

Special Issue: Citizenship



The Problem of Representative Politics and Democratic Disconnect

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Three years ago I reported in Euroscope on a Leverhulme-funded research project in which I was engaged, addressing the issue of popular disaffection with representative democracy. I can now update the story by relaying news of a second stage of research that I am close to finishing. While the first (somewhat exploratory) phase of this work adopted a quasi-experimental approach (see SEI Working Paper 118: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/publications/seiworkingpapers>), this new work is quantitative, making use of a specially commissioned survey of the British adult population. What is the central research problem on which it focuses?

In many of the world's established democracies, the talk is of disconnect, alienation and apathy - and the search is on for both explanations and ways to put things right. The blame for this state of affairs is often heaped on parties and politicians and, somewhat less tangibly, on 'the political sys-

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tem.’ Those who reject this common wisdom, on the other hand, level their sights on the mass media, and occasionally even on the public itself. The Parliamentary expenses scandals that shook the Westminster establishment in Britain in 2009 elicited both kinds of reaction – though predominantly the former, as frequent outbursts of splenetic public anger made clear.

This situation dovetails with a longstanding difference between the protagonists of participatory democracy and those who defend representative democracy. Whereas the former are inclined to blame the politicians and in some sense or other ‘the system’, the defenders of representative politics are more disposed to say that citizens themselves, and the media on which they depend for political information, are responsible for the low esteem in which politics and its leading protagonists are currently held. From the perspective of this latter school, the radical participationists are unrealistic in their vision of a widespread popular capacity to engage with politics, and prone to stray uncomfortably close to the territory of shallow populism in their naïve and unreasonable view of the job done by political elites. To the participationists, however, this is an apology for an anachronistic and elitist view of democracy that takes insufficient account of the cognitive revolution which has facilitated a far greater potential for popular political engagement.

A powerful contribution to this debate has been made in recent years by social psychologists John Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse (2002) in their research on American voters. They offer a stark challenge to the participationist visionaries in reporting findings which suggest that ‘the last thing people want is to be more involved in political decision-making’. They summarise the orientations of American citizens as a preference for some kind of ‘stealth’ arrangement, whereby citizens know that democracy – and especially accountability – exists, but expect it to be barely visible on a routine basis. Moreover, they draw on findings from social psychology to challenge the claimed benefits of participatory democracy

as ‘wishful thinking’, and they point out that research tends to reveal that it only works under very limited conditions. In short, citizens prefer to guard against representatives’ presumed tendency to shirk, not through ‘police-patrol’ oversight – direct, continuous and proactive – but through ‘fire-alarm’ oversight – mediated, episodic and reactive.

This research sets an important challenge which needs to be taken up in Europe and elsewhere. Are the Stealth Democracy findings the unique reflection of the American political culture? Or do they reflect a more general mindset among the citizens of advanced industrial democracies? Previous work in this field that has drawn exclusively on survey data has been deeply unsatisfactory; at best it has produced limited insights, and it is sometimes downright ambiguous (see Webb 2007 for more on this particular problem). This owes much to the fact that the datasets have rarely been custom-designed for investigating with the key questions in which we are interested: researchers have tended to draw inference from data that were often originally gathered for quite different purposes. In order to better understand the nature of citizen attitudes towards greater political participation, I was able to use British Academy funding to commission YouGov to survey a representative of British adults in the summer of 2011. The British Participation Survey 2011 is unique in a UK context for including a series of customised measures of stealth democratic orientation, among other things, and should therefore enable us to get a far better picture of the attitudes of British people towards political elites, institutions and participation.

The latest stage of my research has focused on testing a simple hypothesis which can be derived from the existing literature, but which has never previously been systematically tested: that there are two quite different types of citizen who are ‘disaffected’ with or ‘disconnected from’ politics, but in distinctive ways: ‘Dissatisfied democrats’ (likely to be higher socio-economic status, well-educated, politically interested devotees of a vision of highly engaged citizens); and ‘Stealth

democrats' (lower socio-economic status, less educated, with little interest in politics, and little inclination to participate). If correct, this carries potentially significant implications for the question of political reform, for it may mean that greater and more high-intensity forms of participation would at best only be effective in respect of the former of these groups (the dissatisfied democrats), but would be counter-productive with respect to the latter (stealth democrats). While the former may chafe at the participatory limitations of traditional forms of representative democracy such as political parties, and have the confidence that they could thrive in the context of greater institutional opportunities for participation, the 'stealth democrats' could be more vulnerable to political marginalization, for they are less likely to thrive through or seek out direct and active engagement. New forms of radical participatory democracy may not therefore be the answer that some envisage them to be – at least, not for all citizens.

The findings of my analysis of the British Participation Survey constitute broad confirmation of the main hypothesis: there are indeed two quite different types of attitude prevalent among citizens who are disaffected with politics, the 'dissatisfied democrat' and 'stealth democrat' orientations. However, it appears that the presence of the former is greater than that of the latter in the British adult population – which implies that reforms offering greater prospect of citizen participation (such as voter juries, citizen assemblies of participatory budgets) could hold a significant appeal. It is also clear that the demographic and attitudinal correlates of these two distinctive orientations differ in the expected manner (dissatisfied democrats generally being higher class and better educated than stealth democrats); moreover, they are certainly enthusiasts for all forms of political participation, while stealth democrats are anything but. That said, there is one interesting exception to this general rule: although stealth democrats dislike most forms of political engagement (party politics, pressure group activity, deliberative democracy), they are not averse to the idea of direct democ-

racy. Why should this be? My suggestion is that it is because the stealth democratic mindset described by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse is essentially populist – and populists generally like referendum democracy. Government by direct democracy can be a way of bypassing the normal channels of representative politics without requiring much active involvement of ordinary citizens beyond a simple yes or no vote on a matter of policy. It is a favourite device of the anti-establishment populist organizations (including UKIP and the BNP in the UK) which contend that mainstream parties somehow 'betray' the people they are supposed to represent. This is entirely consistent with Hibbing & Theiss-Morse's argument that stealth democrats, though generally disinclined to participate, are willing to do so when they feel the need to constrain the political elites of whom they are so mistrustful.

Beyond this, however, the extension of high-intensity participation as a general model of political reforms may not be without its risks: as one commentator has suggested:

While the call for more participatory democracy has a visceral emotional appeal, in practice it may only succeed in engaging those already over-represented amongst voters and party members—that is, the educated, affluent and middle-aged. Mechanisms designed to provide greater opportunities for citizens to participate more directly in decision making as a means of increasing legitimacy and reducing the perceived democratic deficit may therefore have the opposite effect. It is likely that those already adept at making their voices heard will use the new structures to continue to advance their particular interests. In contrast, representative democracy can still better balance the collective need to confer legitimacy on policy outcomes while allowing individual citizens the opportunity to decide on the level of participation that best suits their concerns.

Who we are...

euroscope is the news-letter of the Sussex European Institute (SEI).

It reports to members and beyond about activities and research going on at the SEI and presents feature articles and reports by SEI staff, researchers, students and associates. The deadline for submissions for the Summer term issue is: 1st March 2013.

Co-Editors: Anne Wesemann, Rebecca Partos and Maria Anna Margareta Emilsson (euroscope@sussex.ac.uk)

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

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Where to find euroscope!

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

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



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Features Section: Citizenship

This issue of *euroscope* is a special edition presenting articles on the very contemporary developments in the European Union. You can find our special Features pieces on pages 10-23 and other topic related articles in the Research section. The Dispatches section also contains articles from our associates concerning citizenship and surrounding areas.

Message from the Co-Director...

By Professor Susan Millns
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The concept of EU citizenship has been with us now for twenty years since its introduction in the Maastricht Treaty. In this special issue of Euroscope we explore developments around the status of EU citizen and EU citizenship rights to assess the extent to which this concept has, or has not, become a meaningful one to the peoples of Europe. Building upon the contributions to a workshop on 'Citizenship – 20/20 Visions' that was held at the University of Sussex in October 2012, the feature articles in this issue explore a variety of facets to European citizenship including political participation, identity, the exercise of rights to free movement, residence and social welfare, together with the role of institutions and the media in promoting citizens' engagement in the public sphere.

We open with a discussion by Prof. Paul Webb (Dept. of Politics) on 'The Problem of Representative Politics and Democratic Disconnect'. This feature presents an update of Prof. Webb's research into the disconnect, alienation and apathy that surrounds political participation. Positioning his research in the context of work around American voters, it is suggested that the call for more participation by citizens in political decision-making, may well be misguided: 'the last thing people want is to be more involved in political decision-making'. In order to better understand the nature of citizen attitudes towards greater political participation in the UK, Prof. Webb gained British Academy funding to commission YouGov to survey a representative sample of British adults on their attitudes towards political elites, institutions and participation.



The survey results, discussed in this feature, broadly confirm the existence of two types of 'disaffected' and differently motivated citizens - 'dissatisfied democrats' who are of higher socio-economic status, well-educated and politically interested compared to 'stealth democrats' who are of lower socio-economic status and less well-educated with little interest in politics and political participation.

The theme of political participation is taken up by Dr. Sue Collard (Dept. of Politics) who outlines her research into the participation of migrant EU citizens in local elections in their host member state and asks the question 'What does European Citizenship mean to European Citizens?' Drawing upon Eurobarometer data which suggests that EU citizens are remarkably ill informed about their EU citizenship rights, Dr. Collard presents the early stages of her research into voting patterns of migrant EU citizens in the UK. She asks whether there is any evidence that European citizenship offers the transformative potential for developing European identity or increasing engagement by ordinary citizens with the EU polity.

Has empowering citizens through increased political participation based on residence rather than nationality had the positive outcomes predicted and hoped for by many at the time of the creation of the European Union? This new research into voting patterns in the UK is presented in comparison with Dr. Collard's previous research into this question

in France. The comparison reveals many interesting features differentiating the ease and difficulties of political participation by non-nationals in municipal elections in the two member states.

Prof. Paul Statham, Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, in his contribution explores EU politicization and citizen engagement, arguing for a public sphere approach. Here it is suggested that the politicization of Europe is driven by an expanding public discourse that is carried by an independent self-steering mass media and that public discourses do not just constrain further steps of integration but they also play an important democratizing function.

Prof. Statham's research highlights that public discourse in the mass media can enhance legitimacy by making executive decisions transparent, by including civil society, and in providing vital feedback to policy decisions. Equally, the media is an important location where politicization takes place and provides a central location for citizens' engagement with the EU even if, as yet, it is unclear where this engagement will lead – towards the promotion of European democracy or to an increase in fear, distrust and populist, reactionary responses.

Fear and distrust are themes which are prevalent in the feature by Dr. Charlotte Skeet (Sussex Law School) on 'Citizenship and Legal Orientalism'. This article explores the key tenet of citizenship that it offers equal rights to all citizens. Dr. Skeet argues that the way in which the rights of women are mediated creates a form of discrimination which may compromise the rights of Muslim women in Europe. Exploring the concept of 'Orientalism', Dr. Skeet provides examples in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights of the homogenising and essentialist language used by the Court resulting in a

less than full acceptance of fundamental rights and freedoms of Muslim women, and compromising notably their freedom of expression, religion and education.

Again focussing on legal rights of citizens, Prof. Susan Millns (Sussex Law School) in her contribution provides background to the inclusion of EU citizenship rights in the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU and goes on to explore the controversial (some would say undemocratic) development of these rights by a progressive and activist Court of Justice of the EU. Building upon this theme of political and judicial creativity around the content of citizenship rights, Deborah Gellner (Sussex Law School), explores the extremely hot topic of access to welfare benefits by EU citizens who are resident in a host member state. Drawing out the tensions between the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of nationality and the desire to limit welfare spending by national governments, this article questions the legality of the UK's 'Right to Reside' test as a condition of entitlement to the main UK income-based means-tested benefits.

The sum of these feature articles is to demonstrate the vibrancy and crucial significance of debates around EU citizenship, political participation and the exercise of citizenship rights over the past twenty years. This dynamic concept has triggered huge political debates which go to the heart of the European integration project and are destined to continue well into the next decade in the political arena, in the courts and in the European public space.

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 Autumn 2012.

September:

New EPERN election briefing on Croatia

The European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) based in the SEI has published a new briefing on 'Croatia's EU Accession Referendum' by Andrea Čović (University of Zagreb).

4 September: UACES 42nd Annual Conference

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

6 September: ESRC First Years' Scholars Conference

SEI doctoral student Rebecca Partos attended the ESRC's conference for scholars in their first year of doctoral research, at the Hilton Hotel, Brighton. Organised by Sussex's Doctoral School, the event featured networking opportunities and study skills workshops. Rebecca was featured in a short promotional film along with five other ESRC-funded researchers from Sussex.

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

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

26 September: Europe in Crisis roundtable

SEI Professor of Politics Jorg Monar and Visiting Professorial Fellow Alan Mayhew presented at an SEI round table on 'Europe in Crisis'

26 September: Remembering Peter Mair

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak presented a paper titled 'A glimpse of the future? Parties and party systems in post-communist states' at a conference held in honour of the late Peter Mair on 26th-28th September on the theme 'Responsive or Responsible? Parties, Democracy and Global Markets' at the European University Institute, Florence.

27 September: Lord Brittan gives SEI Annual Lecture

Former Vice-President of the European Commission Lord Brittan of Spennithorne gave the SEI Annual Lecture on 'The European Union: is there life after the Eurocrisis?'

27-28 September: SEI twentieth anniversary conference

The SEI's twentieth anniversary was held on the theme of 'The Future of Europe: Progress and Decline'.



The Sussex European Institute

The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?

20th Anniversary Conference

October:

External Examiner to University of Glasgow

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak attended the Postgraduate Exam Board at the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies, University of Glasgow where he is an External Examiner.

3 October: New Political Parties

SEI visiting doctoral student Gregor Zons (University of Cologne) presented a paper on 'New Political Parties as Innovators – Their Formation and Success' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

5 October: Migration and Citizenship Workshop

SEI doctoral student Erica Consterdine presented a paper titled 'Learning to change: evidence based policymaking and UK immigration policy change in the 2000s' at the Migration and Citizenship workshop, University of Edinburgh.

10 October: Lessons from Kosovo

Former MACES student Florian Qehaja (Kosovar Centre for Security Studies) presented a paper on 'Local ownership versus EU missions – lessons from Kosova' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar

14 October: Poland from a British Political Scientist Perspective

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak gave a paper titled 'Under Western Eyes: Poland from a British Political Science Perspective' at a conference titled 'Knights of Freedom: Polish Researchers in Great Britain' organised by the Jagiellonian University Polish Research Centre in London at Polish Hearth Club, London.

19-21 October: PSAI Annual Conference in Derry

SEI doctoral student Erica Consterdine presented a paper titled 'From Zero Migration to the Migration State: Whitehall Cultures, Institutional Conversion and Policy Change' at PSAI Annual Conference, Derry.

November:

Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption awarded grant

In November 2012 the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption was awarded £4,000 to develop a series of

24 October: SEI hosted a half-day workshop on the theme 20/20 Visions Citizenship Workshop

SEI hosted a half-day workshop on the theme of Citizenship in conjunction with the University of Sussex Citizenship and Democratisation Research Theme.

25 October: Seminar with HMI Prisons' Directorate on the challenges of dealing with corruption within prisons

Professor Stephen Shute and SEI Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough recently led a seminar with HMI Prisons' Directorate on the challenges of dealing with corruption within prisons. The seminar took place in London. It had the aim comparing what is known about corruption in the Prison Service and the organisation's response to it with what has been learnt about best and most effective practice elsewhere. A group of experts from the prison service, trade unions, police and other agencies together with leading academics considered these questions and a report will be published before the end of the calendar year.

24-26 October: Economic Recovery and Europe 2020

SEI Co-Director Prof Susan Millns and Deborah Gellner from the Sussex Law School attended a conference at Wilton Park in Sussex on 'Economic Recovery and Europe 2020: Towards Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth'. The conference brought together a group of leading representatives from the worlds of politics, business, academia, diplomacy, civil society and media to debate Europe's economic prospects and to examine progress on implementing the Europe 2020 strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' in the context of political changes and the continuing impact of the financial crisis.

31 October: Politicisation of Europe

SEI-linked Professor of Migration Studies Paul Statham gave a paper on 'The politicisation of Europe' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

anti-corruption workshops. The grant is part of the 'Kick Start Networks', a new University fund to connect Sussex academics with non-academic research users. The grant will enable the SCSC to continue to build links with the global anti-corruption community, starting with the first round of anti-corruption workshops that are scheduled

for June 2013.

Co-authored book chapter published

In November 2012 SEI Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough, Prof Tim Bale and Dr Stijn van Kessel published the following book chapter: 'Right to be worried? Three Centre-Left Parties and the RadicalRight in the Netherlands, Germany and Great Britain' in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right. Extremism and Democracy* (London: Routledge).

Congratulations to SEI Doctoral Student

Congratulations to Rebecca Partos, who was awarded an MSc with Distinction in Social Research Methods.

