

What future for the euro?

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Since the Greek sovereign debt crisis broke in spring 2010 the eurozone has been on a roller coaster of crisis, response, respite and then crisis with extension of bond market doubts from Greece to Ireland and now to Portugal each followed by rescue packages or their promise.

New designs for crisis management institutions along with accompanying rules on fiscal policy and indeed economic policy more generally emerged from consecutive European Councils all aimed at but failing to reassert the credibility of eurozone institutions and policies and to avoid default by a eurozone sovereign. In the political sphere, Greek, Irish and Portuguese citizens are in revolt about the draconian terms imposed on them to qualify for bail outs and the French Unions complain about the French government's acquiescence in the German inspired "pact for the euro" which includes measures on wage restraint and pensions. At the same time resentment in the creditor member states is causing electoral backlashes against incumbents in Germany and Finland and is also present in the Netherlands and Austria where populist parties are important electoral players. This resentment is directed at the debtor nations but also the banks which lent the money with demands that they and not the taxpayer should shoulder the burden of their foolish lending.

So what is the outlook for the eurozone? I will try briefly to answer this question by looking briefly at two issues: (1) how the eurozone got into this mess and what is wrong with existing rules; (2) are the proposed responses to the crisis likely to fix current problems and prevent them in future?

How did the eurozone get here

The first reason is that the rules and in particular the no bail out rule was not credible and did not persuade markets. If the rule had been credible then the spread between the interest rates eurozone states had to pay on their borrowings would have reflected the potential for sovereign default. Instead bond rates converged on the German level and until 2008 were never above 1 percentage point above German rates. This suggested that markets believed that Greek or Italian or Portuguese government bonds were as good as German or, de facto the same thing, that Germany would organise a bail out to safeguard the euro project. So there was no market sanction of rising bond yields on poor fiscal policy discipline contrary to expectations. Even after the weakening of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) in 2003, bond spreads remained narrow.

Second, the fiscal policy rules sent the wrong signals. The original Maastricht criteria and the SGP put the emphasis on punishing those who exceeded the fiscal limits on deficits and debts. These sanctions were not credible except against small countries and even they learned how to avoid them not least because monitoring was weak – thus the Greeks lied and were

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not found out until they owned up. When France and Germany were threatened with sanctions in 2003 the rules were changed to allow them to avoid fines. The second weakness was that the rules only worked on one side of the account. Two of the countries at the heart of the crisis Ireland and Spain ran fiscal surpluses until 2007. Their problem was that ECB monetary policy was too loose for them and the result was a property bubble financed by the banks. In principle even bigger fiscal surpluses reducing aggregate demand could have stopped this asset inflation. The rules however had no traction when countries were not in big enough surplus. When the bubbles burst however the private sector deficits in Spain and Ireland were transferred to the public sector.

Third, no attention was paid to the real economy and competitiveness in the design of the rules surrounding EMU. Thus, when Germany undertook a large real (and competitive) devaluation after 2000 by driving down real wages, a large competitiveness gap opened up with the rest of the Eurozone. The lack of an exchange rate tool left only the slow and politically costly route of driving down real wages by reform of labour markets and social security systems with consequent unemployment. Not surprisingly these policies were not adopted when money was cheap and banks willing to lend to sovereigns. The financial crisis revealed these weaknesses in the rules governing EMU but it took until 2010 for the threat of sovereign default to emerge and then escalate as contagion spread from Greece.

The response to the emerging debt crisis

The first attempt at a comprehensive crisis mechanism that might deal with Greece and any potential contagion was the European Financial Stabilisation Fund (EFSF) which in May 2010 created a temporary (to 2013) loan facility of €440bn from the EU and €250bn from the IMF with the IMF responsible for enforcing the conditionality that accompanied the loans. Initially the loans were over 4 years and at rates around 5% although these terms were subsequently eased somewhat. This stopped the markets in their tracks but its temporary nature and fear of contagion to Ireland, Portugal, Spain and even Belgium and Italy brought back doubts about whether

there was enough money in the fund to prevent a string of defaults. The Irish bail out and the pressure on Portugal since the autumn of 2010 persuaded ministers that more was needed. The outcome in March 2011 was an agreement to create the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) which at €500 was a little larger than the EFSF but was permanent and flanked by two other agreements. The first was on even more stringent deficit and above all debt limits than in the SGP with an attempt to make sanctions bite more effectively. The second was the pact for the euro which asked members to sign up to limits on public sector pay increases, public expenditure caps and monitoring of public pension provisions. Thus the eurozone now has a permanent mechanism for debt problems with a fiscal pact that is aimed specifically to cutting public debt levels in the medium term and an agreement aimed at moving resources into the private sector and restraining wages in an attempt to raise productivity and growth.

The key questions are whether this will lead to the avoidance of default notably in Greece and Ireland. In Greece's case at least this seems doubtful to capital markets with debt likely to reach 160% of GDP which is likely to be unaffordable at current market interest rates in excess of 10%. A restructuring that reduced the value of Greek debt by half or more is commonly talked about with significant consequent problems for French and German banks. Politically there will be stiff resistance to any default though if restricted to Greece it might have a rather small short term impact on the euro and is unlikely to break up the eurozone by itself. Contagion that reached Spain would be more threatening to the eurozone and if it reached Italy the system as we know it would be in doubt. So even in its own terms the ESM is not guaranteed to either solve the debt problems of Greece, Ireland and Portugal without a default or necessarily prevent further spread to Spain and beyond.

More interestingly it is not clear that the other elements of the March European Council will either do much to change the poor incentives of the SGP or do any more to raise productivity and **[continues on page 18...]**

Who we are...

euroscope is the newsletter of the Sussex European Institute (SEI). It reports to members and beyond about activities and research going on at the SEI and presents feature articles and reports by SEI staff, researchers, students and associates. The deadline for submissions for the Autumn term issue is: 1st September 2011.

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

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Where to find euroscope!

euroscope is easily accessible in the following places:

- the SEI website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-10-4.html>
- via the official mailing list, contact: euroscope@sussex.ac.uk
- hard copies are available from LPS office
- via its new and dedicated facebook group called 'euroscope', where you can also join in discussions on the articles

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

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Features Section: The Polish Presidency of the EU

The Features section of this edition of *euroscope* has a special theme and presents articles discussing the upcoming Polish Presidency of the EU Council of Ministers (July-December 2011). The four specially selected articles discuss preparations for the Presidency, Polish politics and international and EU relations and also political Catholicism in Poland.

Message from the Co-Director...

By Prof Aleks Szczerbiak
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The theme of this issue of Euroscope is the forthcoming Polish presidency of the EU Council of Ministers which runs from July and until the end of the year. Poland is the largest of the ten former communist states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 and the fourth of the recent new EU members to fill the presidency. The SEI has always enjoyed exceptionally strong links with Poland (as you can guess from my name I am from a Polish family myself) and this is reflected in the broad range of contributions on the topic to this issue.

Strong Polish links

In his piece, SEI Professorial Fellow Alan Mayhew writes about the Polish programme for the presidency and the changes brought about by the Lisbon treaty, arguing that Poland has the chance 'to be the first serious presidency' since the treaty came into effect. The SEI has always believed in producing research that is relevant and accessible to a wide range of non-academic audiences, including policy-makers, think tanks, NGOs, the media and business community. This is reflected in our network of so-called 'visiting practitioner fellows' of whom Alan is one of the best examples. A former Commission official, Alan is part of a group of experts that has been advising the Polish government on its preparations for the presidency. He was also an advisor to previous Polish (and other) governments during the EU accession negotiations and, post-accession, to the National Bank of Poland.

Two of the articles on this topic are by former and current SEI doctoral researchers. Dr Nat Copsy completed his doctorate a couple of years ago and, as well as being an SEI visiting fellow, is now a senior lecturer and deputy director at Aston University's Centre for Europe. Nat reports on the findings of his research project on how Poland has attempted to project its influence on

the question of EU Eastern policy. Nat and Alan are also co-convenors of the SEI-linked 'Wider Europe' network which has, since 2003, been researching the EU's external relations, particularly with its neighbourhood;



a report of the network's most recent conference held in the European Parliament (EP) can be found on page 33. Bartosz Napieralski, a current SEI doctoral researcher, writes about the way that in Poland 'political Catholicism' appears to be a driver of Eurosceptic parties and movements, unlike in many West European states where Christian Democracy is associated with explicit support for European integration. Bart is currently working on secondment for the EP office in Warsaw on a project linked to the Polish presidency.

My own contribution examines what kind of EU member Poland has become, looking at the continuities and discontinuities in its EU policy and how the factors that drive the country's approach have often pulled it in opposite directions. It draws on research for my forthcoming book (for which I shall give a shameless plug!) *Poland Within the European Union: New Awkward Partner or New Heart of Europe?* With a Polish parliamentary election scheduled for the autumn, bang in the middle

of the Polish presidency, the book will hopefully shed some light on what impact EU membership has had on Polish national politics and the political impact that Poland has had on the EU during its first few years as a new member. For those of you interested in the Polish presidency, Alan and I will be leading an SEI round table on the subject on Tuesday May 10. SEI is also co-sponsoring a conference on the presidency to be hosted by the Polish Embassy on July 8. More details to follow on this: watch this space!

Farewell and many thanks to Jim Rollo

The lead article in this issue is a fascinating analysis of the crisis and future of the euro zone based on an SEI seminar paper given by my Co-Director Prof Jim Rollo. Sadly, the forthcoming term is also Jim's last before his retirement as SEI Co-Director. Jim has been an SEI Co-Director since 1999, initially with Prof Helen Wallace, then Prof Jorg Monar (2001-6) and finally (since 2006) with me. Before that he had a highly distinguished career in the civil service, notably as chief economist at the Foreign Office. Jim - who is known to preface many of his remarks with the phrase 'I'm just a humble economist...' before pronouncing sagely on a dazzling array of (often non-economic) European matters - has made an enormous impact both on the SEI and the discipline of contemporary European studies more generally. This was recognised in 2009 when Jim was made an Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences. We shall miss his insightful (and entertaining) analysis enormously and, on a personal note, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Jim for the contribution that he has made to my own intellectual and professional development. Hopefully he will continue to work closely with the SEI in the future. But this is not the time for long eulogies! To that end, we are hoping to organise a symposium in tribute to Jim's career at Sussex and beyond later this term on June 24. Again, more details to follow!

SEI – an interdisciplinary hub

The fact that I am political scientist and Jim an economist exemplifies the inter-disciplinarity that lies at the core of the SEI's intellectual mission. The SEI has always believed that in order to make

sense of the key issues confronting contemporary Europe you need to bring to bear insights from a variety of disciplines. This applies to problems such as economic and monetary union, which Jim discusses in his lead article, and migration governance, on which SEI-based senior lecturer Dr James Hampshire organised a very successful one-day workshop in April (see page 32). SEI is thus also the hub of a network of scholars from a range of disciplines researching contemporary Europe at Sussex and beyond, reflected in contributions to this issue from SEI-linked economist Dr Peter Holmes and sociologist Prof Gerard Delanty and in the 'Dispatches' section.

"The SEI has always believed that in order to make sense of the key issues confronting contemporary Europe you need to bring to bear insights from a variety of disciplines."

This commitment to inter-disciplinarity - which was part of the original Sussex ethos dating back to when the University was established in the 1960s and of which the SEI is now one of the main repositories - is also reflected in the fact that Jim's successor as Co-Director will



be a lawyer, Prof Sue Millns, who takes the helm this autumn. Sue's appointment also reflects the increasingly strong links that SEI has with Sussex-based lawyers working on contemporary Europe. To that end, I am delighted that Anne Wesemann, an SEI-linked law doctoral researcher, is joining the Euroscope editorial team this issue alongside Amy Busby, who returns from a 'sabbatical' working in the EP (see report on page 29). Welcome aboard Anne, and welcome back Amy!

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 Spring 2011.

January: Graduation

January: New editor

Euroscope has welcomed a new editor for this summer edition;

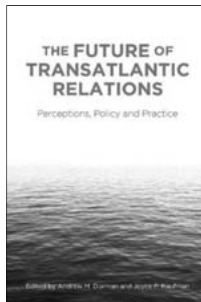


Anne Wesemann. She is a DPhil candidate from the Law Department of the LPS School and is also an associate tutor. She can be emailed at: a.wesemann@sussex.ac.uk.



January: publication

Adrian Treacher's chapter 'France and Transatlantic Relations' was published in January in the edited volume (editors Andrew M Dorman and Joyce P Kaufman) 'The Future of Transatlantic Relations: Perceptions, Policy and Practice', Stanford University Press, 2011.



January: Winter graduation

At the winter graduation ceremony in Brighton Dome, the SEI saw 18 students graduate from the MACES (MA in Contemporary European Studies)



program and 8 students graduate from the MAEP (MA in European Politics program). These graduates came from 12 different countries. **Chris Utechin** received the prize for best overall performance in MACES and **Yauheni Preiherman** in MAEP (see page 37 for views).

The SEI also saw **Dr Lyubka Savkova** graduate, her DPhil title being: "The Nature of the European Debate in Bulgaria". She was supervised by **Profs Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak**, pictured below.



12th January: Viva

SEI DPhil **Tassos Chardas** passed his viva for his thesis 'EU Regional Policy in Greece: state capacity and the domestic impact of Europe'.

18th January: SEI Roundtable

Dr Dan Hough, Prof Alan Mayhew & Dr Kai Oppermann held a roundtable on "Germany & EU: living with the costs of leadership".

Activities

21st January: Populism talk

Prof Paul Taggart gave a talk at Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands at a conference on New Approaches to European Populism. His talk was entitled 'The Problems of Populism'.

25th January: RiP

Dr Peter Holmes (SEI) gave an RiP entitled "Spreading the Single Market to trading partners: how successful has the EU been?"

