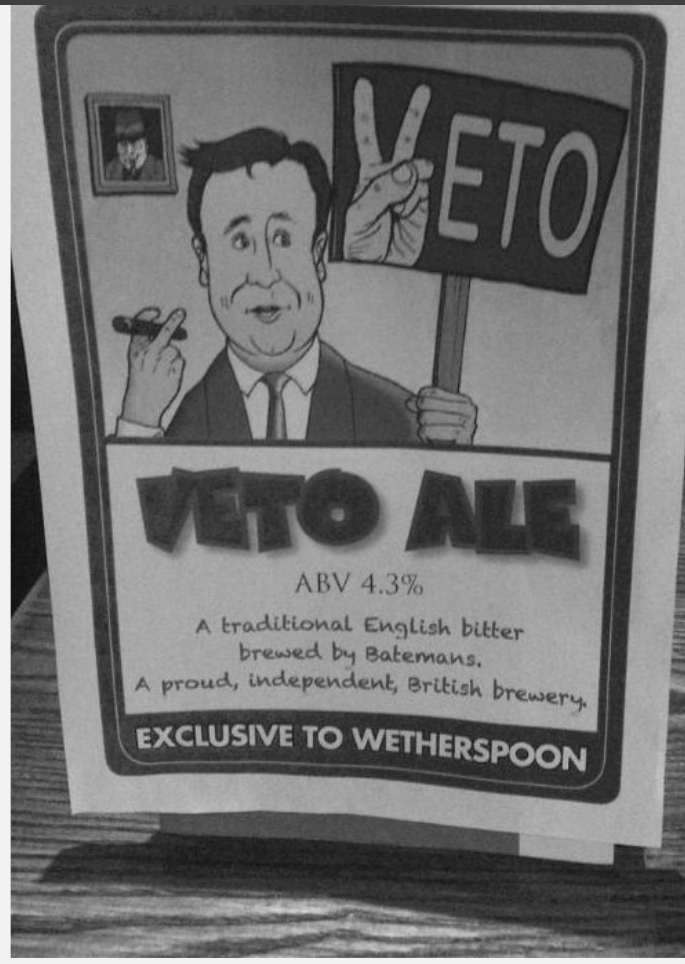


Euroscepticism in the UK



Peculiarities and Paradoxes of Euroscepticism in the UK

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We have come to accept, almost as a given, that the British relationship with European integration is difficult. It has become almost normal to expect British public opinion to remain doggedly among the most hostile to integration in Europe. And it has become an expectation that British politicians in dealing with the European Union and with other European states will be playing to a domestic audience that is, at best, sceptical and often hostile to integration. But we tend to forget how peculiar and paradoxical Euroscepticism in the UK is.

Of the many states in Europe, there are good reasons why we might expect the union that is the United Kingdom to be one of the most comfortable with a regional integration project. The United Kingdom is, after all, itself an integrated state made up of multiple nations with distinct identities. The union has been

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Why do Tories defect to UKIP?

LPS welcomes new members of faculty

Legitimacy and austerity within the European Union

Reports from conferences in Warsaw and Amsterdam

integrated gradually over time through a process of enlargement with different types of incorporation. The current structural arrangements represent a variable geometry of institutional powers with Westminster, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Stormont exercising very different competences, in very different ways and – increasingly – with different types of politics being associated with each of the parts. And as a whole there is a substantial imbalance with this union having one large component national unit and a number of smaller ones.

But we know that the United Kingdom has remained the most persistently Eurosceptical of all European states. So the first paradox is that an integrated multi-national state with unevenly sized component parts has produced such sustained opposition to the project to create an integrated Europe made up of multiple states of different size and forms.

One of the key reasons for British Euroscepticism lies in its party system and particularly in one of its parties. The British system has a peculiarity of being one of the only states to have one of its major parties govern as a ‘soft’ Eurosceptic party. While smaller parties of the left and right have developed Eurosceptical agendas across Europe and have entered into government (Taggart & Szczerbiak, 2013), they have had nothing like the importance of the Conservative Party within their systems.

Even the recent spectacular rise of a British new populist party like UKIP should not blind us to the overwhelming factor of just how unusual the Conservative Party’s Euroscepticism is. But this does not mean the issue is easy for Conservatives. Europe played its part in the defenestration of Margaret Thatcher, caused her successor no end of problems and recently David Cameron has come to experience the particular difficulties that Europe throws up for party and parliamentary management. The paradox remains that Europe seems a crucial

issue for the party but it remains a largely toxic issue for it.

The difficult nature of the issue for party management gives rise to another paradox. For a polity so defensive of its own institutional arrangements and so protective of its forms of politics, it is paradoxical that the two major parties of Westminster have repeatedly resorted to the most un-British and un-parliamentary of mechanisms to deal with the European issue.

One of the most emblematic of parliamentary systems has repeatedly resorted to referendums or pledges of them (see Oppermann, 2012) to deal with Europe. For the Labour Party the use of a referendum on the terms of British accession to Europe settled the difficult issue of party management in 1975. For Tony Blair, the pledge to hold a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty in 2004 effectively neutralised the issue at the subsequent general election.

And for the Conservative element of the current coalition government the promise of a referendum has become the tool by which Cameron has sought to manage the issue. While for his backbenchers the referendum commitment has become a tool with which to attempt to beat the leadership onto a path marked exit. In the end they may succeed. The twin paradoxes of a major party advocating Euroscepticism and using referendum pledges to deal with the issue of Europe may well lead to the ultimate peculiarity of the first major EU state leaving the Union.

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 Spring term issue is: 22 November 2013.

Co-Editors: Maria Emilsson, Rebecca Partos & Roxana Mihaila

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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- The official mailing list, contact: euroscope@sussex.ac.uk
- Hard copies are available from LPS office
- Join our new and dedicated facebook group and fan page called 'euroscope'

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

Eurocepticism in the EU

This issue of euroscope is a special edition presenting articles on Eurocepticism in the UK. You can find our special features pieces on pages 1-2, 12-24 and other topic related articles in the Research section. The Dispatches section also contains articles from our associates concerning Eurocepticism and surrounding areas.

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Message from the Co-Directors



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Welcome to this new autumn issue of Euroscope and to the new academic year. We are delighted to be able to share with our new students, researchers and colleagues the many events and activities that have taken place within the Sussex European Institute (SEI) during the past few months and those that are to follow in the coming year.

Understanding British Euroscepticism

The theme of this issue is Euroscepticism and, in exploring this perennial question, our collection of features reflects the contents of a workshop held at the University of Sussex back in June 2013 which examined 'Euroscepticism in the UK and re-connecting the public with the EU'. As you can see from the workshop report in the 'Activities' section, it included presentations by leading academics and practitioners from organisations such as YouGov, Open Europe and the New Europeans, as well as highlighting the view of the different political parties on Europe.

The workshop provided a fascinating insight into the myriad of perceptions and mispercep-

tions surrounding the UK's relationship with Europe and nearly all of the contributors have written feature articles based on their papers. In his lead article, Prof Paul Taggart draws upon insights from the SEI-based European Parties and Referendums Network (EPERN) to examine the similarities and differences between party Euroscepticism in the UK and its manifestation in other states. There are further contributions on the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, together with a piece on the UK Independence Party in which SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Webb and former SEI Professor Tim Bale (now based at Queen Mary University London) present the findings of their latest empirical work on Conservative party members attitudes towards its Eurosceptic challenger. Finally, SEI alumnus and Research Director of the Open Europe think tank Stephen Booth and former UK Ambassador to Slovakia from the New Europeans network Michael Roberts discussed whether the proposed UK referendum on EU membership could help re-connect the British public with the European integration process.

Connecting with Citizens

The workshop on Euroscepticism was generously funded by a grant from the European Commission Representation in the UK and was part of a series of events on the 'Future of Europe in an Age of Changes, Challenges and Chances'. Other events in this series have explored topics as diverse as the European Economic Recovery and the World Economy (February 2013); Migration and Citizenship in Europe (April 2013); the EU's External Action Service: Challenges and Solutions (April 2014); and Past and Future Reflections on Justice and Home Affairs (July 2013). Two further and final events within the series are being held in

September 2013 on 'Citizenship and Extra-Territorial Voting' (10-11 September 2013) and 'The Euro crisis and the German Election: The Dog that Didn't Bark?' (27 September 2013).

Following the success of the 2012-13 workshop series, the EC Representation has made a further award of 20,000 Euros to SEI for a second series of five events, this time on the equally pressing theme of 'Connecting with Citizens'. The events will take place throughout 2013-14 at the House of Commons, Europe House (London) and the University of Sussex. The issues covered will include: 'Citizenship, Rights and Justice', 'Citizenship and the 2014 European Parliament Elections', 'Citizenship and Youth', 'Citizenship and Immigration' and 'Citizenship and the debate on the future of the UK in Europe'.

For the purpose of this project, the SEI will work with the New Europeans, a newly formed, London-based association aimed at promoting the rights of 'new' Europeans living or working in another member state. The group has cross-party support and works alongside a range of EU agencies in England with a pool of experts with whom it co-operates on policy and political affairs at EU level. The SEI is very pleased at this opportunity to co-operate with the New Europeans in order to enhance awareness of the rights of EU citizens wishing to live, study, work or to do business across Europe. The aim of the series of events is ultimately to encourage the participation of EU citizens in all aspects of civic life wherever in Europe they may live, and to encourage dialogue between all levels of government, civil society and EU citizens.

Congratulations, welcomes and farewells

The new academic year also heralds a series of new appointments to the SEI and also some

sad farewells. Firstly, though, a few words of congratulations to two SEI-based doctoral researchers who have been successful in securing lecturing jobs that started in September. Satoko Horii secured a post as lecturer in Global Studies at Akita International University in Japan while Marko Stojic started as a lecturer in the Department of International Relations and European Studies at Masaryk University at Brno in the Czech Republic. Satoko and Marko are two of a large group of SEI-based doctoral researchers who will be submitting, or have submitted, their theses over the next few months. One of these is former Euroscope editor Amy Busby who, by the time you read this, will also have had her viva! We also congratulate Dr Dan Keith, SEI alumnus and another former Euroscope editor, on his appointment to a lectureship in politics at Exeter University.

Secondly, we welcome several new SEI-linked members of faculty. These include three new European lawyers - Professor Erika Szyszczak, Dr Emanuela Orlando and Ms Lara Walker - and two new members of Politics faculty: Dr Olli Hellman and Dr Kai Oppermann. Some of you will remember that Kai was previously based at SEI in 2010-11 as a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow so we are especially pleased to see him return. We are also pleased to welcome a new two-year Marie Curie Fellow, Dr Ben Stanley, who will be working with SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak on a project on 'The Winner-Loser Divide? A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behaviour and Cleavage Formation in Post-Communist Party Systems'. You can read more about their areas of interest and expertise in the 'On-going Research' section of this issue.

Thirdly, we say a very sad farewell to Professor Jörg Monar who left to become the Rector of the College of Europe in Bruges after 12 years at Sussex, including four as SEI Co-Director, and to Dr Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwas-

ser, who spent two years as a Marie-Curie Research Fellow at the SEI and has taken up a lectureship at Diego Portales University in Chile.

Finally, huge thanks to Anne Wesemann who steps down from the role of Euroscope lead editor to complete her PhD. We really appreciate all your hard work on Euroscope, Anne, and you have set an extremely high standard

over the last few years. At the same time, we welcome Maria Emilsson, who takes on this role from Anne from this issue, and Roxana Mihaila who joins Maria and Rebecca Partos on the editorial team. We are delighted to see that Maria, Rebecca and Roxana are doing a wonderful job of maintaining and building upon their predecessors' excellent work!

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 2013

May

9-11 May: European Union Studies Association Conference, Baltimore, USA.

SEI's Dr. Adrian Treacher, part of the CSDP Strategy group, gave the paper 'French perspectives on the CSDP: past, present, future' and was chair and discussant for the panel 'Between strategy and capability initiatives: creating a more capable CSDP'.

17 May: On the Radical Left and the EU

SEI scholars Dr Dan Keith and Francis McGowan presented at the conference on The radical left and crisis in the EU: From marginality to the mainstream? University of Edinburgh. Dan and Francis presented their research which investigates the degree to which the radical left has fol-

lowed the centre-left in adopting less tolerant policy stances on immigration. The authors argued that the radical left is caught between defending a universalist position of solidarity with marginalized communities and opposing immigration as a manifestation of globalisation.

21 May: Paper on the Fiscal Compact Treaty

SEI doctoral student Roxana Mihaila presented a paper titled 'The road not taken - national party involvement in the negotiations of the Fiscal Compact Treaty' at the THE-SEUS Doctoral Workshop: The EU and the Global Crisis Challenges to EU Governance, Policy Responses and Legitimacy Gap, Sciences Po, Centre d'études européennes, Paris.

24 May: Polish and British Politics

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak gave two papers at a conference on the theme of 'Polish and British Politics 2013: The Challenges and Opposition to European Integration' organised by the British Socio-Political Studies Research Group BRITANNIA and the Warsaw University Institute of European Studies: 'Researching Euroscepticism in party politics: methodological and analytical challenges' and 'The "domestication" of the European issue: Polish political parties and European integration'.

29-30 May: Migrants and National Minorities

SEI-based scholar Dr Dan Keith presented at a conference on the 'Left and migration: How to converge the

common struggles of migrants, non migrants and national minorities?’ held by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Brussels. At the conference Dan presented a paper titled ‘The Radical Left and the Politics of Migration since the Crisis’ which he has written with Francis McGowan.

June

16 June: Academic on Westminster Hour

SEI scholar Prof Dan Hough was interviewed by Radio 4 for ‘Westminster Hour’ where he talked about corruption in the UK, in other European states and also beyond.

20 June: Academic interviewed by Czech newspaper

SEI scholar Prof Dan Hough gave an interview to Czech newspaper *Hospodarske noviny* on corruption in the Czech Republic and, most pressingly, the resignation of the Czech PM that week. Czech speakers can visit <http://dialog.ihned.cz/komentare/cl-60105160-britsky-expert-na-korupci-funkce-pro-exposlance-jsou-nemoralni>

20 June: Sussex experts analyse British Euroscepticism

40 participants at a EU-sponsored SEI workshop analysed the state of Euroscepticism in the UK, the factors

driving opposition to European integration, and how to connect the British public with the EU.