9 November: Tracing UK Immigration Policy-making

SEI doctoral student Rebecca Partos presented a paper titled 'Rhetoric and Reality: UK Immigration Policy-making in Real-time' at the Political Studies Association workshop Immigrants in Europe: Between the Eurozone Crisis and the Arab Spring at the University of Westminster.

13 November: SEI Scholars Secure Funding for 'Eurocrisis' Project

SEI-based researchers Dr Dan Hough and Prof Alan Mayhew, alongside King's College lecturer and former SEI Marie Curie visiting fellow Dr Kai Oppermann, have recently commenced work on a £35,000 German Academic Exchange Service (DAAB) funded project. The research also sees SEI graduate Dr Martine Huberty make a welcome return to Sussex as a research fellow. The project uses a comparison of how the 'Eurocrisis' has been framed in the domestic discourses and policy-responses of the two countries. The aim is to analyse how being inside (Germany) and outside (the UK) the Eurozone shapes, and is reflected in, these discourses and policy-responses.

14 November: Newsnight appearance

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) discussed Spain's continuing financial crisis and the key issue of private debt on BBC2's Newsnight.

14 November: German Christian Democrats

Prof Simon Green (Aston University) gave a paper on 'Societal transformation and programmatic choice in the CDU' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

15-16 November: Integration and Rights in Times of Crisis

SEI Co-Director Prof Susan Millns delivered the opening lecture at a conference on 'Integration and Rights in Times of Crisis' at the Institute of Human Rights of the University of Valencia, Spain. Her talk was entitled *Gender Equality, Legal Mobilization and Feminism in a Multi-Level European System* and was based on a current research project investigating legal mobilization for women's rights across Europe.

21 November: Political participation in the UK

SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Webb gave a paper on 'Who is willing to deliberate? A new study of attitudes towards political participation in the UK' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

24 November: PSA Graduate Network Conference

SEI doctoral student Erica Consterdine gave a paper titled 'Lobbying with evidence: challenging governance and explaining UK immigration policy change' at the PSA graduate network conference, University of Oxford.

28 November: Common foreign and security policy

Dr Paul James Cardwell gave a paper on 'On Ring-Fencing the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

December:

3 December: Explaining Late Lustration in Post-Communist States

SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak gave a paper on 'Explaining "Late" Lustration in Post-Communist States: The Polish Case in Comparative Perspective' at a seminar organised by the Centre for European Politics, Security and Integration (CEPSI) at the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London.

4 December: Corruption and Anti-Corruption

SEI Reader in Politics Dr Dan Hough presented a paper entitled 'Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Contemporary China' at the University of Durham.

5 December: Roma in Europe

Dr Aidan McGarry (University of Brighton) gave a paper on 'Participation and Representation of Roma in Europe: Between Presence and Influence' at the SEI research-in-progress seminar.

Features

Citizenship

Citizenship – 20/20 Visions Workshop

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On 24 October 2012, the Sussex European Institute in conjunction with the University's Citizenship and Democratisation Research Theme hosted a half-day workshop on the theme of citizenship. The purpose of the event was to solicit collaboration from colleagues from all areas across the University with a view to sharing and developing research into citizenship.

While there is already a wealth of individual research activity in this field within the University, the aim of this workshop was to bring people together with a view to discussing future research collaboration. Participants came from a variety of Schools including Law, Politics and Sociology, BMEc, HAHP, Global Studies and Education and Social Work and included researchers at all stages of their career from the professoriate to doctoral students.

The workshop was envisaged to comprise a broad remit and covered a variety of aspects of citizenship at the national, European and global levels. Following a welcome and introductory session by Susan Millns, Co-Director of SEI, the workshop continued with a series of presentations on individual research projects. Dr Sue Collard (Dept. of Politics) pre-



sented her research project on 'What does European Citizenship mean to European Citizens?' and discussed the participation in local elections by EU citizens who were resident in the UK.

Prof Paul Webb (Dept. of Politics) asked the question: 'Is Greater Political Participation the Solution to the Problem of Democratic Disconnect?'. His research identified the various reasons for the democratic disconnect of citizens and ways in which this may be addressed. Prof Paul Statham (Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research) then presented his research and recent new publication on 'The European Public Sphere, Citizenship and Democratization' looking at the role of the media in informing the European Public Sphere. Finally, Dr Yuri Borgmann-Prebil (School of Law) talked about his forthcoming book on European Citizenship with a presentation entitled 'European Constitutional Patriotism' looking at the more theoretical dimension to citizenship, rights and European identity.

The presentations were followed by questions and discussion amongst all participants. Here the aim was to share knowledge, interests and

information about participants' current research around a myriad of issues including citizenship and migration; citizenship and conflict resolution; citizenship and political participation; citizenship and human rights; citizenship, education and identity. The workshop concluded with a discussion of funding opportunities around the theme of citizenship, particularly those under Framework Programme 7 of the European Commission, and a commitment to pursue further interdisciplinary work in this area.

EU politicization and citizen engagement: A public sphere approach

Prof Paul Statham
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From a vantage point in the early 2010s, when the eurozone's monetary policy is publicly debated and politically contested across the region on a daily basis, it seems strange that less than a decade ago a primary concern of European elites was a lack of attention by citizens, political parties, and voters for the integration project. Back in 2001, when at Laeken, the EU's elite embarked on a new Constitution-making process, their intention was to make the European Union into a meaningful political community by bringing it to the people. In the end, these good intentions failed to lead to the promised land of a new EU democratic polity, not least because the French and Dutch peoples famously rejected them in the 2005 referendums.

None the less, public controversies over the EU's failed attempt at Constitution-making, and the subsequent fall out, signalled a step-change in advancing a process that occurs outside the control of elites: an increasing visibility for EU actors, issues and decisions in public debates in national mass media systems; and a growing contestation over EU decisions within the national politics of member states. In short, we are witnessing an increasing politicization of the European Union in the public domain.



To explain these changes, there has been an upsurge in attempts to theorize and study why EU politicization is underway. In one influential perspective, by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, politicization has been depicted as causally related to a

general decline of public support with European integration. Here the EU's politicization is used in a way that is almost synonymous with increasing 'Euroscepticism' that can be measured through changes in public opinion polls. This existence of a 'Eurosceptic public' has an impact on the strategic calculations and behaviour of political party leaders, whose resultant mobilization over Europe drives politicization.

Another thesis comes from a public sphere perspective. Here the EU's politicization is seen in a more neutral way to be linked to an increased salience of European integration within national and transnational public spheres. The public sphere tradition, from Jürgen Habermas onwards, takes an optimistic normative viewpoint on how the public can enhance decision-making and democratic performance.

Public sphere approaches start out from a premise that sees an expanding public discourse that makes executive decisions trans-

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parent, which in turn provides important critical feedback to decisions –all carried by an independent self-steering mass media– as a necessary requirement for democracy. Public sphere researchers study the emergence of public discourses that supply legitimacy to the decision-making arenas of political institutions. This approach attributes a central role to public debates carried by the mass media, political communication, and collective mobilization by political actors, civil society and social movements in the public domain, i.e., a ‘public’ discourse.

The theoretical underpinning of a public sphere approach is that the politicization of Europe is driven by an expanding public discourse that is carried by an independent self-steering mass media. Public discourses do not just constrain further steps of integration but they can also fulfil an important democratizing function: they can enhance legitimacy by making executive decisions transparent, including civil society, and providing important critical feedbacks to policy decisions.

While it is not the only forum, or form, of public debate, the mass media is crucial, because it is where the general public can gain access to information about executive decision-making and the stances of political actors who challenge decisions. From one side, the presence of a public importantly shapes the behaviour of political actors who try to shape public opinion, while, from the other, the visibility of public contestation over issues allows the possibility for public opinion formation and collective learning processes. Mass mediated public communication is central to the possibility for this interaction. Hence the public debate carried by the mass media is an important location where politicization takes place (and so can be a good source of data for studying it).

In this view, the multi-level nature of the European Union’s institutions contains contradic-

tions between different levels of the polity, different member states, and different political actors, which stimulate political contention and debates. As European-level influence in decision-making increases, a diffuse awareness by European citizens that the ‘EU matters’ drives a new polarization of opinions or interests, which then leads to an increase in public claims by collective actors that address policy formulation. Here we agree with Pieter de Wilde and Michael Zürn that EU politicization entails both an increased level of resistance against the EU and its policies, but also an increased utilization of these political institutions by societal groups to achieve desired goals. Importantly, in this view a public sphere includes not only those who take an active part in the debate, but it presupposes that communication resonates among others, a ‘public’, for whom it is also relevant.

This resonance of public communication between institutional actors and publics is carried primarily by mass-mediated political debates. This effectively ‘brings the public back in’ to European politics. Such discussions are central for understanding how the EU’s democratic politics can potentially work in an era of ‘mediated politics’.

Academic debates have also evolved around the question what kind of European Union will this politicization lead to? From one side, an increase in politicization can be seen as beneficial to European democracy: it heralds a ‘normalization’ of EU-level decisions through their incorporation within national politics. From the other, the same development can be viewed as a threat to democracy by leading to an increase in populist, reactionary, and in some cases xenophobic responses –a nationalist politics built on people’s fears and insecurities– and an overall decline in political trust among the community.

It is still too early to predict outcomes, when we are in the middle of an incomplete process

of interconnected institutional and public transformations that cut across national boundaries. History tells us that the EU tends to face crises and muddle through, in a process of making and re-making.

What Does European Citizenship Mean to European Citizens?

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Responses to a quick straw poll amongst the participants at the seminar confirmed the fact, already well documented by Eurobarometer surveys in 2007 & 2010, that European citizens are generally not well informed of their formal rights as European Citizens. This fact is all the more striking in this particular case, since the citizens concerned were all highly educated and well informed about EU issues in general. Similar results had been produced at a presentation earlier this year to members of the local European Movement. The main reason for this low level of awareness even amongst 'Europeans', is undoubtedly the fact that these rights only take on their full relevance to most citizens when they exercise their rights to mobility within the EU rather than remaining within their home state.

But what of those who *have* moved around the EU? Is their awareness greater than that of the wider European public? And what importance do they attach to their rights as European Citizens? Little research so far has sought to identify and question these mobile EU citizens, the 'pioneers' of European Citizenship, with the notable exception of Adrian Favell's work on 'Eurostars', which remains however somewhat limited in its scope.

So, twenty years after the introduction of European Citizenship by the Treaty of Maastricht, some answers to the above questions are surely well overdue. My project therefore seeks to establish whether or not there is any evidence that European Citizenship has actually provided

any transformative potential for the development of a European identity or increased engagement by ordinary citizens with the EU poli-



ty: has empowering citizens through increased political participation based on residence rather than nationality had the positive outcomes predicted and hoped for by many at the time of the creation of the European Union?

My focus is on one of the core political rights at the heart of EU Citizenship: the participation of Non-National EU Citizens (NNEUCs) in local elections in their country of residence.

I started work on this project by looking at France, using the local elections of 2008 as a starting point since I was able to carry out field work there during sabbatical leave funded by Leverhulme, and I am currently focusing on the UK, thanks to some funding from a British Academy Small Grant, as discussed in the last issue of *Euroscope*. There are several interesting points of contrast between France and the UK in this context: first, registration procedures: they are voluntary in France, where there are separate lists for French and NNEUCs, who are rarely encouraged to vote or even specifically informed about their right to vote and stand as candidate by local mayors because the issue tends to highlight politically unpopular demands by Third Country Nationals (TCNs) for the same voting rights as NNEUCs. Consequently, registration levels amongst NNEUCs are relatively low (with significant national variations), but this means that

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registration is assumed to be a strong indicator of intention to vote. It is estimated that the overall average of NNEUCs registering in France is 13.8%, but falling to 10% in the case of Greeks, Portuguese and Spanish, and rising to 25% for Belgians, conditioned by compulsory voting at home.

Actual participation rates can therefore be no higher. A second point of contrast is the way in which data is collected: in France it is centralised by the Ministry of the Interior, whilst in the UK all detailed data on NNEUCs has to be accessed from individual electoral authorities. A third area of differentiation is in the very structure of local government and the electoral systems used for local elections: France has the highest number by far (36,779) of municipal authorities but smallest in size (33,922 of them have under 3500 inhabitants), whilst the UK has the largest size of unit and smallest number (406).

Overall numbers of NNEUCs registered in the UK have risen dramatically over the last 10 years, from 372,091 to nearly 1.3 m. in 2011. Registration levels in the UK are very high (on average 86%) due to a very proactive, annual registration process, but registration is a very poor indicator of intention to vote: I have established the fact (not alluded to in the Electoral Commission's major report on registration in 2008), that a large number of those who register do so because it is a pre-requisite for obtaining credit and sometimes a mobile phone contract.

However, the nature of the data that can be accessed in the UK means that it is possible to positively identify, through the electoral registers, individual NNEUCs who have or haven't voted in recent local elections. Thus I have been able to show that for the cities I have analysed so far (Brighton & Hove, Leicester, Edinburgh, Slough & Bedford), on average about 25% of NNEUCs registered on the electoral rolls, actually exercised their right to vote, compared with total turns out of around 40%. NNEUCs identified from the registers are then being asked to participate in the qualitative part of the research, based on an on-line survey, followed up by semi-structured interviews, for which results are not yet available.

The data obtained so far has thrown up some interesting differences in the break-down by nationality in the various cities studied: unsurprisingly, the Poles are the most numerous group in all cities studied except Cambridge, where they are outnumbered by Germans. In Leicester there are high numbers of Portuguese and Dutch citizens, many of whom seem to have been originally Third Country National (TCNs) having acquired this country's nationality before moving to the UK. In Slough, the Poles (5162 in November 2011) totally dominate all other nationality groups, none of which number over 500. In Bedford, the Italians (2389) come a very close second place to the Poles (2528), and these two groups overshadow all other nationalities.

Full details of the data will be made available in the early New Year on the web-site of The European Citizens Party, at <https://sites.google.com/site/theeuropeancitizensparty/>

The Mediation of Women's Rights Claims in Europe

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Equal citizenship presumes equal access to rights. Moreover one of the ways that citizen-

ship is activated is through access to justice. Yet the mediation of women's rights claims through legal Orientalist discourses creates a form of discrimination which compromises the rights of women who are visibly Muslim throughout member states of the Council of

Europe and impacts on a central tenet of EU citizenship.

Orientalism – in the sense developed through the work of Edward Said describes a ‘set of post-enlightenment recurring discourses in European art, literature travel writing and historiography which both create the Orient and present it in negative terms and as ‘Other’ in relation to the West. This historical construction of the identity of the East and in particular Islam is itself a variant of a binary colonial discourse which systematically conditioned knowledge and understandings of non-Western peoples as ‘Other’ and inferior against a positive construction of the West.

We can identify three dominant modes of operation of Orientalism: the presentation of the Orient as essentialised and homogenised; presentation as a binary model with the Oriental characteristic presented as exterior or inferior as compared to the European or Western characteristic, and thirdly the use of a ‘politics of citation’ to create the impression that what is actually opinion has a factual, evidential or academic basis. These three modes can be traced into the contemporary adjudication of the European Court of Human Rights and former Commission. The language used within judgments often reads as if it were lifted from the pages of a 19th century text on the ‘Orient’.

Examples of this homogenising and essentialising language can be found in *Dahlab v Switzerland*, *Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) v Turkey* Applications (several applications) , and *Gundez v Turkey*. *Lautsi v Italy* with its comparison of the passive symbolism of the cross in the classroom compared to the aggression of Islamic headscarf worn by a teacher provides a clear example of the binary model, and *Dahlab v Switzerland* , *Sahin v Turkey*, *Dogru v France* examples of the politics of citation, each of the latter two cite *Dahlab* which draws on a citation given by the Swiss court, none provide evidence in justification of their findings.

The presence of Orientalist discourses is not necessarily fatal to claimants cases. For instance



in claims against Turkey where either the claimant is male or the claimant is female but where visibility as a Muslim woman is not an issue the Turkish state itself becomes the subject of Oriental discourses and is ‘Othered’ by the Court. So despite the

language or Orientalism being used in *Gundez v Turkey* and *Arslan v Turkey* the claimants were successful. In *Opuz v Turkey* where visibility as a Muslim was not an issue for the female claimant the state’s response to women is characterised very differently to the way it is presented by the ECHR in *Karaduman v Turkey* or *Sahin v Turkey* where visibility was key.

In these latter cases the Orientalist discourses serve to remove the agency of visibly Muslim women and the suppression of their rights to expression and religion are justified as being for their own good and the good of other women.

The state is supported as acting properly when it suppresses rights. Interestingly in *Kavacki v Turkey* the visibility of Kavacki as a Muslim woman was the issue in the case, she was thrown out of the Turkish assembly for wearing a headscarf, but this crucial aspect was edited out by the ECHR in their findings that her Protocol I Art 3 right had been breached (contrast the Court’s findings with the report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union Report of the Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians which was clear that her ill treatment was due to her status).

These findings by the Court impacts on citizenship at National level where there has been a proliferation of bans on religious clothing and symbols worn by women. These bans directly, as in the case of some German Land, and indi-

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rectly as with the bans in France discriminate against visibly Muslim women. Women are being pushed out of certain professions and types of schooling.