February: Presentations

1st February: RiP

John Fitzgibbon (SEI, University of Sussex) gave an RiP on "Eurosceptic Protest Movements: A comparative analysis of Ireland, the UK, Estonia and Denmark".



2nd February: DPhil outlines

SEI DPhil candidates **Satoko Horii** and **Gentian Elezi** presented their Research Outlines to SEI staff and research students for feedback and advice (see page 30-1).

3rd-4th February: Wider Europe Conference at the European Parliament

The SEI linked Wider Europe network held a conference entitled "Integrating the Wider Europe after the Lisbon Treaty" on the relations between the European Union and its eastern neighbours at the European Parliament in Brussels. European Parliament **President Jerzy Buzek** was our partner for this event and opened the conference. (see p 33).

6th February: the Politics Show

Prof Tim Bale talked about tensions in the

Conservative party on *Politics Show*, BBC1.

8th February: RiP

Prof Jim Rollo (SEI, University of Sussex) gave an RiP on "Options for the Eurozone consequent on the sovereign debt crisis on its periphery", the subject of our front cover article.

14th February: radio appearance

Prof Tim Bale talked about David Cameron's plans for 'the big society' on *Drivetime*, BBC Kent 14.02.11.

18th February: radio appearance

Prof Tim Bale talked about the alternative vote on *Five Live* 18.02.11 and *BBC Sussex* 18.02.11.

20th February: media appearance

Prof Tim Bale talked about u-turns in politics on *BBC Politics Show* 20.02.11.

22nd February: RiP

Alex MacKenzie (Uni Salford) & **Ariadna Ripoll-Servent** (SEI, University of Sussex) held an RiP entitled "The battle over SWIFT: The European Parliament's consent to international agreements".

27th February: media appearance

Prof Tim Bale talked about public service reforms on the *BBC Politics Show* 27.02.11.

March: Publications

March: New Visiting Researcher

In March, SEI welcomed **Dr Elin H. Allern** as a visiting fellow for two months. She is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Oslo, Norway.



Her research interests include party organizational change, the relationship between parties and interest groups and multi-level government and political parties. While she is at Sussex, Dr Allern will collaborate with SEI-based Prof Tim Bale to develop a cross-national project on the relationship between parties and interest groups. She will also work on a co-authored pa-

Activities

per exploring political appointments to the state administration in the Nordic countries (part of a larger comparative project on party patronage in Europe). (see page 27)

March: Publications

SEI DPhil candidate **Stijn Van Kessel** saw the following articles published in March; (1) Van Kessel, S. and A. Krouwel (2011) 'Van vergankelijke radicale dissidenten tot kwelgeesten van de gevestigde orde. Nieuwe politieke partijen in Nederland en de toekomst van de representatieve democratie', in: R. Andeweg and J. Thomassen (eds.) *Democratie Doorgelicht, het functioneren van de Nederlandse democratie*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 301-317, (2) Van Kessel, S. (2011) 'Explaining the electoral performance of populist parties: the Netherlands as a case study', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12(1), 68-88, and (3) Bale, T, S. van Kessel, and P. Taggart (2011) 'Thrown around with abandon? Popular understandings of populism as conveyed by the print media: a UK case study', *Acta Politica*, 46(2), 111-131 with his SEI colleagues Profs Paul Taggart and Tim Bale. In June, he will present a paper called *Paths to populism: explaining the electoral performance of populist parties in Europe* at: 9-10 June, Amsterdam: Dutch-Flemish Annual Political Science Conference (Politicologenetmaal) and 16-18 June, Dublin: European Political Science Association General Conference.



1st March: media appearances

Professor Tim Bale gave his view on why so many Conservative MPs are also entrepreneur on *The New Blue Bloods*, on *Spears* 01.03.11.

2nd March: New EPERN election briefing

The European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) based in the SEI has published a new election briefing on 'Europe and the 2010 Parliamentary Election in Latvia' by **Daunis Auers** (University of Latvia), which is available free at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-2-8.html>

2nd March: UACES award

Congratulations to SEI doctoral researcher **Ariadna Ripoll Servent** for winning the 2010 Universities Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) Student Forum Annual Conference/ Journal of Contemporary European Research (J CER) article competition. Ariadna's article on 'Co-Decision in the European Parliament: Comparing Rationalist and Constructivist Explanations of the "Returns" Directive' will be published in the first issue of the J CER journal in 2011.



7th March: Funding award

SEI-based **Professor Paul Webb** has been awarded a British Academy grant. He said: "This British Academy Small Grant addresses the highly topical issue of popular disaffection with representative democracy in countries such as Britain. It hypothesizes that there are two quite distinct groups of 'disconnected' or alienated citizen - 'dissatisfied' and 'stealth' democrats - and that the commonly proposed remedy of engagement in high-intensity forms of participation will only work for the former of these. Building on previous qualitative research already conducted that was supported by a Leverhulme Fellowship, this new award will enable me (and colleagues Professor Tim Bale and Professor Paul Taggart) to

test this claim through a survey which includes an element of embedded experimental design. If this produces results similar to those reported from pioneering research conducted in the USA, it will provide powerful evidence as to the nature of popular discontent with politics and the potential for enhancing the practice and legitimacy of representative democracy through greater involvement of citizens in forms of deliberative political participation”.

11th March: presentation

Prof Tim Bale gave a talk at the UCL Constitution Unit, School of Public Policy in their Public Seminars series, called “The Black Widow Effect? A Pessimist's take on the Coalition” (see: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/events/public-seminars-10-11/black-widow>).

25th March: presentation

Prof Tim Bale organised, and gave a paper called ‘Should have seen it coming: the likely consequences for the Lib Dems of Cameron’s fatal embrace’ at, the *British Liberal Political Studies Group* and *Conservatives and Conservatism Specialist Group* conference on the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government was held at the LSE. See page 36 for more on his recent activities.



30th March: radio appearances

Prof Paul Taggart talked about the political implications of the anti-cuts demonstration in London on March 26 (*BBC Radio Sussex 30.03.11*).

April: Migration workshop

8th April: SEI Workshop on Migration

Dr James Hampshire organised an SEI sponsored workshop on European Migration and Policy Making. The workshop took place in the Sussex conference centre. Speakers included Andrew Geddes, Christina Boswell, Eiko Theilemann and Matthew Gibney. **SEI Co-Director Prof Jim Rollo** said, “SEI was happy to support this workshop on European immigration policy led by James Hampshire for two important reasons. First that immigration and borders is one of the fastest growing areas of European integration. Free movement of labour has always been a key are of the single market but more recently the pressure of people flows from outside the EU has grown both from the east and from the south across the Mediterranean. Whether these are refugee flows or economic migrants matters little in the end they represent both management and political challenges that require a European level response. Second understanding these challenges requires an interdisciplinary approach. All policy (even technical economic policies) are interdisciplinary in nature. Particular social sci-

ence disciplines may speak more powerfully to some questions than others in this area but all have something to give to understanding the complex social, political and economic issues around migration. SEI is above all a home for interdisciplinary research and this workshop is an important contribution to our mission.” (see page 32 for the full report).

11th April: presentation

SEI DPhil student **Marko Stojic** presented a paper entitled ‘The Changing Nature of Serbian Political Parties’ Attitudes Towards Serbian EU Membership’ at the Open Society Foundation, Global Supplementary Grant Program, Spring Conference (11 – 14 April 2011, LSE) (see page 28 for more on his fieldwork).



13th April: presentation

SEI DPhil student **Amy Busby** presented a paper called “You’re not going to write about that are you?: What methodological issues arise when doing ethnography in an elite political setting?” at a workshop called “Ethnographic Methods in Political Science” at the University of Copenhagen, organised by the Northern European Political Science Research School, Nepos.net.

Activities

Forthcoming Events:

2-3 June: Balkan Connections Conference, University of Sussex

This interdisciplinary conference will bring together early career scholars from different disciplines who are currently undertaking research on 'the Balkans'. The intention is to explore issues pertaining both to those countries 'traditionally' considered as 'the Balkans' and those historically and thematically connected to that region (e.g. Turkey, Cyprus, etc.). To attend, or for more information, contact: balkanconnections@gmail.com.

8 July: Presidency Conference

There will be a 'Conference on the Polish Presidency of the EU' hosted by the Polish Embassy and organised by SEI, the Aston Centre for Europe and the Central and East European Language Based Area Studies (CEELBAS) network. For more information, contact: a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

5-7 September: EPQRN panels at UACES Annual conference

The SEI's European Parliament Qualitative Research Network will host 3 panels at the UACES 41st Annual Conference in Cambridge. The panels were submitted under the umbrella title "Inside the EU institutions": exploring power and influence" and the papers present a range of approaches to these issues, particularly those using in-depth research methods. The panels are called; (1) "Beyond the new Treaties: re-defining working relationships between the EU institutions", which explores the role of informality in shaping decision and policy-making processes, (2) "Opening the black-box: actors inside the institutions", which investigates the role of specific groups of actors inside the institutions and (3) "Knowledge and expertise as a source of power" which concentrates on the role of experts and expertise.



SEI Research in Progress Seminars

SUMMER TERM 2010

Tuesdays 16.00 - 17.50

Friston 117

10.05.11

SEI Roundtable on 'The Polish Presidency of the EU'
Prof Alan Mayhew & Prof Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex)

17.05.11

DPhil outline presentation: 'The transformation of Political Islam in Turkey: From Anti-Westernism to Western political values'
Ilke Gurdal (University of Sussex)

24.05.11

Danish Trans-national Political Elites: a prosopographical study of Danes in trans-national parliamentary assemblies
Morten Hansen (Aarhus University/ University of Sussex)

31.05.11

Immigration and Problems of Liberal State Legitimacy
Dr James Hampshire, (University of Sussex)

07.06.11

Shifting sands and changing minds: The role of the European Parliament in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice
Ariadna Ripoll-Servent, (University of Sussex)

14.06.11

SEI visit to Brussels

21.06.11

Paths to Populism: Explaining the Electoral Performance of Populist Parties in Europe
Stijn van Kessel, (University of Sussex)

Everyone is welcome to attend!

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

Features

The Polish Presidency of the EU

This Features section presents articles from members of the SEI and our associates on the up-coming Polish Presidency of the EU Council of Ministers and Polish politics.

The Polish Presidency of the EU: July-December 2011

By Prof Alan Mayhew
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Seven years after joining the European Union, Poland will become the fourth new member state to fill the Presidency of the European Union. It will also be the fourth Presidency since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. Many will say it has the chance to be the first serious Presidency since the Lisbon Treaty.

Traditionally taking over the European Union rotating presidency gave a member state the chance to advance its own agenda priorities for the Union. This has been particularly true in the past for the other large member states like Poland. German presidencies in 1994 and 1999 gave major support to the enlargement of the Union to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The British Presidency of 2005 completed the negotiation of the multiannual financial framework, in which Britain had a very particular interest. And the French Presidency of 2008 launched the Union for the Mediterranean.

The Lisbon Treaty however severely limits the possibilities for rotating presidencies to influence

the EU agenda.

The creation of the European Council, with a long-term President, and of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Policy has severely changed the institutional balance in the Union. These changes have left the rotating presidencies a little in search of a role in the leadership of the Union.

The most important impact of the Lisbon treaty and its implementation has been the significant strengthening of the European Council both as the strategic centre of policy-making but also in the implementation of policy through direct instructions to member states. The most important internal problem, that of re-establishing stability in the monetary union, has been dealt with almost exclusively within the European Council.

The European Parliament has also substantially expanded its powers and appears indeed more interested in that aspect of its work than in policy. This means that it is using every possible lever to gain more influence in EU affairs, but in terms of policy is no match for the European Council.

The High Representative has begun to gain profile in foreign affairs, although much effort went into the creation of the European External Action Ser-

vice, rather than into managing EU foreign policy.

For the rotating presidency these changes have meant that it has lost most of its possibilities to influence foreign policy during the six months in charge. At the same time the European Council's role in tackling the global financial crisis and the crisis in the Eurozone has essentially squeezed the rotating presidency out of headline economic policy.

However the question is whether this loss of influence is a permanent change or whether recent presidencies have simply underperformed. The rotating presidency no longer chairs the Foreign Affairs Committee but it does chair the General Affairs Committee and most other committees and working groups in the Council. The General Affairs Committee has a major part to play in the organisation of the Council's work and in setting the agenda for the European Council. It is therefore potentially a strong weapon in the hands of the rotating presidency if it chooses to use it. The problem for the last three presidencies however has been that foreign policy and the Eurozone crisis have dominated the work of the Union, and these are just the fields in which the rotating presidency cannot easily operate.

Every presidency is expected to manage the continuation of work on existing dossiers inherited from previous presidencies. This will be no different for Poland. In addition, almost all presidencies have to cope with unexpected events. The democracy movement in the Arab countries suddenly exploded during the Hungarian Presidency in an unexpected manner. Similar events are bound to blow the Polish Presidency somewhat off course as well.

The Polish Presidency has prepared as well as possible taking this changed environment into account. Firstly, it started preparations in 2008 and it has maintained close cooperation with other member states, with the previous and succeeding presidencies and with the European Union institutions. Starting early and coordinating closely with other interested parties are two elements which go to make up a successful presidency.

Given the policy constraints on the rotating presidency, Poland has opted to make progress largely in areas where it can still steer the agenda. However the particular foreign policy interests of Poland will not be neglected and this applies especially to neighbourhood policy.

The overall theme of the Presidency will be centred on recovery from the global financial crisis and the generation of growth, particularly new sources of growth.

“Given the policy constraints on the rotating presidency, Poland has opted to make progress largely in areas where it can still steer the agenda.”

Further progress in the creation of the internal market of the European Union figures highly in Polish priorities. With the publication of the Single Market Act by the Commission in November 2010, a programme of 50 measures to extend and deepen the internal market has been proposed. The general welcome given to this paper by the Competitiveness Council suggests that there will be ample scope for the Polish Presidency to advance several of these proposals.