25-27 June: Council for Europeanists

SEI scholars Dr James Hampshire and Rebecca Partos presented papers at the 2013 Council for Europeanists, held at the University of Amsterdam. Their papers were titled, respectively, ‘Ministers or Ministries? The Impact and Interplay of parties and Government Dependents on Immigration Policy: A Case Study of the UK Coalition Government’ and ‘Commitments and Compromises: The UK Conservative Party’s immigration policy under Margaret Thatcher 1975-84’

25-27 June: SEI scholar Dr Dan Keith presented at a conference on the ‘Radical Left in Europe and the Elections 2012-13’ held in Brussels by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Dan presented on the Dutch Socialist Party’s fortunes in the 2012 Dutch Election and the role of European issues in the failure of the left to capitalise on the economic crisis.

27 June: What next for science and innovation?

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) was among the contributors to a debate titled ‘Spending Review 2013: What will it mean for science

and innovation’ on *The Guardian’s* Political Science blog.

July

2 July: The one true role of innovation

Forbes Magazine published a review of SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato’s new book, *The Entrepreneurial State*.

8 July: Lots of Conservative Party members prefer Ukip’s policies

SEI Professor Paul Webb and Professor Tim Bale (QMUL) published an article in *The Telegraph* (available here: <http://bit.ly/18K9dTn>) discussing the results of a poll of Conservative party members commissioned from YouGov. The poll found that one fifth would consider voting for the UK Independence Party, while half believed they had little respect from the Party leadership. The results were also picked up by the *Herald Scotland*, the *Daily Mail* and *BBC Online*.

8 July Sussex School of Law Politics and Sociology (LPS) Postgraduate Away Day

The theme of the day was professional development with the main focus on getting published and post-doctoral research opportunities. Sponsored by the Sussex ESRC Doctoral Training Centre

(DTC) Citizenship, Justice and Security pathway, the session brought together established faculty with substantial experience in this area, editors of leading academic journals, and an academic publisher. The day finished with a session on post-doctoral research which included an outline of the currently available funding opportunities and practical advice from an LPS researcher who has had great success in securing funding.

17 July: SEI Says Farewell to Jörg Monar

SEI organised a half-day workshop on the theme of 'Justice and Home Affairs in the European Union' to say thanks and farewell to SEI-based Professor of Contemporary European Studies Jörg Monar. Prof Monar, who became Rector of the College of Europe in September, was at SEI since 2001 including a period as SEI Co-Director from 2001-5.

17 July: 'Has corruption got worse?'

Dan Hough, SEI Politics Professor and Director of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption, weighed up the evidence of corruption in China for the *South China Morning Post*. He said surveys of global perceptions may not reflect the realities on the ground.

SEI Professor contributes to *The Economist*

SEI Politics Professor Aleks Szczerbiak contributed to discussions surrounding Polish politics as reported by the *Economist*. The articles can be found here: <http://econ.st/18GA3N9> and <http://econ.st/1aGQIXB>.

SEI Secures EC Funding for EU Citizenship Project

The Institute has secured a €20,000 grant from the European Commission for a series of events on the theme of 'Connecting with Citizens'. The project draws on SEI's research strengths and interdisciplinary expertise in this area and takes advantage of its extensive network of practitioner and academic contacts at Sussex and beyond. Activities will run from October 2013 until July 2014.

August

2 August: Gove or May as Tory leader?

SEI Professor Paul Webb co-authored a report on a survey that found Boris Johnson is still the Tory front runner to succeed Cameron (*Daily Telegraph*).

4 August: A much maligned engine of innovation

The *Financial Times* published a review of SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato's (SPRU) latest book, *The Entrepreneurial State*, describing it as "a brilliant exploration of new ide-

as".

15 August: Politics doctoral researcher and former Euroscope editor Amy Busby submitted her thesis titled "The everyday practice and performance of European politics: an ethnography of the European Parliament".

20 August: The three most important thinkers about innovation

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) was cited by *The New Republic* as one of the three most influential thinkers on innovation currently contributing to the debate on the role played by government in supporting innovation.

26 August: State of innovation: Busting the Private Sector Myth

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) wrote for the *New Scientist (Blog)* about why the government should be credited for backing wealth-creating technology.

30 August: The Entrepreneurial State

The Economist published a review of SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato's (SPRU) book, *The Entrepreneurial State*.

30 August: Commons vote against military action

SEI Professor Paul Taggart talked about the implications

of the Commons vote on Syria on *BBC Sussex*.

September

SEI Researchers Secure Lectureships in Japan, and Czech Republic

SEI doctoral researchers Sato-ki Horii and Marko Stojic took up their posts as lecturers in the beginning of September. Satoko was appointed as lecturer in Global Studies at Akita International University, and Marko started in the Department of International Relations and European Studies at Masaryk University in Brno.

SEI Associate Tutor and former Euroscope editor secures lectureship at Exeter University

Associate tutor Daniel Keith started as Lecturer in Comparative Politics in the Depart-

ment of Politics at the University of Exeter.

EPERN briefing on the 2012 Romanian parliamentary election

The SEI-based European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) has published a briefing paper on 'Europe and the Romanian 2012 Parliamentary Election' by SEI doctoral researcher Roxana Mihaila.

9 September: 'Corruption and anti-corruption challenges and future perspectives' Conference

The Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC), headed by SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough, hosted its second annual conference, in conjunction with Clifford Chance and Transparency International UK. The event took place at Clifford

Chance's offices in Canary Wharf and focused on the challenges of getting anti-corruption efforts right.

12 September: SEI Professor Dan Hough spoke at the UK Compliance Leadership Forum's annual conference in London.

16-17 September: SEI Professor Dan Hough presented a paper on 'the politics of the anti-corruption industry' at the inaugural meeting of the PSA Specialist Group on corruption and anti-corruption at the University of Durham.

18-22 September: SEI Prof Dan Hough acted as an election observer with the International Association for the Study of German Politics (IASGP) in the week before the German Election.



<i>DATE</i>	<i>SPEAKER</i>	<i>TITLE</i>
25.09.13	Dr Sue Collard Prof Aleks Szczerbiak Dr Kai Oppermann University of Sussex	<i>SEI roundtable on 'The domestic politics of the Eurocrisis'</i>
30.10.13	Dr Emily Robinson University of Sussex	<i>Pastness and Presentism in Contemporary British Politics</i>
13.11.13	Prof Anneli Albi University of Kent	<i>Constitutional Rights and the European Court of Justice: Arrest Warrants, Data Retention and the ESM Treaty</i>
27.11.13	Dr Ulrich Sedelmeier London School of Economics	<i>Anchoring Democracy after Accession? The EU and democratic backsliding in Hungary and Romania</i>

If you would like to be included in our mailing list for seminars, please contact Amanda Sims, tel: 01273-678578, email: polces.office@sussex.ac.uk



Features

Tory Euroscepticism: How Did It Come to This and Where Does It Go From Here?



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Precisely how the Tories turned themselves from the so-called 'Party of Europe' in the sixties and seventies to a party which may, in a few years time, take the UK out of the EU altogether is a long story. It begins with the integration project's relaunch in the eighties coinciding with the Conservatives, following decades of flirting with continental-style corporatism, finally plumping for the American-style liberal model of capitalism.

That clash wasn't so awkward at first, disguised by the common focus on at last making the Single Market a reality. But it became increasingly obvious once it was recognised that '1992 and all that' would neither rescue member states from relative economic decline nor protect them from the rise of new competitors. Rather than a launching pad for UK economy, Europe came to be seen as a prison – especially by the parliamentary Conservative Party's swelling contingent of 'hyper-globalizers'.

The situation, and the hostility, grew worse as the Party became more ideological – a rump of true believers rather than a bunch of prosaic pragmatists. It was further poisoned by the myth-making surrounding the dumping of Mar-

garet Thatcher, which insisted not only that the signatory of the Single European Act had never surrendered an iota of sovereignty but had lost the party leadership on account of a Europhile plot rather than because she was well past her electoral sell-by date. Britain's humiliating withdrawal from the ERM in 1992 only served to confirm sceptics' arguments that we were better off semi-detached or even out of the whole thing altogether.

Losing office in 1997 and the election of a string of sceptical leaders only served to confirm the direction in which the Party was inexorably headed. Opposition, unlike government, provides few reality checks and can even push parties into fantasy politics. Then again, there were some very real threats to British sovereignty too, not least the single currency and the constitution.

Cameron became leader promising to turn down the volume on Europe but, as a sceptic himself, never dreamed of seriously confronting his party on the issue. Indeed, he followed through on his promise to pull the Party out of its alliance in Brussels with the EPP, further distancing it from the majority of centre-right formations that continued to believe in the European project. Meanwhile, back at home he overcompensated for his decision not to back a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty by promising a 'triple-lock' on any further transfers of power to the EU, as well a

‘fundamental renegotiation’ of the UK’s relationship with it.

Europe, then, was always going to be one of the iceberg issues for Cameron as Prime Minister, and so it proved. Following his failure to win an overall majority in 2010, and facing calls from sceptics to show he meant business despite going into coalition with the supposedly Europhile Lib Dems, it wasn’t long before Cameron ‘wielded the veto’ in Brussels.

The fact that it seemed to afford him a boost in the opinion polls only increased the pressure to take an even stronger stance – especially from the hundred or so MPs who truly believe that

this country would be ‘better off out’ and can argue that standing up to the EU is one way to fend off UKIP. With Boris Johnson waiting in the wings, Cameron soon found himself conceding an in-out referendum – something he never originally intended but has decided he has no choice but to enthusiastically support even to the point of urging his MPs to support a private members’ bill paving the way for one.

With that referendum, however, Cameron has surely reached the limits of his own Euroscepticism, which remains of the ‘soft’ rather than the ‘hard’ variety – committed to achieving substantial change in the EU but not leaving it altogether. He has also been told, in no uncertain terms, that this country’s most powerful ally, would take a very dim view indeed were the UK to give up its membership. In fact, of course, Cameron still believes that it won’t ever come to this – that he can indeed cut a deal which he will then be able to sell to enough of his party (and enough of the electorate) to ensure that we stay in, albeit, he will argue, on very different terms.

So what will happen? Prediction may be a mug’s game but few would bet against UKIP coming first in the European Parliament elections. If by then the Conservatives’ poll ratings mean they are in touching distance of retaining power in 2015 then Cameron will be OK. If, however, only around 30 per cent of respondents are regularly telling pollsters that they would vote Tory, then he is in serious trouble. At the moment, the smart money is on him getting through it and leading the Conservative Party into a national contest with Labour less than a year later.

Then what? If Cameron wins an outright majority or forms another coalition government then the Party will have its referendum and, given that polls suggest that both the electorate and Conservative Party members are sceptical but eminently persuadable, he may well be able to win it. If Ed Miliband wins then it looks like there will be no vote at all, although that depends on Labour holding its nerve and not making a last-minute promise to match the Conservatives’ offer.

If, on the other hand, such a promise were made, then any Eurosceptic Tory who in the end cares more about leaving the EU than winning the next election would be well advised to pray, and perhaps even vote, for a Labour government. The odds of a Labour Prime Minister being able to win over the country in any in-out referendum are probably pretty poor. But even if he can avoid such a referendum in the short term, such a vote cannot be put off forever. If the past is anything to go by, a Conservative Party that loses the next election will pick a convinced Eurosceptic as its next leader – and he (or she) will not let the matter rest.



Euroscepticism in the Labour Party



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Students of contemporary British party-based Euroscepticism tend to focus their attention on the Conservative Party and UKIP, which is not in the least surprising, given that for almost three decades, the Labour Party has generally been supportive of European integration. Rows upon rows of shelves in British university libraries are filled with books on New Labour's pro-Europeanism under Tony Blair's and Gordon Brown's premierships.

But what has happened to Labour's position on the EU since the party lost the 2010 general elections? Has the Euroscepticism of the Conservative Party and large sections of the popular press rubbed off onto Labour? Has being in opposition and a change of leadership led Labour to change tack? After all, being in opposition frees party leaders from needing to compromise in EU negotiations. They can express their true views about the EU more freely.

In my presentation at the SEI in June 2013 I examined the Labour leadership's public pronouncements on the EU since 2010, focusing on the speeches and interviews given by party leader Ed Miliband, shadow chancellor Ed Balls, and shadow foreign secretary Douglas Alexander. From these statements, it was clear, not surprisingly, that the party leadership remains broadly in favour of British EU membership. '

Hard' Euroscepticism is not on the cards. Those at the top of the Labour Party sell EU membership as something that is 'in the na-

tional interest'. This national interest is framed in economic terms. For example, in his speech to the 2013 Fabian Conference, Douglas Alexander insisted that the economy must be 'at the heart of our approach to Europe. British jobs, exports and influence all benefit from Britain's continued membership of the EU'.

Yet, Labour's position on EU membership is perhaps best characterised as 'yes, but'. For Ed Balls, it can be summarized as 'hard-headed pro-Europeanism' (*The Guardian*, 17/01/2013), and for Douglas Alexander as 'modern mature patriotism' (*The Guardian*, 13/11/2011). Labour's commitment to the EU is thus conditional upon the EU's ability to perform and reform.

In fact, Alexander (at Chatham House, 17/01/2013) has even argued that supporting the EU in its current shape is dangerous and will encourage further Euroscepticism in Britain: 'There are two views that can encourage hostility towards Europe within the British public. First, being Eurosceptic (...). The second is being uncritically pro- the status quo. Those that believe that whatever the EU does is justified by virtue of it being done via the EU in fact pose a real threat to the future of the European project.'

It is the 'need-for-reform' narrative that dominates Labour's public statements on the EU. The party leadership has called for reform in the following three areas: economic policy, policy areas 'of real public concern', and the EU's institutional design. To be sure, much of what has been proposed has been on Labour's reform agenda for the past decade. This includes the management of the Euro, the EU's Common Agricultural Policy, the extension of the single market to new sectors or areas, and the reform of the EU's structural funds. What

is new is the call for the introduction of an EU Commissioner for Growth and for national parliaments to be more involved in the EU policy-making process.

The most radical change of policy is undoubtedly Labour's call for the implementation of full transitional arrangements for EU citizens moving to the UK from new member states. This move can only be understood as a response to the Coalition Government's plans to restrict the access of EU citizens from new member states to various welfare benefits.