Rights to full participation and the provision of public services are compromised. Reports from Human Rights Watch, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Office for Democratic Institutions for Human Rights, and the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance also all note an increase in attacks on women who are visibly Muslim since headscarf bans have proliferated across Europe.

Moreover the presence of headscarf bans in employment and education compromise the Fundamental right of EU citizens to move and work freely. For example if a UK citizen wears a headscarf to work and is employed as a teacher in the UK and they wish to move to a German Land which has a headscarf ban in place for teachers they would be prevented from following their profession unless they gave up a right to manifest their religion.

This represents an unjustified limitation on the right to Freedom of Movement under Art. 45

of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU read with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU (Articles 10, 21, 22 and 52). A case to this effect has not yet been brought to the Court of Justice of the EU but the different approach of the CJ and ECHR in relation to name changes and the immigration of third country nationals, in relation to free movement of citizens, suggests that the legitimacy of restrictions on the headscarf in the workplace would be subject to a more robust evidenced based approach. Therefore it might be that while rights under the ECHR have not prevented the Orientalising and discrimination of visibly Muslim women the EU freedom of movement of workers might provide for recognition of this discrimination.

This paper that this piece is based on was first given at a Oecume Citizenship After Orientalism Conference at the Open University in February 2012 (see also C Skeet, 'Globalisation of Women's Rights Norms: The Right to Manifest Religion, and Legal Orientalism the Council of Europe.' Journal of Law and Social Justice 2009 vol.4)

EU Citizenship and Judicial Activism

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Citizenship is a contested concept and EU Citizenship is none less so. It has a multiplicity of dimensions including participation in public life; rights and duties; inclusion and exclusion, identity, loyalty and allegiance. One of the big questions raised by the introduction of European citizenship is whether it ought to be conceptualised along the lines of national citizenship or whether it is something altogether new and independent. It has shown itself to be the latter thanks to an activist Court of Justice of the EU.



Of course, the road to EU citizenship rights is not without an interesting history. In its fundamental freedoms, the original EEC Treaty included only the free movement of workers. Under the Single European Act 1986 the internal market was then taken to include the free movement of persons.

Along the way, the Court developed a broad view of the scope of coverage of EC rules extending rights to tourists (Case 186/87 *Cowan*)

and students (Case 293/83 *Gravier*). Prior to the IGCs leading up to the Treaty on European Union, calls were made for the development of greater human, social and civic rights in the Community. As the Spanish expressed in a note of 24 September 1990: "it is... necessary to establish a citizenship of European Political Union as 'the personal and indivisible status of nationals of the Member States.'"

The provisions finally adopted (now in Art. 20 Treaty on the Functioning of the EU) set out the array of rights that EU citizens enjoy: (a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; (b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections; (c) the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State; (d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language.

From the emerging case law the Court appears eager now to endow citizenship with a meaningful content. Cases such as *Rottmann* (Case C-135/08) have dealt with the potential loss of nationality and citizenship by an EU citizen and *Carpenter* (Case C-60/00) with the relationship between citizenship and free movement particularly in the context of the right to family life. EU citizenship has additionally been found to confer access to social benefits and educational benefits for EU migrants as a result of the requirement not to discriminate between citizens on the grounds of their nationality. In the case of *Martinez Sala* (Case C-85/96) a Spanish national resident in Germany, who had not worked there for many years because of her childcare responsibilities was able to rely upon a combination of the non-discrimination princi-

ple and the citizenship provisions to gain equal access to a German child-raising benefit. As a Union citizen she was able to claim equality of treatment even though not economically active and solely dependent on welfare. Subsequent developments in this line of case law have encouraged an increasingly wide interpretation of the citizenship provisions to include those who are not economically active, in particular students. In *Grzelczyk* (Case C-184/99) it was decided that a French national studying in Belgium was entitled, in the same way as a Belgian student, to the payment of the minimex (a non-contributory minimum subsistence allowance). Approaching the case on the basis that *Grzelczyk* was not a worker, the Court found that there was discrimination on the grounds of nationality and that *Grzelczyk* fell within the personal scope of the prohibition of discrimination as a Union citizen lawfully residing in Belgium. In *Baumbast* (Case C-413/99) the Court went further still in decoupling EU citizenship from market rules, by finding that the Treaty provisions on citizenship are directly effective, that is to say they may be relied upon directly by individuals who would otherwise struggle to fit within the scope of European law protection: The subtext of these developments in uncoupling citizenship from market participation has been of considerable importance in underlining not only that the Court of Justice takes fundamental rights seriously, but also that it does now pay heed to the indispensable role that citizens play in activities that extend beyond the economic sphere of the market.

A further example of the extension of citizenship rights, in this case having implications for the rights of residency of third country nationals, is the judgment in *Chen* (Case C-200/02). Here the UK Secretary of State for the Home Department had refused to grant a long-term residence permit to either Catherine Chen (a minor aged eight months of Irish nationality because she had been born in Northern Ire-

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land) or her mother (of Chinese nationality) on the grounds that Catherine was not exercising any free movement rights arising from the EC Treaty and her mother was not entitled to reside in the UK under domestic regulations.

The Court stated that Catherine's right of residence derived from her status as an EU citizen and a refusal to allow the parent, whether a national of a Member State or a national of a non-member country, who is the carer of an EU citizen minor to reside with that child in the host Member State would deprive the child's right of residence of any useful effect. The theme of citizenship and parental care obliga-

tions has been reiterated in the recent case of *Ruiz Zambrano* (Case C-34/09) in the context of third country national parents whose children were born into EU citizenship and, most controversially, had never exercised any free movement rights at all.

The sum of the above is to indicate that EU citizenship is a dynamic concept which goes well beyond the economic sphere of the market to embrace a growing array of social, residency and free movement rights courtesy of an activist and ambitious European judiciary.

Welfare benefits and the UK's Right to Reside test

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When the Treaty of Maastricht introduced the concept of EU citizenship in 1992, it also prohibited discrimination on grounds of nationality. Citizens have the 'right to move and reside freely' within the EU. However the Citizens Rights Directive 2004 (CRD) broadly limits the right to live in other member states to the economically active and self-sufficient and their families.

Does citizenship trump that, such that the benefit-dependent equally have the right to move? Equality of treatment as a principle is also contained in EU regulations on the coordination of social security systems (Art 4 of EC 883/2004). Much of the content of these regulations is concerned with work-related benefits and benefits reliant on contributions. However, from the viewpoint of the UK, the combination of these three key elements - moving as a citizen as a free-standing right, the right to equal treatment and the prohibition on nation-



ality discrimination – potentially has very undesirable consequences.

In 1994 the UK introduced the Habitual Residence Test (HRT), as a condition of entitlement to the main income-based means-tested benefits and social housing. It made the news at the time principally because it also applied to UK nationals returning home after having worked abroad. This wide sweep was necessary in order for the test not to be directly discriminatory. It was of course indirectly discriminatory; undoubtedly more non-member state nationals would fail the test than UK citizens. It is a feature of EU law that whilst direct discrimination is prohibited, indirect discrimination is capable of objective justification, provided the justification is independent of the nationality of the person concerned. In contrast to the former, an indirectly discriminatory rule appears neutral, but has the effect that a smaller number of

a particular group (ie non-UK nationals) can comply with it.

The HRT proved to be a weak barrier. It emerged from domestic case law that even if 'habitual residence' (not defined in legislation) could not be established immediately, it potentially could be achieved a month or so after arrival in the UK. In due course domestic regulations (complying with CJEU case law and the CRD) were enacted in which EU citizens who were either workers or genuine jobseekers automatically passed the HRT. Furthermore, the definition of a worker continued to be broadened, such that someone in part-time low paid work, dependent on top up benefits, came within it. A jobseeker can potentially claim jobseekers allowance indefinitely and ex-workers remain defined as 'workers' in certain circumstances.

Thus in 2004, at the time of the A8 accession, the Right to Reside Test (RRT) became an additional element to the HRT. On the face of it, the RRT is directly discriminatory, as UK nationals automatically pass it. It is much harder to define than the HRT, which has always had a common sense meaning and an EU definition of habitual residence (a list of factors to take into account) is now contained in 2009 social security coordination regulations.

Whereas the RRT appears circular; essentially if a person falls into one of the categories deemed to have passed the HRT then they will have the right to reside. The obverse is not true; a person who has established habitual residence will not necessarily pass the RRT.

In 2011 the Supreme Court examined the test in detail in *Patmalniece v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions* [2011] UKSC 11. The elderly Latvian ex-factory worker was refused pension credit, claimed to top up her small Latvian pension. She had never worked in the UK and, un-

der the pension credit rules, she could not pass the RRT.

The Supreme Court, relying on the CJEU ruling in the Belgium case of *Bressol*, found that the RRT was indirect discrimination, as it was a composite test with the HRT. It went on to find that it could be objectively justified on the basis of protecting the public purse against 'social tourism'. It was found to be legitimate to require social or economic integration. However, as Lord Walker, dissenting, pointed out, the meaning of social, as distinct from economic, integration, in this context, is not at all clear.

The applicant was unlikely to achieve it, notwithstanding that (as an ex-asylum-seeker) she had been in the UK since 2000. Given that all UK nationals, regardless of how long they have been absent from the UK, will pass the RRT it is not clear cut that the legitimate justification is independent of nationality. There can be a blurred line between direct and indirect discrimination.

In September 2011 the European Commission sent a 'reasoned opinion' to the UK, as the first step in infringement proceedings. Their press release states that Art 4 of EC 883/2004 prohibits indirect discrimination (in fact this is implicit rather than explicit in Art 4). It is understood that the government has responded robustly, defending the RRT (neither documents are currently available due to legal privilege). Assuming the Commission is not satisfied with the UK's response, they will refer the matter to the CJEU, which seems likely to happen in 2013.

Meanwhile in October 2012 the Supreme Court made a referral to the CJEU in the matter of *Saint Prix v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions* [2012] UKSC 49. The pregnant applicant teacher, a French national, had attempted to claim income support when within 11 weeks of her due date. She did not have a current em-

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ployment contract although had worked in the UK.

Had she been British, this would have been the correct benefit for her. Although it was the RRT which blocked her entitlement, the referral to the CJEU is on the relatively narrow issue as to whether the definition of worker in the CRD can be expanded to include ex-workers or ex-jobseekers, when they are heavily pregnant and in the aftermath of childbirth. The CJEU is likely to respond positively, and thus the 'worker' definition will be expanded, but leaving the RRT in tact.

The infringement proceedings raise much larger and more explosive issues. Even if preventing social tourism as a legitimate aim is allowed by the CJEU, the RRT is a blunt instrument. Discretion or proportionality appears to be written out of it. Moreover, as always, ques-

tions of what citizenship, with regard to the freedom of movement, actually means remain unanswered.

The Commission's press release states 'any discrimination in providing social security benefits (including non-contributory cash benefits) also constitutes an obstacle to free movement guaranteed by Article 21 of the Treaty'. Taking this to its logical conclusion, the worker and self-sufficient categories of the CRD would become defunct if everyone could simply move instead as citizens. In the field of benefits, the CJEU has tended to increase rights for individuals by linking entitlement to another status, rather than simply basing it on citizenship. We now wait to see if the likely forthcoming proceedings between the Commission and the UK produce a bombshell in the context of citizenship and benefits in the way that *Zambrano* did in 2011 regarding citizenship and immigration.

European Citizenship - A Constitutional Right

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Questions concerning European citizenship cannot be answered appropriately without the analysis of case law. The Court of Justice of the European Union developed its own and unique idea of citizenship, disentangled from movement and providing a fundamental status. We, as Europeans, can live in every other European state as long as we are not a burden for our host State. This seems to be the status quo, in very general terms.

However, how did we get there? Why was it so relevant for the Member States and the CJEU to move into this direction? Is it not a little bit too simple to say it was the logical next step or the pragmatic way to stabilise the single market? I say it is. The purely economic unification of European countries changed to a



more complex system of balanced economic, social and individual orientated rights and duties.

The main source for these changes and the responsible institution is to be seen in the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). There is more to this concept of citizenship than meets the eye. It represents an idea, a blueprint if you want to say so, of what kind of court the CJEU attempts to be and how it defines itself and the European Union.

The protection of citizen rights is a rather constitutional concept. Looking at the CJEU's citizenship case law through the constitutional lens explains the Court's developments. My rese-

arch focusses on the ideas of Robert Alexy. He developed a theory of constitutional rights based on the German *Grundgesetz*. In analysing the German Constitutional Courts case law, he establishes the idea of constitutional rights being principles rather than static rules. They are open to evaluation and development by the Court.

These principles can be weighed against each other. Therefore, depending on the situation, one constitutional right might yield to the other, whereas in a differing situation the balance of power might be different. Explaining the depths of this theoretical concept would go beyond the constraints of this article. However, let us take the case of *Ruiz Zambrano*, already mentioned in other articles of this issue, as a practical example for the CJEU's possible focus on constitutional rights in the "Alexian" way.

The fundamental nature of constitutional rights norms in general has a formal and substantive side. Formally, their position at the top of the hierarchy of the legal system presents them as directly binding on the legislature, executive and judiciary. Looking at Art. 20 TFEU as a constitutional rights norm, we see that this right is fundamental in a formal sense as Member States have a limited influence on who can be referred to as Union citizen. Every national to a Member State is automatically a Union citizen.

On the substantive side we can use Alexy's own definition expecting constitutional rights (norms) to incorporate decisions about the basic normative structure of state and society. According to the CJEU Union citizenship "per se" is enough to rely on as it's so fundamental. Reliance on other possible constitutional rights in this case (e.g. right to family life) is not necessary.

The core idea of Alexy's theory is based on the

distinction between principles and rules. Constitutional rights norms are principles and not rules. They are therefore necessarily being treated in a very different manner. Citizenship rights norms as principles require, using Alexy's definition, that the entailed rights are realized to the greatest extent possible, given the legal and factual possibilities. Opposing principles and rules determine the legally possible.

The scope of Citizenship as a principle of this kind is determined by the Member States interests and arguments. If citizenship is to be seen as constitutional right (Art. 20 being the constitutional rights norm) it needs to be established to what extent Union citizenship can be realized given its legal and factual possibilities. Looking at the CJEU argument in *Ruiz Zambrano*, one can say it is looking at citizenship as principle of such a large extent that Union citizenship rights can even radiate on Non-union citizens to assure the fundamental effects of Union citizenship are not decreased.

In this case AG Sharpston asks the relevant question right in the beginning: "What precisely does Union citizenship entail?" The substance is not static and only core elements can be grasped clearly, just as the limits where the CJEU is engaging with it.

The question worth asking: What CAN Union Citizenship entail according to the decision in *Ruiz Zambrano*? The theory of constitutional rights is engaging with the substance of constitutional rights norms in the sense that it also looks at its effective direction. First of all, as Alexy puts it, they are defensive rights of the citizen against the state. We would therefore look at them as rights of entitlement. So, looking at citizenship, Union citizens are entitled to be protected by the Union, if threatened in their genuine enjoyment of Union citizenship rights.

This is only a very brief and basic introduction

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to a complex (German) constitutional theory being applied to the legal system of the EU. However, the constitutional characteristics of Union citizenship are obvious and the CJEU's interpretation and development of citizenship supports the application of the theoretical aspects of Alexy's constitutional theory.

Microeconomic reform and the eurozone crisis

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The eurozone crisis is primarily about macroeconomics; and I have no wisdom or expertise to stir into the macroeconomist witches' brew. There are, however, two microeconomic policy issues which I address here: one about the policies of the EU itself; and the other about microeconomic reform ('structural adjustment') in the crisis countries.

The eurozone crisis raises fundamental questions about the political nature of the EU. Within established states there are tensions, between the nations of the UK or the states of the USA, for example. English taxpayers may have some doubts about the formula which determines fiscal transfers to Scotland, some Scots wish to see the end of the Union, and many US citizens have a distrust of Washington; but the business of the UK and the US proceeds without serious doubt being cast on the legitimacy of the actions of the federal state. The doubts which German citizens have about fiscal transfers to Greece or Spanish citizens have about macroeconomic policies imposed by Brussels or Frankfurt are of a different order of magnitude; the language of 'us' and 'them' is used in a way that it is not used within the UK or the USA.

The EU has a long way to go before it can achieve an even basic degree of democratic legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens. The major political lesson of the crisis is surely that it was a mistaken, indeed counter-productive, strategy to push ahead with monetary integration as a means of forcing greater political integration. The economic policy conclusion I draw from

this is that the EU should concentrate its efforts on improving its performance in those policy areas where it has already established its legitimacy and effectiveness; and should be guided by a much stronger sense of subsidiarity.

In trade policy, competition policy and the single market, there is a strong case for most policy to be made at the level of the EU rather than the member states and the EU has established a reputation for effective policy-making. The extension of the community *acquis* to aspiring member states was a very positive part of the enlargement process.

There is plenty of scope for further progress in these areas. Climate change policy, to take one example, needs to develop in ways that respect legitimate differences between the approaches of different member states while at the same time supporting the single market. By contrast, the EU needs to step back from seeking to make policy in areas where the member states are perfectly competent to look after their own interests without damaging the union.