A Polish ambition is also to link the EU budget closer to the economic growth story. Work is underway to identify ways in which the budget can be changed to be more growth stimulating. However with the Commission proposal for the multiannual financial framework (MFF) only being presented at the end of June, the Polish Presidency will have little scope to influence the final outcome of negotiations. It can however have an important role in getting the Council's debate on the MFF off to a sensible start.

However two areas of EU financing are extremely important to Poland: the common agricultural policy and its support for small farmers, and structural and cohesion policy which is helping to develop the Polish regions. Poland will no doubt defend the budgetary funds it receives in these areas, although it is quite prepared to discuss ways of ensuring that both these policies are implemented in a way which promotes economic

growth.

Poland's own exposure to unpredictable sources of its energy needs and its very heavy dependency on coal explain why energy security and the energy networking infrastructure programme will figure highly on its agenda.

In the foreign affairs area, Poland aims to push ahead with the enlargement process, and hopes that the Croatian accession treaty might be signed during its presidency. Enlargement is the one area of foreign policy where the rotating presidency can still have an important strategic role.

However in the foreign policy agenda which is dear to Poland, namely European Neighbourhood Policy and in particular its relevance to Eastern Europe, the limits of action by the Presidency are

reasonably clear. However Poland will be expected to push hard for a deepening of the relationship with Eastern Europe. It will host the ENP summit and will be able to play a significant role in the summits with Russia and Ukraine. However it will have to cope with a challenge coming from some of the Mediterranean EU member states which would like to see the EU's activity and its money diverted from Eastern Europe to North Africa in support of the democracy movements in that region.

The Polish Presidency will be complicated by the Polish general election which takes place in October 2011. It risks being somewhat instrumentalized to serve the purposes of both the government and the opposition parties. It will however not be the first time that the rotating presidency and an important election have coincided.

What kind of EU member has Poland become?

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Prior to EU accession in May 2004 and in spite of frequent changes of government and party political alignments, there were very high levels of agreement among the main political forces in Poland over the broad direction and main objectives of foreign policy. Integration into Western international structures was seen as a natural consequence of the transition process following the collapse of communism and the pursuit of EU membership one of (if not the) over-riding goal. However, there has been no such homogeneity in the post-accession period. A major re-alignment of Polish domestic party politics, including a significant shift to the right, has led to two major discontinuities in the development of Poland's EU policy.

The 'new awkward partner'?

The first of these came after the autumn 2005 parliamentary and presidential elections following the installation of a government led by the right-wing Law and Justice (PiS) party and the election of the party's candidate Lech Kaczyński as President. In July 2006, Lech's twin brother and Law and Justice leader Jarosław was also to become prime minister. Law and Justice promised to re-orientate Polish foreign and European policy significantly, 're-claiming' it from a post-1989 establishment that, it argued, had been over-conciliatory and insufficiently robust in defending the country's interests within the EU. In spite of its formal commitment to European integration, the Law and Justice-led government, therefore, adopted a tough rhetoric of defending Polish sovereignty and 'national interests'.

To its critics, the Law and Justice approach threatened to isolate Poland by creating an impression that it was an unpredictable negotiating partner unable to forge stable long-term alliances

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and meant that the country ended up paying a very high price for whatever concessions it did manage to secure. To its supporters, the Law and Justice governments' approach was effective and extracted significant diplomatic victories for Poland. For example, it was argued that the Kaczyński twins' 'tough' approach had helped the Polish government to emerge with a good deal from the 2007 Lisbon treaty negotiations that involved retaining the Nice Council voting provisions (felt to be very favourable to Poland), and delaying the full introduction of the 'double majority' system for up to 10 years.

A second 'return to Europe'?

The second major post-accession discontinuity occurred after the autumn 2007 parliamentary election when a new government led by the centre-right Civic Platform (PO) came to power. The new government headed by the party leader Donald Tusk made a concerted effort to change the country's image as a 'trouble-maker' on European issues by making Poland's approach towards the EU more predictable. In fact, throughout much of the 2003-7 period, Civic Platform also often favoured adopting a 'tough' negotiating stance with the EU. Its parliamentary caucus leader Jan Rokita coined the slogan 'Nice or Death' during the 2003-4 EU constitutional treaty negotiations. However, the party always valued its trans-national links with the mainstream (often strongly federalist) European centre-right, including the German Christian Democrats. Finding itself in opposition to the Law and Justice-led government, Civic Platform began to adopt and a more unambiguously pro-EU position and, when it came to power in 2007, the new administration made a concerted effort to adopt a more conciliatory tone with Brussels and Poland's EU partners.

This brought it into conflict with President Kaczyński who quickly emerged as the natural focus for opposition to the new government. For the next two-and-a-half years, until Mr Kaczyński's untimely death in an April 2010 plane crash at Smolensk in Western Russia, Mr Tusk's government and the President clashed frequently over both their respective formal competencies in relation to, and the substance of, Poland's EU policy.

Common factors, contradictory impulses

Nonetheless, although the post-accession period has been one of discontinuities it is also possible to identify a number of common, underlying factors that have determined Poland's EU policy. However, these have often ended up pulling the Polish approach to European integration in opposite directions.

“Nonetheless, although the post-accession period has been one of discontinuities it is also possible to identify a number of common, underlying factors that have determined Poland's EU policy.”

On the one hand, Poland had (certainly initially) a broad ideological commitment to more 'Gaullist' inter-governmental approaches to how European integration should develop. It was also strongly Atlanticist and a robust supporter of the USA in foreign policy and the US-led global war on terror. All of this made it initially wary of attempts to develop common EU foreign and security policies that could undermine the transatlantic link. Poland supported active EU engagement with East European post-Soviet states in order to draw them more closely into the West's orbit, with the eventual prospect of further eastward enlargement for the most 'advanced' countries such as Ukraine. It was also suspicious of Russia and believed that the EU needed to adopt a more co-ordinated and robust approach towards Moscow. Moreover, all the main Polish political parties, whether economically liberal or collectivist in terms of their domestic policies, supported liberalising the EU market for services, encouraging free movement of labour and more open and flexible labour markets, and opposed moves to harmonise taxes and increase social regulation.

On the other hand, the structure and distance of the Polish economy from EU norms meant that Warsaw had limited political resources at the EU level to achieve its 'regional power' ambitions. It also made all Polish parties, even those that favoured economically liberal domestic policies, support the notion of EU 'solidarity', that is: a

large EU budget involving substantial regional aid and fiscal transfers from richer to poorer states. Poland's large agricultural sector also made Warsaw a staunch defender of the Common Agricultural Policy. This meant that, in practice, Poland was often driven towards a more federalist and integrationist approach to European integration, and supported supranational institutions such as the Commission which shared these priorities. The same tension was also evident in Warsaw's calls for the EU develop a common, robust approach to its relations with Russia as part of a stronger 'Eastern dimension'; and concomitant support for the development of common EU energy policies and further eastward enlargement. These were to eventually trump the ideological inter-governmentalism and commitment to the transatlantic alliance that had earlier made Poland

wary of developing common EU foreign policies. So in spite of important differences between the EU policies pursued by the 2005-7 Law and Justice-led governments and those of its predecessors and successor, it is possible to identify some common, underlying features in Poland's broad approach to European integration. However, these impulses have often pulled Poland in different directions with an initial 'ideological' preference for inter-governmentalism in theory often giving way to policies that involved the 'community method' and the strengthening of supranational institutions in practice.

Aleks Szczerbiak's book *Poland Within the European Union: New Awkward Partner or New Heart of Europe?* will be published by Routledge in August 2011.

Poland in the EU: Can New Member States Exercise Decisive Political Influence?

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From 2008–10, I was engaged in an ESRC funded research project entitled 'Poland's Power and Influence in the European Union: the Case of its Eastern Policy' (ESRC RES-000-2202723).

The project examined the question of Poland's ability to exercise power and influence in the European Union, using the example of relations with the Union's eastern neighbours as a case study. In the run-up to Poland's Presidency of the EU, it is worth taking a look at the project's key findings, as follows.

Explaining the Origins of National Preferences in the EU

First, (together with Tim Haughton) I produced a

synthetic framework to explain the origins of national preferences in the EU's member states. Briefly, this set out five fields that could be said to encompass the range of EU policy-making: 'More Europe'/Deeper Integration, Liberalization, Distributive Politics, Foreign Policy and Wider Europe. The project then produced a synthetic framework for understanding where a Member State's given stance on each of these areas comes from.

When and How do Member States Exercise Influence in the EU?

Second, (together with Karolina Pomorska) an additional synthetic framework was developed to investigate *when* and *how* member states can exercise influence in the EU. Drawing on the work of Tallberg and Wallace, this framework suggested that the capacity of a Member State to exercise influence in the EU depended partly on the 'fixed' factor of crude political power (determined by the size of a state's population and its economic weight) and partly on six 'variable' factors: the intensity of its policy preference, its skill at alliance

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building, its administrative capacity, its persuasive advocacy, the receptiveness of other Member States and its domestic political strength.

Empirical Findings

For the majority of the variable factors that determine power and influence in the European Union, Poland scored poorly between 2004 and 2007. This meant that in the early years of membership of the European Union, Poland lacked the capacity (although not the will) to exercise power and influence in the European Union. By virtue of the crude power its relatively large population conveyed, the intensity of its policy preference for eastern policy and the relative expertise in relations with the eastern neighbours that Poland claimed for itself, one might have expected Poland's performance to be better. Undoubtedly, the Polish government made some mistakes (particularly in the period 2005–07) and part of the reason for Poland's lack of success may be attributed to poor decisions. However, another part of the explanation for the relative lack of Polish influence may be found in the fact that quite simply, its policy preferences were too far away from those of Germany and France – key players in the field of external relations.

By 2008–09, however, my research project found that Poland's influence had increased significantly. In the opinion of Poland's partners in the Permanent Representations of the other Member States, the launch of the Eastern Partnership was to a considerable extent the fruit of persistent Polish efforts in this policy area. The project also demonstrated that the negotiations which led to the launch of the Eastern Partnership showed that by mid-2008 Poland had learnt important lessons about how to adapt, modify and adjust national policy preferences in such a way that they could be rebranded as 'European' preferences and not 'Polish' preferences. Nonetheless, Poland's performance was not entirely flawless and there were still shortcomings on the Polish side, especially in coordination between Brussels and Warsaw as well as with the follow-up process.

In comparison with its predecessors, the Polish government elected in 2007 (and which is due to

fight a re-election battle during the Polish Presidency this year) appeared to have learnt a number of key lessons for the conduct of negotiations with its partners in the EU, as follows. First, the Poles learnt to tone down their rhetoric and to put forward modest proposals that are harder for the other Member States to oppose without seeming unreasonable. Secondly, and linked to this is a lesson about the value of what one official termed 'constructive ambiguity'. This consists of recognizing that the best means of advancing one's goals in a policy domain where there is a lack of collective enthusiasm or agreement about what the eventual outcome should be is quite simply to be studiously vague about where the policy is heading.

“... by mid-2008 Poland had learnt important lessons about how to adapt, modify and adjust national policy preferences in such a way that they could be rebranded as 'European' preferences and not 'Polish' preferences.”

The variable that seemed to have been of key importance for Poland's ability to exercise power and influence in the European Union across the entirety of the time period investigated by the project was administrative capacity. This remained rather weak. Further research would be needed on the administrative capacity of other new Member States to establish whether they are as weak as Poland in this respect, but it seems plausible that this problem is common to all new Member States. A slightly more optimistic note may be sounded by bearing in mind Anand Menon's observation that a Member State only understands the European Union once it has held the rotating presidency (Menon, 2008, p. 107). With this in mind it would seem that the Polish civil service is about to embark upon a period of very rapid learning.

For further information, see «<http://www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-000-22-2723-AIread>».

Religion, politics and Euroscepticism – the deviant case of Poland

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In Europe, the intense processes of secularization and privatization of religion have shaped a widespread opinion that religion and politics are two separate spheres that should be kept aside of each other. In this respect, Poland with its unique intertwining relation between the Catholic Church, Polish national identity, and Polish politics is a truly deviant case. In particular, the emergence in Poland of a unique strand of Euroscepticism that find its inspiration in the Catholic religion and the Catholic Church teachings merits more attention.

The key concept used to describe the interface between the Catholic religion and politics in contemporary Europe has been the notion of *political Catholicism*. Political Catholicism can be defined as a broad political movement (including political parties as well as socio-economic movements and organisations) which claims to have inspiration in Catholic teachings and moral values. Its objective is to promote the ideas and social teachings of the Catholic Church in public life. One of its most visible emanations has been the Christian democracy movement (CD), while one of its most characteristic features has been its explicit support for European integration. In fact, a striking relation between CD and the development of European integration has been observed. Periods of power or crisis in the CD movement correlated directly with the advancements or declines of European integration, e.g.: the establishment and rapid growth of European institutions in the 1950s is connected with the post-war dominance of CD in European politics, while the European sclerosis of the 1960s and 70s occurred exactly at the same time as the first CD crisis. The same could have been observed in mid-80s when a rebirth of CD correlated with the signing of the Single European Act and creation of the EU in the early 1990s.

In this context, Poland is a very interesting case study for a number of reasons. Firstly, Poland is a country where the development of political Catholicism seems to have been a driver of Eurosceptic parties and movements. As the European integration project can find its roots in the Christian-Democratic ideology, any opposition to Europe that finds inspiration in Catholic Church teachings is most unusual. Secondly, Polish Euroscepticism has not been a marginal phenomenon but has developed into a major force in the Polish political party system (e.g.: the League of Polish Families, the Law and Justice).

“Poland is a country where the development of political Catholicism seems to have been a driver of Eurosceptic parties and movements.”