Ed Miliband has also signalled that Labour, if elected in 2015, would keep the referendum lock, thereby ensuring a public vote if there is any further transfer of powers to the EU. Labour is yet to commit to a referendum on Britain's continued membership of the EU, but this could change soon. A movement, still rather small, that brings together MPs, councillors and activists and calls itself 'Labour for a Referendum', was founded in May 2013 with the purpose of securing a promised referendum.

On the basis of Labour's substantial EU reform agenda, their commitment to the referendum lock and their current hedging over a future referendum on British membership, the party has arguably become 'softly' Eurosceptic. Soft Euroscepticism,

according to Taggart and Szczerbiak, manifests itself in 'opposition to the EU's current or future planned trajectory, based on the further extension of competencies that the EU is planning to make. But then, if we adhere to this definition, virtually every party in Britain could be branded Eurosceptic these days.

The crisis in the Eurozone has made it difficult to defend the EU as it is, even for the most Europhile parties in continental Europe. This development goes to show that party-based Euroscepticism is a difficult thing to measure. In the domestic context, and compared to the Conservative Party and UKIP, Labour remains pro-EU. In the broader European context, however, and especially when compared to other centre-left parties as the German Social Democrats or the Spanish Socialists, Ed Miliband's Labour Party looks like a party that has little time and sympathy for the EU.

The importance of context leads me to my last observation: it is not just about *what* is being said that defines a party position on the EU. It is also about *how much* is said, and in *which context*. Overall, the Labour leadership says little about Europe. The EU is clearly not on their list of priorities. Whether this will change in the run-up to the 2014 European parliamentary elections remains to be seen.

Why do Tories Defect to UKIP?



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The rise of the populist radical right throughout Europe continues to preoccupy political scientists, journalists and politicians. The strength and signif-

icance of populist radical right parties may be rising across Europe as the result of what some see as an inevitable shift to 'cultural' as opposed to 'class' voting, but it varies considerably between countries. However, where they become a big presence, such parties present a threat to 'mainstream', often older parties: they compete with them for votes, while the need to respond to that threat potentially promotes both inter-party conflict and intra-party strife as policy is adjusted in response to the populist fringe.

Recent academic work, as well as elections and survey research, now suggests that Great Britain, and especially England, is by no means immune to this phenomenon, with the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) ensuring that, at least for the moment, the centre-right Conservative Party – one of the world's oldest and most successful political formations – is (or at least feels itself to be) under particular pressure. As things stand, that pressure is more indirect than indirect, in the sense that UKIP is not so much likely to actually take seats from the Conservatives as cause them instead to lose them to Labour or the Liberal Democrats by attracting voters who would, in the absence of what they consider a credible populist radical right candidate, probably have voted Tory. However, given how close the next general election looks likely to be, that indirect effect could mean the difference between staying in government and ending up back in opposition, particularly if UKIP manages, as many predict it will, to, say, double the 3.1% vote share it achieved in 2010.

Centre-right parties, then, traditionally manage to make a convincing (and historically electorally fruitful) cross-class, traditional, authoritarian, and nationalist appeal, but – theoretically at least – they are electorally vulnerable to the populist radical right in the sense that the ideological gap between 'their' voters and the latter is already small. It is also a gap over which those voters may be sorely tempted to leap should they begin to suspect that 'their' party is softening its stance, possibly in order to get into government or as the result of the compromises that governing itself makes inevitable. And they may be all the more likely to take that leap if they can vote for populist radical right party that is not 'toxic' in the sense of being seen – normally because of its racist past and its association with a violent, neo-nazi sub-culture – as within rather than beyond the pale by 'respectable' people.

All the above applies to the British Conservative Party and UKIP, which is why we choose it for this brief case study. However, rather than explore the potential and the reasons for defection from the Conservatives to UKIP from the perspective of 'ordinary voters', as other scholars have and will continue to do so, we have chosen to make our short case study even more critical by focusing on Conservative Party *members*. On the one hand, one might argue that they might be ideologically more inclined to UKIP than Conservative *voters* since, at least according to common wisdom, they are more 'right-wing', as per John May's famous 'Law of Curvilinear Disparity' (May 1973). On the other, we (and their leaders) might expect their loyalty to their party to mean they are more immune than others of like-mind to the charms of the populist radical right. If it turns out that this is not the case – in other words, that a significant minority of them could be persuaded to vote for UKIP – then the Conservatives really do need to start worrying: put bluntly, if they can't even keep hold of the most loyal of the loyal how can they expect to keep hold of even more volatile, far less tribal, Tories out there in the electorate?

Who might defect from Tories to UKIP?

In the wake of UKIP's successes at the county council elections of May 2013, expectations of further progress at the European Parliamentary elections scheduled for June 2014 are high. If the party's support does indeed grow further then it is likely that its appeal will become more socially and politically diverse. Even so, and notwithstanding repeated claims by UKIP politicians that it is not merely a receptacle for disgruntled Tories, there is no doubt that the Conservatives remain the mainstream party most likely to suffer at the hands of UKIP. It is estimated that 60% of their declared supporters in early 2013 had voted for the Conservatives in the general election of May 2010, whereas only 15% had supported

the Liberal Democrats, and just 7% had opted for Labour (Kellner 2013). In the context of what may well be another close general election in 2015, fought on constituency boundaries that will do the Conservatives no favours, the prospect of being denied crucial victories in marginal constituencies by a haemorrhaging of support to UKIP is surely worrying. But who among their adherents are most likely to defect? A new survey of Conservative party members that we commissioned YouGov to run may well be instructive in this respect.

In this survey current Conservative members were asked how likely they would be to vote for other parties at a general election on a scale running from 0 (never) to 10 (very likely); the mean score for UKIP was 5, compared to 2.1 for the Liberal Democrats and 1.6 for Labour, which immediately illustrates the relative attraction of UKIP for Conservatives. If we sub-divide this scale into three broad categories - unlikely to vote UKIP (0-3), possible UKIP voters (4-6), and likely UKIP voters (7-10) - we find that virtually identical numbers (28.8% and 28.9%) fall into the latter two categories, which in itself is sobering news for the party: these people, after all, are paid-up party members, rather than just casual sympathizers or those people who voted Tory in 2010; apparently, 58% of them by no means rule out voting for UKIP.

What characterises these Conservative members who are most likely to defect to UKIP (i.e., the 28.9% who register between 7 and 10 on the scale)? The data reveal a number of interesting features:

They do not stand out significantly from the least-likely to defect in terms of any demographic factors; however, some of their political attitudes make a difference.

They are more likely to support attempts to reduce immigration from non-EU countries.

They are much more likely to support EU withdrawal were a referendum to be held immediately

They are far more likely to insist on leaving the EU even if the government were able to negotiate a significant repatriation of sovereign powers to the UK before any referendum were held.

They are less likely to feel that David Cameron is doing a good job as Prime Minister; moreover, they regard Cameron as significantly further to their left than do the least-likely defectors. Interestingly, in fact, they see themselves as closer to UKIP than to their own leader – unlike those members least likely to defect.

We decided to probe the importance of ideological mindset in more detail: how does this bear upon the potential for defection to UKIP? Our data has a detailed series of questions designed to measure how left or right-wing people are on matters of distributional politics and another series of questions designed to tap how culturally liberal or authoritarian they are. When we analyse these variables, the findings are interesting: they reveal that those most likely to vote UKIP are actually significantly to the left of those least likely to vote UKIP, but they are also significantly more socially authoritarian. Thus it would seem to be their cultural conservatism rather than their distributional politics which inclines them towards UKIP. This helps us to unpack the common wisdom that those seriously considering voting for UKIP see themselves as well to the 'right' of David Cameron: actually, they see him as too liberal socially or culturally rather than economically.

Conclusion

Our analysis reveals a startlingly widespread willingness among current Conservative party members to countenance voting for UKIP at

future general elections. Those most likely to do so are cultural conservatives, but they are not overly right-wing on the distributional dimension of politics. They are particularly concerned about immigration and the EU. Perhaps most alarmingly for the party, there is also evidence that they do not feel valued or respected by their own leadership, while they resent the coalition, and even regard David Cameron – their own party leader and the country’s Prime Minister – as ideologically more remote from them than UKIP. The only comfort will be that not all of these concerns – most obvi-

ously the one about feeling disrespected by the leadership – will apply to Tory voters as much as they do to Tory voters. On the other hand, if a significant number of Tory voters share much in common ideologically with Tory members but, unlike them, have no institution-alised bonds of loyalty holding them back, then that may be cold comfort indeed.

Liberal Democrats and Divisions on Europe



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The conventional wisdom is that the Liberal Democrats are the most pro-European British political party. Europe was one of the Party’s

unique selling points. It supported the single currency, a federal Europe and greater integration. More recently, the party supported the EU Constitution and subsequently, the Lisbon Treaty, arguing that they would help the EU to respond to global challenges such as climate change.

Unconditional support for Europe?

The Liberal Democrats take pride in their ‘track record as the most consistently pro-European party in British politics’. Political scientists, however, have noted that the Party’s commitment to Europe is less strident than the public and media often assume. Speeches by Liberal Democrat leaders and party programmes have long emphasised limits to the party’s support for European integration.

Researchers have also found evidence of ‘latent Euroscepticism’ in the Liberal Democrats’ at grassroots level. Polling data consistently shows that party members do not fit the stereotype of being staunchly pro-European. Over half of party members reject a move to an ever closer union and more than one in ten want a substantial renegotiation of Britain’s membership.

A more significant gap exists between the Party’s official positions on Europe and the views of its voters. Recent polls suggest that fifty per cent of Liberal Democrat voters want a loser relationship with the EU or advocate outright withdrawal. Furthermore, thirty-nine per cent would choose to leave the EU in a referendum on Britain’s membership.

Mounting Euroscepticism

My research on the Liberal Democrats investigates coverage of European issues in articles on the leading online party discussion forum Liberal Democrat Voice since 2008. It suggests that latent divisions over Europe have become active in recent years. It also gives us new insights into party members’ criticisms of the EU. Even Britain’s most pro-European party

has not been immune from growing Euroscepticism.

In November 2012, an article on Liberal Democrat Voice titled 'Are the Lib Dems too pro-European?' provoked a lively debate. It questioned whether 'The party has long been proud to proclaim itself as the most pro-European of them all but can we and should we sustain that in the current political climate?'. The subsequent discussion between party members, revealed wide-ranging criticisms of the EU for being illiberal, producing bureaucratic regulations, employing overpaid unelected bureaucrats and creating a democratic deficit.

It appears that an increasingly vocal group of party members want Liberal Democrat politicians to present an overtly 'Euro-reformist' rather than 'Europhile' approach. Articles on Liberal Democrat Voice call for the party to promote a return to the principle of localism and an increased role for national parliaments in EU affairs. There is a perceived need for greater accountability and to reconnect the EU with the people. Writers have also criticised the party leadership for being 'in puppy love with the EU' and for scaring off voters by supporting the membership of the euro. Some even wondered whether the party could win votes through embracing Euroscepticism like liberal parties in Germany.

Divisions on Europe

There are other signs that latent Euroscepticism and divisions on Europe are beginning to come to the fore. Several local councillors have defected to UKIP. An increasingly 'Euro-reformist' approach can be found within the ideas of the dominant faction within the party leadership which published the so-called *Orange Book* in 2004 to re-orientate the party towards economic and social liberalism. In particular, Nick Clegg's chapter on Europe em-

phasised the need for decentralisation and less institutional integration.

In 2005 the party leadership proposed that British spending on the EU should be limited to one per cent of GDP. This was defeated by a rebellion at the Party's conference and its Members of the European Parliament criticised the leadership for following the 'Tory path to Europhobia'.

Divisions on Europe have, however, generally focused on the issue of referendums on European issues. In 2008, several frontbench politicians resigned and a number of Liberal Democrat MPs rebelled when Nick Clegg opposed Conservative Party plans for a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. The Liberal Democrats also encountered divisions when the leadership rejected demands for an in/out referendum on Europe in 2011. On the other hand, Europhiles protested when the party gave way to Conservative plans for a 'referendum lock' on future EU treaties.

Europe and the Coalition

Liberal Democrat politicians have generally avoided criticising the Conservative Party on European issues since entering coalition government in 2010. Only a few speeches by Nick Clegg have promoted European integration. Some party members have argued that the party missed the opportunity to counter Euroscepticism in the media. Clegg also faced criticism for initially supporting Prime Minister David Cameron's veto at the December 2011 EU summit. When Clegg later criticised the Prime Minister, there was only misplaced speculation that the Liberal Democrats might withdraw from the coalition over divisions on Europe.

Liberal Democrat publications continue to claim that the Conservative Party is opposed to cooperation with other countries and fails to actively defend British interests in Europe. European integration remains an issue where

the Liberal Democrats can differentiate themselves from their coalition partners at the next general election. However, the party has long been pragmatic enough to hide its pro-EU credentials in electoral campaigns for fear of put-

ting off Conservative voters. Given the views of Liberal Democrat Voters on Europe, it would be a remarkable achievement if campaigning on Europe won them many votes.



Liberal Democrats

Reconnecting the British Public with the EU: Referendum is Necessary But Not Sufficient



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The European Union is in great flux. Many of the changes being driven by the response to the eurozone crisis

will alter the nature of the current institutions and politics of the EU in ways that it is not entirely possible to predict now. For this reason an 'In/Out' referendum on Britain's EU membership now would not be wise. It would be presenting the public with a false and premature choice.

It is far more responsible to decide whether to end or continue a marriage once efforts have been made to see whether it can work in both parties' best interests or not, albeit that, for historical and cultural reasons, the UK-EU relationship is always destined to be functional rather than a love affair. Nevertheless, follow-

ing the German federal elections, the EU will embark on a new round of soul-searching and Britain will have allies for many of the changes that could make the EU a more appealing prospect – safeguards for the single market, less bureaucracy and the decentralisation of powers in some areas such as regional policy and employment law.

More fundamental questions, which have been strenuously avoided so far, such as building new or revisiting the existing institutions to give economic and monetary union the necessary political trappings – and how non-eurozone members can be accommodated – also need to be addressed and the UK has a duty to raise them.

But, ultimately, the case for letting people decide for themselves on membership of the EU is now overwhelming, and for at least five reasons.

Firstly, since Britain entered the EU in 1973, numerous powers have been transferred from Westminster to Brussels without popular con-

sent. The result has been that the organisation has not only changed fundamentally since Britain joined but its 'legitimacy deficit' has also never been greater – a charge that now applies beyond the confines of Britain and deep into traditionally 'pro-European' nations.