One small current example is the attempt to set EU-wide rules on the gender composition of company boards. This is an important issue (and one where I applaud the objective), but there is simply no need for an EU-wide approach. Different countries can pursue their different approaches at different speeds without any damage to the internal market.

It may be that pursuing gender equality at the EU level is seen as a development of the concept of EU citizenship, but this is exactly the approach that I think is counter-productive in current circumstances. Putting new controversial proposals on the EU agenda will provoke a political pushback from the opponents (whoever and wherever they are) that this is another case of 'them' forcing something on 'us'. The political classes in Europe have to accept that they cannot make progress on anything new at the EU level in the current climate and should focus on developing the European policies which have already earned broad acceptance.

My second prescription is that the eurozone creditor countries should stop promoting privatisation as a part of the resolution of the debt crisis. Privatisation has a superficial appeal: if an indebted country sells off its state-owned airports or electricity generating companies, it raises funds which reduce its debts. However, the sale of these assets simultaneously reduces the capacity of the country to service its debts, because the public sector is giving up its claim to a future stream of income. To first approximation, the sale of public assets therefore has no effect on the fiscal solvency of the country – in accountancy terms, there is a reorganisation of the public sector's balance sheet.

Insofar as the private sector expects to use the assets more efficiently than the government, the price may be bid up; but on the other hand the perception that the privatisation is a forced sale will tend to drive the price down. Privatisation therefore does not have a significant effect on the probability of debt default but it does have an important effect on the consequences of default.

If Greece defaults before privatising, it has a larger stock of public debt and a larger stock of illiquid public assets. The President of the Bundesbank raised the possibility of creditors taking a lien on the assets of debtor states, and received a memorable reminder from Wolfgang

Münchau ('The Bundesbank has no right at all to be baffled', *Financial Times*, March 4, 2012) of the political difficulty of this approach. It is therefore easy to understand why creditor nations would prefer a Greek default to take place with a smaller stock of public debt and the shares of former public enterprises already safely in the hands of foreign investors. But from the perspective of public policy this is not a compelling case for privatisation of assets.

Privatisation might well have positive long-term consequences for the efficiency of the debtor economy – Greek airports and utility companies should operate much more efficiently in private hands. Privatisation could be seen as a part of the structural adjustment which is needed to raise the rate of growth of the Greek economy. Policies which raise the rate of growth are necessary and welcome, and will reduce the probability of future debt crises. Their effects are, however, necessarily long-run and have little impact on the course of the current crisis including the probability of default in the short run. The evidence of UK privatisation is that the most significant short-run effects are on the wages of employees. It may be desirable in the long run to reduce labour market distortions but in the short run, cutting the wages of public sector workers in the middle of a deep crisis-induced recession is not a sensible policy.

Finally, it should be noted that the threat to expel defaulters from the euro has in any case made privatisation close to infeasible. Foreign investors are unlikely to be attracted to assets whose value will be reduced by a future currency devaluation; they would rather buy the assets after the default and devaluation.

So this two-handed economist has two propositions to offer the embattled EU: 'Yes' to subsidiarity and the single market; 'No' to privatisation.

This article is based on my contribution to the 20th anniversary conference of the Sussex European Institute at the University of Sussex on 28 September 2012. I am grateful for the comments of Peter Holmes, Jim Rollo and Helen Wallace.

On-Going Research

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

Sussex expands teaching and research in corruption and anti-corruption

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LPS's newest research centre, the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC), had a busy end to 2012. In September the SCSC was very pleased to welcome its first cohort of MA students. The founding generation (of 11) have come from far and wide and include students from as far afield as China and Greece, Brunei Darussalam and Zambia. Oh, and Swindon. The group includes a number of mature students (with backgrounds in areas as diverse as the legal profession, archaeology and public policy) as well as two students who have taken time out of jobs in anti-corruption agencies (in Brunei Darussalam and Zambia respectively). Nine of the 11 will be heading out on internships in the Spring before returning in the summer to complete their dissertations.

Academics within the SCSC have also been very active on the research and impact fronts. On 25 October, Dr Dan Hough and Professor Stephen Shute led a seminar on behalf of the HMI Prisons' Directorate on the challenges of dealing with corruption in prisons. The seminar compared what is known about corruption in the Prison Service and the organi-



sation's response to it with what has been learnt about best and most effective practice elsewhere. A group of experts from within the prison service, trade unions, police and other agencies together with leading academics considered these questions and a report will be published before the end of the calendar year.

The SCSC will be looking to expand its impact work by hosting a series of anti-corruption workshops. In November 2012 the SCSC was helped in this regard when it was awarded £4,000 to organise these events. The grant is part of the 'Kick Start Networks', a new University fund to connect Sussex academics with non-academic research users.

This is part of the University's knowledge exchange activities, and is supported by the Higher Education Innovation Fund (HEIF). The grant will enable the SCSC to continue to build links with the global anti-corruption community, starting with the first round of anti-corruption workshops that are scheduled for June 2013.

As in the past, Spring 2013 will see the SCSC welcoming a number of external speakers on to campus to speak to students and staff alike. Simon Whitfield from the Department for International Development's (DfID) Anti-Corruption Unit will be talking on 30 January

2013 on DfID's efforts to tackle corruption whilst Corruption Watch's Sue Hawley will be speaking later in the term. Keep an eye on the SCSC's website for more details (<http://bit.ly/XGe6r3>).

Gender Equality in Europe

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Globally, female students outnumber male in two out of every three countries with data reported to UNESCO (Morley, 2012; 2013). Gender equality legislation and socio-economic factors have all played a part in this welcome trend, yet so far they appear to have had relatively little impact on opportunities for women to reach senior academic leadership positions in the sector, with women achieving uneven rates of success globally. In Sweden, 43% of the rectorate but only 20% of the professoriate is female. In Turkey, women constitute 28.5% of the professoriate but only 7% of the rectorate. In Britain, women comprise 20% of the professoriate and 14% of vice-chancellors. In some locations, such as Hong Kong, there are no female vice-chancellors. Many countries do not even collect these data.

The lack of women in senior executive positions means under-representation in key decision-making bodies including committees, boards, and recruitment panels. As a result, the expertise and skills of a significant part of the higher education workforce are under-utilised and potent cultural messages are relayed and reinforced about women and aca-

demical authority. Reports from the European Commission (2008, 2011) note how pathways to seniority are also male-dominated, with women less likely to be journal editors or cited in top-rated journals, less frequently appointed as principal investigators, included on research boards, or awarded large grants or research prizes.

The reasons behind women's absence from research and leadership roles in higher education are complex but surprisingly similar from country to country, despite varying policies and practices for gender equality (Morley, 2012, 2013). In some cases women may be dismissing opportunities, while in others they may be disqualified, implicitly, from seniority. In a Hong Kong seminar *Absent Talent: Women in Research and Academic Leadership in East Asia* last September organised by the British Council, women and men developed a powerful *Manifesto for Change* relating to accountability, transparency, development and data:

Manifesto for Change

Equality as Quality - equality should be made a KPI in quality audits, with data to be returned

Research

on percentage and location of women professors and leaders, undergraduate and post-graduate students and gender pay equality. Gender equity achievements should be included in international recognition and reputation for universities in league tables.

Research Grants - funders should monitor the percentage of applications and awards made to women and to actively promote more women as principal investigators. The applications procedures should be reviewed to incorporate a more inclusive and diverse philosophy of achievement. Gender implications and impact should also be included in assessment criteria.

Journals - Editorial Boards need more transparent selection processes, and policies on gender equality.

Data - a global database on women and leadership in higher education should be established.

Development - more investment needs to be made in mentorship and leadership development programmes for women and gender needs to be included in existing leadership development programmes.

Mainstreaming - work cultures should be reviewed to ensure that diversity is mainstreamed into all organisational practices and procedures

The *Manifesto for Change* will be presented to the British Council's *Going Global* conference in Dubai, March 2013.

SEI professor secures ESRC knowledge exchange fellowship

SEI-based Professor of Political Science Shamit Saggar has been awarded an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Knowledge Exchange Fellowship (KEF) for the period January-December 2012. During that period he will be on leave, seconded to the UK government and based in the Department of Culture, Media and Sports.



Government Equalities Office (GEO) and related policy work across central government.

The Fellowship will take forward three high-level aims: firstly, to improve understanding and awareness of behavioural change issues that underpin inequality and discrimination in the UK; secondly, to identify alternative and complementary approaches to behavioural change - and capture practical knowledge and policy insights about what may work and why; and, thirdly, to raise the GEO's profile across government as a champion of policy innovation and drive fresh thought leadership on the equalities agenda.

The focus of the KEF will be alternative ways to achieve equality policy objectives beyond legislative tools. It will examine research and experience to illuminate behavioural change relevant to the equalities agenda of government. Utilising evidence from interventions to mitigate public harm or detriment in other spheres such as public health, food safety, professional standards and financial regulation, the project will draw together a body of practical knowledge to inform policy and institutional design.

It features dedicated, expert support for the

The KEF sits within two ESRC Strategic Objectives, namely: 'Influencing Behaviour' and 'A Vibrant and Fair Society'.

Prof Saggar is particularly interested in the implications of the KEF for policy making, given the wider appetite among ministers, officials and external stakeholders to examine cross-disciplinary research on behavioural change. He believes there are three critical nodes to exploit through the KEF: first, in optimally blending incentives and sanctions to sustain behavioural change relevant to equalities outcomes; second, in mapping relationships between background factors that indirectly shape decision-making and choices and

foreground factors that can be directly influenced through policy; and thirdly, in targeting policy instruments at hard-to-move individuals, groups and interests.

Prof Saggar has a background in researching migration, diversity, political participation, counter-terrorism and public policy, and has also previously held a senior policy advisory role in the No 10 Prime Minister's Strategy Unit.

Euroscope editor back in Sussex

Kimberley Brayson
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As a former editor of Euroscope, it is a pleasure to be back writing in a different voice. From January 2013, I will be joining LPS and more specifically the Law Department on a permanent basis as Lecturer in Law. I have already had the chance to personally benefit from the experience and expertise here at Sussex in my previous stint as Research Fellow. I now hope to make the most of this opportunity to contribute something back to the academic and teaching community at Sussex in my new role.

So, allow me to introduce myself and explain briefly how I got here. Hopefully in the process of doing so, I can give hope to DPhil students that the ever elusive appointment does await at the end of all of your hard work and perseverance!

In an attempt to ensure that the following doesn't read like a cover letter, I will start at the beginning. I completed my undergraduate degree in English Law and German Law at the University of Kent during which time I spent one year at the Philipps-Universität in



Marburg, Germany (incidentally Yuri Borgmann-Prebil also happened to spend time studying in Marburg and I will be taking on some of his EU teaching in what some might term a virtuous circle). I went on to complete a Masters in Legal

Theory at the European Academy of Legal Theory, Brussels. During this time, I had the opportunity to spend a semester at the EUI in Florence - fortunately for me it was the Summer term! I then went on to work for the Legal Service of the European Commission based at the College of Europe in Bruges where an umbrella became my most essential accessory.

After Bruges, came the move to Brighton and my first period of time spent at Sussex working as a Research Fellow for Prof. Susan Millns on the JURISTRAS project, something that I have written about in earlier editions of this publication. I then moved on to the Law Department at Queen Mary, University of London to undertake my PhD. I did not however cut all ties with Sussex and during the first

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year of my PhD I was an Associate Tutor in Law and became editor of Euroscope, a position I held for just over a year. I think I am right in saying that I was the first to make the cross-over from Law. During that time I got to know the work of those in the SEI and I am very excited to be back working in the interdisciplinary environment that is facilitated by the SEI, LPS, across schools to the Centre for Migration and to have the opportunity to work with colleagues who are experts in their

field. As a priority, I will encourage students to take the international, interdisciplinary approach which is embodied in Euroscope and the SEI. In tumultuous times in the Eurozone, the understanding which can be achieved through such an approach would appear to be of the utmost importance and interest. I will of course endeavour to continue such an approach in my own work and look forward to becoming a more established member of faculty here at Sussex.

Working for the EU Border Control agency

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I was offered an internship at the EU border control Agency, Frontex, from the end of September to December 2012. This Warsaw-based agency aims to coordinate cooperation between member states to manage the EU's external borders.

It does so by organising joint operations, developing EU training standards, conducting risk analysis and so on. I accepted the offer because my PhD research examines the role and impact of Frontex in the border regime and it was precisely at this time when I realised my lack of data.

I was allocated to the team of external relations dealing with international organisations. My main task was to assist my tutor's day-to-day work, which varied from collecting data from the media, official sources and partner organisations to helping to answering enquiries and invitations. I was truly lucky to have a tutor who was open-minded. There were many internal/external meetings and e-mail exchanges on certain issues as part of the daily routine and the tutor was keen to involve me in them as much as possible. When I be-



gan my internship the team was busy preparing for the annual meeting of the Heads of Justice and Home Affairs Agencies (e.g. Europol), of which Frontex was in charge this year. I was tasked to help to form background knowledge by disseminating questionnaires and writing a part of the discussion paper, in addition to attending the meeting. Other events include the annual conference for national training coordinators in Madrid, Spain, and the Automated Border Control conference in Warsaw, where the actors with interests in technology-development at the borders such as business industries gathered. Being part of the Agency was thus valuable for me to better understand what constitutes their everyday-work.

While working with the team, I approached the officers and conducted interviews for my research. Contrary to my presumption (or fear!) that they would not open their mouths, given that many officers are from/have professional careers in law enforcement bodies which are to my knowledge known to be closed, most were happy to share their

thoughts with me. A person-to-person talk with almost 25 officers in different units helped me to know the aspects in which they see challenges and the stories behind factual events and made decisions, which are often not stated in the public documents.

It was also an opportunity for my research to be known by practitioners. I was occasionally asked to provide a presentation about my re-

search and did so to national authorities, Frontex and UNHCR. Having the subject of the study, including interviewees, as the audience was quite exciting. It was friendly rather than antagonistic, and the presentation was warmly received with very useful feedback. Overall, I enjoyed the time in Warsaw and hope to output what I have learned there in the format of the doctoral dissertation.

Evaluating the Big Society

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This summer I spent three months as an ESRC intern at the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) where I was seconded to the Research & Analysis Division of the Decentralisation & Big Society directorate.



The division provides evidence and analysis for the Big Society and Localism agenda as well as integration and extremism. During the placement, my time was divided between two evaluation teams. Two days a week were spent with colleagues conducting an evaluation of the Neighbourhood Community Budgets pilot scheme (<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/14-areas-to-pioneer-scheme-to-pool-and-save-billions>). NCBs aim to decentralise power by giving communities more say over how money is spent in their neighbourhood by empowering communities to pool budgets to be



spent on priorities identified by the community.

The 12 neighbourhood areas range from a ward to a small town and are led by different bodies including community groups and councils. The qualitative evaluation takes six pi-

lots as case studies and explores the process they went through to produce their budget, (including carrying out community engagement exercises, mapping government spend in the area, and designing a governance mechanism), and the barriers and challenges they faced along the way.

From Day 1 I was given a case study and did fieldwork which meant interviewing stakeholders and participants and observing meetings including a co-design workshop which brought people together to discuss the re-design of public service delivery in the ward. This case study was particularly interesting for me because the project brought in SILK, an external research agency specialising in ethnographic methods (<http://socialinnovation.typepad.com/silk/2012/05/co-designing-a-new-model-of-service-delivery.html>).

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I subsequently invited SILK to DCLG to hold a peer to peer seminar to present their methodological approach to colleagues and how it could be used in public service reform to help design services with users' perspective and experience in mind. Carrying out data analysis and assisting the team with the outputs meant being involved in discussions about organisational culture change, the meaning of community, representative and participatory democracy, and models of change.



Meanwhile, three days per week I worked with the Community Rights evaluation team (<http://mycommunityrights.org.uk/>). This project had just been approved so I worked with colleagues to design the methodology. Our brief was to carry out case study work with projects already working in the spirit of the new community rights (to challenge, bid, and build) as they were just coming online, to explore how the new rights might be interpreted and used by communities, what successes they had achieved, what barriers and challenges they had faced along the way and how they had tackled them, and the conditions under which such projects thrive.

Early desk research discovered over 60 potential case studies spread across England and we then selected 18 to pursue further. We designed a qualitative methodology and conducted initial phone interviews with project

leaders to discuss these questions and now plan to go out on site visits to collect more data through walking interviews and observation. My MS Publisher training for many editions of Euroscope came in useful when I helped design an engaging e-bulletin template through which to communicate our findings to the policy team! With this team I also helped with briefing packs and collated ONS statistics for our case study areas.

The placement has been an invaluable professional development opportunity. At first I was not sure whether to apply as none of the placements directly related to my PhD topic. However some of them requested qualitative research skills and I thought this would be an opportunity to develop my skills and experience. With hindsight, the placement gave me distance from my thesis at just the right moment; with my empirical chapters written it gave me the space to step back and see the bigger picture, purpose and overall question of my thesis. A placement in the civil service allows you to experience a different research environment and - (as was also described by another ESRC intern at a recent Doctoral School event) – quickly teaches you valuable time and work management skills.