The influence of the Catholic Church on the Polish society and politics has always been very strong, and is a result of the Church’s role in the country’s long and often dramatic history. The arrival of the Catholic religion in the 10th century drawn Poland (or what was then the principedom of Mieszko I) into the ‘Western world’, and significantly accelerated its cultural and civilizational development.

However, it was not until the dramatic partition of Poland between imperial Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary that the Church and the Catholic religion became a core element of the Polish national identity. During much of the 19th and 20th century, when Poles were exposed to stringent policies of ‘Germanization’ and ‘Russification’, the Church became a refuge for people wanting to preserve Polish culture, traditions, and more importantly to nurture the sense of ‘Polishness’. In this context, Catholicism started to serve as a differentiating feature of Poles vs. German Protestantism and Russian Orthodoxy, acting as an integrative element of the Polish community. The

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swift period of the inter-war Polish independence was followed by a 45 year long communist rule, when churches all around the country became one of a very few places where people could express their criticism of communism, while clergymen actively engaged with the Solidarity movement. As a result, in post-1990 Poland, the Catholic Church has enjoyed strong position, while Catholicism became strongly entwined with the notion of the Polish national identity.

Having in mind the history of the Catholic Church in Poland, it is unsurprising that the movement of political Catholicism has been prominent in Poland. What is, however, unique about it is the fact that, contrary to other European countries, it has developed a strong Eurosceptic stance. The level of opposition to Europe has naturally varied in form and strength across different parts of the movement: among the non-party organizations of political Catholicism in Poland Euroscepticism ranged from inexplicit concerns about the Polish EU membership expressed by some of the Polish Church hierarchy, to an outright rejection of the EU by the influential media of father Tadeusz Rydzyk (*Radio Maryja*, *Nasz Dziennik* - "Our Daily" or *Telewizja Trwam* - Television "I persist").

In terms of political parties inside the political Catholicism movement, the Kaczyński brothers' Law and Justice party (*PiS* - *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*) adopted a 'soft' Eurosceptic stance, while the League of Polish Families (*LPR* - *Liga Polskich Rodzin*) moved towards 'hard' Euroscepticism.

A yet un-tested hypothesis that tries to explain the development of Eurosceptic stance by political Catholicism in Poland assumes that Polish political Catholicism opposes the integration process based on a non-utilitarian, ideological concern. It perceives the EU as a cultural threat that jeopardizes the core of the Polish national identity i.e.: Catholicism. In particular, Polish political Catholicism seems to be concerned about the perceived EU disregard for Catholic moral values, which could in turn lead to unwanted policy developments in the religiously-sensitive areas of the social and family law (e.g.: abortion, euthanasia, homosexual marriages, children's rights). In other words, modern, liberal values exemplified by the EU together with its perceived secularism has made it, according to Polish political Catholicism, a threat to the most basic values and traditions of the Polish nation, questioning the integrity of the Polish national identity.

In the course of future research alternative explanations for the emergence of Euroscepticism within the Polish political Catholicism may be developed. However, regardless of what the specific findings will be, more research in this area would not only enhance our understanding of the important concept of Euroscepticism in a large, 'new' EU member state, but would also add to our knowledge of the nature of political Catholicism in particular, and the inter-twining relations between religion and politics in contemporary Europe, more broadly.

[...from page 2] competitiveness that the Lisbon Agenda or indeed the Europe 2020 Agenda. On the productivity front it would have been better if the focus had been on increasing competitive pressures within the EU as a whole by a serious extension of the single market especially in the Services sector that provides such a large share of employment in Europe. The fiscal sanctions are no more likely than the SGP to have any effect unless there is real common burden sharing among the member states of the euro, ie some form of fiscal union. This might emerge via the mutation of the ESM from a backstop mechanism to a full blown debt management agency issuing eurozone bonds to strengthen the finances of weaker member

states. My own favoured long term mechanism would be a European fiscal fund that levied funds from member states in times when their growth rates were above trend levels and the output gap was positive and disbursed funds when growth went below trend and the output gap was negative. This would have the same effect as the automatic fiscal stabilisers have in a unitary state thus flattening the peaks and troughs of the business cycle and in particular compensating for the effect of a one size fits all monetary policy stopping both bubbles and recessions. It would also mean that European level disciplines worked to help stabilise the situation rather than make it worse as fines would do under the SGP and its successors.

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.

EU FTAs – forcing the EU model on others or helping the world trade system evolve?

By Dr Peter Holmes
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The EU has for a long time made the negotiation of Free Trade Agreements a major priority of its trade policy. Some of these are with prospective candidate countries and necessarily go beyond trade policy as such, paving the way as they do for membership and therefore incorporating elements of the *acquis* in anticipation of accession. But many are with non-candidates and the EU nevertheless actively pursues “Deep Integration” agreements in which reference is made to possible harmonisation of and/or cooperation in areas such as technical standards, services rules, investment rules, and competition policy.

Many critics of the EU believe that this represents an attempt by the EU to force its model of regulation on unwilling partners, especially in the case of the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with developing and least developed countries of the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group.

But there is a curious paradox. The EU invests very significant effort into including regulatory

issues into EPAs and other Free Trade Agreements but in fact other than for pre-accession countries these agreements contain almost no binding provisions at all. Far from forcing changes in domestic regulations in LDCs to help EU firms, the agreements mostly contain nothing more than aspirations. Why?

The explanation does not appear to be that there is pressure from the EU for binding agreements that is resisted by developing country partners. Most of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have signed “trade only” EPA agreements. One recent agreement is an exception, the EPA with the Caribbean states of the CARIFORUM group. This does in fact appear to contain some quite strong provisions. It turns out that most of these were sought by the CARIFORUM negotiators, who were seeking to create a common market within



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their own region and used these external negotiations to pressurise their individual member states, (as the European Commission occasionally tries to do).

Another potential developing country exception relates to the EU India FTA under negotiation. Here in our work at Sussex on these negotiations we came to the conclusion that the Indian government explicitly sought to include “deep” provisions as a lever to promote domestic regulatory reform.

A third exception is the “deep” EU-Korea FTA where the partners were clearly negotiating as equals. It is thus very hard to accuse the EU of “regulatory imperialism”.

There are a number of possible explanations for this “much ado about nothing”. One rather cynical one is that Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson laid down a mandate to DG Trade to negotiate “deep” agreements and that his staff felt obliged to go through the motions, perhaps valuing fine but empty words as a sign of a diplomatic achievement in its own right. And that his successors will quietly shelve the idea.

A more appealing explanation emerged in a 2009 conference co-sponsored at Sussex by our own research centre CARIS and the World Bank (<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/caris/conferences>). This is that the EU is seeking to propagate a system of “soft law” which is aimed at establishing precedents in the form of custom and practice that can eventually, if they are shown to work become a template for more binding rules, in subsequent generations of FTA agreements and eventually at the multi-lateral level at the WTO. This would in some ways echo the process of evolution within the EU itself where non-binding system of cooperation and coordination become codified into formal rules as part of EU law.

This note is based on a paper presented to the 2010 SGIR conference in Stockholm and a seminar presentation in SEI in Jan 2011. Thanks to Jim Rollo and other colleagues for comments.

See: Peter Holmes “Deep Integration in EU FTAs” (ED-WPS No. 7-2010)

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/economics/research/workingpapers>

Euro-Festival: A Summary

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The EURO-FESTIVAL project was an FP7-funded project which ran from 2008 to 2010. Gerard Delanty was the PI while Monica Sassatelli and Jasper Chalcraft were two post-doctoral researchers who worked on the project. Its subject matter were artistic festivals and the latter’s relation to the European public sphere, hence citizenship, politics and identity.

The project was implemented by a consortium of three research organizations (in addition to the Department of Sociology, Sussex the other two were the ICCR, Vienna; Istituto Cattaneo, Bolo-

gna), and was based on a set of thirteen case studies. The case studies concerned well-known European festivals in the genres of film, literature and music and included three mixed-arts urban festivals. The project’s case studies were the Venice Biennale, Brighton Festival and Vienna Festival from among urban mixed-arts festivals; the Venice, Cannes and Berlin film festivals as well as Vienna’s Jewish Film Festival; the Hay Festival, Berlin Literature Festival and Borderlands Festival for literature festivals; and the WOMAD, Umbria Jazz and Sonar music festivals.



Why festivals? Beyond representing specific cultural institutions linked to the idea of celebration, they have become increasingly visible in the arts landscapes of contemporary European (and international) society. As events created for diverse publics and with different funding models, their representative strategies, artistic contents and audiences are more than mere depictions of social life: they are significant and signifying performances of broadly-held ideals and imaginaries. The contemporary proliferation of festivals has been fuelled by spatial economic considerations (mainly at the urban level) as much as increased competition within the cultural field. For cities (Brighton included) festivals represent opportunities for increasing their visibility as attractive tourist destinations and for engaging in innovative cultural policy. Within the cultural field proper two partly competing trends are evident: the first is commercialization, the second internationalization. The latter supports experimentation through transnational or 'translational' activities and networking.

The project's main findings can be read in the project's three topical deliverables which are still available on the project website (www.euro-festival.org): *Deliverable 2.1* 'European Arts Festivals from a Historical Perspective' reports on the historical development of festivals; *Deliverable D3.1* 'European Arts Festivals: Cultural Pragmatics and Discursive Identity Frames' presents detailed reports on each of the festivals under study and *Deliverable D4.1* 'European Arts Festivals: Creativity, Culture and Democracy' presents a synthesis of the results around a set of theoretical dimensions. Meanwhile, the broader context for contemporary arts festivals is explored by a number of scholars as well as members of the project in the forthcoming book *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (Giorgi, Sassatelli & Delanty (eds) Routledge, 2011) which grew out of one of the project's workshops.

Interdisciplinary and transnational research projects with cross-genre and transnational empirical subjects do not provide easy and unproblematic recommendations for Europe's policy-makers.

“one of the most important policy-relevant findings of our research was that as fertile soils for the creativity and the exchange of ideas among artists but also their audiences, arts festivals have emerged bottom-up, and it is this which makes them important as public sphere arenas.”

Nevertheless, one of the most important policy-relevant findings of our research was that as fertile soils for the creativity and the exchange of ideas among artists but also their audiences, arts festivals have emerged bottom-up, and it is this which makes them important as public sphere arenas.

Ultimately a public sphere only functions as an arena for discussing issues of common (public) interest if it has emerged spontaneously rather than top-down through direct state intervention. Arts festivals are in many respects driven by their intermediaries, the many artists and cultural managers who are personally and professionally committed to democratic values and the role of arts in society. But once established they acquire a dynamic of their own. It is this that is valued by their audiences and the reason why they can genuinely be said to represent public spheres.

In this context, the role of policy should primarily be to help sustain the external or institutional conditions that make the emergence of such public spheres possible. This can be achieved by providing infrastructure and financial support to cultural intermediary institutions and their workers; or by helping establish legal and regulatory frameworks that facilitate the establishment and operation of such organizations. In democratic societies the state has a key role in supporting civil society, but the indirect means of doing so are often much more conducive to the democratic idea per se. Arts festivals are a case in point.

EU Citizens voting in local elections

By Dr Sue Collard

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On May 5th, the referendum on the reform of voting in national elections, commonly referred to as the AV referendum, will be taking place on the same day as local elections in many parts of the UK. This is likely to generate some confusion in the polling stations, especially in relation to who is allowed to vote : whereas voting in the referendum is open to all British, Irish and 'qualifying' Commonwealth citizens (ie those who have leave to enter or remain in the UK), the local elections are also open to citizens of other EU Member-States resident in the UK. Thus, EU citizens from Malta, Cyprus & Ireland will be able to vote in both, but 'other' EU nationalities will not.

The reasons for this rather anomalous situation are of course historical, the UK having granted voting rights in both local and national elections to its Commonwealth citizens long before the Maastricht Treaty granted voting rights at local elections to all resident EU citizens with the introduction of European Citizenship. In this respect, the UK has one of the more generous voting regimes in the EU (Shaw, 2007, p.78), compared to countries like France, Germany, Greece, Austria or Italy which do not allow any Third Country Nationals (TCNs) to vote in local elections, and where the introduction of EU citizenship rights was most resisted.

The question of granting voting rights to non-nationals has become increasingly salient in recent years as problems relating to the integration of immigrants into European societies have come to the forefront of the political agenda across the EU. Whilst for many, it is still a highly contested issue, for others, political participation is thought to have a positive impact on integration into the host society, and some have claimed empirical evidence to support this in the case of TCNs in a number of European cities (eg Penninx et al, 2004). Indeed, in these debates, the focus has

been very much on TCNs, with little research being carried out into the case of intra-EU migrants, who are somehow assumed to 'disappear' as migrants by virtue of their status as EU citizens. Yet as several reports have shown, the large numbers of EU citizens moving to the UK since the 2004 enlargement, have created a significant threat to social cohesion in many parts of the country where they are often seen as a drain on public services and unwelcome competition in the job market, even if their presence is simultaneously defended, largely by employers who emphasise their positive contribution to the local economy.

"Whilst for many, it is still a highly contested issue, for others, political participation is thought to have a positive impact on integration into the host society"

As 15 years have now gone by since the first local elections open to 'other' EU voters in the UK, the elections in May 2011 offer a suitable opportunity to try to assess the impact of the extension of voting rights to all EU citizens, and to evaluate their levels of participation in the local political process: to what extent have these rights been taken up and have they played a role in integrating EU citizens into their local communities? By extension, what conclusions can we draw about the development of European Citizenship in one of the most Eurosceptic countries of the Union?