Secondly, referendums are often described as the enemy of representative democracy, but the public elects MPs to make decisions in Parliament on their behalf, not to irrevocably transfer the powers of Parliament elsewhere. National parliaments were meant to be bolstered under the Lisbon Treaty, but in practice national legislators have remained largely impotent in European policymaking. Their EU-equivalents in Brussels and Strasbourg have aggressively exercised their new powers, despite an increasingly unconvincing democratic mandate.

Thirdly, there has consistently been a gap between the people and the political class on Europe – representative politics has failed on this issue. Opinion polls consistently show that a large minority, and in some cases a majority, want to leave the EU as it currently stands.

But the public's euroscepticism has not been effectively represented in Parliament. The previous government's broken promise to put the EU Constitution/Lisbon Treaty to a referendum undoubtedly undermined the EU's standing in the UK and, along with the expenses scandal, trust in politics more generally.

Fourthly, in the UK, it is now taken for granted that the transfer of legislative powers downwards, through devolution, requires a referendum. In addition, the 2011 European Union Act, which is supported by all the major parties, requires the transfer of powers upwards to the EU to be put to a referendum.

Finally, critics of the Prime Minister's reform and referendum strategy say that a referen-

dum on EU membership will lead to uncertainty, which is bad for trade, investment and British business. However, global investors are just as capable as the rest of us of reading opinion polls. With popular consent for EU membership remaining so weak Britain's current position in Europe will be under permanent scrutiny unless this can be addressed.

The final point is important because no one should be under the illusion that a close run referendum will settle the issue once and for all. A one-off reaffirmation of vows will not cure the democratic deficit disease. The solution, for the entire EU, surely lies in returning to the bedrock of democracy: national politics. A greater role for national parliaments either to reject or consent to EU laws would reconnect the day-to-day EU process with voters' national representatives. The price of this is likely to be less efficient decision making, but the pay-off from greater public buy-in would more than compensate.

The eurozone crisis has illustrated the limits of pan-European 'solidarity'. The eurozone leaders calling the shots, led by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, show no enthusiasm for granting the European Parliament the power to oversee national budgets or multi-billion euro bailout funds. When it comes to the crunch, not simply deciding arcane and technical, albeit important, regulations, but deciding how to raise and spend taxpayers' money, the majority of EU leaders have revealed themselves as true believers in intergovernmentalism, at least for now.

British leaders seeking to make the case for remaining within a reformed EU must capitalise on this mood. Reform of the EU is now on everyone's agenda, but history has shown that subsidiarity and the grubby business of politics is less glamorous than grand projects. The Dutch government has said its guiding principle will be "European where necessary, nation-

al where possible". For countries in the eurozone this principle will be severely tested, as the decisions facing individual countries will have profound consequences for the whole. For the UK, and other non-eurozone countries, it should be a rather simple mantra to apply and would do much to reconnect the public with the decisions taken on their behalf. However, recent history and current circumstance means that British politicians' right to take these decisions has to be regained.

New Europeans Speak up for EU citizens Whose Rights Are at Stake



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A student at Kosice's Safarik University in eastern Slovakia once used a very public meeting to challenge me to explain why, when she was in the UK, she was typically referred to as an "East European immigrant", while Brits abroad were more usually called "British expats".

This embarrassing observation points to a lack of balance and perspective in the discourse about our continent, our shared history, and about the EU. The twentieth century was probably the most devastating in Europe's history. While NATO won the Cold War, it was the EU that won the peace as well as the stability and relative prosperity that has accompanied it.

I was present to see border controls between Slovakia and Austria completely dismantled in 2007 when most Central European countries

joined the Schengen zone. The emotion on the faces of those who had for decades known this border only as the Iron Curtain spoke volumes. Indeed, citizens of fifteen - over half - of today's 28 EU Member States were living under some form of totalitarian rule when the UK joined the Common Market in 1973.

Today, Serbia and Kosovo are being persuaded to put aside their differences so as to be able, eventually, also to join the EU. Seen from afar, the EU is a remarkable and unparalleled model of cooperation between sovereign states, one that has pulled down divisions between people and one that countries on the outside remain keen to join.

We in Britain perhaps take for granted what the EU has made possible. And we tend to see it as a one-way street. But over two million Brits have gone to live and work in other EU countries. Only slightly more have come from other EU countries to live, study, and work here in Britain. As EU citizens they have exercised their free movement rights.

Brits move abroad not just to indulge in sea and sun. Hundreds of thousands of British students have benefitted from the ERASMUS Scheme to study at universities in other European countries. Millions of Brits journey across the continent with EHIC cards entitling them to free health treatment wherever they end up, or to compensation when their flights are

unduly delayed. Thousands invest on the continent. Tens of thousands trade. Hundreds of thousands buy property. Who knows how many find their partners for life.

Being an EU citizen makes this possible like never before – easier, more manageable, more secure, underpinned by a familiar and generally predictable legal system. What of the slightly larger number of non-British EU citizens who have made Britain their home?

By voting with their feet, they have shown our universities in Britain to be among the best in the world. On graduating many have returned home, fluent in the English language and culture, to trade with Britain or to manage British investment in their home countries. And those that have stayed? There's no evidence to justify labelling them benefit scroungers. Or to complain that they don't contribute to our economy when so many engage in work that wouldn't otherwise be done.

Our fruit-picking industry, which we once sought to protect from Polish competition, is now dependent on pickers from Central Europe. Our hospitality trade would have collapsed without first Spanish and Portuguese, and now Central Europeans labour. Like Greeks, Swedes and others before them, Central Europeans who arrived here less than 10 years ago are now high-flying executives in the City of London. Poles are now doing great business providing GP and dental services to patients who can't wait for the NHS.

We call them New Europeans, citizens of one EU country living and working in another. New Europeans enjoy their rights by virtue of EU citizenship. Besides the right to compete for work on equal terms, to have their qualifications recognised, to use a hospital if they need to, they also have the right to vote, and stand, in local and European elections. A very

few do stand, and some of them prosper. But a large proportion fail even to register to vote.

Next May's European Parliamentary elections matter like never before for those across the European Union who have benefitted from the rights conferred by EU citizenship, who can speak from personal experience, and who believe in a reformed EU. Getting New Europeans to register to vote for those elections is the immediate challenge.

The prospect of a referendum on Britain's continued membership of the EU is the next challenge. James Wharton's Private Member's Bill proposes that the franchise for that referendum should be the same as for national elections. Which means that non-British EU citizens – though not, curiously, those from Malta, Cyprus and Ireland – as well as any Brits who have been living on the continent for more than 15 years will have no say on the continuation of those rights on which their lives and livelihoods have come to depend.

New Europeans has been established to give a voice to those whose rights are directly at stake in any EU referendum. A vote to leave the EU would pull the rug out from beneath their feet. Even if they cannot vote, they should certainly have their say.

There's no denying the stakes are high in Britain at the moment for New Europeans.

There's no denying that the EU needs to build on the experience of those who have seen Europe's internal barriers come crashing down and seized the opportunities that has brought about.

There's no doubt that New Europeans need to be heard, in our civic and political life, in the debate about Europe's future direction, and in Britain's debate about its place in Europe.

That's why we have created *New Europeans*.
Not for British expats. Not for East European
immigrants. But to give a voice to people from
here and abroad who are proud to call them-
selves citizens of the European Union.

*The author is also the former British Ambassador
to Slovakia, 2007-10.*



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, and public policy. Country and regional specialisms include France, Germany, Western Europe, Poland/Eastern Europe, India, East Asia
- **European Integration** – particularly the political economy of European integration, the domestic politics of European integration, including Euroscepticism, and European security and external relations policy
- **The Politics of Migration and Citizenship** – particularly migration policy, the politics of immigration in Europe, and the politics of race and ethnicity
- **Corruption, Anti-corruption and Governance** – particularly the comparative study of anti-corruption initiatives
- **British Politics** – particularly party politics, public policy, modern British political and cultural history, and immigration

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

Applications are invited for ESRC doctoral studentships for UK applicants (fees and maintenance grants) or applicants from other EU member 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
Dr James Hampshire (j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk).

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

Politics and Law Department Welcome New Members of Staff



Dr Olli Hellmann
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I'll be joining the Department of Politics in the autumn term from Durham, where I spent the last three years as Lecturer in Asian Political Economy. I'm very excited about my new role, not just for academic reasons but also because Brighton gets more bands than the 'desolate' (Lord Howell, 2013) Northeast of England (I've already booked tickets for two gigs and I haven't even started in my new job yet!).

My research so far has focused on political party organisation in new democracies – in East Asia in particular. Findings have been published in a number of journals (including everyone's favourites: *Party Politics* and *Government & Opposition*) and a monograph with Palgrave Macmillan.

Based on the finding that most Asian parties are essentially held together by informal/illegal flows of money, I've more recently developed a wider research interest in corruption. In particular, I'm currently developing an analytical framework based on historical institutionalism, hoping that this will provide better explanations for systemic corruption than the existing rational choice and cultural perspectives. At the moment, I'm looking into how autocratic regimes 'design' corruption as a

mechanism to consolidate their rule and how these institutionalised networks can then survive the downfall of the regime that created them in the first place.

I have also recently been awarded an ESRC Research Seminar grant to establish a knowledge exchange network around the post-Cold War phenomenon of "electoral authoritarianism". Questions to be explored include: Why do dictators hold elections? And do elections help dictators strengthen their grip on power or do elections have an unintended democratising effect?

In terms of teaching, I will be taking over the first-year module Contemporary Issues in Politics and contribute to the MA Corruption and Governance – in particular, I will design a new module on state building and state failure in the developing world. In the long run, I'm planning to set up new modules on East Asian politics – both for second and third-year students.

If I'm not working, I'm either on my road bike or out exploring quirky pubs (although I don't think Sussex will be able to beat the North-east on this one!). I also support the biggest yo-yo club in the history of world football: 1. FC Köln (or Cologne – for those readers who don't know what a 'umlaut' is). If I'm in a bad mood on Mondays, that's why.



Dr. Kai Opperman
SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics
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Dr Kai Oppermann will be joining the Department as a Senior Lecturer in Politics in

October 2013. He has previously been Lecturer in European and German Politics at King's College London and Assistant Professor at the University of Cologne.

Kai already knows the Department well from his time as a Marie Curie Fellow at Sussex between 2010 and 2011, when he completed a research project on government commitments to European integration referendums. He has widely taught in the fields of European integration, Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations at different universities in Germany and the UK. Also, he worked for the German parliament and was managing editor of a German-language journal on foreign and security policy. He gained his PhD from the University of Cologne in 2007.

Kai's research and teaching focuses on the domestic politics of European integration and foreign policy. He is interested in the extent to which government decisions on European and foreign policy are shaped by domestic incentives and constraints and in how these domestic influences interact with European and international drivers of policy-making. This puts his work at the interface between International Relations and Comparative Politics.

Among other things, he has published on the role of public opinion and domestic issue salience in European and foreign policy. In his research on discretionary EU referendums, he found that governments often commit to popular votes on European integration as a defensive move to depoliticise the issue in the domestic arena. Kai has also made a number

of contributions to different theories of foreign policy, including two-level games and poliheuristic theory. Empirically, his research has mainly been on issues in German and British European and foreign policy as well as in transatlantic relations.

Currently, Kai is engaged in two research projects. First, he is completing a project on the domestic politics of the Eurozone crisis in Germany and the UK (with Dan Hough, Alan Mayhew and Martine Huberty), which is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service. Specifically, he explores the domestic constraints on the German government's response to the crisis and its parliamentary and public discourse in this regard.

Second, Kai is involved in setting up an international network of scholars on coalition politics and foreign policy and in convening a number of workshops and conference panels on the issue. In this context, he writes on the foreign policy influence of junior partners in different types of coalition arrangements and has just published a co-authored article on the foreign policies of the German and British coalition governments. T

he next step in this research will be to investigate the distribution of departments and competences in foreign affairs between coalition partners. When in Sussex, Kai plans to complete a grant application to secure further funding for this project and to prepare a special journal issue on the foreign policies of coalitions. In addition, he is busy finishing a co-authored book manuscript on the theories of foreign policy (in German) as well as a journal article on Foreign Policy Analysis in the Global South.

Lara Walker
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Lara Walker has recently started working as a Lecturer at the Law School. She completed her LLB and LLM (by research) at the University of Aberdeen, and is currently awaiting the outcome of her PhD. Her research masters focused on the case law of the ECtHR and the UN

Human Rights Committee on the Hague Children's Conventions: abduction, inter-country adoption and child protection.

Her PhD is on the recovery of maintenance and child support in the European Union and worldwide. This includes an analysis of the texts of Regulation no 4/2009 and the Hague Maintenance Convention of 2007, as well as an empirical study on the number of applications circulated in the first year of operation of the EU Regulation. The empirical study was important because this is the first data to exist on the recovery of maintenance within the EU, since the Commission did not collect statistics when carrying out its impact assessment.

The data was collected as part of her PhD and for her role as a research assistant on a large project funded by the European Commission. The project partners included: the German Institute for Youth Human Services and Family Law, the University of Heidelberg, the University of Aberdeen and the Hague Conference

on Private International Law. The main part of the project was a conference which was held in Heidelberg in March. As a result of the conference, Lara is now co-editor of the book 'Recovery of Maintenance in the EU and Worldwide' which will be published by Hart in 2014.

Lara has published on the case law on child abduction of the CJEU and the ECtHR and has written on the Maintenance Regulation. She plans to continue carrying out research on Regulation no 2201/2003 in the areas of child abduction and parental responsibility, and will monitor the developments of the CJEU or ECtHR in this area. This is particularly interesting because the two major European courts currently have conflicting opinions in relation to child abduction. The CJEU is advocating a

strict application of the text, while the ECtHR, since its decision in *Neulinger*, has adopted a test based on the best interests of the child in each individual case.

Further, the CJEU is due to give an opinion on the exclusive competence of the European Union in relation to the Hague Child Abduction Convention (Opinion 1/13). The

question to be addressed is: 'Does the acceptance of the accession of a third country to the Hague Convention of 25 October 1980 on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction fall within the exclusive competence of the Union?' The outcome of this opinion will be of interest.

Lara will also continue research on Regulation 4/2009 and hopes to collect further empirical data to investigate whether applications under the Regulation have increased, and how effi-



ciently orders have been enforced. Given the importance of the free movement of persons within the Union it is important that families are protected. Therefore the appropriate development and efficient implementation of these Regulations is essential.