The most important difference is the speed at which research projects are designed, conducted, and written up, which allows you to see the bigger picture. The chance to work in a larger team, divide tasks, regularly discuss findings, and design projects collectively was also a positive experience. Finally seeing the impact of policy focused research, as well as the politics which goes along with designing

and presenting it, was extremely satisfying. The work environment in the division and department was supportive and encouraging and there were opportunities to take up extra training, discuss career development, and get involved in other activities and events going on every day.

Needless to say I would highly recommend that other PhD students take up the ESRC internship scheme and the professional development opportunity it offers. I was also fortunate to be offered a temporary part time position with the R&A Division after the placement which will enable me to continue working on the two projects and fund the rest of

my PhD. The next placements will be advertised from January 2013 (<http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding-and-guidance/funding-opportunities/2364/student-internship-scheme.aspx>)



New SEI Visiting Fellow

Prof Christopher Pollitt
SEI Visiting Fellow
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First, let me say how delighted I am that SEI has seen fit to offer me a visiting position. Thank you!

I have been asked to say something about myself. My core institutional identification is as Emeritus Professor of Public Management at the Public Management Institute, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Previously I was BOF-ZAP Research Professor there from 2006 to 2011. Before that I held professorships at Erasmus University Rotterdam (1999-2006) and Brunel (1990-1999), where I also served as Dean of Social Sciences (1994-97).

My books include *New Perspectives on Public Services* (Oxford University Press, 2012), *Time, Policy, Management: Governing with the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2008) and *Continuity and Change in Public Policy and Management* (with Geert Bouckaert, Edward Elgar, 2009 – this last one has a strong Sussex sub-theme, with studies of the Sussex Police and the Brighton hospitals). With Geert Bouckaert I

am joint author of the standard comparative work, *Public Management Reform: a Comparative Analysis*, a third edition of which was published by Oxford University Press in 2011. For my sins I have also penned more articles in scientific journals than I care to remember.

As a consultant in public administration I have undertaken projects or advisory roles for the OECD, the World Bank, the European Commission and five national governments.

And what is my connection with Sussex, you may be asking? Largely accidental. Long ago my father got a job here, and I lived in Brighton from age 10 until I left for university at age 17. I confess to having been a sort of sub-Mod, and was, indeed, on the seafront on the day the famous photos of the Mod/Rocker riots were taken. On taking part retirement at the end of 2011 my wife Hilikka and I decided we would like to have a base here, so we have bought a flat in Hove. Hilikka (who was a head of unit in the EU Commission) is Finnish, so we divide our time between Hove and a small farmhouse in the Finnish forest.

A Polish lesson for anti-corruption agencies

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There have been just over 130 anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) established around the world since the 1950s but none in ten least corrupt (at least according to the Transparency International's Index) countries.

Why then are the ACAs such a hot topic in the contemporary public policy debate? Attracting interest from both public and private sectors, they are often portrayed as important tools of control and education. Their actual efficiency, however, is rarely questioned.

Two of the most well-known agencies, Hong Kong's Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) and Singapore's Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB) are the success story of ACAs and an inspiration for many others around the world. Yet, apart from an oddly-looking case of Botswana's Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crimes (DCEC), the transferability of their model has not achieved similar results elsewhere despite being based on only three basic fundamental functions: investigation, prevention, and communication.

What are the reasons behind it? Could the efficiency of anti-corruption agencies be measurable?

Corruption in itself is a societal phenomenon, often deeply-rooted in local customs, tradition, and culture. The motives behind establishing ACAs also vary, from a genuine need for change against the corrupt practices to cold-blooded calculations aiming to win over the local electorate, maintain the "business as usual" principles or even target political opponents. In many cases, the ACAs have backfired spectacularly. Is it all about a feel-good, box-ticking act of politicking then?

In fact, the story of anti-corruption agencies is as complex as corruption itself.

The Central Anti-Corruption Bureau (CBA) was established in Poland in 2006. In 2005, the last full year without an anti-

corruption agency, Poland scored 3.4 in the TI's Corruption Perception Index (on the scale 1-10). It has been steadily improving ever since, year-by-year, reaching 5.8 in the most recent 2012 survey and a respectful 41th place around the world. Of Poland's neighbours, only Germany scored more.

The story of the CBA has been far from a fairytale, though. The agency often makes the headlines for all wrong reasons. Scandals surrounding some of the CBA's high-profile actions lead many critics to voice their opinions that the agency is still an active tool in the hands of the opposition Law and Justice Party (PiS) that initially established the CBA but have not been in government for the past five years. It does not help that the first head of the CBA and its most well-known agent are now fellow PiS MPs. The future of Poland's anti-corruption agency remains doubtful.

In principle, the research aims not only to assess the condition of the CBA but provide an understanding of how the efficiency of ACAs can be measured and what models are the most successful in particular environments.

This research project is a part of a newly-established Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption, an interdisciplinary research centre at the School of Law, Politics and Sociology at the University of Sussex.

Anti-discrimination and Gender stereotypes

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I began my PhD in Law at the SEI in October 2012. My academic interest and research is in anti-discrimination law and how gender stereotypes in advertising and the media are a barrier to the EU's principle of gender equality. Prior to joining Sussex I completed my LLB and LLM (EU law) at the University of Essex where I also taught as an EU law tutor for 3 years. My LLM dissertation looked at the potential concept of 'environmental citizenship' within EU law and included a comparative review of environmental policy in Nordic member states. Outside of academia I have worked in employment law and HR where I began to see gender discrimination and the invisible barriers within the work place.

My research looks at how the EU are so far combatting gender stereotypes through the use of soft law and whether it has the competence to provide secondary legislation to prohibit gender stereotypes in advertising and the media.

Since the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Commission has instigated the 'non-discrimination clause' set out in Articles 13 and 141 EC to combat discrimination outside the economic/

market limitations of the internal market. So far this has been realised within the Race Directive, however gender discrimination remains limited to the work place. The Goods and Services Directive of 2004 is the starting point for my research, where the Commission was pressured to remove the provision on gender stereotypes in advertising and media which conflicted with the EU's fundamental freedom of expression.

My research will also be looking at exemplar member states' legislation and discourse on the prohibition of gender stereotypes and where this has worked (Spain, Finland) and where it has been frustrated (Sweden).

I decided to conduct my doctoral research here at the SEI because of its reputation as an excellent multi-disciplinary school. My fellow researchers and the staff at the SEI have been very helpful and friendly, and I look forward to working with my supervisors Sue Millns and Jo Bridgeman who have been excellent since my arrival.

The impact of 'Europe' on national political systems

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I have just started on a 1+3 PhD course in European Politics at the Sussex European Institute as an ESRC (fees-only) award holder. I am currently at the Masters stage, doing a course in quantitative and qualitative methods for the

Social Sciences run by the ESRC Doctoral Training Centre. I have also started working with my supervisors, Prof Paul Taggart and Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, on my PhD.

In my PhD I am looking at the impact of Europeanisation on national political parties and party systems. I am particularly interested in a comparative take on partisan and party system

Research

responses within domestic political structures during the on-going eurozone crisis. The provisional title of my thesis is 'Whither European Integration: Partisan Responses to the European Union in Ireland and Greece during the Eurozone crisis (2008-present)'. My general research interests include political parties, party systems, Europeanisation and research methods.

I spent last year at Cardiff University, as a full-time MSc(Econ) student in European Governance and Public Policy. I have submitted my dissertation titled 'SYRIZA and the Greek Elections of 2012: In Search of the Reasons behind the Success', in which I discussed the reasons behind the recent electoral success of the Coalition of Radical Left and the possibility of a party system change in the country, with a special focus on the impact of the eurozone crisis. My first degree is in Journalism and Mass Communication, from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in Greece.



I have been working as a journalist for Greek printed and electronic publications for almost five years. Between 2010 and 2011, I was an assistant researcher for a documentary film about the mining of lignite in Northern Greece. The film went on to win the First Prize as a 'Society and Environment' entry at the 14th Documentary Festival of Thessaloniki in 2012.

Populism and national identity formation in Turkey

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This is the first year of my PhD research in politics. Before my research at University of Sussex, I have spent time in Turkey, Netherlands and the UK for my undergraduate and graduate studies. I completed my bachelor degree in Political Science and Public Administration at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. During my graduate studies I have studied at Middle East Technical University and University of Leiden. In November 2011, I received my master's degree from London School of Economics and Political Science. My master's degree is on comparative politics, and particularly on nationalism and ethnicity studies. Besides nationalism and ethnicity related

topics, I have been also interested in Marxist theory, bio-politics, governmentality and Turkish politics in my previous studies.

The main focus of my current research is the relationship between populism and national identity formation in Turkey. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Prof Paul Taggart, Prof Aleks Szczerbiak and Dr Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. At this stage of my research I am doing a comprehensive literature review both on theoretical debates on populism and the various understandings of the concept of populism in the context of Turkish case. The preliminary results of this literature review have been encouraging for further exploration of the topic since they signify some common tendencies and shortcomings in the existing literature on populism in

Turkey. The literature review has revealed the widespread economic perceptions of the concept as well as the concept's prevalent descriptive uses and normative allusions in the literature in Turkey so far. The abundant 'uses and abuses' of the concept of populism in Turkey are signifying a particular tendency of Turkish politics which is worth exploring.

In line with the critical evaluation of uses and abuses of the concept of populism in Turkey, it seems particularly interesting to examine the role of populism in the electoral success of the ruling Justice and Development Party. The political struggle over the content of national identity would be the main ground for this analysis. In other words, a discussion over the relationship between the populist appeal of Justice and Development Party and the instability of the national identity in Turkey would be a starting point. This is to say that, the research will take the indecisive content of the national identity – persistent tensions among the ethnic, civic and religious features within



the national identity – and the traditional weakness of the class based political representation in Turkey as the facilitating framework of the electoral success of Justice and Development Party and also the emergences and re-emergences of the

concept of populism in Turkey.

As a result of my research, I hope to find answers to the puzzle of increasing electoral success of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey despite its long lasting rule and its neo-liberal policies around the concept of populism. I also would like to comparatively underline the role of populism in the achievements of similar parties in similar socio-political settings.

'Normative Power Europe' in Conflict Resolution

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I commenced my PhD at the Sussex European Institute (SEI) in September 2012 under the supervision of Dr Adrian Treacher and Professor Jorg Monar. The two of them, as well as my PhD colleagues have been very welcoming and greatly supportive.

Before joining the SEI family, I completed a BA degree in History and Archaeology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, an MA in Politics and Contemporary History at the University of Nottingham and an MA in International Relations at the University of Nicosia.



During the tenure of my previous studies, I have developed a strong interest in the European Union's foreign policy. The European Union is a vital actor in contemporary international politics. Many scholars have been devoted to stud-

ying and analysing the nature of European power. The great majority of them conceptualize the EU as an exceptional global actor with a unique kind of power and have characterized it as a 'civilian power', an 'ideological power' and a 'soft power'. In 2002, Ian Manners introduced the concept of 'Normative Power Europe' in the discussions concerning

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EU's international role. According to the theory, a normative power is able to influence third parties through the imposition of various norms on them. This course of diffusion of European norms can result in modification or even transformation of behaviour and attitudes. Moreover, it can even result in eventual espousal of these norms.

My current research is focused on the normative power of the European Union in the field of conflict resolution. The legal basis of the EU and its foreign policy instruments have raised the question of whether the EU is a normative power and how the use of its normative strength can positively affect conflict resolu-

tion. Prevention and resolution of conflicts as well as peace-building are among the EU's external policy assertions. The 2003 European Security Strategy declared that the Union is ready to act in all phases of conflict resolution. In my research, I intend to test the aforementioned assertions. For this purpose, I will use a three-part analysis assessing normativity by associating the goals, actions and impact of the EU in particular cases. This investigation of EU's endeavours in conflict resolution will reveal to what extent the EU has been successful in fulfilling its peace-related goals and subsequently, whether the attribution of the 'Normative Power' characteristic to the EU is accurate.

Environmental Policy-Making in Resource-Rich States

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I am delighted to have joined the Sussex research community in October 2012 under the supervision of Prof Alan Mayhew and Mr Francis McGowan. As a 1+3 researcher I am currently undertaking the MSc in Research Methods, located in the School of Global Studies, and will be commencing my doctoral research at the start of the next academic year.

Prior to joining Sussex I completed a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics at the University of York, followed by a Masters of Public Administration at the same Higher Education institution. Having completed an internship for the British Civil Service in the capacity of a Housing Analyst for the Department for Communities and Local Government, my primary area of interest during these studies lay in British politics. More specifically, my research focused on the evolution of Higher Education Policy in UK since 1998 and the emerging relationships between the UK academia, government and the employers. As



such, my interest in my current research topic is fairly new and was sparked by my Masters research into heavily regulated industries, such as those exploring and refining natural resources.

During my PhD research I intend to investigate the social, economic and political factors preventing environmental protection in countries with strong mineral extraction industries: specifically in the Russian Federation (RF) and the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK). Failures by these countries to take tough actions on environmental pollutants contradict the international sense of environmental urgency. Understanding why extensive environmental problems persist in these fast-growing industrial economies appears to be a necessary prerequisite to addressing them. Located at the intersection of Public Policy and Environmental Politics, my research

will employ comparative analysis in order to explore the effects of interactions between the State and local governments, regulators, oil extraction industry and, increasingly, international investors on the policy formulation in relation to water and soil pollution in RF and RK.

It is true that contrary to much academic literature on environmental awareness, economic development in these countries has not led to a better environmental policy. The outdated and underfunded oil industry technologies continue to exacerbate existing pollution; and

innovation is not on the agenda. Nonetheless, some progress has occurred. Interestingly, RF has a better record than RK in cleaning up the existing pollutions despite having less exposure to pressures from international environmental organisations and having a weaker domestic green movement. This project will analyse the differences in actors and their interactions prevalent in each country in order to identify the likely causes of this difference in policy outcome and thus present a hypothesis on the necessary conditions for policy success in the context resource-extraction dependent states.

Governmental response to labour market policy during the financial crisis in Europe

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I have just started my PhD course in Contemporary European Studies at Sussex European Institute. At the moment I am working on the research outline together with my supervisors Dr Sabina Avdagic and Mr Francis McGowan. In my PhD thesis I will analyse governmental responses to labour market policies, and how these have been affected by the European financial crisis. I am particularly interested in analysing why some countries engage strongly in Keynesian labour market policies, while others adopt a more cautious neoliberal approach. My aim is to discuss how governments should act to create stability and prosperity in time of political instability, and what is the best policy response in a globalised society? My general research interests are European politics, policy implementation and globalisation.

Regarding my previous studies, I did my undergraduate degree at the University of Lund in Sweden where I graduated with a BSc

in Peace and Conflict Studies in 2010. During my final undergraduate year I took part in an Erasmus exchange with Loughborough University where I studied at the Department of Politics, History and International Relations. The last year I spent at Warwick University, studying an MA in International Politics with emphasis on the European Union.

My dissertation analysed to what extent the European Parliament had used their post-Lisbon powers in the handling of the financial crisis. My argument in the dissertation was that the Parliamentary powers to some extent had been developed, especially when it comes

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to budget and agricultural questions. The Parliament has also been given stronger powers when it comes to vetoing a number of international decisions. However, regarding the financial crisis in Europe, the main powers still belong to the executive authorities, and I argued that the Lisbon Treaty has had limited result regarding the Parliament's ability to impact the aftermath on the financial crisis in the eurozone.

Throughout my studies in Lund, I volunteered at the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA). It is a grass-roots organisation, and their aim is to give microloans to Afghan families. During my time at the organisation we helped girls to buy sewing machines, and as a result helped whole families with their

income. The SCA have also helped to start a number of girls' schools in the country. In the summers I have worked at Marketing for International Development (M4ID), a non-profit organization, and the Nordic Library (NIFIN), both with offices in Helsinki, Finland. M4ID provides a range of social media services, and acts as a bridge between the non-profit and technology sector. NIFIN, on the other hand, work to create deeper understanding concerning the Nordic languages and Scandinavian culture. This important work has helped me to create a deeper understanding regarding globalisation, understanding of different cultures and most of all the importance of cooperation in a globalised society.

Policy Positions of EU, Member States and Third Countries in the Migration Policy Making

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Working on an interdisciplinary topic on EU and migration, I am delighted to join the SEI community as a PhD student in Migration studies. I joined the University of Sussex in September 2012, and prior to becoming a member of the vivid research community at the University of Sussex I completed both my BA and MA in International Relations at Koc University, Istanbul.

My research interests broadly fall under the field of migration studies, with a perception shaped around the theoretical frameworks of global governance, policy development and securitization of international migration. In line with my research interests, I also actively worked for MiReKoc (Migration Research Program at Koç University) which helped me to gain great experience in the field. In my MA thesis, I have made an analysis concerning the politiciza-



tion of irregular migration and asylum during negotiation the process between EU and Turkey, by putting the special emphasis on the cases of the negotiation process of possible readmission agreement between EU and Turkey, and the removal of geographical limitation that Turkey maintains on the Geneva Convention of 1951.