Answering these questions is, perhaps surprisingly, not a straightforward task: whilst the Commission is responsible for reporting to the EP & the Council on all dimensions of the evolution of European Citizenship, its several reports to date have offered only a very rough starting point for any analysis, mainly because Member-States have not provided the necessary data. In the case of the UK, the Office of National Statistics provides statistics relating to the total numbers of EU citizens registered on the electoral roll in England & Wales, but they exclude the Irish, Maltese and Cypriots: the most recent set of figures

(December 2010) shows a total of 1,063,756 in England, & 21,569 in Wales. These numbers have roughly trebled since 2001 when they were first collated, when the numbers stood at 344,169 & 7495 respectively. The figures can be further broken down by electoral area, and therefore paint an interesting overall picture of the geographical distribution of 'other' EU citizens across the UK.

But in order to refine the picture by nationality, it is necessary to look to the individual local authorities, and for the purposes of a project on which I am currently working, I have turned to the two electoral areas that lie either side of the university: Brighton & Hove & Lewes District. Total numbers of 'other' registered EU citizens in both these areas has doubled between 2001 – 2010: from 4160 to 8740 in Brighton & Hove, and from 508 to 1,094 in Lewes.

The table alongside shows the breakdown of nationalities within these total figures for Brighton & Hove in December 2010 (breakdowns for earlier years are not available), which reveal the Poles to be the most numerous group, followed closely by the French, the Germans & the Italians. These tables are of obvious general interest to any observer of European issues, but they tell us nothing about the actual voter participation levels of EU citizens, which are much harder to establish. General turnout in local elections in the UK hovers typically just under the 40% mark, though registration rates for all citizens are high because of a proactive, nationally organised registration policy in the form of an Annual Canvass, complemented by a Rolling Registration procedure, which encourages registration, right up to two weeks before an election. Thus in Brighton & Hove, the current registration rate is 86%, while turn out at the last local elections in 2007 was 38.48%. But to what extent is this pattern replicated in the level of voter participation of non-national EU citizens? Are they more likely to vote because they see this as a significant factor in the process of integration in the local community, or do they consider local politics as incomprehensible and / or irrelevant?

In order to answer these questions, I will be carrying out an analysis of the local election results of May 5th on the basis of what is called the 'marked'

register of Brighton & Hove, which indicates which citizens voted, with 'other' EU citizens being flagged by the letter G. This register is publicly available for one year after the election, after which it is (curiously, by law) destroyed. It is therefore not possible to repeat the exercise for previous elections for comparative purposes. The results of the analysis will generate a database of 'other' EU citizens, which will open up the possibility of a quantitative comparison between those who did and those who did not vote, to be set against the total participation rate. Random samples will be taken of both categories, and those identified will be invited to complete an online survey that seeks to determine which factors influence the decision to vote or not to vote.

In order to flesh out the responses obtained from the online survey, volunteers will also be sought to participate in follow up semi-structured interviews which will pursue a qualitative investigation, not only of the attitudes of respondents towards local politics and their perceptions of their own integration, but also of their levels of awareness of the rights that are granted by European citizenship.

I would be very pleased to hear from any non-British EU citizens willing to participate in this survey (regardless of whether or not you have registered to vote). I plan to run an SEI workshop towards the end of the Summer Term to disseminate the initial findings of this research, to which various local stakeholders will be invited, including, of course, interested survey respondents. More refined results will be delivered in a paper at the bi-annual ECPR conference in Reykjavik in August, in a panel on 'Voting Rights across political boundaries: non-citizen and non-resident franchise in the European Union' chaired by Rainer Baubock & Jo Shaw. Publication of full results will follow in 2012.

Poland	1175
France	1050
Germany	1041
Italy	1013
Spain	866
Sweden	458
Greece	428
Portugal	379
Netherlands	345
Slovak Rep.	305
Hungary	294
Czech Rep.	255
Lithuania	245
Denmark	160
Finland	151
Belgium	107
Latvia	104
Romania	97
Austria	92
Bulgaria	81
Estonia	39
Luxembourg	22
Slovenia	11

Research in progress: the economic and financial crisis and the European Union

By Dr Lucia Quaglia
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I convened three panels at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) bi-annual conference in Boston. The three panels engaged in an in-depth discussion of the implications of the economic and financial crisis for the European Union (EU). The first panel 'The politics of financial regulation in the EU before and after the crisis' examined the politics and political economy of financial regulation before and after the global financial crisis by looking at multiple levels of governance and a variety of policy locations: namely, the national level in selected member states, the EU level and the international level. The panel discussed how the member states, the EU and the US responded to the crisis, what were the main reforms enacted, and the open issues that remain to be addressed. The papers examined financial regulation in specific member states, namely Spain (Sebastian Royo, University of Suffolk), the reform of the institutional framework for financial regulation and supervision in the EU (Zdenke Kudrna, Austrian Academy of Science), the role of the EU as an 'uploader' and 'downloader' of international financial regulation (Lucia Quaglia, University of Sussex and Max Planck Institute), and the transatlantic dimension of regulating over the counter derivatives (Syliva Maxfield). The papers were discussed by Erik Jones (John Hopkins University).

The second panel on 'Economic Governance in the EU before and after the crisis' examined the response of the EU to the economic and financial crisis, even though all the panelists argued that the crisis was far from over. Rather than focusing on financial regulation per se, the panel took a broader look at the implications of the crisis for macroeconomic governance in the EU and the institutional configuration of the EU. It discussed

how the member states, the EU as well as international bodies have responded to the crisis, what are the main reform enacted after the crisis, the dynamics of change and the open issues that remain to be addressed. The papers considered the external representation of the EU in the G 20 and IMF (Dermot Hodson, Birkbeck college), the role of the European Council and the Council during the crisis (Uwe Puetter, Central European University), the playing out of and the response to the crisis in Belgium and the Netherlands (Michele Chang, College of Europe), and taking an historical perspective, some lessons were drawn from the 1931-33 crisis (Kenneth Dyson, University of Cardiff). The discussant was Zdenek Kudrna (Austrian Academy of Science).

The third panel was a roundtable discussing two companion volumes on 'European Economic Governance and Policies', recently published by Kenneth Dyson and Lucia Quaglia with OUP (the details are reported below). These volumes bring together for the first time, and offer analytical commentary on, the documents relevant to the process of constructing and developing European economic governance based on Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Volume I includes the 'classic' documents concerned with EMU and economic governance from before 1914 to the launch of European monetary union on 1 January 1999. Volume II includes the key documents concerned with developing and implementing policies from the period of inception and launch of European monetary union on January 1st, 1999 to the end of its first decade and the onset of the global financial and economic crisis.

The discussants of the two volumes were: Uwe Puetter (Central European University), Dermot Hodson (Birkbeck College), Patrick Leblond (University of Montreal) and Tal Sadeh (Tel Aviv University). Overall, the books were very well received and the comments from the reviewers

were very positive. These volumes also received a very positive review in *Agence Europe*, the daily bulletin of the European Union, in early February.

European Economic Governance and Policies, Volume I: Commentary on Key Historical and Institutional

Documents, Kenneth Dyson and Lucia Quaglia, OUP, 2010, 800 pp

European Economic Governance and Policies, Volume II: Commentary on Key Policy Documents, Kenneth Dyson and Lucia Quaglia, OUP, 2010, 900 pp

Adapting to study in the UK: the experience of MACES students

By Dr Sue Collard

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As part of the revised core course, *The Making of Contemporary Europe*, for the SEI's flagship Masters in Contemporary Europe (MACES) program in the Autumn Term of 2010, I included a session on 'How to Write a Good Essay', intended mainly to help the majority of our students who are studying in English and in the UK for the first time.

I have since realised that what I should have called it was 'What Is an Essay (and How to Write a Good One)?'. Feedback from students of several different nationalities has underlined for me just how difficult it is for those who have experienced very different education systems to understand what it is we want them to do in an essay. Most education systems elsewhere in Europe are based on either written or oral exams, for which students are required to digest, and usually learn by heart, large amounts of information which they then have to reproduce uncritically. They are basically assessed on how much they have retained and how faithfully they reproduce it.

The idea of developing arguments, critically assessing a wide range of literature, and organising all this into a logical and coherent structure with an introduction and conclusion, is not something that comes easily when you have spent years just honing your memory skills. Marica from Croatia summed it up well: 'the structure of essay is to-

tally unknown to me, especially the part related to the preparation of an outline or a plan for writing the essay. Additionally, the very big problem was to realise how to put all main thoughts or characteristics of various authors and scholars in paper starting from the introduction, through the main body till the end, combining the contents with required essay's structure'. Tomislav, also from Croatia echoed these difficulties: 'In Croatia ... there was not such many authors and literature like here in the UK (mostly one or two of them) where you have to answer specific question in way it has been presented in the given literature - not in form of the essay by stressing own opinion, criticising, questioning the arguments or giving other possible answers. So I have experienced some difficulties when I was trying to write essays because I did not know anything about that. To put it simple it was completely opposite of what I have been used to do at the University'. Despite these initial difficulties, all the students I taught adapted to essay writing very well, and with great dedication to improve, but their feedback has reinforced for me not only the importance of helping them early on to grasp what we are trying to teach them to do, but also the value of the feedback that we as tutors give to our students.

The nature of our seminars also caused some consternation at first, as Daria from Croatia explained: 'The thing I was at first overwhelmed by were the seminars. They seemed too demanding in terms of reading and being constantly engaged in the subject. Of course, after a while this turned out to be the most important and interesting part of the first semester. Seminars made me discuss

Research

opinions I would otherwise probably keep for myself, which would be a pity because sometimes I actually changed my mind about a matter after the seminar session'. The delivery of presentations was also a frightening experience for many, especially as this was usually the first time they had even had to speak 'in public' in English. But all rose to the occasion admirably, and the mastery of Powerpoint, new to some, was a skill whose value was recognized for future professional purposes.

Julia from Spain emphasised another significant difference in the British system to the one she was used to: 'The main point I consider specially different in Spain is that we don't have to reference. I mean, is not absolutely important, since the universities do not have any 'anti plagiarism software'. Thus, most of the professors (based on my experience) don't care about the referencing. What I found interesting of this issue, is that universities don't have this kind of software or policy anti plagiarism because they consider that students can create their own knowledge and thinking through the reading of different authors. They create a new structure of knowledge based on what they have read, but mixing different opinions and arguments so what they write in their essays is totally new. Nevertheless, most of the students write their essays based on "copy and paste" from Internet'. So what is plagiarism for us, is normal

practice for others, and this is another reminder that we need to spell out these things to our foreign students very clearly, so that they can make the necessary adjustments to our norms.

One very positive aspect of studying here for MACES students has been the personal attention that they are given: 'The best thing that I've heard is the fact each student studying at the University of Sussex is considered as an individual, not as a number. This is especially important for all of us who are not-native English speakers, currently facing with different living environment, culture and lifestyle in general, and educational system in particular. I have really found very useful your explanations on teaching methods and assessment procedure at the University of Sussex'. Other good things singled out on the plus side were the library (despite the temporary disruption), and the possibility of renewing books online, and the system of lecture cancellation by text message.

As Convenor and tutor of MACES, I am constantly impressed by the ways in which our students adapt to what we expect of them, by their total dedication to their studies, and above all, I value the fascinating contributions that have been made by students in seminar discussions, during which I have gained invaluable insights into how other Europeans see the making of contemporary Europe. For me, it is without a doubt the diversity

Researching Migration, Liberalism and Citizenship

By Dr James Hampshire
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I've been on research leave for the Spring Term, during which time I've been working on a book manuscript provisionally entitled *The Politics of Immigration: Dilemmas of the Liberal State*. The book provides an analysis of immigration politics across liberal states in Europe, North America and Australia. It argues that the contested nature of immigration has its roots in defining insti-

tutions of the liberal state, which create conflicting functional imperatives for immigration policy. The book is under contract with Polity and should be finished by the summer, and hopefully on the shelves in the first half of 2012.

I've also been proofing a paper that is finally coming out in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. It's entitled, 'Liberalism and Citizenship Acquisition: How Easy Should Naturalisation Be?' and is a normative piece that argues a liberal case for language and citizenship tests. Earlier this year, I

co-authored a paper with Tim Bale and Rebecca Partos on 'Having one's cake and eating it too: Cameron's Conservatives and Immigration' which will appear this year in *The Political Quarterly*. Tim and I are also co-authoring a paper on the UK coalition government's immigration policy. This will be presented at a conference in Leeds on 4 April, and then published as a chapter in a book. I'm also giving a paper entitled 'Seeing like a Migration State' at the University of Bristol on 10

March. This emerges from a research project on Migration to Europe in the Digital Age, and examines how digital technologies are changing the tools of government that states use to manage migration. Lastly, I organized an SEI workshop on EU Migration Governance on 8 April. This will bring a number of leading European migration policy experts to Sussex to discuss the evolving architecture and political dynamics of EU migration governance.

New SEI Visiting Research Fellow

By Dr Elin H. Allern
SEI Visiting Research Fellow 2011
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Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Oslo (Norway), Elin H. Allern, is a Sussex European Institute Visiting Research Fellow from March to May 2011. Previously she was Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research, Oslo (2006-2008). She received her doctoral degree from the University of Oslo in February 2007. During the spring of 2004, she was visiting fellow/PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University, USA.

Her research interests include party organizational change, the relationship between parties and interest groups, multi-level government and political parties and the relationship between (party) government and public administration. Empirically, her research focuses on established democracies in general and Europe and Norway/Scandinavia in particular. Allern's work has appeared in several edited volumes and journals, and her most recent publications include the Norwegian contribution to the new five volume set of studies entitled *Political Parties and Democracy* (Praeger/Greenwood, ed. Kay Lawson).

Her doctoral thesis dealt with the nature and significance of party-interest group relationships and the factors that shape them. While parties and interest groups attract a great deal of attention from political scientists, the links between them

have been largely overlooked. The thesis threw new light on the topic by presenting a theory-driven, comprehensive study of Norway's seven major political parties and their relationships with interest groups at the beginning of the new millennium. It was short-listed for the ECPR's Jean Blondel PhD Prize 2008 and a revised book version has just been published by ECPR Press: *Political Parties and Interest Groups in Norway* (Monograph Series).

