faculty in Sussex Politics Department to seven, which includes four national prize-winners members. In addition to Professor Taggart and Dr Hough, in recent years SEI-based faculty members Professor Aleks Szczerbiak and Professor Tim Bale have all been awarded the PSA annual prize for outstanding teaching in political science.

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Update on European Union Society

Yiannis Korkovelos
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This year has been marked by scepticism and uncertainty for the European Union's future. The possibility of the euro's collapse has been raised by the sovereign debt crisis and countries such as Greece, Portugal and Spain have made the headlines. With the future of the European Union at the crossroads, we strongly believe its continued existence depends on the views and actions of younger generations of Europeans.

For this reason the newly created EU Society has become a reality this year thanks to a group of friends. The Society, in its first year of existence, has created a centre of discussion for students who wish to escape from this pessimistic climate and set the ground for hope in unity. Our aim has been to understand the problems the EU is facing, explore them, exchange ideas, and offer solutions.

The crisis has raised the spectre of the EU's collapse with youth unemployment figures across the EU escalating to over 22%. We strongly believe that it is in times like this that the younger generations can make a difference and we believe the EU Society has the willingness, ambition and capability of creating a powerful centre of hope.

This year has proved very successful for the EU Society, having more than 140 friends on Facebook, and having held more than ten debates.

Moreover, we are proud to have organised a discussion on the topic of 'Technological Competition and EU/China relations' with speakers Professors Smith and Van der Pijl. Furthermore, a well-attended discussion on

whether 'the Greek crisis is symptomatic of EU failure' took place with Dr Gerodimos presenting his ideas. Finally, in an event during the summer term, Green Party MEP Keith Taylor spoke on the following topic: 'Did David Cameron's veto on the new treaty change prove that the UK is still an "awkward partner"?'

Numerous questions followed and a very interesting debate was launched. This roundtable discussion allowed students from different backgrounds and different countries to learn but also offer their thoughts and insights to this constructive debate.

As Aristotle said 'Good habits formed at youth make all the difference.' Thanks to the University of Sussex we, the EU Society, believe we are more than allowed to be optimistic for our future, especially after this successful year. This year has been fantastic for our society and we hope to continue like this next year, with a trip to Brussels visiting the EU institutions being part of the programme. Students who wish to join us are more than welcome - we need you!

You can always find us on facebook or send an email to Yiannis Korkovelos at ik67@sussex.ac.uk. Finally, we would like to thank all professors and students that have helped us during this year.



EUROPEAN UNION SOCIETY

SEI showcases student talent in symposium on French election

Sussex undergraduates studying French politics as part of their degrees have showcased their emerging talent at a symposium on the French presidential election.

Forty staff, students and visitors attended the half-day event on Wednesday (25 April), which was organised by the Sussex European Institute (SEI) and the Politics Society.

There were presentations from undergraduates Patrick Dowson, Louis Godfrey, Jonathan Green, Joe-Sheridan Power, India Thorogood and Julius Veasey - who have all taken courses on the 'Politics of Governance: France' and 'Political Change: The Mitterrand Years'.

The topics they covered included: the importance of the presidential election in historical context; controversies over the election rules; the candidates' programmes and the main issues and debates during the campaign; the evolution of opinion polls during the campaign and comparison with results of the first round.

Earlier the students had been on a study trip to Paris that included a visit to the National Assembly and a tour of most of the significant sites for French political history such as the Pantheon, the Basilica at St Denis and the Invalides.

Dr Sue Collard, who convenes the undergraduate French politics courses and organised the Paris study trip, said: "I wanted to get the students involved in this event as some of them engaged fantastically well with this election campaign and have developed a really good grasp of the complexities of French politics.

"It was a great opportunity for them to demonstrate this in a public forum, and also to

get a taste of what it's like to be on the other side of the lectern."

SEI Co-Director, Professor Aleks Szczerbiak, commented: "This symposium is part of a broader effort by the SEI to draw undergraduates into our research community, for example by engaging with the University's Junior Research Associate (JRA) bursary scheme.

"Hopefully, presenting and discussing their own analysis of the French election alongside Sussex faculty will - apart from helping them to hone their analytical and presentation skills - encourage our students to deepen their understanding of European politics by undertaking postgraduate study and their own research."

At the symposium, Dr Collard and two other SEI-linked French specialists, Dr Sally Martha-ler and Dr Adrian Treacher, gave their expert analysis of the campaign, voting patterns and the broader implications for Europe.