My current research project that I am undertaking under the supervision of James Hampshire and Paul Statham; is focused on explaining the different relationships between EU and the third countries in irregular migration policy making. Beginning with the assumption that the set

of relations among the actors have normative implications, I will decode these relationships by analysing their policy positions on a normative basis.

To reformulate, I will try to answer the question that on what basis do these actors; EU institutions, member states and third countries, reach decisions to take a position in a specific issue area. I expect the conflicts, consensuses and compromises arising in the field to explain how these actors reach agreements when they have different policy goals. By choosing the policy areas accordingly, one with a thick political position, one with a thin one and another one in the middle, I am aiming to explain the reasons behind the different relationships between the EU and the third countries by

focusing on the internal variations within the policy fields, i.e. the differences between the EU institutions and the member states. The analysis will not take the EU as a whole, but disintegrate it to its institutions and its member states. Thus the research model would be complexly constructed in a way that the EU member states' relations with the EU institutions and EU as a mediator between these states and the third countries. Moreover, the bilateral relations among the member states and third countries will also be taken into consideration. I am aware that the research model has its hardships but I believe taking the third country case as Turkey and using my spatial advantage on that matter will produce a worthwhile project.

New EPERN Briefing Papers

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



EPERN REFERENDUM BRIEFING

No. 70

“Europe and the Slovak parliamentary election of March 2012”

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Key points

- Smer-Social Democracy won a majority of parliamentary seats with the highest percentage vote ever gained by a single party in independent Slovakia.
- Robert Fico was returned as prime minister, presiding over Slovakia’s first democratically-elected one-party

government.

- The centre-right remained fractured, with five parties in parliament.
- No nationalist parties entered parliament, and nationalist disputes were notably absent from the election campaign.
- Anti-corruption demonstrations were a major feature of the pre-election period, and the younger generation is becoming more assertive in party and extra-parliamentary politics.
- EU issues were less prominent in the campaign than might have been expected given their crucial role in the fall of the previous government, but Eurosceptic discourses became more prominent.

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

Former European Commission Vice-President opens SEI anniversary conference

Prof Aleks Szczerbiak
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A former Vice-President of the European Commission opened the twentieth anniversary conference of the SEI, held on 27-28 September. Addressing a packed audience, Lord (Leon) Brittan gave a wide-ranging talk on the European Union, asking: 'Is there life after the Euro-crisis?'

He drew on his ten years of experience as a European Commissioner (1989-99) responsible for competition policy, financial institutions, external economic affairs and trade policy, to analyse the current Eurozone crisis and set out his prognosis for the future of the European political and economic integration project.

The two-day conference on 27-28 September - which was sponsored by the Higher Education Innovation Fund and European Commission Representation in the UK - also included sessions on European values, identity and citizenship; the Eurozone crisis; the future of the European economy; and the position of Europe in the world.

In these sessions, delegates listened to presentations from, and participated in debates with, leading international experts in these fields including all three former SEI directors: Profes-



sors Jörg Monar, Jim Rollo and Dame Helen Wallace.

Apart from current SEI-linked faculty, researchers and postgraduate students, the 100 conference delegates included many from among the more than 600 students who have taken SEI Masters courses and 70 PhDs who have graduated at SEI during the past 20 years.

The conference was also attended by many of the SEI's long-standing academic visiting fellows and its network of 'practitioner fellows' - senior non-academic specialists whose work has brought them into contact with the European integration process - as well from the 140-strong undergraduate EU Society.

SEI Co-Director Professor Aleks Szczerbiak commented: "The conference took place at a time when the European integration project faces momentous challenges – indeed, a potentially existential Eurozone crisis that represents the greatest challenge in its history.

"Nonetheless, conference participants approached these questions in a spirit of critical engagement and sober reflection. I'm confident that

they came away with a very much clearer understanding of the challenges that Europe currently faces.”

SEI Co-Director Professor Sue Millns added: “The conference generated a series of extremely high-quality debates about the future of Europe, the European Union and the Eurozone. Reflections were sometimes pessimistic, occasionally optimistic but above all realistic about the prospects of European integration and the European project.”

The conference is the first of a series of SEI events sponsored by the European Commission and will be followed up by four, more focused workshops that will build and expand upon the themes discussed last week.

These will cover issues such as challenging financial times in Europe; social citizenship and migration in Europe; EU foreign policy making and the external action service; and Euroscepticism in the UK and reconnecting the UK public with the EU.



Reflections on The Future of Europe: Five Themes

Prof Paul Statham
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The SEI’s 20th Anniversary Conference proved to be a timely opportunity for Sussex’s Europeanists past, present and future to come together and discuss what happens next for Europe and the EU.

Do Europeans face progress or decline? What would constitute progress or decline, normatively, what forms could the EU and Europe take on, and what will be the decisive political and economic battlegrounds on which the future of Europe will be fought?

The high profile speakers lived up to their reputations with some incisive accounts of the current malaise, while debates followed in an open, intellectually rigorous and interdisciplinary fashion, in the best Sussex tradition. As a former Euro undergraduate (1985-9) and recent recruit, I was asked to pull together some key themes to close the conference. In the fol-



lowing, I map out five themes sparked by exchanges and presentations at the Conference.

I do not intend to be encompassing or systematic but offer a personalised guided tour through the ‘Future of Europe: Progress or

Decline?’ conundrum.

1. It’s the Economy, Stupid!

When the economy fails, democracy starts to wobble. If we look for the causal factors behind the malaise of individual European countries, and within the EU, then all roads lead back to the systemic crisis within global financial capitalism. No amount of political institutional tinkering and policy making can work when countries and people can no longer pay their debts. With the benefit of hindsight, the idea that EU mone-

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tary integration could only be a 'win-win' seems like a project driven by hubris or political folly. In the last decade when economic prosperity was the order of the day, politics did not matter.



Even in non-eurozone countries like the UK, New Labour's view that less regulated global financial markets would allow prosperity for all –the growth of a super-rich and trickle down for the rest-went unchallenged, as most grew richer through easy mortgages, rising property prices and credit card debt. Today, the outlook for the world, and especially for Europe given the centrality of the eurozone Debt Crisis to the prospects for economic recovery, looks very different.

The impact of the financial systemic crisis has been: a) an increasing divergence in the economic prospects between central and peripheral countries in Europe; and b) a growing 'gap' within countries, between the rich, on one side, and the poor, and 'squeezed middle', on the other. Policy-makers have responded to the debt crisis with 'austerity measures'. Keynes is out of vogue. After a few years of double dip recession and high youth unemployment, there are few green shoots of recovery. Instead austerity policies sound increasingly like monetary dogma, and are most likely crushing the prospects of any future recoveries in countries like Greece and Spain. Meanwhile speculators continue to bet against countries in financial markets for short-term gains that add nothing to the value of the economy.

2. Are Europe's nation-states and their politics sufficiently robust to remain 'liberal'?

Economic crisis has generated political crisis and conflict across Europe. The politics of the distribution of 'pain' instead of 'gain' is challenging the resilience of liberal democracies to live up to their own ideals, not least in countries hardest hit by austerity measures – Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Ireland. 'Trust' has collapsed massively in the political systems of the hardest hit countries, especially in the traditional parties of government. Significant legitimacy deficits have been compounded by the imposition of technocratic governments and austerity measures from outside in Greece and Italy. While Italians are relatively socialized in corrupt parties and technocratic governments, and seem relatively pleased to suspend politics for a while, the spectre of an emerging neo-Nazi party in Greece is different altogether. Greece, Spain and Portugal are not only relatively recent Europeans, but relatively recent democracies. Having done so much to bring them into the liberal democratic fold, the EU's austerity measures risk pushing countries into serious social upheaval and internal strife. Can national political parties deliver a mature political debate about redistribution choices facing people in a way that holds societies together, or will they collapse electorally in the face of nationalist, populist and xenophobic challenges? Greece seems most under threat and a democratic failure in Europe would be arguably worse than an economic failure. The EU should consider writing off Greece's debts. Arguably, there is a precedent. The 1953 agreement resolving Germany's war debts significantly contributed to the basis for the post-war German economic boom.

3. Can the EU's institutional framework cope with the structural crisis?



The EU institutional framework was in need of serious overhaul and beset by legitimacy crises before the crisis. The EU's governance and problem-solving capacity 'deficits' have been compounded further, by facing a massive structural and economic crisis that challenges the core of its ideals and aims. Meanwhile the EU is no longer an abstract distant entity for European citizens, but often the main news item, reporting consequential and real 'austerity' decisions that affect their lives. We live in a new era.

The old myth of EU universalism is dead. Some countries and some people are now clearly more equal than others. There are 'winners' and 'losers' in the redistribution of economic pain: between core countries (especially Germany) and peripheral countries (especially Greece, Spain, Italy, Ireland, Portugal); and within countries, between elites, bankers vs. 'the people'. The mechanisms within the EU for reaching decisions on the economy in a way that has some semblance of political legitimacy seem inadequate, leading to indecision and non-decision that compounds the problems. The euro remains a currency without a state (though Germany is a reluctant applicant for the job).

4. Germany Matters Most (and it's no longer a secret)!

The economic and political future of Europe depends on Germany. Germany has always been the economic powerhouse of Europe and has largely paid for integration down the years. This needs to be viewed in the light of Europe's dark history and the deep cultural and psychological problems that Germany has overcome with itself with regard to its Nazi past. Building Europe has also been rebuilding Germany as a liberal nation-state at the core of Europe. Historically, Germans were happy to pay and allow the French in as equal leading partners in the project.

Today, the German government is the hegemon calling the shots in the debt crisis, deciding the solutions and largely paying for them. The cultural past has raised its head in light of less German modesty in calling the shots than in the past, with burning of German flags on the streets of Athens and references to Nazi occupation. Meanwhile German taxpayers are increasingly vocal about 'lazy' and 'corrupt' Greeks who should pay their debts.

The good news for the future of Europe is that the German liberal nation-state is politically one of the most robust. German centre political parties are Europeanist in their DNA, and exist in a political system that strongly resists populist parties at the ballot box. While Angela Merkel may have to justify European decisions more than ever before to German voters, there is little prospect of Germany giving up politically on the European project that has defined its post-war existence. Culturally, most Germans remain strong Europeans too. Germany has made a massive contribution to building and stabilizing European democracy. If the EU has to have a 'big brother', it could do far worse than modern Germany.

5. What Kind of Europe? A Happy End?

So what happens next? Will Europe survive and with values intact? Will there be advancing Eu-

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European integration or perhaps even a period of disintegration? The doomsday scenario is a balkanisation of the EU torn apart by a resurgence of nationalist, populist and xenophobic politics. Some countries and especially Greece, do face a 'road to hell' if crushed by endless austerity measures with no plan to build a future.



However, even if Europe fails in its duty to keep Greece in the family, and even if populist anti-European politics will be a feature of national party politics across the continent, it is more likely that the centre parties will hold in most countries, which largely believe in Europe, not just as a matter of faith, but economically. Of course, countries in the eurozone might face more 'de facto' integration by deciding to pool further sovereignty to address the

gaps left by monetary integration. One thing that is clear is that we are in an era when Europe is and will be increasingly contested and politicized.

However, the politicization of the EU within national politics does not equate with a rise of Euroscepticism. It can instead mean that Europe and European decisions become politically debated in the same way as national politics, thereby potentially enhancing democracy. After all, political contestation was an important feature for building the modern nation-state. On the surface, there is not much good news around for the future of Europe, but perhaps the strongest ground for optimism is that Europe and Europeans have been through a lot already, and managed to hold together and muddle through, within an imperfect institutional formation. There is life in the old continent yet.

The Politicization of Europe by Paul Statham and Hans-Joerg Trenz was published on September 25th, 2012 (Pbk and Hbk). <http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415635660/>

Economic recovery and Europe 2020

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On 24-26 October 2012, Susan Millns and Deborah Gellner from the Sussex Law School attended a conference at Wilton Park in Sussex on 'Economic Recovery and Europe 2020: Towards Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth'.



The conference brought together a group of leading representatives from the worlds of politics, business, academia, diplomacy, civil society and media to debate Europe's economic pro-

spects and to examine progress on implementing the Europe 2020 strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' in the context of political changes and the continuing impact of the financial crisis. The conference looked at how to genuinely increase prospects for sustained economic growth, exploring options for 'smart' policies to create more jobs and better lives with specific focus on employment, education, energy use and innovation. It addressed these in the context of targets set for employment; for research and innovation; for climate change and energy; for education and for com-

batting poverty. Wilton Park is a global forum for strategic discussion organising over 50 events a year in the UK and overseas and the Sussex European Institute is delighted to be collaborating in its events and sharing ideas about European integration and the challenges of the present crisis. Deborah Gellner acted as the rapporteur for the conference and has subsequently written the final report on its findings.

See <http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/en/about-wilton-park/>

Celebrating and remembering Peter Mair

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At the end of September I was fortunate enough to participate in a three-day conference held at the European University Institute in Florence to honour and remember Prof Peter Mair, who died suddenly and tragically in the summer of 2011. Peter was a renowned Irish political scientist who specialised in comparative politics and specifically in the study of parties and party systems. Many SEI scholars, particularly those of us working on party and representative politics, were deeply influenced by Peter's work and it was an honour to attend a conference celebrating his intellectual legacy.

The conference saw the presentation of more than twenty papers by renowned scholars who had known Peter, worked with him, and been heavily influenced by his work. The papers picked up upon and discussed Peter's main intellectual concerns, with a particular focus on the relationship between the normative definition of political parties and the actual operation of parties in modern democracy. It was this tension between the 'responsiveness' and 'responsibility' of political parties in modern



democracies that Peter concentrated on increasingly in the last part of his career.

In my own contribution to the conference, I reflected upon whether the theoretical propositions as to how and why Peter expected post-communist party systems to be different - posited by him in his 1995 Stein Rokkan Memorial lecture (which were later published as a chapter in his 1997 Oxford University Press book on *Party System Change*) - still held true. Peter thinking in this area was very important to me when developing my own doctoral research in the mid-1990s on the emergence and development of political parties in post-communist Poland, and I thought it would be interesting to re-visit his hypotheses in the light of subsequent developments.

The empirical literature that has developed since then - particularly those accounts that focus on questions of electoral volatility, party instability, levels of partisanship and the development of cleavages - largely confirmed many of Peter's predictions which pointed to the continuing fluidity and instability of East Euro-

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pean party politics and political life more generally. However, alongside these overall findings of weak organisational loyalties and incentives for instability, there has also considerable diversity among post-communist party systems.

This was partly for the obvious reason that post-communist states have made varying degrees of progress in terms of democratisation and integration into Western international structures more generally. So it is not surprising that party systems in those countries that are now EU and NATO members are very different from those in many of the post-Soviet states that have been laggards (or even losers) in the democratisation and European integration processes. But what is particularly striking is the wide degree of variation *even among states at a similar stage in the democratisation process* and this was something that Peter's framework did not really anticipate nor address. To be fair, party system diversity among otherwise apparently similar post-communist states is a problem that analysts specialising in the region have not really explained adequately either.

Addressing the more general conference themes, I also reflected upon the fact that - although political parties played little direct role in the process of democratic transition in Eastern Europe, which was often dominated by broad and amorphous civic movements - party-type

organisations very quickly emerged as the dominant form of structuring relationships between citizens and the newly emerging democratic political institutions. This spontaneous, organic emergence of parties as the main agencies of citizen linkage with representative institutions, suggested their continued relevance in spite of contemporary arguments that they are in decline and increasingly out of touch. Indeed, one of conference speakers (Philippe Schmitter) posited (admittedly in a provocative 'thought experiment') various scenarios for how a 'party-less democracy' might function! These are fascinating debates that Peter would have engaged in with great relish.

Unfortunately, I had to leave the conference after the first day to attend the SEI twentieth anniversary conference. And sadly I only really got to know Peter properly during the last few years of his life through my involvement with the European Union Democracy Observatory (EUODO). (I am an advisory board member of the EUODO Observatory on Political Parties and Representation which Peter co-directed with Luciano Bardi). Nonetheless, my memories of Peter are of both a great scholar who left a huge intellectual footprint but also of an extremely kind and warm person who was a great pleasure to know. He is fondly remembered and greatly missed by many of us - and this excellent conference was a fitting tribute to him.

Politics MA study trip to London

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As Course Convenor of the MA programmes in Contemporary European Studies (MACES) and European Politics (MAEP), I took our students for a study trip to London on 3 December. The day began with a guided tour of the Houses of Parliament which the mainly non-UK students found very impressive. This was



followed by an hour in debate with ultra-euro-sceptic MP Douglas Carswell, who was keen to persuade his audience of the case for the UK leaving the EU, which he described as a 'catastrophic disaster', and a 'corporatist racket'.