Currently, Elin H. Allern is involved in a large comparative project on party patronage in Europe, headed by Petr Kopecký, Leiden University, and Peter Mair, European University Institute, Florence. This research is also linked to a national project on parties and democracy in Norway (financed by the Norwegian Research Council, headed by Hanne Marthe Narud) which concentrates on the behaviour of – and relationship between – party voters, members, activists, leaders, candidates and representatives.

In 2008, Elin ran an ECPR workshop together with SEI Professor Tim Bale on parties' relationship with civil society organizations. That led to a forthcoming special issue in *Party Politics*, and while Elin is at University of Sussex she will collaborate with Tim Bale to extend this work into a cross-national project on the relationship between parties and interest groups. She will also work on a co-authored paper exploring political appointments to the state administration in the Nordic countries.

Doing fieldwork at a time of internal political tensions

By Marko Stojic
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Since the beginning of this year, I have been doing a fieldwork in Belgrade, which is a part of my DPhil project on the attitudes of Serbian and Croatian parties towards the EU and EU membership of these countries. The thesis aims to analyze why and how parties adopt as well as change stances on European integration over time, and what are the factors that determine the formation of their attitudes.

The main purpose of the fieldwork is to gather data that are not available in written sources, such as existence of party factions based on different attitudes to Europe and what was behind the key political events in the process of Serbian EU integration. Therefore, my fieldwork consists of carrying out a series of face-to-face and individualised interviews with representatives of parliamentary parties and political analysts who are well acquainted with the Serbian party politics. The aim of the interviews is grasp the interviewees' interpretation of parties' stances on Europe, as well as their personal attitudes towards the EU in general and its policies.

So far, I have interviewed the parties' vice presidents, including the president and vice-president of the Serbian Parliament, a chairman of the Parliament's European integration committee, the parties' international secretaries and spokesmen as well as a number of the MP's belonging to each of the eight relevant political parties.

Getting the contacts of Serbian politicians and persuading them to talk about this topic proved to be rather difficult and time-consuming tasks. It seems that Serbian politicians are quite busy, since they rarely reply to emails and stop answering the

phone if they do not feel comfortable about some issues. Therefore, private connections and recommendations proved to be the safest and often the only possible way of coming to some politicians, particularly those with the right-wing ideology and Eurosceptic attitudes. However, after an initial reluctance, a large majority of politicians have been very friendly and willing to talk about this topic, which in any case is not an easy one, given the complex relationship between Serbia and some EU member states.

Furthermore, the dynamics of Serbian political life has also influenced my fieldwork. Halfway through my research, there was a serious political crisis caused by the opposing stances of the ruling parties on how to deal with the economic and social crisis in the country. It could have led to the fall of the government and consequently slow down or even temporarily prevent my research, given that politicians would have not been prepared to express their views during the election campaign. Fortunately, the Serbian government has not collapsed this time and my research has been 'saved'. The conclusions I have arrived at indicate that there is no consensus on Serbian EU integration within a political elite, nor it can be expected in the foreseeable future. Parties have rather conflicting views on whether it is desirable for Serbia to become an EU member state, what should be the foreign policy priorities of the country, and based on which economic and social principles the country should be developing in the future. Finally, the experience I gained in Belgrade will help me to replicate the same interviews with Croatian politicians in Zagreb, as well as the EU and European party officials in Brussels, which is the next stage of my research.

I will present a paper entitled *'The Changing Nature of Serbian Political Parties' Attitudes Towards Serbian EU Membership'* at the Open Society Foundation, Global Supplementary Grant Program, Spring Conference (11-14 April 2011, LSE).

“Bursting the Brussels Bubble” – ethnographic fieldwork inside the European Parliament

By Amy Busby
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Between June and December 2010, I carried out ethnographic fieldwork inside the European Parliament (EP). The data I collected - along with numerous elite interviews with MEPs and administrators - will contribute to my project; *“The Isle of Europe: an ethnography exploring organisational culture inside the European Parliament”*. As an MEP’s stagiaire for 7-months, I fully immersed myself in the life of the ALDE group – inside and outside the Espace Léopold building - whilst simultaneously keeping field-notes about my experiences and activities. My research explores organisational cultural, backstage political processes and the everyday life of this institution.

My early jottings described the eurocrats’ world I was encountering; the EU quarter, ubiquitous EU flags, plaques commemorating the founding fathers, the acronym splattered language, towering space-age silver and glass building, the way everyone always seemed to be running for an urgent deadline and way time was managed by the quarter hour – some of the things detailed by Marc Abélès in 1991. Mingling with the natives of this European Isle on Place Lux – the favoured drinking spot of the parliament staff, was when I first heard them refer to their world as “the Brussels bubble”. Over the following months, I was able to collect data describing some of the characteristics of this context as it is seen by them, (the emic perspective) and quickly became aware of the importance of the context to the behaviour of political actors there.

Academic writing about the EP has increased alongside its formal powers. Much of this consists of sophisticated statistical analyses of roll call votes, research which has told us much about vot-

ing patterns and outcomes (e.g. www.votewatch.eu). However there is now a gap for research exploring everyday political behaviour and analysing how plenary votes are produced inside the EP (e.g. committee and political group processes, political roles and the role of administrators) – and many of these areas are being delved into by qualitative researchers (see www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/epqr). In October, Ian Mundell (14/10/2010) wrote about ethnographers working in Brussels in *European Voice*. Despite their slow start, ethnographers have much to offer as they can reveal taken for granted everyday practices which are central to the way actors understand themselves, their role and their institution, and hence are central to understanding the way institutions work. Ethnography also gives access to informal institutional life which is important in Brussels where not all the rules of the game are codified in formal rulebooks.

My ethnographic fieldwork has enabled me to write about four key themes which will add to the body of literature and further our understanding of how this important institution functions. These will be its organisational culture, types of power and influence and ways they operate, the everyday life of MEPs and a case-study of the ALDE group. The analysis will utilise ethnographic theory and explore methodological issues relating to researching political elites. I recently presented a paper at a workshop called “Ethnographic Methods in Political Science” at the University of Copenhagen (organised by the Northern European Political Science Research School) entitled “*You’re not going to write about that are you?: what methodological issues arise when doing ethnography in an elite political setting?*”. This discussed some of the challenges I negotiated in my fieldsite, particularly ethical issues which arise when you are asked not to write about things by those who have given you privileged access to a sensitive context. Navigating these issues will be an important part of the writing up process which I am now beginning back at the SEI.

DPhil Research Outline Presentations

In February, the SEI's new DPhil students presented their research outlines to staff and fellow researchers in order to get some feedback and advice and as part of their first year formal assessment. Their projects and experiences are described below:

By Satoko Horii
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“The Evolution of the EU Border Control Regime: Assessing the role of Frontex”.

The management of the EU external borders is a rapidly developing field in EU policy-making. A variety of measures has been adopted and implemented, but the creation of Frontex is perhaps the clearest example of developments at the EU level. Frontex is the EU border control agency aiming at facilitating operational cooperation between the EU member states. Since it has become operational in 2005, Frontex has expanded in its mandate, staff and budget and has become a major factor in this field.

The objective of my doctoral project is to understand the role of Frontex in the newly emerging EU border control regime. It will examine the hypothesis that, although the agency was created only as a ‘support instrument’ with no command-and-control powers regarding national border guards, Frontex has had an integrating effect on the regime which has gone beyond the initial intention of the member states. This effect has been observed, for instance, in the development of a common perception on threats among the member states and the creation of a common curriculum for national border guards. In other words, Frontex as an effect of earlier cooperation might have become a cause of a policy change. Despite its important implications, very few scholarly works have shed light on this aspect, especially how exactly Frontex has influenced the EU border regime. This project will contribute to existing literature by filling this gap.

The theoretical framework deploys the concept of institutional isomorphism from the sociological institutionalism, to hypothesise potential influ-

ences of Frontex on the wider border regime. Institutional isomorphism is a process of actors becoming alike in various aspects when facing a same set of institutional constraints. According to Powell and DiMaggio (1983), it takes place through coercive, mimetic, and normative processes. Following this approach, the project explores causal mechanisms through which Frontex may influence the external border regime.



This is qualitative research. Using the process-tracing methodology, the project will analyse a few, carefully selected activities conducted by Frontex. Such activities may include: a joint operation recently launched for the Greek-Turkish border, the development of a common framework for training programmes, promotion of best practices, and the risk analysis function.

EU and national documents (e.g. Commission communications) will provide the primary data and the media articles will complement it as the secondary source. Interviews are also vital as informal impacts of the role of Frontex cannot be easily traced through official documents only. From later this year, I expect to visit and talk with people in the following key organisations: Frontex, the Council of the EU (Justice and Home Affairs), the European Parliament (LIBE), the European Commission (DG Home Affairs), the national border authorities (e.g. UKBA), international organisations (UNHCR and IOM), and training partnership academics. I have conducted preliminary interviews with some of these people for my Masters and am expecting to re-contact and expand the potential interviewees once the research outline paper is approved.

By Gentian Elezi

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“Explaining the implementation challenges for Albania in preparing for EU membership”.

After three years of professional experience in Albania, I finally had the chance to come back at SEI and start a PhD program in European Studies.

I was very curious to know what my first impressions would be after such a long time away. Apart from the change of location, I found SEI to be the same friendly environment that it was three years before. Since the first days I had the opportunity to meet and catch up with most of the Faculty and even chat over coffee and remember the good “old times” with them.

However, sooner than I was expecting, I started working on my topic. In the first term I attended the course on Research Design for Social Sciences from the MSc program, which provided to be a very useful experience for better understanding and shaping the methodological aspects of my research. At the end of the term I submitted an assessment paper about the strategy of enquiry of the research I was about to start.

During these first months I met several times with my supervisors (Alan Mayhew and Francis McGowan) and they helped me a lot in defining the subject of my enquiry.

My research will be focused on the implementation challenges of Albania in adopting the EU legislation while preparing for the membership. All my meetings with them were really helpful and interesting. We discussed broadly not only on my topic but also more generally on the field of my study.

Once we agreed on the focus of my research, I started working on the research outline of the thesis, which is supposed to be the main product of the first year of the program. All this process

was very challenging and required extensive readings and regular consultations with my supervisors. Their support and advice were crucial in my attempts to draft a first version of the outline in December.



This first draft provided a good opportunity for having their detailed feedback on almost every aspect of the outline. It was a very interesting process and a very good exercise that taught me a lot on how to put together and develop a research idea.

After revising the draft few times, finally I needed to present the outline to the Faculty staff and other research students. I was looking forward to the presentation, because I thought it would be a good opportunity for having feedback and suggestions. In fact, it exceeded my expectations. The discussions, suggestions and questions after my presentation were extremely useful and helped me in addressing some of the main pending and unclear issues concerning my research outline.

After collecting all the raised issues and discussing them with my supervisors, I could finally draft the final version of the outline and submit it officially. So far, I am really happy and excited for this new path in my life. Being part of the SEI as a doctoral student is with no doubt a great motivation but also a challenging experience.

Activities

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

SEI workshop on EU Migration Governance

By Dr James Hampshire
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On 8 April 2011, the Sussex European Institute hosted a one-day workshop to examine recent developments in EU migration governance.

This is a relatively new and rapidly evolving field, arising from the European Council's announcement in 1999 of its intention to create a common EU asylum and migration policy. Though far from complete, there have been important developments towards this end over the last decade.

The workshop gathered forty participants, from Sussex and further afield, to listen to six presentations on the emerging common asylum and migration policy. The day was organised into three sessions, each with two papers. The workshop started from the outside, as it were, with a first session on the external dimension of migration governance. Michael Collyer (Sussex) reflected on his experiences conducting a research programme as part of the Euromed programme, providing an insider's perspective on the processes through which the Commission seeks to engage both third countries and academic researchers. The second paper on the external dimension, by Andrew

Geddes (Sheffield), presented findings from a project on multi-level governance in south east Europe, which analysed the emergence of a migration/border security network in the region.

The second session of the day turned to legal migration, specifically labour migration policies. Christina Boswell (Edinburgh) discussed the role of the European Commission in labour migration policy, outlining a theoretical framework to explain its sometimes surprising policy proposals based on its legitimisation strategies. This was followed by a paper on the rise of a liberalized migration discourse in Europe by Georg Menz (Goldsmiths), which examined rhetoric used to justify the need for skilled labour migration.

After lunch, the third session consisted of two papers on rather different topics. James Hampshire (Sussex) presented a paper which examined how digital technologies are being deployed to reassert state border controls in a European context of 'territorial unbundling'. The final paper of the day, by Eiko Thielemann (LSE), discussed conceptual and methodological questions about how to measure and compare humanitarian migration policies.

Overall, it was a stimulating and enjoyable workshop. As participants departed into the late afternoon sunshine, there was a buzz of discussion about the insights and debates of the day.

Jean Monnet Wider Europe Network Conference in the European Parliament

By Prof Alan Mayhew
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The Wider Europe Network, which was created in 2003 in SEI, is a Europe-wide group of academics and practitioners interested in the EU's external relations and particularly in its relations with its neighbourhood.

Wider Europe's annual conference was held this year in the European Parliament under the patronage and with the participation of the Parliament's President Jerzy Buzek, from 3-4 February 2011. The participants reviewed the development of the European Union's external policy following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and analysed how those changes affect enlargement policy and relations with the EU's neighbourhood. The detailed programme of the conference can be found on the Wider Europe Network's website: www.wider-europe.org

The European Parliament President, Jerzy Buzek, opened the conference with a keynote speech which dealt with a wide swathe of EU foreign policy. His criticism of a trend away from democratic practice and respect for the rule of law in Ukraine hit the headlines in Ukrainian newspapers. The full text of his speech is also to be found on the website. This was followed by a panel of Members of the European Parliament from different political families. The prominent Polish MEP, Jacek Saryusz Wolski, made an impassioned plea for the EU to help Ukraine in its political and economic development.