Dr Emanuela Orlando
Lecturer,
Environmental Law

Emanuela will be joining the Law Department in September as Lecturer in Environmental Law. She is currently *Isaac Newton - Dorothy Emmet Research Fellow* at

Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge, where she has also been teaching in the courses of European Union Law, International Environmental Law and EU Environment and Sustainable Development Law.

Emanuela holds law degrees from the University of Siena (Italian law degree) and the University of Oxford (MJur in European and Comparative law), has completed an MRes in Law at the European University Institute and was awarded a PhD in Law by the European University Institute in 2010.

Emanuela's specialisation and research interests lie in the area of EU and international environmental law, with a special interest in the external dimension of EU environmental policies and the relationship between EU and public international law. While her PhD thesis provided a comparative analysis of the EU and international law approaches to environmental liability, she has also extensively researched and published on EU environmental governance, the EU regulation in the field of climate change and renewable energy, and the protection of landscape. She has been recently examining the often competing relationship be-

tween environmental protection and specific aspects of EU climate and energy policies.

Emanuela has been involved in various European Commission funded research projects. This included a collaboration as the legal expert for Italy in a research project coordinated by the University of Edinburgh which aimed to produce a study on 'Legal Framework on human rights and environment applicable to European enterprise operating outside the EU'. More recently she has been part of the EUI team in a large European Commission FP7 project examining *the EU-US Transatlantic Relationship and its role in Shaping Global Governance*. Furthermore, while at Cambridge she has started a collaborative and interdisciplinary research project exploring the potential synergies between law and criminology in the prevention of environmental crimes.

Prior to fully engaging in an academic career, Emanuela has practiced law in major international law firms in Rome and worked as consultant and legal adviser for the Italian Ministry of Environment, Land and Sea (IMELS) in the framework of its bilateral cooperation activities in the Balkan countries. She was responsible for the legal assistance provided by IMELS to the Montenegrin and Serbian national authorities in the process of approximation of domestic law to European environmental law and in the process of ratification and implementation of international agreements in the field of climate change.

The Winner-Loser Divide? Post Communist Voting Behaviour and Cleavage Formation



Dr Ben Stanley
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In September I will be joining the SEI for a two-year post as Marie Curie Fellow. I was awarded a PhD by the University of Essex (2010) and subsequently worked as a Marie Curie Fellow at the Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava (2010) and as a lecturer at Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw (2011-2013).

My main research interests are the theory and practice of populism, the comparative analysis of voting behaviour, the comparative analysis of party-system and cleavage formation, and the political entrepreneurialism of elites in new democracies. The geographical scope of my interests encompasses Europe in general, Central and Eastern Europe more specifically, and Poland in particular. I have published articles in the *Journal of Political Ideologies*, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* and *Europe-Asia Studies* (forthcoming) and have written a number of chapters in edited volumes. I am currently finishing two papers: one a study of electoral support for the Palikot Movement in Poland, and the other a comparative study of the 'integration versus demarcation' divide in Europe.

While at the SEI, I will undertake a two-year research project on voting behaviour and cleavage formation in Central and Eastern Europe. The project consists in a comparative analysis of the impact of the putative 'transition winner/loser' divide on the emergence of political cleavages in four post-

communist party systems: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. From the outset of the post-communist transition the notion of 'winners' and 'losers' was a commonplace element of public and scholarly discourse. It pitched those possessing the know-how and skills to thrive in a market economy against those who did not possess the wherewithal to benefit from the new realities. Transition to capitalism was anticipated to bring about significant regional disparities in prosperity, thereby increasing the prospect of a regionally rooted quality to the winner/loser divide.

The key aims of the project are to identify whether winner/loser cleavages emerged in these countries over the first two decades of transition and to explain these outcomes in comparative perspective. The project will make a significant contribution to comparative knowledge about voting behaviour and the formation of cleavages in Central Europe, particularly with respect to hitherto under-explored regional differences. Using innovative methodological techniques of ecological and spatial analysis, it will provide new insights into countries and time periods that, for lack of data, have hitherto been studied in insufficient detail.

The main output of the research project will be a monograph, and the findings will be disseminated at international conferences and through non-academic outreach activities. While at Sussex I will also teach the courses *European Politics*, *Politics of Governance: Eastern Europe* and *Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition*, and join the supervisory teams for PhD students working on topics related to my interests. I am already acquainted with sev-

eral Sussex scholars, in particular Professor Aleks Szczerbiak, who will act as the scientist-in-charge of the project. I look forward to

meeting the rest of my colleagues and SEI students in the coming weeks.

Political Parties and British History

Dr Emily Robinson
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Emily Robinson's recent book, *History, Heritage and Tradition in Contemporary British Politics: past politics and present histories* (Manchester University Press, 2012), explores the different stories political parties tell us about British

history and about their own historical roles. It brings together scholarship on political parties, collective memory, historical theory and heritage studies in order to examine the ways in which history is instituted in party politics, through archives, written histories and commemorations. While it finds differences of detail, of emphasis and of ideology between the parties, the overall picture is surprisingly homogenous. Where the parties once displayed ideologically distinct approaches to recording the past, their attitudes have now converged. It is suggested that this is a consequence of the increasing professionalisation of political parties, which has brought them together under a shared parliamentary narrative.

The book also explores the way that party members express their political identities through competing interpretations of the past, focusing on a series of explicit negotiations over historical narratives in the 1980s and '90s. First, Conservative attempts to reassert control over the national past through the National Curriculum for History and later to reassess their own historical role, in the wake of the election defeat of 1997. This was compli-

cated by the ambiguity of Margaret Thatcher's relationship to the Conservative Party's past and by her attempts to mobilise a very particular view of British history.

Next it looks at the assertion of a 'lost' social democratic tradition by the SDP and New Labour. Both of these parties were defined by the extent to which they broke with the past, however both also presented themselves as reclaiming 'true' history in opposition to politicized myth and nostalgia.

Finally, it explores the way that members of the Communist Party of Great Britain responded to the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, finding ways of reconciling their collective and personal interpretations of history with the reality of the present situation. Each of these episodes highlights the way that history can become the focus of negotiation between grassroots members and party leaders, determining identities in the present and shaping plans for the future.

Contrary to the conventional wisdom, which presents contemporary party politics as ahistorical, it is clear that the past remains an ever-present point of reference in political discourse, providing a constant source of lessons, warnings and precedents. Yet while previous understandings of the political past emphasised its capacity to make demands upon the present – whether of conservative duty or radical obligation – the book shows that this has now been side-lined in favour of a present-focused view of the past as 'heritage'. This is in line with wider social attitudes which see the past as an affirmation of the present, rather than as

a legacy which can be honoured or betrayed. Above all, history, heritage and tradition are used to present parliamentary politics as intrinsically 'historic' in a way that excludes alternative voices of both left and right and leaves contemporary politicians unable to speak of radically different futures.

My Experience as a Marie Curie Research Fellow at the SEI

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser
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Thanks to the financial support of the European Commission, I worked for two years as a Marie-Curie Research Fellow at the SEI and the Department of Politics. This was an extraordinary experience, since it allowed me to interact with scholars

with great expertise in Eastern and Western Europe, who were crucial for my research project on comparing contemporary populism in Europe and Latin America.

By discussing the lines of inquiry of my project with colleagues and presenting the preliminary findings of my research at the SEI research seminars, I obtained invaluable comments and suggestions. This certainly helped me to transform some early manuscripts into publications, such as for example, the 2012 Cambridge University Press volume "Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?" co-edited with Cas Mudde. Together we also published a paper titled "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America" in the Journal *Government & Opposition* at the beginning of this year.

I also recently published a piece on "The Responses of Populism to Dahl's Democratic Dilemmas" in the journal *Political Studies*. In addition, during my time Sussex I have been working with my colleague Juan Pablo Luna on an edited volume titled "The Right in Latin America: Strategies for Political Action" that will be published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 2014. In addition, during my time Sussex I have been working with my colleague Juan Pablo Luna on an edited volume titled "The Right in Latin America: Strategies for Political Action" that will be published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 2014.

I also taught a course on "Populism and Politics" as well as a course on "Latin American Politics", whereby I not only had the opportunity to interact with promising students, but also to discuss with them some aspects of my research project. At the same time, the British Academy financed a proposal that I put together with Paul Taggart from the Department of Politics at the University of Sussex and Pierre Ostiguy from the Department of Political Science at the Catholic University in Chile. This is a three year project centred on the comparison of populism across the world and its main output should be the publication of a "Handbook of Populism". That said, this research project will allow me to stay in contact with the SEI and the Department of Politics.

At the end of this year I will move to Chile to take a position as an Assistant Professor at the

School of Political Science of the Diego Portales University. I will teach courses on comparative politics and I will continue to undertake research on populism in a comparative fashion. Although

I am very happy about moving to Chile, there are several aspects that I will miss about the SEI, the Department of Politics and Brighton. To begin with, this institution is composed of a team of excellent academics, who are very

kind and collegial. Moreover, there is a vibrant community of promising PhD students, who are working on fascinating topics. Furthermore, the library of the University is excellent and I had the opportunity to interact with interesting scholars working at the Institute of Development Studies. Last but not least, Brighton is ideally located: at the beach, and very close to both London and Gatwick Airport.

Normative Power in Europe: Fieldwork in Cyprus



Stella Georgiadou
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My research project investigates the potentials and limitations of the applicability of the theory of 'Normative Power Europe' in the field of conflict transformation. Taking the main purpose of this research as testing the theory of 'Normative Power Europe', I decided to use a collective case study approach. In this respect, the cases of the Cyprus and Kosovo conflicts have been chosen.

This summer, as part of my PhD research, I conducted one month of fieldwork in Cyprus. This first stage of my fieldwork involved conducting interviews with officials and academic experts in Cyprus. These interviews aimed at understanding how the behaviour of the EU towards transforming the Cyprus conflict has been perceived by the actors concerned. For

this purpose, I decided to follow a semi-structured interviewing approach which had the advantage of allowing me a degree of flexibility regarding the topics that needed to be discussed. Using this approach helped me explore more issues and ask further questions based on the responses of each interviewee.

After identifying a number of potential interviewees, I made contact with them to arrange the details of each meeting. Since I was trying to arrange meetings with 'elites', I considered email as the best tool of contact. Getting in touch with them, however, was not always so easy since most of them were extremely busy. However, I managed to arrange appointments with many key persons who proved to be very cooperative and essential in helping me answer my research questions.

Once in to the business of conducting the interviews, I had to face some other challenges. The main hurdle that I had to overcome during this process was the time constraints within which most of these people operate. In some cases, the length of the meeting was not sufficient enough to allow for an in-depth discussion. Moreover, given their busy schedule, some of my interviewees had to interrupt the

interview due to some unexpected issues that came up.

However, in spite of the aforementioned difficulties, my interviewees were very willing to discuss and share their knowledge and opinions with me. The information I gathered during this month in Cyprus was very revealing and valuable. I gained a better understanding of the objectives the EU had towards the Cyprus conflict and the impact of its policies on the

conflict: considerable differences in evaluating the EU's behaviour towards the Cyprus conflict was one of the most interesting findings.

In general, my fieldwork in Cyprus gave me the opportunity to make contact with key persons and gather important data. More importantly, I gathered valuable in-depth information which provided me with new perspectives on my research and which are essential in helping me answer my research questions.

Resilient Neoliberalism at the Capitalist Periphery



Aldo Madariaga
**SEI Visiting Doctoral
Researcher**
**Max Planck Institute,
University of Cologne**

My stay at the SEI (late April-late June) was part of my PhD research studying the continuity and change of neoliberal developmental regimes in Latin America and Eastern Europe. The aim of my visit was twofold. First, to elaborate on my recently conducted fieldwork in Argentina and Chile. Second, to start the literature review for the second part of my fieldwork to be conducted this autumn in Poland and Estonia.

During the two months I stayed in Sussex I received feedback from two supervisors, Sabina Avdagic and Cristóbal Rovira. Their knowledge of my case studies, as well as methodological and conceptual skills, were of much help for the purposes of my visit. With their help, I advanced my analytical conceptualization of societal actors and their preferences on the two policy domains I am researching (exchange rates and industrial policy), and how these translate into real policy regimes. I also had the time to advance in the analysis, under

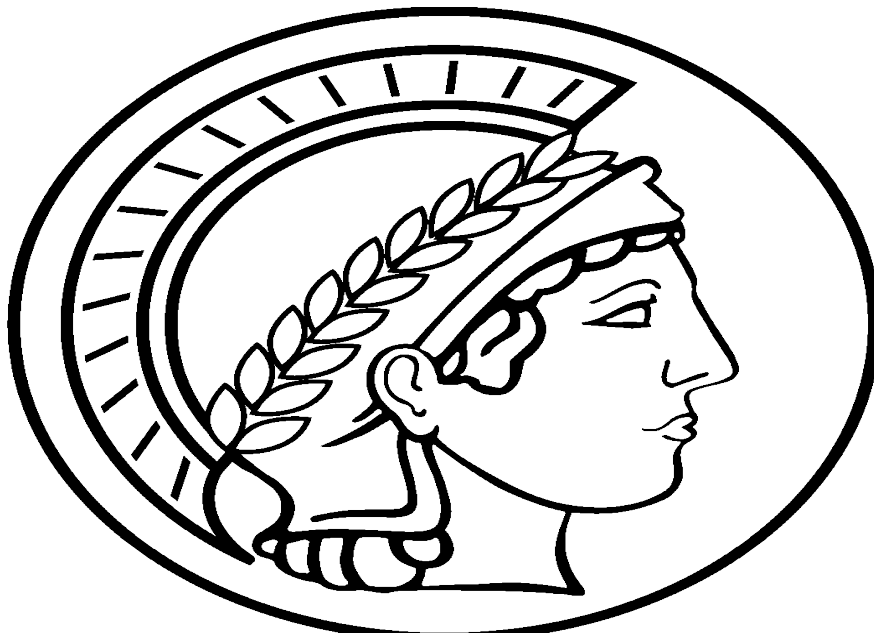
these lines, of my Latin American cases, and to start the literature review on Eastern Europe.