Having just spent a whole term studying 'The Making of Contemporary Europe', students

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from Latvia, Malta, Kosovo, Italy, Turkey and the UK had developed the confidence to put well-considered questions and comments to him challenging his perspective on crucial questions such as democracy, immigration, and trade, but it was clear that there was no common ground between us. Nevertheless, this opportunity to speak in a small group situation with a controversial figure like Carswell was invaluable experience for the students and I was impressed by the way they challenged his controversial and deliberately provocative views. After this session we went to hear questions in the Lords, where Lord Liddle was asking about the government's priorities for the upcoming European Council meeting, moving then into the Commons where we heard some of the debate on the Leveson Inquiry.

Our next stop was Europe House in Smith Square (former Conservative Party HQ under Margaret Thatcher), now home to the offices of the European Commission and European Parliament in London. Here we heard from representatives of both offices, about their roles in trying to inform and educate the UK public about EU affairs, against the backdrop of a permanent battle with a eurosceptic tabloid press. Again, students were able to ask questions and also see for themselves that the allegedly 'luxurious building with a grand piano' was in fact pretty ordinary, and I noted that it is available at no cost for the organisation of events and conferences related to EU affairs.

Finally, a walk along the river took us up to the LSE where we attended an evening debate on 'The Future of the EU after the Crisis: Political Union and its Discontents', chaired by Maurice Fraser of the LSE, and co-hosted by the pan-European think-tank 'The European Council on Foreign Relations' (ECFR). Four speakers gave their views on how they see the future of the EU: José Ignacio Torreblanco (ECFR Madrid) argued that more centralisation was necessary; Ulrike Guérot (ECFR Berlin) shared her vision for a highly decentralised federal European republic; Mark Leonard, co-founder and director of ECFR, wondered how the different visions of Political Union might be able to co-exist, and Anthony Teasdale, currently Senior Visiting Fellow at the LSE pondered the likelihood of a two-tier Europe taking hold. Some good questions followed from the floor but discussion had to be curtailed because of time constraints.

We ended the evening with a festive meal in a French bistro in Covent Garden and a stop-over at the Somerset House ice-rink where nocturnal skating was still in full swing: I believe Facebook tells the story of our day in full technicolour!



Integration and Rights in Times of Crisis

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On 15-16 November 2012, Prof Susan Millns delivered the opening lecture at a conference on 'Integration and Rights in Times of Crisis' at

the Institute of Human Rights of the University of Valencia, Spain. Her talk was entitled *Gender Equality, Legal Mobilization and Feminism in a Multi-Level European System* and was based on a current research project investigating legal mobilization for women's rights across Europe. This talk will be published shortly in a special

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issue of the Canadian Journal of Law and Society.

The opening plenary lecture was followed by a first panel entitled *What can anti-discrimination law do in the face of crisis?*, led by Prof José García Añón (IDH) with participation by Profs María José Añón, Charo Serra and Cristina García Pascual, as well as researchers from the Human Rights Institute such as Prof. Berta Güell, from the University of Barcelona. The second panel on Friday 16th November was entitled *(Dis) Integrating immigration policies*. The panel was chaired by Prof María José Añón, and presentations were given by Ruth Rubio, Professor of the University of Sevilla and the European University Institute of Florence, as well as researchers from the Human Rights Institute Javier de Lucas and Ángeles Solanes.



The objectives of the meeting were to present and review the trends of integration policies; re-consider the concept of citizenship and relevance policies; specify the limits and possibilities of multicultural jurisprudence, and evaluate the possibility of strengthening the anti-discriminatory law in European Union, among other objectives of the seminar. The Human Rights Institute of the University of Valencia will cooperate further with Prof Susan Millns and the Sussex European Institute in seeking research funding for its work on citizenship and fundamental rights.

Elections, Parties and Public Opinion in 2012

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On the train journey up to Oxford to attend this year's Elections, Parties and Public Opinion (EPOP) conference, I hoped that Scottish economist Adam Smith was wrong. Or at least that his observation that Oxford is 'a sanctuary in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices find shelter and protection' was no longer relevant. Fortunately, I found conference delegates to be critically-minded and generally informative.

In the first session of the day, Prof Tim Bale presented a paper which we had co-authored on why mainstream parties change their immigration policy, with the UK Conservative Party as our case study. EPOP is a reasonably large conference, with some four or five panels tak-

ing place simultaneously and many sessions in a day. I'd like to think this explains the moderate crowd that came to hear our paper. Nonetheless, we received constructive comments and some questions which deserve further consideration.

Our paper was part of a panel entitled 'Reactions to Diversity', and it certainly was a varied set of papers. We heard from Carlie Fogleman, of Texas University, who spoke of the dynamics of immigration attitudes in the US. Also in attendance were Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou, of, respectively, LSE and York University who presented a paper on nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right.

My favourite paper, however, was that given by Robert Ford of Manchester University. His presentation was titled 'Who should receive welfare in a diverse society? Experimental evidence on the impact of ethnicity and foreign birth on willingness to provide welfare in Brit-

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ain'. Ford's research involved volunteers being giving vignettes with some subtle differences. Some received texts in which the central character person had a more British, or European-sounding name; others were given typically 'ethnic' or 'Muslim'-sounding names. The participants then gave feedback as to whether the character 'deserved' the benefits in question.

After a short break, I attended a panel session entitled 'Party competition and issue politics' – right up my street, given my research is on the UK Conservative Party and what is, to some extent, their territory: the immigration issue. Jae-Jae Spoon of University of Iowa (who presented a paper at an SEI research seminar in summer 2012) spoke of party competition in terms of environmental issues. Other papers of note on this panel looked at *anti*-environmental

politics and positional issue framing. Later I went to a panel on 'Measuring party positions'. As you might expect, there was a great deal of quantitative research, quite in opposition to earlier panels. Many of the papers used manifesto texts as objects of analysis. There was an interesting discussion over whether political parties benefit from, or are disadvantaged by, a kind of ambiguity surrounding their policies. This was in response to Zeynep Somer-Topcu of Vanderbilt University who spoke of the electoral consequences of voters' perceptual ambiguity regarding party policies. Of course, there was no consensus, but many lines for further discussion were opened up.

Many thanks to EPOP/YouGov who awarded me a graduate bursary to attend this event.

UACES conference 2012

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After the success of our 'Inside the EU institutions' panel and panel stream at the annual UACES conferences in Bruges (2010) and Cambridge (2011) respectively, Dr Ariadna Ripoll Servent and I again organised an institutions focused panel stream at the UACES annual conference in Passau (3-5 September 2012).

We were again extremely pleased with the number of high quality abstracts we received in response to our call for papers. We arranged the successful papers into three panels. The first (Looking inside the Black Box) presented papers on the European Parliament assistants, Commission Expert Groups, and Council negotiations. The second (Influence in and beyond inter-institutional relations), grouped papers on inter-institutional agreements, the European Ombudsmen, and statistical governance. The

third focused on the Council Presidencies, including case studies of the Polish and Hungarian presidencies. We were again fortunate to have Francis Jacobs from the EP Office in Ireland as the discussant for two of the panels to provide a practitioner perspective and some thought provoking questions as well as invaluable guidance to the panelists.

As a result of the three conferences, Ariadna and I submitted a special issue proposal to EIoP (European Integration online Papers) entitled 'Agency and Influence inside the EU institutions' consisting of articles from the panels. It has been accepted and will include an introduction from us discussing theoretical and methodological issues and will hopefully be published in May/June 2013.

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I had the opportunity to present a paper in the annual

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UACES conference. Based on my PhD research which examines the role of the Warsaw-based EU border control agency Frontex, my paper was developed with a particular focus on the Frontex border guard training system.

I received useful comments from the participants, thanks to the well-organised panel 'The impact of institutional change: Insights from the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice'. Not only did it share the similar thematic background (Justice and Home Affairs) but also the exclusive attention of all presentations was paid to the role of EU Agencies such as Europol and Frontex. Overall, it was an intellectually inspiring event and I have much appreciated the LPS School for its financial support.

Gentian Elezi
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I had the chance to present a paper on my research at the UACES conference in Passau, Germany. I participated in a panel on EU Enlargement and the focus of my paper was about the transposition of EU directives and implementation deficit in potential candidate countries of the Western Balkans. I tried to argue about the role and influence of coordination of public institutions in the process of implementation.

The discussion session after the presentation was very interesting and I received some valuable feedback and suggestions on my work. In addition to some very interesting panels, the conference presented also a very good opportunity for networking and meeting scholars and students whose research is related to mine. The panel on the fifty years of JCMS celebration was a very important and particular moment of the conference. We heard speeches from founders and former board members of the journal, who shared their views and experiences in the field of European studies.

UK Immigration Policy-making in Real-time

Rebecca Partos
SEI PhD researcher
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Since hearing of the Political Studies Association (PSA) event on migration in November, I had wanted to attend. Yet, early on in my doctoral research, completing my MSc in Social Research Methods and preparing to start teaching, I had not expected to do much more than attend.

However, a chance email from the conference organisers who asked whether I would like to change my 'yes please' RSVP into an abstract for their consideration *by the very next day* changed everything. I like a challenge. Abstract duly submitted, I quietly forgot about it...until I received an acceptance email.

The draft paper I presented was titled 'Rhetoric and Reality: UK Immigration Policy-making in Real-time'. By tracing changes to immigration policy by looking at legislation and documents, ministerial statements and press reports over the first two years of coalition government, I argue that policy-makers are basing their 'evidence' for bringing in tough (and sometimes impractical) immigration policy on a perception of a homogenous, informed and rational anti-immigrant public.

The reality, I state, is quite different, with the general public's opinion on immigration varying tremendously depending on, for example, which questions are phrased, what context is given and which 'trigger' words are used. By looking at the timing of (usually) immigration-hostile press reports and negative opinion



polls, I find that more restrictive legislation is often promised shortly after the publication of such documents. I trace immigration policy development in four key areas: economic migrants; international students; asylum-seekers; and family migrants.

The 12 points of my presentation were as follows:

1. The UK is unused to coalitions – a further dimension to policymaking – and the coalition partners have very different views on immigration and asylum.
2. On paper, coalition policy is overwhelmingly a Conservative package with minimal Liberal Democrat influence.
3. In practice, policy is reactive, events-driven and at times rushed.
4. Public concerns about immigration play ‘a major role in the development of immigration policy’.
5. The inclination to ‘do something’ increases when immigrant numbers go up and/or public concerns become more apparent.
6. ...But public concerns are not necessarily linked to immigrant numbers – it is perceptions that drive policy.
7. Furthermore, the public concerns which policymaking is so responsive to are not clear-cut, and based on little evidence.
8. An immigration policy supposedly assessed by its delivery. Valence politics.
9. The government has effectively delegated its responsibilities to agencies and private companies.
10. Thus any failings are at a technical level and the government has done its ‘job’ – or it *looks* like it has.
11. Perceptions of competence matter more than the tricky policy details or outcomes.
12. So far: restrictive, punitive and downright hyperactive. Where next?

My paper was well-received and I was lucky enough to get a number of thought-provoking questions and comments, which I have taken on board. I hope to remain in touch – and possibly work with – a number of the participants. Many thanks to Katja Sarmiento-Mirwaldt, of Brunel University, and Patricia Hogwood, of Westminster University for organising this event.

First Impression of new Corruption MA

Sam Power
MA in Corruption and Governance student

follows will essentially be a ‘best-bits’ montage; it will only scratch the surface of what this course has been like so far.

I have been asked to write a short piece about my first impressions of the Corruption and Governance MA at Sussex University, and it is honestly not an easy thing to do. How can I fit such a vast amount of information into a five hundred word article? Well, I can’t. So what

The first thing of note about this course is that is an interdisciplinary course for someone that has always approached academia from a political science background; this was at first a fairly daunting prospect. In fact, it has been a rewarding and essential way to approach the

Activities

subject, it would be impossible to analyse corruption without seeing the problem from the perspective of an economist or an anthropologist. It is, at first anyway, difficult and a little frustrating. However, as with most things that are difficult it has an intrinsic value and the course is better for facing this problem head on.

A well designed course is all well and good but this effort would have been in vain if the quality of teaching was poor. This is simply not the case. In fact the main complaint that I've heard from my fellow students is that there is not *enough* teaching. A problem that I am happy to say is being rectified for the spring term. A particularly good aspect of the teaching is a two hour guest lecturing spot that we have on a Tuesday afternoon. So far we have had a civil servant who worked for the Kenyan prime minister, an investigative journalist and a communications director at Siemens, to name a

few. These lecturers are great at providing fascinating real world examples of corruption and providing insight and nuance into the subject.

Finally, and it is important, the students on the course all actively *enhance* the course. The mixture of students is perfect, about half are, like me, recent graduates. We also have two students (from Zambia and Brunei Darussalam) who work in anti-corruption agencies in their respective countries. This provides us with even more scope to add depth to our understanding of corruption issues. It is a privilege to learn (almost) as much from the students on the course as the lecturers.

I have since been told by our course convenor, Dan Hough, that the course is the first MA that focuses on the academic study of corruption in Western Europe. Whilst it is surprising that it's taken until 2012 for one to be estab-

First impressions of being a MA student at University of Sussex

Sintija Grabāne SEI MACES student

We are MA students in Contemporary European Studies and European Politics coming from all across the Europe. Our group consists of scholarship students from Malta and Latvia, two students representing Turkey, three representing Italy (one of them originally from Macedonia), two extremely active Kosovars (one of them representing Netherlands as well), ERASMUS exchange student from Poland, and surprisingly enough even two British students interested in European issues.

Within such an international group, one can, of course, hear different languages - Italian and Albanian, in particular, are used almost as often as English. It was clear from a very beginning that this international environment

would help us to understand and engage in European political processes in Europe better. We still keep educating and sometimes surprising our fellow course-mates with new findings from our own countries.

And so do our lecturers. Professors coming from different countries with various backgrounds and fields of expertise provide us with a broad perspective of European issues. The interdisciplinary approach of our studies hasn't been overstated - every week involves looking at a different area of research - politics, international relations, economics, sociology, law, history and so on. We highly appreciate that studies at Sussex include not only lectures, but also the possibility to interact with lecturers and find out about the recent research from academics of the SEI and other institutions (provided by Research in Progress seminars).

However, studying European politics from an interdisciplinary perspective means dealing with a lot of new information. Masters studies have required more individual engagement and time spent in the library than we expected. The silent study room in the library has become our second home. However, apart from seminar readings, preparation for presentations, writing essays and browsing news we still find time to have a cup of tea or coffee (that helps to stay awake). Of course, talks about studies and politics, debates over controversial issues and political jokes are inevitable even outside the class. That's a good sign though - it proves that MACES/MAEP students are interested and engaged in the field of their studies.

And even if we sometimes feel confused, unsure or worried, our study conveyor Sue Collard is always there to answer our study related or any other questions, keep us motivated and enthusiastic. While having a chat with a glass of wine together with our professors in the first welcome week, we understood that the relationship between lecturers and students is not solely formal and

academic. And we are already looking forward to the Christmas end-of-term party (less so to the exam period in January).

It might be weird to talk about our first impressions of being MA students here at Sussex after more than two months of studies; however, it seems like only yesterday when we first came here. With this term coming to an end, we have realized how valuable it was in terms of our academic as well as personal experience. Suddenly the opportunity to get a Masters degree just in one year does not seem so tempting anymore. On the other hand, there is always the possibility of prolonging our stay or coming back to the welcoming University of Sussex. And who knows, maybe in one year we will tell you about our impressions as PhD students.



Update on Sussex European Union Society

Aleks Havekost and Valentin Weinhold Sussex European Union Society

The 2012-2013 academic year had a superb start with the Fresher's Fair and was followed by the European Union Society's first meeting. During this meeting a significant number of new members attended and the Society's proposed plans for the upcoming months were discussed.

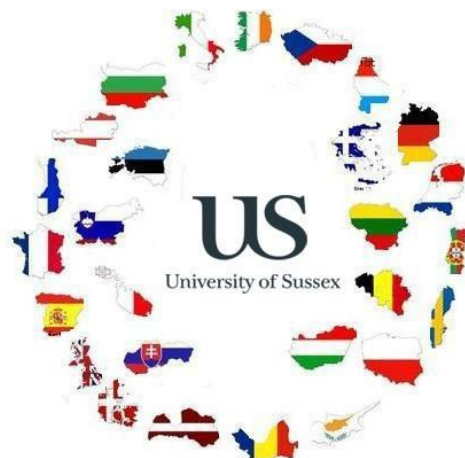
With many students from EU- and non-EU member states, and varying perspectives on the European project and past experiences, the EU Society aims to provide a platform for discussions and functions as a neutral moderator. One of these discussions took place in October in which Sussex lecturer Dr Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser gave a presentation entitled, 'Is populism good or bad for democracy?'

The Eurocrisis and some lessons to be learned from Latin America'. From this presentation various new thoughts were brought up and led to insightful debates. On an internal society note, we have had some

personnel changes for 2012-2013 year and are happy to welcome Jasmin Ederas, our new treasurer and Valentin Weinhold as our new secretary. On 22 of November, the new committee organised a documentary screening with three relatively short videos on the origins and effects of the crisis and potential future scenarios for the European Union.