In the final session on the first day, three eminent specialists discussed the future of the EU's external policy following the changes produced by the Lisbon Treaty and the creation of the European External Action Service.

The first session on day 2 analysed the future of enlargement policy. This session was introduced by a general analysis of EU enlargement policy by Commission Director Pierre Mirel, followed by papers on the 'nationalisation' of enlargement policy (Hillion) and on public opinion on enlargement in the member states (Copsey). Professor Hillion's paper engendered a lively debate on the role of the member states in enlargement policy. The two final sessions were devoted to the European Union's Neighbourhood Policy and particularly to the Association Agreements currently being negotiated with several East European countries.

This session was introduced by EEAS director, Gunnar Wiegand. These treaties contain deep and comprehensive free trade area agreements, which were dealt with by a senior official from the European Commission's Trade Directorate General (Cuisson). A paper on the economics of 'deep and comprehensive free trade agreements' concluded the session (Mayhew).

In the final session the Ambassadors of Ukraine and Georgia to the European Union and a senior researcher from the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin discussed how EU integration is viewed in the countries of Eastern Europe. This session was chaired by Olga Shumylo-Tapiola, from the Carnegie Europe Centre.

The conference was attended by around 70 academics and practitioners, who were responsible for lively discussions throughout the two days. The proceedings helped to bridge the gaps which always exist between academics and practitioners, and at the same time helped the Wider Europe Network to define its work programme for the coming year.

Anyone interested in the work of the network is invited to register on the website or to contact Alan Mayhew, a.mayhew@sussex.ac.uk.

Blackouts, Strikes ... and Militant Chickens; Sussex Students deal with all life can throw at them on 2011 Berlin Trip!

By Dr Dan Hough
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The 6th annual 'Berlin Trip' for PoICES undergraduates took place from 8th – 10th March. Previous years have always seen intrepid Sussex students – all of whom take the second year 'Political Governance: Germany' Course – cope with early start times (n.b. 04h45 meet at Brighton station!), diary malfunctions on the part of politicians they were due to meet and a wide variety of other challenges and obstacles. The 2011 version will nonetheless go down as the trip where Berlin did all it could to derail proceedings, but PoICES staff (Dan Hough, Kai Oppermann and Martine Huberty) and the 23 students refused to be beaten!

Things started off brightly, as the 26 strong group all set their alarm clocks correctly and safely got on the 06h50 flight from Gatwick to Berlin Schoenefeld. Touching down promptly in Berlin ensured that bags were duly dropped off at the hotel and the group made excellent time in getting to the *Bundestag*, Germany's parliament, for their three meetings on Tuesday afternoon. The Sussex students had planned to meet politicians from the Free Democrats, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats – but no one (politicians included) had reckoned with the incompetence of Berlin's electricians, one of whom managed to cut through three cables and send the parliament plunging into darkness. With the *Bundestag* well and truly blacked out, all appointments were cancelled and, indeed, the place went into lockdown as everyone working there was sent home! Not the ideal start to the three day trip ...



Unperturbed, the troika of Sussex staff quickly settled on a Plan B that included visits to the Holocaust Memorial, the museum at Checkpoint Charlie (the most famous crossing between the American and Soviet sectors in central Berlin) as well as a trip to see the remnants of the Berlin Wall. It wasn't quite the way things were planned, but it seemed to work nonetheless – and this despite a 6ft rogue fancy-dressed chicken accosting the group (and particularly Dan Hough) at the Brandenburg Gate demanding money. Only when Hough threatened to get Bernard Matthews in to sort him out did the chicken's militancy abate.

Day two again started well, as the group spent 90 minutes talking to the chief whip of the post-communist Left Party (*Die Linke*), Dagmar Enkelmann. As ever, Enkelmann was both enterprising and entertaining, as the topics for discussion ranged from how to get people more interested in politics to analysis of Germany's role in Afghanistan (see <http://www.dagmar-enkelmann.de/index.php?id=34>). Louise Everett pushed Enkelmann on what precisely the LP would do differently if they were in power, whilst Felicity Herrmann was particularly interested in how politics could be made more attractive for those who currently felt disenfranchised.

Following a tour through the *Bundestag* the group moved to East Berlin and to the Stasi's (the East German Secret Service) former remand prison. A marvellously entertaining tour guide took the group around the prison (torture chambers included), describing how the Stasi tortured and

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manipulated prisoners. The day finished with a trip back into the centre of Berlin to see the British consul general in the UK embassy, Andrew Noble, only to find that Mr Noble had been called away to deal with an urgent crisis. His (very late) replacement, Martin Harvey, nonetheless did an admirable job of explaining what the embassy did and how it represented UK interests abroad. Questions ranged from how the embassy deals with changes of government to whether the forthcoming royal wedding was likely to impact much on its work.

The third and final day saw another mini-crisis; Berlin's cross-city train drivers had decided to go on strike! The ubiquitous 'S' trains therefore weren't running, and getting to the Bundestag to spend 90 minutes with Green MP Lisa Paus suddenly looked a challenging task! Unabated, the group made good use of Berlin's tram network and a walk along the Spree river to just about make it in time. Ms Paus was candid in her analysis both of Germany's economic dilemmas as well as its foreign policy entanglements, and she found herself deflecting robust questions from Mike Williams on whether the Greens were still too associated with the environment and climate change and Rishi Moulton on how smaller parties deal with the problem of profiling themselves in government. The formal part of the trip then closed



Sussex students meet Left Party Chief Whip Dagmar Enkelmann on Wednesday 9th March.

with lunch in 'Tucher', a restaurant where George W. Bush and Gerhard Schroeder dined in 2002.

Even though the 2011 trip won't go down as the smoothest of its type, all involved were nevertheless happily weary as they boarded the plane back to Gatwick. The group had certainly enriched its understanding of how modern Germany 'works', as well as how modern Germany plays! Indeed, the 7th instalment in March 2012 already has a lot to live up to!

The Berlin Trip

The 'Berlin Trip' has become a regular part of the syllabus for undergraduate students taking one of the two courses on German politics that PolCES offers. Every year in March around 25 undergraduates set out from Brighton with Dr Dan Hough to spend three days in the German capital. The students normally meet high-ranking officials (including, in recent years, former foreign minister Joschka Fisher and former environment minister Juergen Trittin), visit the Bundestag, the Holocaust Memorial and spend a morning touring the infamous Stasi (East Germany's secret police) remand prison. Although the timetable is jam-packed, students still have plenty of time to enjoy themselves socially in Berlin - and the fact that the hotel also happens to have a karaoke bar in the basement does not normally go unnoticed! All in all, the trip is a great mix of genuinely interesting meetings with politicians and an opportunity to get out and about in a super city like Berlin.



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Upcoming event: Balkan Connections Conference

2 & 3 June 2011, University of Sussex

The purpose of this interdisciplinary conference is to bring together early career scholars (doctorate students and post-doctorate researchers) from different disciplines who are currently undertaking research on 'the Balkans'. It shall serve as a forum in which participants can present and discuss their work-in-progress, and provide them with an opportunity to explore ongoing issues within the field of Balkan studies. Although the term 'Balkan' can be considered problematic, our aim is not to define or locate 'the Balkans' but explore issues pertaining both to those countries 'traditionally' considered as 'the Balkans' (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Albania, etc.) and those **historically and thematically connected** to that region (e.g. Turkey, Cyprus, etc.). Therefore, we have entitled the conference "Balkan Connections". Thus, papers addressing any issues/themes related to the 'the Balkans' (e.g. "Albanian immigrants in Italy", "minority issues in Turkey", "post-socialist nationalism in Bulgaria", "representation in British films", etc.) are wel-

come. The themes covered include;

- The question & representation of 'the Balkans'
- Coexistence & the question of 'multiculturalism'
- Ethnic, religious, and national identity
- Homogenization, state-building, & minority rights
- Genocide, pain, and trauma
- Peace-building, reconstruction, and reconciliation
- Post-conflict justice
- Representations, construction, erasure and denial of memory
- Crossing borders and boundaries
- Impact of the Ottoman Empire
- Post-socialist transformations and inequalities of development across the region
- Emerging EU practices and debates within the region, especially with respect to EU membership
- The arts and other aspects of material culture
- Emerging migration practices

To attend, or for information, contact: balkanconnections@gmail.com. Please note we are unable to provide accommodation and/or travel expenses. There is no registration fee and the event is open to the public.

The Conservatives and the coalition

On 11th March, Tim gave a talk at the UCL Constitution Unit's Public Seminars series, called "The Black Widow Effect? A Pessimist's take on the Coalition" (see: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/events/public-seminars-10-11/black-widow>).

On 25th March, Profs Tim Bale (SEI) and Russell Deacon (UWIC) organised a conference on the Conservative-Lib Dem coalition government, held at the LSE. It fielded both academic and political speakers including Tim's paper; 'Should have seen it coming: the likely consequences for the Lib Dems of Cameron's fatal embrace'.

Tim also took part in a workshop called "Political Parties, Issue Competition and Public Policy" on 30th March at the Sciences-Po in Paris. He presented a paper co-written with SEI colleague Dr James Hampshire, called 'Making a big difference?

Parties and immigration policy: a UK case study', in a session called *Political Parties and Policy Issues: Strategy, Choice, or Necessity?*



Tim has also been awarded a visiting scholarship at St Johns College Oxford over the Summer in order to finish his research and book on 'The Drivers of Party Change: the Conservatives since 1945'. He has also found time to be invited to become a trustee of Democratic Audit, contribute to Europe's World and been to Berlin to take part in the Amsterdam process which has produced a publication called *Exploring the cultural challenges to social democracy* where he contributed an article called "The right side of the argument? The centre-left's response to migration and multiculturalism" (http://www.policy-network.net/publications_detail.aspx?ID=3978).

Two perspectives on the MACES experience

Taking an overseas glance at MACES...

By Daria Arlavi

MACES student 2010-2011

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When the plane landed at Gatwick it was around 10am and I was already awake for 26 hours. The flight from Zagreb was less than 2 hours, but it took me all night to pack my bags. Four days earlier I finally completed my second master and at the same time I was desperately trying to leave a clean desk for my co-workers, convincing them that I will be available whenever they will need me (hoping of course they do understand that this means 'emergency only').

In spring I applied for the scholarship of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration that was partly sponsored also through the British Government's Chevening program and by the Sussex University. Five of us won the scholarship for the UK. In class we have a nickname - 'Croatian delegation' ('us' being: Marica, Tom, Naida, Tihana and Daria). We are obliged to work for the government upon our return for 3 years and expected to use our new knowledge gained here for country's future endeavours towards EU membership.

Time flew, the summer was soon gone and I had to prepare myself for something entirely different. To be honest, I didn't have any special expectations about my studying in the UK. It was my chance to do something different after working as a civil servant for four years. And if you ask me, there is no better way to expand your horizons than to travel to new places, meet new people and learn new things. And here I am, doing exactly

that and loving it! Known as one of the most prominent UK universities, Sussex proved to be worthy of its praise. During the first month I was a bit overwhelmed with all the information and things I had to do, like opening my bank account and desperately waiting for the first instalment, signing for the NHS, finding the right lecture room and doing my readings for each lecture. Coming from a different educational system (at least when I was studying for my first master which was 10 plus some years ago), to be able to switch to new methods I had to come up with some new strategies.

The first was defensive, 'I'm too old for this!'. Since *nothing is permanent except change* as Greeks were smart enough to notice well before me, I have decided to embrace their wisdom. I remember after my first seminar doubting whether I will be able to critically evaluate a reading as I was expected to, prepare a dynamic presentation or write a well structured essay. Demanding at first, those requirements later turned out to be very useful and much appreciated. I guess I can say I was kind of an "A" student during most of my education. Still, I am not convinced grades reveal true knowledge. There is always a chance for luck and subjectivity. Well, after waiting more than one month for the results on my first unseen exam, due to the quite complex impartial procedure of evaluation, I am pretty sure I was given an objective grade (not an A, but close enough!).

There are many things I could write about that are related to my academic development. Even if after receiving my formal evaluation it turns out to be a modest one I will still consider it to be a huge one. Inspirational lectures and seminars where our supposedly firm views would suddenly become less firm, exceptional expertise showed by most of the lecturers, well prepared lectures

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with personal feedback given to students, research in progress seminars where we could find out about the latest research going on, watching films discussed during our lectures, having a convenor we could address for basically any issue, a library where everything is organised so well that you barely notice all the repairs going on ... all that and much more made my academic achievement possible and valuable for me.

In addition to the academic part, there is one maybe even greater thing – the people! You can learn so much about different parts of the world from all sorts of books and media, but nothing compares to hearing about it from someone who lives there. I am not about to write an anthem for multiculturalism and its advantages, but for the first time in my life being surrounded by so many people from different cultures, and along with it often different beliefs and values, this is probably the most valuable thing for me. Sightseeing with Albanians, walking tours with Brits, clubbing with

Spaniards, learning about Maltese divorce, talking films with Italians, spending days on campus with colleagues from Belarus, Cyprus and Turkey, Christmas in Kings Road residence with people from Egypt and USA, laughing with my Canadian flatmates about how everything stopped in the UK when it snowed, making sure our Japanese friends do not feel alone after the tsunami, celebrating Diwali and tasting gulab jamun for the first time ... I could write about so many wonderful things and people I have met! Of course not everything was peachy, but that's life!

I will probably get even more emotional towards September, so it's good I am writing this now when after all there is still summer term a head of us. Good thing about studying today is technology and connection. So, in case you wonder: yes, we have our MACES Facebook profile and somehow I have a feeling it will continue to be active even after September!

Taking a look at the view from the home perspective...