The formation of social blocs including business sectors, political parties and other societal actors, together with prevailing economic constraints and political institutions, affect the adoption of different types of development regimes. Under similar conditions (political context and economic constraints), the establishment of a certain developmental regime depends on the strength of the leading economic sector, as well as the existence or not of competing sectors. In absence of such sector, political leadership and its ability to privilege the development of a specific sector is determinant. The continuity of developmental regimes over time reflects the ability of dominant blocs to defend the policies they value most under the competition of other actors or social blocs, and the enactment of specific mechanisms to maintain and institutionalize their privileged position.

During my stay in Sussex I also had the chance to interview area specialists in London and Sussex to prepare my fieldwork in Eastern Europe. Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak kindly offered his knowledge about Polish politics and history,

and further help for the research process. Because of the time of the year, I did not have time to participate in many discussions with other SEI students. Nevertheless, my supervisors made sure that I got involved in the activities organized by the university. Dr. Avdagic invited me to take part in a two-session methods course on Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). The course was useful to introduce me to this technique of growing popularity and

survey the possibility of incorporating it into my current work. Dr. Rovira was kind enough to invite me to a closed seminar on populism with leading scholars in the field. The topics discussed during this seminar, as well as the contacts I made, will be significant for the future development of my research. Overall, my stay in Sussex was a stimulating experience both academically and personally.



The Effects of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs on Voting Behaviour and Social Economic Outcomes



Pedro Constantino-Echeverría
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During my first year as a PhD researcher at the University of Sussex I had to work on my PhD research outline, which explains the main goals of my

research, and which I presented in May 2013 to the Politics Department.

The aim of my research is to identify the effects of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (CCTs) in Mexico and Brazil on voting behaviour, among different populations. It also seeks for a correlation between the improvement of socio-economic outcomes and a possible repercussion while casting a ballot. I want to identify how recipients vote over time. By

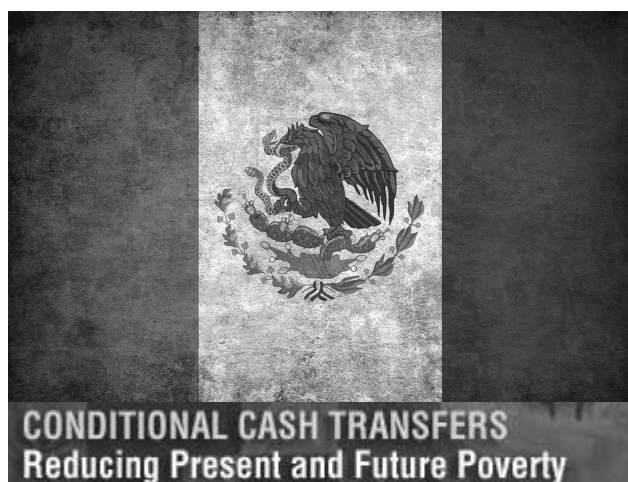
doing this, I seek to determine if there is an effect of CCTs on electoral preferences of the recipients and try to identify any changes in electoral behaviour before and after CCTs were introduced. This can be explained through various theories based on economic voting theory, retrospective and prospect voting theory.

Some of the most recent electoral results in Mexico and Brazil seem to mainly reflect the economic conjunctural effects of socio-economic conditions on political choices. Taking this into account, it seems logical that policy makers need to consider the possible impacts on voting behaviour and socio-economic outcomes that CCTs may produce, such as a shift in voting attitudes towards a certain political party. In this context, the observed electoral behaviour seems to be determined more by the current economic situation of the households than by the classical driving forces that explain electoral and political choices, which can be party identification or ideological orientation. Consequently, key macroeconomic variables and social indicators have left behind forces that usually have shaped the electoral behaviour.

Regarding the case of the effects of CCTs on voting behaviour, I will do a comparative analysis between Mexico and Brazil CCTs from 1996 to 2012. This study aims to make a cross country comparison, looking on the effects on voting behaviour through a long period of time taking into account national and individual level variables in both countries.

My research will use a quantitative method approach. The data will be obtained from the Brazilian and Mexican National Surveys and the statistical data available on the archives of both CCTs programs. I also will use data from the official electoral results from the Mexican Federal Electoral Institute and the Brazilian Supreme Electoral Court.

The analysis will consist of two parts. In the first part I will use descriptive statistics to summarize the performance of the CCTs through time. In the second part I will use econometric techniques (differences-in-differences and Multilevel Panel Data Analysis) to formally test the causal effect of both CCTs on voting behaviour and socioeconomic outcomes among the target population.



New EPERN briefing

EPERN

European Parties Elections
and Referendums Network

ELECTION BRIEFING NO 73
EUROPE AND THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTION, 9 DECEMBER 2012

Roxana Mihaila
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The SEI-based European Parties Elections & Referendums Network (EPERN) produces an on-going series of briefings on the impact of European integration on referendum and elections campaigns. There is one addition to the series. Key points from this are outlined above. EPERN papers are available free at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/research/>

Key points:

- The Social Liberal Union, the main opposition grouping, secured a clear-cut victory at 60% of the votes, thus bringing back to government the Social Democratic Party, President Basescu's most fervent opponent. The Right Romania Alliance came second with a record low of 16%, surprisingly close to one of the newest contenders the People's Party-Dan Diaconescu on 14%.
- The election turnout improved from the lowest level in 2008 (slightly above 39%), but remained relatively weak at 41.72%. Nevertheless, this was the third round of voting to take place in 2012, as the electorate had first chosen their local representatives in June and then faced a referendum on the President's impeachment in July.
- The election produced a colossal parliament, increasing its seats by 118 compared to the previous legislature, thus bringing it up to a staggering 588 MPs.
- As the first fully-fledged elections in Romania since it became an EU member state, and in the context of the Eurozone crisis, one can identify a more pronounced reference to 'Europe' in the main contenders' discourses, although yet not as a substantive campaign issue. The direct intervention of EU leaders in political life in general, and the elections in particular, in response to the actions of the Ponta government was more noteworthy.
- The campaign was remarkable in its virulence: a battle of personalities more than a debate on issues. The aggression of the Social Liberal campaign, and the lack of co-ordination and clear message in the Right Romania Alliance's strategy, was likely to have been reflected in the final results.

Activities

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

SEI Secures EC Funding for Project on EU Citizenship

In the European Year of Citizens, the Sussex European Institute (SEI) has secured a €20,000 grant from the European Commission for a series of events on the theme of 'Connecting with Citizens'.

SEI Co-Director Professor Sue Millns explains: "The launch of the European Year of Citizens in 2013, 20 years after the initial introduction of the concept of European citizenship in the Maastricht Treaty, has re-opened debates around citizenship both at the European and national levels.

"It has also presented an important opportunity for investigating European citizenship rights, the extent of participation of European citizens in public life and the capacity of European citizens to cope with the complex economic, financial, political and social challenges that currently face the European Union."

The SEI's 'Connecting with Citizens' project aims to explore the connection and re-connection of citizens (both UK and from other EU member states) and non-citizens (or 'third country nationals') with the core values, rights and opportunities presented by the concept of EU citizenship.

A series of five events (one public lecture and four workshops) will cover the themes of:

- Citizenship, rights and justice;
- Connecting citizens with the 2014 Euro

- European Parliament elections;
- Youth and citizenship;
- Citizenship and immigration; and
- Connecting citizens with the debate on the future of the UK in Europe.

The project draws on SEI's research strengths and interdisciplinary expertise in this area and takes advantage of its extensive network of practitioner and academic contacts at Sussex and beyond.

It has teamed up with the New Europeans, a newly formed organisation promoting the rights of Europeans living or working in another EU member state, whose members include Roger Casale, MP for Wimbledon from 1997-2005, and former UK Ambassador to Slovakia Michael Roberts.

Professor Millns explains: "The purpose of this collaboration is to bring together theories and practice around the exercise of EU citizenship rights and to promote research on citizenship to a wide academic and non-academic audience."

SEI previously secured European Commission funding for a 2012 project on 'The future of Europe in an age of changes, challenges and chances', which began with the Institute's 20th anniversary conference, at which the keynote

speaker was former European Commission Vice-President Lord (Leon) Brittan.

This was followed by four workshops on the themes of economic recovery, migration, EU

external affairs, and Euroscepticism in the UK, which brought together leading academics, practitioners, policy makers, NGOs and think tanks.

Sussex Experts Analyse UK Euroscepticism

Although opposition to European integration is considerably higher in the UK than in other EU states, it is also increasing across the continent, a workshop organised by the Sussex European Institute (SEI) has revealed.

The 40 participants at the workshop on campus on Thursday (20 June) analysed the state of Euroscepticism in the UK, the factors driving opposition to European integration, and how to re-connect the British public with the EU.

Delegates included leading academic specialists on Euroscepticism and British politics from Sussex and beyond, together with practitioners and policy makers including Peter Kellner (head of the YouGov polling agency), Stephen Booth (Sussex alumnus and head of research at the Open Europe think tank), and representatives from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee.

A session on the party politics of British Euroscepticism was followed by a keynote address by Peter Kellner on the state of the British public on European integration.

The workshop concluded by analysing different possible strategies for re-connecting the British public with the EU, including the proposed referendum on continued UK membership.

The workshop discussion drew on insights from specialists at the SEI-based European Parties and Referendums Network (EPERN) to

reveal that, although opposition to European integration is considerably higher in the UK than in other EU states, it is also increasing across the continent.

While Britain is distinctive in so far as the Conservatives are an unusual case of a major governing party that is openly Eurosceptic, analysis of the Labour party and even the Liberal Democrats revealed that they too are wary of supporting European integration too enthusiastically. Rather, there is a high level of consensus among the main parties about what Britain's interests are in Europe - but disagreement about how best to pursue them.



However, while polling shows that a surprisingly large number of Conservative party members (not just voters) would consider voting for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), there were doubts as to the extent to which this would actually happen at the next general election, when voters will be choosing a government rather than expressing a mid-term protest vote.

There was disagreement among participants as to whether a referendum would settle the issue of Britain's EU membership or if it would simply continue to recur.

SEI Conference on the EU External Service

On Wednesday April 24th, the Sussex European Institute (SEI) held a one-day conference on 'The EU's External Action Service: Challenges and Solutions'.

This was the third in a series of five SEI European Commission-funded conferences and workshops running from autumn 2012 through to summer 2013 and was organised by SEI's Prof Jörg Monar and Dr Adrian Treacher. The series began in September 2012 with the SEI's twentieth anniversary conference 'The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?' and some of the themes and issues raised then were taken up by the April 24th conference.

The latter was attended by some 25 participants from across the University and from the wider region.

Session one saw a keynote speech by Dr Stefan Lehne from the Brussels-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former Political Director of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entitled 'The European External Action Service: A new institutional basis for the EU's international role and its challenges'. SEI Visiting Practitioner Fellow John Palmer then acted as discussant for this session.

Session two had two speakers. Prof Christophe Hillion from the University of Leiden/Swedish Institute of European Policy Studies started off with a paper on 'Legal issues of the

EEAS Decision: problems and possible solutions'. He was followed by Isabelle Tannous from the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin who presented on 'The interaction between the EEAS and the Commission in the development policy domain: challenges and prospects'.

The final session saw a lively discussion of points raised by Jörg Monar and Adrian Treacher on the topic: 'The EEAS in the context of the EU as an international actor'.

Overall, it was clear that the EEAS faces numerous significant challenges, not least in terms of leadership and morale, as highlighted in the contributions from Dr Lehne. Prof Hillion and Ms Tannous were then able to highlight more specific issues.



SEI says farewell to Jörg Monar

On Wednesday July 17th, the Sussex European Institute (SEI) organised a half-day workshop on the theme of 'Justice and Home Affairs in the European Union' to say thanks and farewell to SEI-based Professor of Contemporary European Studies Jörg Monar. Prof Monar, who will become Rector of the College of Europe in September, has been at SEI since 2001 including a period as SEI Co-Director from 2001-5.

The workshop was put together to celebrate both Prof Monar's more general contribution to the sub-discipline of contemporary European studies, of which he is a leading academic specialist, and his specific contribution to the field of EU justice and home affairs where he is recognised as one of, if not the, outstanding specialists in the world.

The workshop began with a presentation by Professor Valamis Mitsilegas (Queen Mary University, London), one of Prof Monar's research collaborators and co-authors, who spoke about 'The evolution of the EU into an area of freedom, security and justice: why institutions matter'. Dr Ariadna Ripoll Servent (University of Vienna), a former doctoral student of Prof Monar, then gave a presentation on 'Integrating institutions into the study of justice and home affairs'.

The final presentation was by Prof Helen Wallace (SEI), who was SEI's founding Director from 1992-2001 and is now an SEI Visiting Professorial Fellow. Prof Wallace, who spoke on 'Justice and Home Affairs and European studies', discussed huge esteem in which Prof Monar is held within the sub-discipline. Prof Monar rounded off the workshop with wide ranging concluding remarks that reflected upon all the presentations and contributions to the discussion.

Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, who took over from Prof Monar as an SEI Co-Director in 2006, commented:

'Jörg is an outstanding scholar and a wonderful academic leader and institution-builder. He has also been an amazing colleague who will be greatly missed. Working alongside Prof Jim Rollo, who retired as SEI Co-Director two years ago, and building on the amazing work done by their predecessor Helen Wallace, Jörg helped to build up and nurture SEI as the leading academic research and postgraduate training centre on contemporary Europe. This workshop was a very fitting way of saying goodbye to, and celebrating the intellectual achievements of, a great colleague and friend. We are looking forward to continuing to collaborate with him and welcoming him back to participate in future SEI events.'



Updates From the Sussex Corruption Centre



**SEI Prof Dan Hough
Professor of Politics
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Members of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) have had a busy summer. Firstly, on Monday 9 September the SCSC held its second annual conference at Clifford Chance in Canary Wharf. 150 participants from a wide range of backgrounds listened to papers on topics as wide and varied as corruption and anti-corruption in the metropolitan police, an analysis of the successes and failures of anti-corruption agencies, Xi Jin Ping's anti-corruption attempts in China and even what forensic accountancy has to offer in tracking patterns of corruption. To say that the conference did justice to the centre's interdisciplinary ideals would certainly not be an understatement.

The highlights of the conference were threefold; Sir Ian Blair, former commissioner of the Metropolitan Police (2005-2008), gave an entertaining account of how successive commissioners have - with varying levels of success - attempted to tackle corruption within Scotland Yard, whilst Professor Michael Johnston from Colgate College in New York skilfully analysed the problems not just of defining corruption but also of making attempts to tackle it work. He pointed out that the challenge of getting governance right - a key prerequisite for tackling corruption - requires an awareness of context and nuance just as much as it does best practice and policy diffusion. And this is something that seems to get lost all too frequently.