The seminar was held three days after the first round of voting in the French presidential election and ahead of the second round scheduled for 6 May.

The closely fought election saw centre-right incumbent Nicolas Sarkozy defeated by the socialist François Hollande, together with a strong first-round performance from Marine Le Pen from the radical right French National Front.



Dispatches

As usual, this Dispatches section brings views, experiences and research updates from SEI members and practitioner fellows from across Europe .

European Influence on the United States of America

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Two years ago I predicted in the pages of *Euroscope* that the mid-term American elections could end up meaning less for American influence in Europe than for European influence in the United States. My logic was that the Obama administration might have learned something from the Europeans regarding the urgency of budgetary discipline. Experience once again triumphed over hope, however, and Congress has continued to fiddle while Washington is flooded in red ink.

But my point about European influence remains valid, even if a new dynamic has come to bear. Consider first that American voters this year are faced with an election in which almost all that anyone cares about is the economy, which has failed to show the kind of rejuvenation that Barack Obama promised. This leaves them with the choice of re-electing Obama on the basis of a record that even his most ardent supporters regard as a disappointment, or replacing him with the unknown and largely un-

knowable Mitt Romney, who seems unable to generate much excitement in the Republican base. Either way, most voters will either be holding their noses in November and voting without much conviction, or staying at home.

Against this background, one of the few issues that could make a difference is the euro. If it continues until November to keep its head above water, and euro zone leaders continue doing the absolute minimum that they can get away with, and the predictions of collapse fail to materialize, then the Obama administration will probably be able to salvage just enough from the disappointments of the last four years to win an unconvincing victory and a second term.

But if we see countries like Greece leaving the euro, and we see a deepening spiral of bank

busts, defaults, loan write-offs, sluggish growth (or none at all) and/or ineffectual bailouts, then the contagion will inevitably spread across the Atlantic. This will undermine what little there has been of a recovery in the United States, and Obama could well end up being defeated.

In short, we face the paradox of Obama's presidency ultimately relying on events in a part of the world that he considers less important to American interests than almost any of his postwar predecessors. And while he has been busy telling everyone that US foreign policy needs to 'pivot' towards the Pacific and East Asia, the Europe that he has often over-

looked has been tapping him on the shoulder and suggesting that he not move quite so fast.

My prediction is that the euro zone ship of state will continue to weave its way through the storm that has been battering it since 2009, albeit with a lot of seasickness and broken furniture on board, and that Obama will win over an unimpressive Romney with a reduced majority. Whatever the outcome, though, the silver lining is that far more Americans are today aware of the size and reach of the European Union than ever before, which might end up resulting in a fundamental change in the way they regard Europe.

Foreign Affairs Committee conducts EU inquiry

Dr Brigid Fowler

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When I tell people that the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee is conducting an inquiry into Government policy on the future of the EU, they usually laugh. Those who subscribe to the most apocalyptic scenarios for the Union might say that even the title of the inquiry makes an heroic assumption - namely that the EU has a future.

The Committee decided to launch its inquiry in spring 2012, after the UK vetoed EU Treaty change at the December 2011 European Council. The Committee felt that the December veto might mark a fundamental shift in the UK's EU policy - which it is the Committee's job to scrutinise. The extent to which December 2011 indeed represented a watershed is one of the questions the Committee is investigating.



The Committee received written evidence, mostly during May, from a broad collection of individuals and organisations - ranging from Nigel Farage MEP of UKIP to Liberal Democrat MPs and MEPs, Open Europe to the European Movement, Business for New Europe, the financial services lobby group TheCityUK,

a number of leading academic experts and former UK diplomats and British EU officials, Jean-Claude Piris (former Legal Counsel to the EU Council and European Council), and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office itself.

Unexpectedly, the submission which attracted the most attention was from the Church of England. It provoked outrage in some parts of the right-wing press by claiming that the Government's stance in December had left the UK "without allies [...] [and] without credibility" (and by describing itself as a "European church", which some of its critics said showed it had misunderstood or forgotten the circumstances of its own creation).

The Committee held two oral evidence sessions before the summer break, with Sir Howard Davies, former chairman of the Financial Services Authority, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England and Director-General of the CBI; and Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform, Mats Persson, Director of Open Europe, and Michiel van Hulst, the Dutch independent consultant and former MEP. The Committee's terms of reference and written submissions, and the transcripts of its oral evidence sessions, are all available on its website: www.parliament.uk/facom (click the 'Inquiries' heading on the left, then scroll through the list).