The screenings offered dramatic, optimistic and realistic prognoses on the present and future situation of the EU and ended with informal discussions immediately after each documentary and later in the campus' Falmer Bar. To conclude the update on the EU Society's activities, we have made arrangements for our trip to Brussels in February 2013 and look forward to touring several EU institutions in the centre of EU policy-making. We are pleased with the outstanding turnout for the 2012-2013 year and look forward to an ever-growing and dynamic future for the European Union Society.

For more information, search for us on Facebook at www.facebook.com/USEUS or contact our society e-mail at US.eusoc@gmail.com.



EUROPEAN UNION SOCIETY

Autumn Term for the Politics Society

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Autumn term started for the Politics Society with an exploration of Black History Month.



The society teamed up with UniTV to create a series of videos by students and professors who described their unsung heroes of Black History Month. We were keen to hear about figures away from the mainstream movement. Following on from this exploration, we wanted to learn about the effectiveness of Black History Month, and so invited Linda Bellos OBE, head of Black History Month in the UK, to discuss the impact it has had. This event, which the society hosted for free, received around seventy guests. Bellos not only covered the limitations of history taught within the UK, which she argued excluded much of Black history, but she also touched on issues of feminism, sexism and gay rights. Thus she provided huge stimulation for those present at the talk, resulting in a lively debate. I know many present felt hugely inspired by the range of topics delivered by such a fascinating and experienced woman.

Coming into November, the society wanted to raise awareness about the Police Commis-

sioner Elections and so we took to Library Square. Our aim was to register students who lived off campus and inform those who did live on campus that they were automatically registered. We registered over one hundred students, although more interestingly seemed to be the consensus among students who held disregard for the politicisation of the Police. Many informed us they intended to spoil their vote. Others were unaware of the election, which perhaps explains the record low turnout. In a slightly more exciting election, the society teamed up with East Slope Bar to show the results of the US presidential election between Obama and Romney. The bar remained open till 6am so students could stay up until the result was known. The event was extremely popular, with queues outside the door from 11pm. The atmosphere was electric; Sussex had a clear consensus on who they wanted to be victorious. Disdain and booing echoed whenever Romney appeared on screen. When it was clear that Obama had secured the swing states, East Slope erupted into dancing and clear excitement.

Our next big event was panel discussions under the question of Does UK political culture constrain the participation of women? This panel was hosted by Sussex's own Paul Webb



Sussex European Salon

Sussex European Salon
March 19th, 2013, 8 - 10 pm
Pavilion Theatre, Brighton.

Held in conjunction with Brighton Dome and Festival Offices.

'The Future of Europe: Progress or Decline?'

Will the euro survive the current crisis, and if it does, what will be the repercussions for the European Union? Will the UK find itself sidelined if further integration is agreed in the eurozone? Is withdrawal a realistic option? If not, what alternative strategy could the UK adopt to ensure its best interests in Europe?

The session will be chaired by Professor Sue Millns, co-director of SEI. Speakers: Professors Jim Rollo and Jorg Monar (SEI), Stephen Booth, Research Director of Open Europe, & Baroness Joyce Quin, former Labour Minister for Europe and member of the Advisory Board of the Federal Trust.

All contributors will make an initial short statement outlining their key thoughts in relation to the main question. After this there are questions from the audience, who are also asked to vote with hand-held electronic voting pads on questions that are put to them at two or three points in the evening. There is a bar and the entrance fee (£6) includes a first drink.

This is a convivial event which gives academics the opportunity to engage in discussion with members of the public.

SEI Research in Progress Seminars **SPRING TERM 2013** **Wednesdays 14.00 - 15.50 - Friston 113**

23.01.13

SEI roundtable on 'Forty years of British EU membership'
Prof Paul Webb, John Palmer, Prof Sue Millns (University of Sussex)

30.01.13

Spain: No Country for the Populist Radical Right?
Dr Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (University of Sussex)

06.02.13

The attitudes of political parties in Serbia and Croatia towards the EU in comparative perspective
Marko Stojic (University of Sussex)

13.02.13

The prospects for democracy in post-Soviet states
Yauheni Preiherman
Centre for Analytical Initiatives of the Liberal Club (Minsk)

27.02.13 (14.00—17.00)

PhD research outline presentations
Rebecca Partos, Toygar Baykan, Maria Emilsson, Stella Georgiadou (University of Sussex)

06.03.13

The Legitimate Secret: The Evolution of Parliamentary Agenda Control in the United Kingdom and Germany
Dr. Michael Koss (University of Potsdam)

13.03.13

Democratic iterations at the European Court of Human Rights: human rights evolving
Kimberly Brayson (University of Sussex)

20.03.13

SEI/Sussex Centre for Rights, Responsibility and the Law joint seminar on 'Respect for Human Dignity: Value Principle and Right'
Prof Sue Millns (University of Sussex)

27.03.13

Ageing Gracefully? The Evolution of EU Law on Age Discrimination
Prof Mark Bell (University of Leicester)

10.04.13

The wrong arm of EU law? Explaining EU responses to democratic backsliding in Hungary and Romania
Dr Ulrich Sedelmeier (London School of Economics)

Everyone is welcome to attend!

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

SEI DOCTORAL STUDENTSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

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

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

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

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

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



Potential applicants should send a CV and research proposal to Professor Aleks Szczerbiak

(a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk).

Dispatches

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

Britain's Future Role in Europe

Graham Avery
SEI Practitioner Fellow
g.avery@hotmail.com

Graham Avery has given evidence recently to several committees of the British Parliament. This commentary is taken from his contribution to the House of Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into 'The future of the European Union - UK Government policy'.

The EU already has the characteristics of a multi-tier system: 22 of its 27 member states are in the Schengen zone, and 17 are in the eurozone. This has not had much impact so far on the EU's institutions, which still operate mainly in a unitary fashion, but the increasing importance of decisions concerning the eurozone is beginning to create problems and tensions that will be aggravated by the recent compact involving 25 member states.

The EU's enlargement from 15 to 27 did not result, as some predicted, in more 'variable geometry'. Although the 12 new members could not join Schengen or the euro on their entry to the EU, they have progressively qualified for membership of the 'inner circles' and continue to do so. The UK thus finds itself in a diminishing minority in the 'outer circle'.



Britain's EU policy encourages by default the development of a multi-tier system in which the UK remains in the outer circle. The members of the inner circles will continue to develop common actions and common policies, and take decisions without other members having a vote or being at the table. Whatever assurances may be given, they will naturally tend to ignore the interests of the outer circle.

If you are not at the table, your point of view is not likely to be taken into account. Decisions taken without you may not go in the direction that you prefer, and may go in directions that are against your interests. A non-British commentator has expressed it brutally in the following way: 'if you are not at the table, you will be on the menu'.

As a matter of national interest, the UK needs to be involved in all the important political and economic decisions concerning Europe. This is a question of realism. If the development of common policies is left to Germany, France, Italy and others, this may lead to serious economic and political problems for us.

The EU poses difficulties and problems for the UK (and for other members) but it remains the most effective system that has been devised of organising Europe in political and economic terms. It is an illusion to think that, if Britain pulls back, the EU will disintegrate, or limit itself to a common market. Without an effective British presence in the balance of power – in the inner circle – the EU may move in directions that are not in our interest.

The British government should therefore be more proactive in the development of European policies in areas where we have a decisive contribution to make and much to gain; this is especially true of foreign policy, a field in which the UK has the experience and resources to shape policy in ways that correspond to British interests. When the sovereign debt crisis is resolved, and the eurozone is stable, a future British government needs to address the question of joining the euro. In the long term we cannot evade this question if we are to play a decisive role in Europe.

The most important feature of the Lisbon Treaty was the creation of new structures for foreign policy - the EU's High Representative and the European External Action Service. This reform, which brings together the economic and political instruments of foreign policy, offers the possibility for the EU and its member states to act more effectively to deal with regional and global problems.

There are few areas of foreign policy where the UK can be more successful acting on its

own than acting together with its European partners. In Beijing, Delhi and Moscow the Europeans exert more influence jointly than individually. As for Washington, an American diplomat with experience in London and Brussels recently told me 'in the State Department we naturally want to cooperate with the Europeans acting together; when they act separately – and particularly without the UK – it's less useful for us'.

Although the European External Action Service – the EU's embryonic diplomatic service – has had a difficult birth, it offers a chance to project the interests and values of the EU's member states in a more efficient and cost-effective way. In this, British ideas and British personnel can have a decisive influence. If it's true that the common agricultural policy was fashioned by France, and corresponded largely to France's interests, then surely the future common foreign policy should be shaped by Britain.



Are Internships the answer? The Challenge of Youth Unemployment in Europe

Prof Jacqueline O'Reilly
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David Lain
University of Brighton Business School

Work experience will give young people a real taste of the work environment and act as a stepping stone into a career. And it's working. - UK Employment Minister Chris Grayling.

I didn't actually have much support ... They were getting on with their own jobs ... they left me to it.... They said, 'Good work today, Joe'. That was it, everyday. – UK Intern (both cited in Malik, 2011b).

In the EU traineeships/ internships have been identified as a key lever for addressing high youth unemployment. This has been illustrated by a number of recent EU initiatives and policy documents, not least in the recently launched Europe 2020 growth Strategy (March 2010) and the European Parliament's (2010) resolution for regulated traineeships/ internships.

In December 2011, the Commission launched the 'Youth Opportunities Initiative', which underlined the importance of internships in facilitating youth labour market transitions and committed the Commission to present in 2012 a quality framework supporting the provision and take-up of high quality internships. The Commission's Employment Package, published in April 2012, also seeks to both promote a closer link between the world of education and that of work and support a first



work experience and on-the-job training, notably through internships.

The UK the government likewise views internships as a key policy solution, and began advertising internships via the 'Graduate Talent Pool' in 2009, and more generally to young Job Seekers via Job Centres in 2011. Apart from seeing internships as a key mechanism of enabling young people to get a firm foothold into the labour market, the British government also seeks to promote quality internships, especially those associated with certain professions such as medicine, law and journalism, as a way of improving social mobility and access to professions for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The number of internships has grown considerably since the start of the recession. The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development estimates more than one in five UK employers planned to hire interns between April and September 2010, while only 13 per cent of employers planned to do so in summer 2009. More recently, the CIPD estimated that in the summer of 2010 there were a

quarter of a million interns working in UK companies, with most believed to be unpaid.

The attraction of internships is clear. For young people there are two overarching benefits: internships provide the individual with labour market *contact* and the *potential* to develop work-related skills and experience. In particular, well-organised internships, which maintain high standards, are an effective way to gain practical, work-related experience, the lack of which is a key barrier to young people's labour market entry. For employers, internships can provide direct access to an increasing number of skilled and experienced young workers, leading to improved productivity and quality of output. Further, on the job work experience gives companies the opportunity to assess potential applicants, reduce hiring costs, and limit recruitment risks.

However, despite the *potential* benefits, the quality of many internships has been called into question by bodies such as the European Parliament, the UK Low Pay Commission and European Youth Forum. Furthermore, it has been argued social mobility can be hindered, because young people from less advantaged backgrounds are unable to support themselves

financially during internships or to access internships via informal networks. Access to professions such as journalism are increasingly via internships, and these internship opportunities are often unadvertised and secured via personal contacts such as family or other social networks (Panel on Fair Access to the Professions, 2009).

Are internships the answer? Our research suggests that those linked to educational qualifications are often highly beneficial in terms of employment outcomes; internships unconnected to educational programmes are less beneficial because of the weakness of governance mechanisms to ensure suitable developmental activities occur. In the case of the UK, internships via the Work Experience programme last between two and eight weeks, and there are virtually no requirements on the part of the employer as it is felt this will discourage employers from taking part. However, the evidence base more generally shows that it is precisely through suitable governance mechanisms that employers can be engaged to take internships seriously if they are going to be of any benefit to the young people doing them.

The 2012 US Elections

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Well, the US has done it again – held national elections that seem at first glance to show a new attitude in the American electorate, but further inspection reveals that Americans stayed essentially the same. In 2012, the US held a presidential election, elections for one third (34) of the seats in the 100 member US Senate (upper house), and congressional elec-

tions (lower house) nationwide (435 seats). Going into the 2012 elections, the Democratic party controlled the presidency and the Senate while the Republican party controlled the US House of Representatives. Coming out of the 2012 elections, we find precisely the same arrangement of party control, though with some 'tweaking' of the details.

First, as the world knows by now, President Barack Obama was reelected to his second term (and last, due to term limits). Obama's election in 2008 was historic for putting the

Dispatches

first African-American in the White House, so the 2012 election will make history for reelecting the first African-American president. Obama's victory was decisive in 2012, but not as decisive as in 2008. Obama won 332 electoral votes and 51% of the popular vote while Republican challenger Mitt Romney won 206 electoral votes and 48% of the popular vote. In the US, presidents are indirectly elected through an electoral college. Each state in the nation is entitled to electoral votes roughly in proportion to their population. This is done by taking the sum of the number of seats in the lower house each state has and the number of seats in the upper house. Nationwide, this means that we take 435 members of the House, 100 members of the Senate, and a special allotment of 3 electoral votes for the District of Columbia to arrive at the total number of 538. A presidential candidate must win 50% plus 1 of the votes to win outright, or 270. Clearly, Obama exceeded that benchmark with 332 in 2012. In 2008, Obama won 365 electoral votes and 53% of the popular vote. In 2012, he replicated his 2008 success except for the states of Indiana and North Carolina.

At the same time, the Democrats were fearful of losing control of the United States Senate. Coming into the 2012 elections, Democrats had 53 seats to the Republicans' 47. Due to a number of key retirements and vulnerable incumbents in the Democratic column, the Re-



publicans started this election cycle with high hopes. However, not only did the Democrats retain control, they increased their number to 55, giving them a 10 seat advantage over the Republicans. The Republicans did retain control over the US House of Representa-

tives, but by seven fewer seats. The Republicans have 234 seats out of 435 (down from 241) and the Democrats have 201 (up from 194).

So it would seem that Americans reelected 'gridlock' on 7 November, returning the Democratic president to work with the split legislature. However, the Democrats marginally increased their numbers in unexpected places, pointing to a resurgence of Democratic policies. Much has been said in the press about the changing complexion of the American electorate in 2012, resulting in an Obama victory more secure than that predicted by several national polls. Like all other Western leaders, Obama has his job cut out for him making economic policy work in the short term. His success or failure will bear greatly on the dynamics of the 2014 national elections, already underway!

Why another non-election in Belarus was special

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The people of Belarus as well as international observers who take an interest in Belarusian politics are accustomed to the fact that parliamentary elections in the "last dictatorship of

Europe" play no role at all in shaping the political landscape of the country. As a matter of fact, no election since July 1994, when President Alexander Lukashenka won the latest free and fair electoral race, has had any major impact.

Generally, the parliamentary ballot that took place on 23 September 2012 was exactly that

type of non-election. The future MPs were more or less known already several months in advance. According to some credible sources, Lukashenka personally met each and every parliamentarian to be and concluded agreements with them: he appoints them as MPs in return for unconditional loyalty.

As a result, not a single oppositionist secured a seat in the lower chamber of the parliament. Out of the 109 elected deputies only 5 are members of political parties (that are all pro-government, of course). All the others are so-called “independents” who were predominantly nominated by means of collecting citizens’ signatures and through labour collectives, an electoral relic from the Soviet-time staged elections.

So, boring and uninteresting...

However, it still looks that the election in September was a special one. And the reason is that it demonstrated that Lukashenka’s populist politics is in crisis. Perhaps, the most serious crisis ever.

Here a small point of information is needed. Like every other political leader, democratic or authoritarian, Lukashenka’s electoral rating has demonstrated ups and downs throughout his 18 years in office. But the golden rule was that in years preceding elections (both presidential and parliamentary) his personal rating would all the time go up. The explanation was simple: on the eve of elections the government would always significantly raise the people’s salaries.

This year the salaries climbed up again, by an estimated 16%. But Lukashenka’s personal rating stood more or less where it was last year – around 30%. For a democratically elected European leader this is a fantastic level of support. But not for an authoritarian strongman in a consolidated personalistic dictatorship.



Perhaps, it is too early to make any far-reaching conclusions about the prospects of the Lukashenka regime based only on public opinion surveys. He is still in control of the overall situation in the country and still looks very determined to destroy anyone who steps in his way.

But the important thing is that the stagnating electoral rating is not the only sign that his power is in decline. The previous year clearly demonstrated that Lukashenka is in a growing conflict with his own political elites. The latter want their purely administrative powers to be transformed in economic and even political powers. They want privatization, rents and some sort of “managed democracy” modeled on the Russian experience. And for Lukashenka this would mean an end of his unchecked grip on power. Therefore, he tries to prevent any such transformation. And he looks increasingly alone in this.

So it remains to be seen how long this race of one person against all is going to last.

MA Taught Programmes in the Sussex European Institute

MA in Contemporary European Studies

- 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: Options chosen from list below
Term 3: 20,000 word dissertation

For details:

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

Options:

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
EU Justice and Home Affairs
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.

For all enquiries: Dr S. Collard
s.p.collard@sussex.ac.uk

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 1st March 2013: email the team at: euroscope@sussex.ac.uk.