He Jiahong, the law professor turned best-selling novelist from Renmin University of China in Beijing, provided the final highlight, offering a tour de force of how one should and shouldn't understand the efforts of the Chinese regime to clamp down on corrupt behaviour. China has serious, institutional corruption challenges. No one knows that more than the Chinese, and if the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) doesn't get a grip on corruption then its legitimacy and indeed very existence will be brought in to doubt. The fight against corruption in China is subsequently in many ways existential.



Over and above the annual conference, the SCSC celebrated the first year of its MA (in Corruption and Governance) in early September. The pioneer generation of students now move on to put their expertise to practice in the outside world, whilst one student, Sam Power, remains with the SCSC to begin his ESRC funded PhD research on party funding regimes and corruption under Dan Hough and Paul Webb. It's looking as if 20-25 students will be enrolling on the MA in September 2013

as the course potentially looks to double in size.

Finally, SCSC research associate Rob Blaszczak recently completed his British Academy funded research on anti-corruption agencies in general and the successes and failures of the

CBA in Poland in particular. Blaszczak and PI Dan Hough will be publishing their research findings in due course, keep an eye on the usual outlets for more details.



Debating Euroscepticism and Polish Politics in Warsaw



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On May 24th I attended a one-day conference at the University of Warsaw Institute of European Studies on the 'Polish and British Politics 2013: The Challenges and Opposition to European Integration'. The conference was organised by the British Socio-Political Studies Research Group BRITANNIA and attended by forty delegates. Among the conference organisers were two young Polish scholars with long-standing links with the SEI: Dr Przemysław Biskup and Dr Wojciech Lewandowski, both of whom visited Sussex as Erasmus-Socrates scholars in the early 2000s. Przemysław also

came to Sussex as an SEI visiting fellow last year.

Rather foolishly I agreed to give two papers (Przemysław can be very persuasive!). The first of these was on the theme of 'Researching Euroscepticism in party politics: methodological and analytical challenges' where I took part in a panel alongside Aleksandra Moroska-Bonkiewicz (University of Silesia), one of the most promising of an impressive new generation of young political scientists currently emerging in Poland. In my paper, I returned to the themes covered in my earlier research with my Sussex-colleague Prof Paul Taggart: how do we conceptualise/define party-based Euroscepticism, what causes it, and how we measure it? One of the most striking things about the discussion on this topic was that - in spite of the fact that since the 1990s a veritable cottage industry of 'Euroscepticism studies' has emerged, which has given way to hundreds of publications in increasingly prominent journals - many of the points of reference are still the same ones, most notably Paul and my 'classic' distinction between 'Hard' and 'Soft'

Euroscepticism. This was both gratifying but also a bit worrying.

My second paper was presented in a panel on 'Polish politics and the challenge of European integration' alongside another outstanding (but UK-based) early-career Polish scholar, Dr Anna Gwiazda (King's College London). My contribution was on 'The "domestication" of the European issue: Polish political parties and European integration' and examined how the issue of European integration has played out in Polish domestic party and electoral politics in recent years. The paper focused on Civic Platform (PO) and Law and Justice (PiS), the two parties that have dominated the Polish political scene for the last eight years and are very likely to do so for the foreseeable future, certainly up until the next parliamentary election in 2015. I argued that, in spite of the fact that Europe (and foreign policy more generally) became more contested and politicised in recent years, there was still very broad

agreement between the two main parties on the overall objectives of Polish EU policy. Rather, divisions on European policy often reflected differences over strategy, competence and political styles (in other words, became 'domesticated' in Polish party politics); although there was some tentative evidence that the situation may be changing in the light of the Eurozone crisis.

During the final session I was able to relax and listen to a series of Polish scholars discussing recent developments in British politics. With Baroness Thatcher's recent death still fresh in

people's memories, much of the discussion inevitably focused on the former British prime minister's impact on Poland's democratic transition. Some speakers raised the apparent paradox of a Conservative prime minister engaged in a bitter year-long struggle against the miners' union being one of the political heroes of the Polish Solidarity trade union movement. However, others highlighted what they saw as the differences between supporting an extremely broadly based social movement for political freedom in a communist dictatorship like Solidarity, and a strike that had not been endorsed by (and, indeed, was actively opposed by many of) the mining union's own members and whose leaders' appeared to be trying to bring down a democratically elected government.



All-in-all an interesting (if somewhat tiring) conference and very nice chance to catch with old friends and visit a city that I've got to know very well through numerous research visits over the last couple of decades

- although which, in parts, now looks like a massive building site thanks to EU-funded infra-structure projects!

The Radical Left in Europe



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I was delighted to be invited to give a keynote presentation at a three-day conference on The Radical Left in Europe and the Elections

2012-13 held by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Brussels (<http://rosalux-europa.info/>) on 25-27 June.

The conference aimed to assess the reasons behind the rather poor election results of radical left parties in Europe since the 2008 economic crisis. The conference gave a timely opportunity to question whether left parties need to reposition themselves to find electoral success.

The conference began with a lively panel discussion on the question 'Is there a Future for the European Radical Left?'. Gabriele Zimmer (Chair of the Confederal Group of the European United Left-Nordic Green Left in the European Parliament) outlined several challenges for European left parties. Most significantly, she argued that the left is weakened by the unwillingness of some parties to cooperate at European level.

It was noticeable that important left parties did not attend this event. It was also clear that left-wing politicians are increasingly frustrated with parties such as Portuguese and Greek Communist parties who are reluctant to look beyond their ideological orthodoxy and outright rejection of European integration to work with other parties.

This was a recurrent theme that ran through the conference and was something I explored

in a report commissioned by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation on the challenges that the left faces in constructing an 'Alternative Europe'. My report questions whether the left's Euro-scepticism or, on the other hand, calls for more integration in the form of a 'Social Europe' are the reasons for its disappointing election results in recent years. It is clear that the radical left has a long way to go to present a united and coherent vision of an alternative Europe.

A highlight of the conference was an engaging speech on 'The European Radical Left and the Crisis' by Dr Luke March (University of Edinburgh). Luke's talk gave an excellent outline of the reasons why some left parties have found greater levels of electoral success since the collapse of Communism in East Central Europe in 1989. He argued that the major weaknesses of the left can be found in the lack of a vision that is compelling with voters. Internal divisions, weak links to social movements and a relative lack of support in East Central Europe were also shown to be major weaknesses of the radical left. Luke's arguments were well received by the conference and the discussant Helmut Scholz (MEP).

My presentation focused on the Dutch Socialist Party and the 2012 Dutch parliamentary election. It outlined how the Socialist Party (SP) enjoyed a huge surge in opinion polls. At one point, it even seemed as if the Party would become the largest party in the Netherlands but it faced a collapse in support in the final weeks of the election campaign. I discussed how the Socialist Party had enjoyed electoral expansion through sacrificing radical policies and seeking inclusion in governing coalitions.

There has been considerable debate as to how the Party should respond to the disappointing

election result. My research based on interviews with Socialist Party politicians shows that the party is likely to stick to its office

Conference of Europeanists, Amsterdam June 2013



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During late June I presented a paper at the annual Conference of Europeanists, which was held at the University of Amsterdam, neatly framed between the historical canals and the 'red light' district. I was part of a panel titled 'The Party Politics of Immigration Policy in Contemporary Europe', which was chaired by Prof Tim Bale (formerly of Sussex University) who had also co-authored a paper with Dr James Hampshire. My paper, titled 'Commitments and Compromises: Immigration policy under Margaret Thatcher 1975-1984', provided indicative findings from my empirical research so.

What can we learn about political parties, policymaking and the government-opposition dynamic from the archive material of the late 1970s and early 1980s? A few examples:

Seeking to push the government of the day into adopting the proposals the Conservatives believed were 'right' for the country was no exercise in altruism. It was more an attempt at party positioning, that is, aligning the Conservative Party as competent and tough on immigration. One paper from 1978, which considered how to publicise the Party's proposals, suggested a debate on immigration followed by forcing 'the Government to vote *against* our proposals'.

Parties in opposition may have different reactions when their policies are adopted (a sign of flattery, downright theft or even deception?) by the party in government. The Conservatives did consider what they might do if the government were to reduce immigration. If figures showed the reduction to be substantial, 'we should seek to take credit for this by referring to our positive tone on the subject'.

Once in office, the Conservatives were less dogmatic with regard to policy implementation; they were prepared to yield to economic rationale at the expense of immigration policy objectives. One letter between ministers argued that the success of Thatcher's visit to India depended on whether a £1 billion steel contract was awarded by the Indians to a British or a German consortium. And thus it was concluded that 'it would be greatly to our advantage to make a concession very soon [such as] a doubling of the existing annual quota' for UK passport-holders from India.

I received some very helpful feedback and – much relieved – I was able to enjoy the rest of the conference. I heard presentations by luminaries on the field on selective migration policy models, gender evaluations of migration policy and the role of research for policymakers (much disenchantment among those in attendance). The highlights? On one day alone Terri E Givens spoke on the politics of immigrant integration, Ruud Koopmans spoke

about immigrant multiculturalism as a contested field in cross-national comparison and Georg Menz presented a paper on the politics of labour migration policy design. On another day, at a particularly interesting panel supposedly on 'science-society dialogues on migrant integration' (for which the discussant chided the presenters for not engaging with the 'science' part) I listened to Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes give presentations.

Among a busy schedule of panels, leisurely coffee breaks with colleagues and long debate-filled dinners with the inexhaustible Dr Oliver Gruber, I even managed to do some sightseeing on the streets of Amsterdam, which was nice.



Sussex LPS Doctoral Researchers Focus on Professional Development

Thirty PhD students participated in the first Sussex School of Law Politics and Sociology (LPS) away day for postgraduate doctoral researchers this month. The away day - sponsored by the Sussex ESRC Doctoral Training Centre (DTC) Citizenship, Justice and Security pathway - was on the theme of professional development and focused particularly on getting published and post-doctoral research opportunities.

The first session was a round table comprising editors of leading academic journals in the three disciplines covered by the School - Law, Politics and Sociology - who gave some invaluable tips for doctoral students based on your personal editorial experience about getting published. The panel included: the Head of the Sussex Politics Department and editor of *Government*

and Opposition Prof Paul Taggart; Dr Simon Susen from City University, London who is editor of the *Journal of Classical*

Sociology; and Prof Stuart Harrop from the Sussex Law School who was an editor of the *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy* and is now on a number of editorial boards on Law, policy and cross-disciplinary journals.



This was followed by a session on getting a thesis published as an academic monograph introduced by Prof Taggart and Sussex Director of Doctoral Studies for Law, Politics and Sociology Prof Aleks Szczerbiak. Shared their



experiences of working with academic publishers and putting together book proposals, both of them have

guided a number of their own doctoral researchers through the publishing processes as well publishing their own theses as books.

The third session comprised established Sussex scholars from each of the three School disciplines who shared their personal insights into the publishing process. The panel for this session included: Head of School and Professor of Law Stephen Shute; Professor of Politics Paul Webb, who is also editor of the *Party Politics* journal; and Dr Susie Scott, a Reader in Sociology who has had great success in building up an impressive publications profile at an early stage in her academic career.

The final session involved two presentations on post-doctoral research opportunities. David Rose from the Sussex Research Office ran through the various post-doctoral funding opportunities that are currently available togeth-

er with each scheme's requirements, submission deadlines and success rate. Dr Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, currently a Marie-Curie Research Fellow in the Sussex Politics Department - who has secured two post-doctoral fellowships and is about to start his first permanent academic job – talked about his personal experience of putting together successful post-doctoral research projects.

Three major themes ran throughout the day. Firstly, that doctoral researchers need to multi-task: keeping up progress and momentum on their thesis while try to get publications and book proposals under review and putting together post-doctoral plans as on-going side-project; as well, of course, as other professional development activities such as teaching.

Secondly, PhD students were encouraged to network and be pro-active in seeking advice about publishing, post-doctoral opportunities and their professional development more generally. This includes: discussing professional development with their supervisors; talking to journal editors and book commissioning editors about ideas for articles and publishing their thesis; utilising the resources of the Sussex Research Office; and drawing on the expertise of current post-doctoral researchers based at Sussex for advice; as well as developing networks of contacts who can help them to identify publishing and post-doctoral opportunities.

Thirdly, the importance of being flexible and persistent was stressed in every session. This includes being: able to deal with critique and rejection of their work, willing to adapt their

work in order to meet publishers' and funders' requirements, and to be very entrepreneurial in identifying and seeking both funding and post-doctoral research (and job) opportunities.

Commenting on outcome of the day, Prof Szczerbiak said: 'I think that the clear message that came through from this day was that, in order to give themselves a chance in an extremely competitive academic jobs market, PhD students needed to build professional development into every stage of the research process and not just leave it until the end. The good news is that LPS puts a lot of time and effort into helping support our doctoral researchers' professional development - both individual supervisors and also through School-level events such as this ESRC-funded away day - and our PhD graduates have a very good record of securing academic jobs.'



MA: One Year Later



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When I decided to enrol in Master studies, the University of Sussex was my first and only choice. Having researched for UK programmes in European Politics and having met many Sussex alumni along the years, I was certain the programme at the Sussex European Institute was the right one where I could continue my academic advancement. The multidisciplinary nature of the studies and the combination of theoretical and practical aspects of politics and EU studies were the main reasons behind this decision. Now a year later, I know that there is much more to a MA programme, which goes beyond the standard academic prospects.

One of the things from which I've benefited mostly was the individual attention that students get from lecturers. Smaller study groups have helped me maximise my efforts to gain knowledge, while the readiness of the professors to address any of our concerns, even the ridiculous ones, was something I did not expect. In seminars, we would blush if we hadn't gone through readings, due to the challenging classmates, whose depth in discussions would make it very obvious. In class, nobody's opinion remained unchallenged, not even my opinions about my own country for which I've considered myself quite an expert. This continuous intellectual challenge, which stimulated our critical thinking and sharpened our analytical skills, is an easily identifiable feature of studying at Sussex.

There's much more than lectures and seminars at SEI. During the weekly Research in

Progress seminars, we had the opportunity to listen to some pioneering research in different fields. There, the students are equal to their professors, be that in complementing or confronting opinions. The opportunity to meet high-level practitioners and policymakers in SEI conferences was nothing but fascinating. I will always remember the opinions of Lord Brittan on referendums, as well as Stefan Lehne's analysis of EU's External Action Service.