The Committee's sense that this might be a defining moment in the UK's EU policy has certainly appeared to be supported by wider developments. The EU debate in London has felt recently to be in ferment. In the four months between May and August, major contributions were made by Lord Mandelson (the Hands lecture, Mansfield College, Oxford, 4 May); former Foreign Secretary Lord Owen (Europe Restructured?, Methuen); Daniel Hannan MEP (A Doomed Marriage: Britain and Europe, Notting Hill Editions); and the

economist Ruth Lea and Brian Binley MP (Britain and Europe: a new relationship, Global Vision).

The Federal Trust weighed in with the report of a series of seminars (There may be trouble ahead: the Coalition and the European Union); RUSI launched a research programme with a collection of essays (Rethinking Europe: the Federalist choice for a continent in crisis); the Centre for European Reform (www.cer.org.uk) published several important pieces, by its own researchers and external authors such as Jo Johnson MP; Open Europe seemed to produce a paper almost every week (www.openeurope.org.uk); and the 'Fresh Start' group of backbench Conservative MPs launched a detailed and wide-ranging 'green paper' which effectively represents a suggested prospectus for Government policy (www.eufreshstart.org).

From my vantage point, a couple of overarching things in particular strike me about the British EU debate, as of summer 2012. First, it is hard to overestimate how fast it has been moving. Ideas that might in some quarters have been taboo or regarded as a fringe position only a few months ago are now part of the mainstream discussion.

In particular, a lot of people around Westminster are now assuming that there will be some sort of referendum on the UK's place in the EU in the next parliament. And some serious, well-informed people now regard a British withdrawal from the EU as a result of any such referendum as – in the words used by the international investment bank Nomura in an August analysis of "The Brexit" – "a non-negligible probability".

By July, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary set out a position involving the possibility of a referendum, but not soon; support in principle for the negotiated repatriation of

some powers from the EU to the UK; and the carrying-out of a cross-government review of the balance of competences between the EU and the UK, to last until December 2014, as the possible basis for such an effort.

The immediate political question is how this position may be affected by an autumn and winter that are set to see possible further turbulence in the eurozone, the publication in December of European Council President Van Rompuy's proposals for further eurozone integration, the decisive negotiations on the next medium-term EU budget, and the need to secure parliamentary approval for two EU Treaty amendment bills (to ratify the creation of the European Stability Mechanism, and to ratify Croatia's EU accession and the Lisbon Treaty Protocols for Ireland and the Czech Republic). Second, the shape of the British EU debate that had hardened into place since Maastricht has been shaken up.

This has occurred, in particular, with the emergence of the personalities and views associated with Open Europe and the Fresh Start group, who want the UK to remain in the EU, but who want to reform or renegotiate across a whole range of EU policy areas to return powers from the EU to the UK.

Previously, the most prominent British 'Eurosceptic' position - taken, for example, by UKIP, or many commentators associated with the Bruges Group - has been to advocate British withdrawal from the Union. Arguably, now, the starkest dividing line between 'Eurosceptics' and others is between those who think the eurozone was always such a flawed idea it should be allowed to break up, and those who at least agree with the Government that it should be saved if possible.

Especially when combined with the balance of competences review (if that is conducted ef-

fectively), the emergence of the British 'renegotiation' agenda is likely to prompt wider and more serious consideration of exactly which bits of the *acquis* the UK might want to reform or opt out of, and thus also greater understanding in Westminster and beyond of the details of EU policies and decision-making.

Given the Prime Minister's stated support in principle for the repatriation of some powers from the EU to the UK, the political feasibility of possible renegotiation is another of the questions that the Committee is investigating.

The Committee will be taking more evidence in the autumn, and it will also visit a number of European capitals, to learn more about other countries' views and take soundings about the British position. On the current timetable, the Committee is likely to publish its report in early 2013.



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Political Economy of EU Integration
Political Parties and Party Systems in Europe
Human Rights in Europe
EU Single Market Law

NB Not all options will be offered every year.

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Next edition of *euroscope*: Citizenship

The next issue of *euroscope* will be a Special Issue on Citizenship. If you would like to contribute a piece to the Features section, or write about your research or a relevant event, then please contact the editors and submit your article by the 26th November 2012: email the team at: euroscope@sussex.ac.uk.