During the terms, I was continuously perplexed with the multidimensionality of the studies. I say perplexed, as I would often find myself buried in books at a corner of the library reading about the Cuban Missile Crisis, just a few hours before having to submit an essay on an entirely different topic such as the Treaty of Nice. Perplexed, because the knowledge my peers were gaining with the speed of light has often left me puzzled.

The multidisciplinary nature of the programme made many of us focus on different study directions. This too was a unique experience. Classmates would insist for you to listen to their arguments on topics you never heard of before, or we would get stuck on the porch of the School of Law Politics and Sociology to discuss current political affairs for hours after lectures and seminars. All in all, one year after, I can deliberately say that my experience at Sussex was nothing short of great. Except for the weather and the separate taps for hot and cold water perhaps. The latter is something I never got used to.

Summer School on Integrity

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For the past three years, Transparency International's Lithuanian chapter has hosted the 'Summer School on Integrity'. These schools have previously welcomed anti-corruption heavyweights like Dan Kauffman, a leading figure in legal corruption study. It was no surprise then, that this year's programme featured a host

of the anti-corruption world's biggest hitters, including Dr. Marcin Walecki of Poland, and Jose Ugaz of Peru. But it is not just the presence of these leading figures that makes the summer school so successful. The active involvement of passionate young people from across the world is also crucial in making the school worthwhile.

It was into this mix of inspirational youth and powerful experience that I stumbled on the 7th of July this year - the fourth, biggest, and most diverse instalment of the school so far. With only an academic understanding of corruption, nothing could have put me in my place more quickly than my immediate introduction to David Riveros Garcia, President of Paraguayan youth-NGO *Reacción Juvenil de Cambio* and a whistle-blower, and only a few months older than myself! The experiences of David far outstripped my own, and it was interesting to hear how what I had studied is actually put into practice. This was a feeling that I became used to, as I met more and more of my fellow classmates. It was certainly the case that the students had far more of an impact upon me than the lectures, good though they were.



Indeed the quality of the lectures was high, even managing to hold my attention against the oppressive heat and humidity of the Lithuanian summer. Mr. Ugaz was particularly impressive, with his first hand experiences of investigating former Peruvian President Fujimori, highlighting that it is possible to make a difference and defeat a corrupt system. Another highpoint was an informal group discussion with Kanthan Shankar, the World Bank's manager in Myanmar. Such diversity amongst the lecturers ensured that each lecture was fresh, and every participant's interest was satisfied. Personally, the approaches to various subjects within corruption were invigorating. Special praise must go to Deborah Hardoon, for making her lecture on methodology of Transparency International's many measurement indexes an enjoyable experience.

The questions and answers sessions that followed the lectures were always an event in themselves. The lecturers had to be on their toes to field the barrage of questions that they faced. Frequently they impressed with their ability to keep their answers relevant and actually answer the questions posed to them, even the politicians amongst them!

But the most important experience, for myself at least, was the opportunity to meet my fellow young anti-corruption fighters. Such a melting pot of backgrounds ensured that debate and discussion were exciting and eye opening at every turn. For myself, seeing other people who share my passion for tackling corruption, it was hard not to feel optimistic. Academic articles on corruption can make the situation seem dire and pessimistic, but after the Summer School I don't think that is necessarily the case.

The Sussex EU Society

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In 2011 a group of students created the University of Sussex European Union Society, a non-partisan politics and economics society, dedicated to open discussion and debate on issues related to the European Union. The society prides itself on being one of the few non-partisan politics groups on campus and its members include a range of different ideologies, from those on the far left to libertarian conservatives, and from Eurosceptics to those who favour further European integration.

Previously we have held speeches and debates with British MEP's, guest academics, Sussex lecturers and students, and have organized student events throughout the year. In 2013, the society took over a dozen students to

Brussels to visit the European Parliament. Further, because of its nature, the EU Society provides an excellent opportunity to meet Sussex students from a range of different countries. The society prides itself on its commitment to academic discussion and in providing a sociable environment. This year the society aims to balance these commitments offering a range of social and academic events for the enjoyment of its members.

The academic year of 2013-2014 will once again be a compelling year for those interested in the future of the European Union, meaning the society is arguably more relevant than anytime previously for those interested in current affairs. In late September, Germans will go to

the polls to vote for a new government. If Angela Merkel's CDU party will win the largest plurality of the vote as expected and form a coalition government, there will be a continued struggle at the centre of the Eurozone between Merkel and French President Francois Hollande about how to approach the economic recovery. Despite the Eurozone growing by 0.3% in August for the first time in 18 months, it hardly constitutes an economic recovery that will satisfy the majority of the European Union's population, particularly considering the staggering unemployment rates in Spain and Greece. The debate between austerity and growth is sure to continue throughout the coming months and will provide an excellent opportunity for debate within the society.



The future of British membership in the European Union is now no longer certain, with the rise of UKIP and

increased Euroscepticism in the two established British political parties. Nigel Farage's party currently polls between 10-15% of the national vote, and most political commentators suggest that they will do very well in the 2014 elections for the European Parliament. With these elections taking place next May, it is increasingly likely that issues in European politics will continue to engulf the main political parties. Will there be a referendum? Will the Conservative Party demand powers back from Brussels in exchange for continued membership? Will the Labour Party become more Eurosceptic, a feeling reflected by some of its grassroots members?

These questions, combined with rise in Euro-scepticism throughout Europe, provide a fascinating year ahead for debate and discussion. The European Parliament elections provide an excellent opportunity for a range of MEP's to come and speak at the University, and the So-

ciety is already setting up potential debates for the autumn term.

See you in September 2013.

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Dispatches

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

A State of Give and Take Way: Legitimacy and Austerity in the EU



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Whilst there has been plenty of controversy about individual public spending cuts (in many EU states), and also endless discussions about using public investments to stimulate growth, there has been less debate over the broad implications of current and prospective cuts for the legitimacy of the state itself.

In this short note I would like to float the idea that this time the cuts *are* different, and this

time they have significant implications for the very legitimacy of EU governments. In the available space I will, inevitably, oversimplify (and exaggerate).

The cuts in the current round have been widespread and deep, and not just in the Mediterranean countries. Many EU member states have frozen or reduced public service pay, forbidden new recruitment, 'adjusted' public service pension schemes and slashed public investment. Some, including the UK and Ireland, are aiming at service expenditure reductions of between a fifth and a third. If achieved these would be unprecedented – in the UK, for example, they would far exceed the post IMF loan cuts of the mid 1970s.

Some may say that we have been through all this before, and survived. The economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s led a number of European states to attempt large cuts and efficiency savings. Then, as now, there was much academic writing about the end of the welfare state. Later analysis showed, how-

ever, that the welfare state dodged most of the blow. The heaviest cuts fell on defence, and cushioning was achieved by widespread increases in public borrowing. In most cases social expenditure as a percent of GDP continued to grow through the 1980s and '90s.

In 2013, however, the 'peace dividend' has been used up, and further increases in borrowing are quickly noticed, and usually punished by the global finance markets and credit rating agencies. Nor is there, in Europe, much immediate prospect of economic growth inflating tax revenues and reducing welfare expenditures in the way that it did to help, say, post-cuts Canada and Ireland during the 1990s. Given the increasing long term prominence of social spending within public spending totals, it is very hard to see how governments could make savings of the orders they have committed themselves to without swingeing welfare cutbacks. These are some of the reasons why, this time, there is less sense of any eventual return to 'normal'.

So the outlook is certainly painful, but why did I open by positing a fall in the very legitimacy of governments? Because, arguably, the welfare state has been a major plank of that legitimacy. Between 1945 and (roughly) 1980 governments were the givers of new programmes. It is probably not a coincidence that, in the EU, the highest Eurobarometer scores for trust in government go to the countries with relatively generous, well-functioning welfare states (especially the Nordic group).

Until the 1980s the popular expectation was for improvement and extension. After that, governments became managers of restrained growth (80s and 90s) but now, for the first time, they are the agents of actual, absolute decline. They are visibly the takers-away, not the givers. No-one with any experience of complex services such as hospitals, schools or police forces can believe the rhetoric offered

by a few politicians to the effect that 'better management' and 'more IT' can offset short term budget reductions of 20% and more. And no one who studies the records of previous productivity-oriented reforms will believe that either. Service quality is already suffering and will suffer much more in the medium term (the real pain is only beginning). Meanwhile, thanks to cutbacks in investment, additional problems are being stored up for the longer term.

Of course, this will not be the only process eating away at the legitimacy of national governments and political leaders. Others (such as the emergence of more individualistic and pluralistic societies, and the growth of a more aggressive and intrusive media) have been well-documented by political scientists, and will continue. Visible cuts in basic welfare services can, however, be a powerful additional accelerator.

This is *not* an argument that the welfare state is the only component in citizens' trust. Nor is it to suggest that citizens carefully track public service performance data and then make up their minds about whether to trust government. Rather it is an argument that most citizens can hardly be unaware of the fact that governments are making cuts, and that already, or soon, they will also themselves directly experience evidence of deteriorating services (the local library closed; the hospital's waiting list gets longer; repairs to the school's building are postponed; social benefits are frozen or reduced; the family members who are public servants have their pay frozen and/or their pension rights adversely altered).

Is there no hope, then? Not much at the moment, I would say. Paradoxically the main hope for governments (apart from a growth miracle) may be that they will fail in their attempts to impose large cuts. Post-war histories indicate that real cuts in public services have often

been announced but seldom fully implemented. Fudge has been plentiful. It might be the same again, but only, perhaps, if European governments collectively find some way to broaden the range of advice they listen to on the crisis - beyond the narrowly financial and economic.

Even more important, they would have to summon the will to assert social objectives as having equal importance to those of the banks and credit rating agencies (and simultaneously to tighten the regulation of these latter organizations – something which has been happening only slowly and in tiny increments). That, five years on, hardly any financiers have been punished for the 2007/8 debacle still rankles with many. As these citizens begin to feel the punishments falling on themselves and their basic services, they may lose faith not only in today's

particular government, but in the system of government itself. To call that 'dangerous' would be an understatement.

Christopher is Emeritus Professor at the Public Management Institute, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (formerly Research Professor, 2006-2011). He is the author of more than a dozen scholarly books and over 60 articles in refereed scientific journals. Christopher has undertaken advisory work for, inter alia, the OECD, the World Bank, the European Commission and five national governments. In 2004 he won the Hans Sigrift Stiftung international prize for 'outstanding scientific research in the field of public governance'. In 2012 he was elected Fellow of the US National Academy of Public Administration.

Croatia: The Pleasures and Sorrows of EU Membership



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„No matter if today you are happy, sad or indifferent, this is an important day for our country, for all of us and future generations. Will history describe it as positive or negative depends on us. Or I

should say – on you.”

This is part of a Facebook message I have posted on July 1, 2013, the day of Croatia's accession to the EU, on the wall of the Academy for Political Development, an NGO whose membership comprises successful young politi-

cians, businessmen, civil servants, media and civil society professionals. Luckily, judging by the number of likes, these young people, who will surely lead Croatia in the next decades, agreed with me, which gives me hope that in the XXII century the day of EU accession and EU membership more generally will be described as an achievement, not a failure.

Let me however come back to the present and briefly write about how accession day looks to Croatian citizens and the political elite.

Government and opposition alike, except for a few non-parliamentary right-wing parties, see July 1 as a historic achievement and an award for ten years of hard work, hard reforms and hard negotiations. EU membership is seen as a definite confirmation of Croatia's belonging to the Western, developed world and a chance

for Croatia to have more leverage on the global scene (although not always with a clear idea of what our goals there should be...).

A nice treat are also the more than 13 billion Euro of EU funds that can be channelled in economic and social development projects.

On the other hand, these parties' room for political, legal and economic manoeuvre has been substantially limited by EU membership, restricting for instance the long-standing practice of securing votes by using public money or specific legal solutions to satisfy voters' interests. Finally, similarly to other European politicians, the EU can always be used by parties to gain political points or justify certain unpopular moves.

While the political elite is convinced that the pleasures of EU membership significantly outweigh the sorrows, Croatian citizens are much more confused on the issue. Their confusion is a consequence of a lack of serious research on the economic and social impact of accession, a feeble communication campaign run by the government as well as a surprising lack of public discussions on the issue throughout the accession process.

However, Eurobarometer data and data of public opinion polls carried out by Ipsos Puls earlier this year clearly show that the possibility to work, study and live in other EU mem-

ber states is The Pleasure of EU membership. Having the right to enter most other EU countries with an ID card through the 'EU citizens' lane (leaving in the 'All passports' lane even US citizens) is another satisfaction felt by citizens of the newest EU member.

But when it comes to more serious considerations on the economic benefits of EU accession, views are divided. Part of the population believes that Croatia could not survive on its own and that the EU was the best of our options regardless of the crisis it is going through. Others, however, feel that Croatia, and particularly its agricultural sector and SMEs, were not prepared for EU accession and the competition on the common market. Given the lack of research on the issue, it is difficult to say which of the two groups is right. But this enigma will soon be solved thanks to data related to Croatia's economic trends in the next couple of years.

What citizens fail to see, however, unlike the political elites and my fellow members in the NGO mentioned at the beginning of this article, is that the power to turn EU membership into an advantage lies in their own hands. That is why communication about the EU remains equally, if not more important after EU accession so that EU membership is felt like a well-known neighbour and not an unwelcome stranger.



MA Taught Programmes in the SEI

MA in Contemporary European Studies Options:

Term 1: The Making of Contemporary Europe (core course)

Term 2: Options chosen from list below

Term 3: 20,000 word dissertation

For details: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/prospectivestudents/macontemporaryeuropeanstudies>

2 Fees only Cockfield scholarships are available for this programme: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/prospectivestudents/masterscholarshipcockfield>

MA in European Politics

Term 1: The Making of Contemporary Europe (core course)

Public Policy in Europe (core course)

Term 2: Option chosen from list below

Term 3: 20,000 word dissertation

For details: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/prospectivestudents/maeuropeanpolitics>

Next edition of euroscope

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 22nd November 2013: email the team at euroscope@sussex.ac.uk

- The Idea of Europe
- The Politics of Citizenship and Immigration
- The Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition
- The Domestic Politics of European Integration
- The International Relations of the EU
- Territorial Politics in Europe
- Energy and Environmental Security in Europe
- European Political Integration
- 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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