By Nick Doyle
MACES student 2010-2011
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You might be forgiven in thinking that my MACES experience would be extremely similar to my undergraduate one considering for my undergraduate degree I studied Economics and Contemporary European Studies at Sussex. I love Brighton and Sussex so when I was given the opportunity to continue studying here, I didn't need much time to think about it. It is true that in many ways there are pronounced crossovers; same buildings, same tutors and in some circumstances similar topics. But for every similarity there is a difference I find and none can be more significant than in what is expected of you as a MACES student.

In the UK there is a certain perception that you need a degree in order to get a job and that an

undergraduate course is simply a rite of passage; not so with a Masters degree though.

In MACES I found that your passion for the subject and your devotion to working hard was taken as a given; it all felt very grown up but in a reassuring way. More than ever I found that I was expected to be driven, hard working and relentlessly creative in my thinking. This sort of pressure is refreshingly invigorating and a great deal of that can be attributed to the people who take this course. It is noticeable that in the MACES course there exists a much higher level of aspiration and motivation in everyone to do well and this has the effect of spurring you on in a positive sense and although the academic side of any course is integral the people in it are just as crucial in my opinion.

The benefits of a good class also has other effects e.g. discussing European matters with EU citizens from all over the continent is probably one of the most important attributes to this course, and specifically for me, the amount I have learnt about Malta (for example they are great at the sport of handball) has had an invaluable effect on not only

my thinking but will have some impact upon my assessment for this course.

However for me the most important thing about MACES is the feeling that you are right at the front edge of your subject. The first thing that surprised me was the lack of textbooks for MACES, why is this the case? Because the course is current and in many cases the topics you are discussing have not been extensively debated yet in academic literature. It is a credit to the tutors that every subject covered in these past terms is

irrepressibly current within our day to day life. Without trying to sound cliché the “contemporary” element of this course is the thing that makes this MACES course so interesting and absorbing.

But now the spring term is closing on us and the dissertation of the summer looms. What can I say about that? Not much right now other than the past two terms couldn't have prepared me better for it.

The new LLM Experience

From Toulouse to Sussex...

By Julien Ciosi
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In September 2010, I was accepted at the University of Toulouse for a Master II specialized in European law and also got the opportunity to follow courses from the LLM (Law Masters) at the University of Sussex during the Spring 2011 term, which is already unfortunately coming to its end. I did a 3 year Law Bachelors course, and then an Erasmus Masters I program in Prague, where I was taught in international and European law.

This term has been my second time as an international student and I still have come to the same conclusion: every student should do whatever they can to have such an experience because it brings a lot not only from an academic point of view but also from a personal one.

At Sussex, I have found that the English way of teaching through seminars appears to be different to the French system. Indeed, focusing on only two or three subjects and less than 10 hours of seminars allows for time to prepare and go fur-

ther and thus deepen our knowledge in the field. I found this to be the key difference with my home system where we take a lot of different courses where we have less time to prepare for them and therefore select ourselves the courses on which we will focus. However the bright side of such a system is that it gives the law students a general overview on a huge range of matters. Thus, if one decides for instance to specialize in criminal law, he or she will probably also have some knowledge (sometimes being just basic) in contract law, international public law, tax law or even environmental law.

I wrote previously that studying in Brighton or in general in a foreign country is also a personal experience where one grows a lot. To my mind, it must be considered as important as the academic one and to a certain extent even more. Indeed, such an experience gives the opportunity to meet a lot of international students and to discover their cultures and to live according to other national values that ours. Moreover, I would say that every student will learn about himself because generally by living in a foreign country one has to adapt himself.

There are obviously a lot of things to add and to talk about but this is what I could say shortly about my experience in Brighton. Do not hesitate to contact me by mail (julciosi@hotmail.fr) if you would like more details about Sussex or Toulouse.

Sussex Politics Society: Norman Baker MP on the Coalition Government

By India Thorogood
Sussex Politics Society



On the 25th of February Norman Baker, Liberal Democrat MP for Lewes and a newly appointed transport minister, gave a talk on the coalition Government for the Sussex undergraduate Politics Society. With the current government such a contentious issue at Sussex, and across the country, we felt it important to hear the views of someone who believed in that government. On the walk to Fulton A, Norman asked me if he would face 'angry students' or whether on a Friday afternoon it would instead be 'one man and his dog.' As we entered, there was a moderate turn out of around 30 people, and no dog.

Norman began the talk by introducing his career, noting particularly his past party positions and his presidency of the Tibet Society. Then I'd asked Norman to address an issue I was sure would be on everyone's minds - why had he become a part of the 'con-dem' government, agreed to work with a party that he'd once so vehemently opposed. Mr Baker asserted that that his party lacked a public mandate, and in the event of a hung parliament had agreed to talk to the party with the most votes first. Therefore forming a Lib-Lab government, as the left had fantasised, was never an option.

By the very first question from the audience, Norman's joke about students had come back to haunt him. Encapsulating the mood in universities across the country, the first question addressed the issue of tuition fees, as did a large percentage of those to follow. This initial questioner talked passionately on tuition fees and fiercely accused Baker of being 'spineless' for abandoning his belief in free education. Norman chose to respond to accusations with a focus on the '65%' of the Liberal Democrat manifesto that had apparently been achieved in government. As well as putting for-

ward the 'shaving off the edges' perspective. The perspective that though higher education policy was not proving popular, without the Liberal Democrats, bursaries, and other concessions for poorer students would never have been proposed.



Baker justified Conservative policies with Lib Dem success: the 'pupil premium' and the AV referendum for example. Though, the AV electoral system is desired by neither the Conservatives nor the Liberal Democrats. Mr Baker maintained an insistence that coalition governments have to involve compromises, throughout the event, though the rebuttal was that principles should come before political manoeuvring.

Norman was then questioned on how he would deal with the conflict between his government position and upholding his celebrated parliamentarianism (for example, forcing the eventual resignation of Peter Mandelson.) Mr Baker told the student that he still held the same ideals he always had. He stressed that he would continue to campaign on issues he felt strongly about but perhaps in a different manner now that he represents the government. An interesting question on the 'big society' prompted Mr Baker to admit he wasn't sold on the phrase, but nonetheless agreed that local people taking charge of projects was positive. Here he cited a Railways forum he had set up in his constituency town of Lewes as a victory of these 'big society' values.

Overall Norman Baker coped well with impassioned questions from 'angry students', and with tuition fees rising to £9000, 'angry students' are probably something he should get used to. Like any MP, Norman Baker put forward professional and persuasive arguments. But as hundreds of thousands of people take to the streets, the coalition government will remain controversial.

Dispatches

SEI Dispatches: Views, experiences and updates on the activities of SEI members and practitioner fellows from across Europe and beyond on European events and issues.

The role of parliaments in the EU in collectively overseeing the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

By Dr Brigid Fowler
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What is the role of parliaments in the EU, collectively, in overseeing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)?

This question - and the difficulties parliaments have in answering it - has been thrown into relief over recent months by the collision of two processes. On the one hand, there has been a need to find a successor to the European Security and Defence Assembly (ESDA), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU), which is being abolished in mid-2011. On the other, there has been a need to give effect to provisions in the Lisbon Treaty on inter-parliamentary cooperation (Title II of the amended version of the Protocol on the role of national parliaments in the EU, now Protocol I to the post-Lisbon EU Treaties).

In both cases, Member States left parliaments somewhat in the lurch - without Treaty provisions setting out the detailed format for future parliamentary oversight. Arguably, this recognises that it is not up to governments to tell parliaments how to exercise their scrutiny functions. However, left to themselves, parliaments have not found it easy to agree on new inter-parliamentary arrangements.

The functions and institutions of the WEU have been progressively transferred to the EU since the Nice Treaty, leaving the Parliamentary Assembly as the WEU's only residual stand-alone body. In March 2010, the WEU Member States - with the then UK Government very much in the lead - announced that they were finally winding up the WEU altogether, including the Assembly, by formally denouncing the 1948 Brussels Treaty. The move was to take effect by mid-2011: the WEU Assembly is holding its final extraordinary plenary session, symbolically, on 9 May.

In winding up the WEU, the then UK Government appeared to be motivated in part by cost considerations: it declared that the role being played by the Assembly did not justify its cost to the UK of over €2 million a year (See Hansard, 30 March 2010, for Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Written Ministerial Statement, "Western

European Union (British Membership)". However, there was little opportunity for the UK Parliament to examine the Government's decision or make plans for WEU successor arrangements, as the Government made its announcement only a fortnight before the Dissolution for the 2010 General Election.

Meanwhile, the Lisbon Treaty had come into effect on 1 December 2009. Its amended version of the Protocol on the role of national parliaments in the EU provided that "The European Parliament and national parliaments shall together determine the organisation and promotion of effective and regular interparliamentary cooperation within the Union", and that the existing Conference of Community and European Affairs Committees of Parliaments of the EU (COSAC) "may [...] organise interparliamentary conferences on specific topics, in particular to debate matters of common foreign and security policy, including common security and defence policy."

The conjunction of the Lisbon Treaty coming into force with the WEU's impending abolition prompted many parliaments across the EU, as well as the WEU Assembly, to discuss and formulate their preferred options for future interparliamentary scrutiny of the CFSP and CSDP (3. Various reports adopted by the WEU Assembly on the issue, plus relevant documents from national parliaments and inter-parliamentary bodies, are collected in the section "Implementing the Lisbon Treaty: work in progress on monitoring the Common Foreign and Security Policy" on the WEU Assembly website, www.assembly-weu.org). There was a widespread sense that the WEU Assembly should not be allowed to disappear with no successor, and a widespread wish to take advantage of the Lisbon Treaty provisions for enhanced inter-parliamentary cooperation.

One immediate difficulty was the lack of a forum where parliaments could collectively seek agreement on future arrangements. The Conference of Speakers (of EU Member State national parliaments and the European Parliament) was identified as the best option, although this meets only once a year, can take decisions only by consensus, and has no authority to bind participating parlia-

ments. The 2010 Speakers' Conference tasked the Belgian federal parliament, which would hold the conference presidency in 2010-11, with presenting a proposal for discussion and – it was hoped – agreement at the 2011 Speakers' Conference, on 4-5 April (4. Information about the EU Speakers' Conference, including all documents associated with the 2011 meeting, can be found via the Interparliamentary EU Information Exchange (IPEX), at www.ipex.eu/ipex/cms/home/EU-Speakers).

In the UK, it was felt that it would be important for Parliament to express a view, to influence the debate and thus minimise the risk of unsatisfactory new arrangements being agreed at EU level. The new Government encouraged Parliament to make its views known. Again, there was no obvious procedure to hand; but it was decided that the best way forward was for each House to be invited to endorse a proposal presented in the form of a select committee report. In the House of Lords, the European Union Committee had been able to agree a position paper before the 2010 summer recess. In the autumn, the Chairmen of the House of Lords EU Committee and its Sub-Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Development and the newly-elected House of Commons Foreign Affairs, Defence and European Scrutiny Committees informally agreed a proposal, working on the basis of the Lords EU Committee paper. Having been endorsed by the Lords EU and the three Commons committees, the proposal was published in January 2011 in parallel committee reports, of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Commons and the EU Committee in the Lords (5. House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, First Report of Session 2010-11, *Future interparliamentary scrutiny of EU foreign, defence and security policy* (HC 697); House of Lords European Union Committee, Seventh Report of Session 2010-11, *Future interparliamentary scrutiny of EU foreign, defence and security policy*, HL Paper 85). In March, the two Houses separately endorsed the approach outlined in their respective committees' reports (See Hansard, 10 March 2011, on "Inter-Parliamentary Scrutiny (EU Foreign, Defence and Security Policy)", and Lords Hansard, 31 March 2011, on "Inter-parliamentary Scrutiny: EUC Report").

Among national parliaments, one area of difference was the extent to which the new inter-parliamentary CFSP/CSDP body should be a standing conference or assembly, with a substantial secretariat, a system of committees, and the capacity to draft reports, undertake visits, and so forth – akin to the outgoing WEU Assembly, or the parliamentary assemblies of NATO or the OSCE. Although some national parliaments (and the WEU Assembly) favoured this kind of arrangement, the UK Parliament was with the majority in favouring – in these economically straitened times – a lighter ‘conference of committees’-type model, along the lines of a specialised foreign affairs/defence/security version of the existing COSAC. The UK proposal was that the new forum should build on and replace the current once-per-presidency conferences of Foreign Affairs Committee Chairpersons (COFACC) and Defence Committee Chairpersons, and should be convened under the authority of COSAC.

Another issue was the position of non-EU Member States. In the WEU Assembly, parliaments of non-EU European members of NATO participated as associate members. Following the demise of the WEU’s Brussels Treaty, however, any future inter-parliamentary CFSP/CSDP body would have to be convened in the framework of the EU Treaties; but this would privilege EU Member States over others. Parliamentarians from Norway and Turkey let it be known that they were unhappy at the prospective downgrade in their status. The UK proposal was that the new forum should not take formal votes and that all delegations should be of equal size, which it was hoped would mean that the parliaments of relevant non-EU Member States could in practice participate on equal terms.

The most serious divergence of views was over the relative weights in the new forum of national parliaments compared to the European Parliament – as expressed in matters such as arrangements for the presidency, and, above all, the relative size of delegations. It became clear that national parliaments, overall, saw the prospective new conference primarily as a successor to the WEU Assembly, and thus as the inter-parliamentary counterpart to the inter-governmental CFSP and CSDP.

The European Parliament, by contrast, was focused not on the demise of the WEU Assembly but on the opportunities presented by the Lisbon Treaty. It also became clear that fundamental differences remained over the nature of the CFSP: for the European Parliament, given the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty it no longer made sense to regard the CFSP as a wholly inter-governmental policy; whereas national parliaments, overall, saw the CFSP as still being determined by their national governments in the Council. Broadly, they wished to have an inter-parliamentary forum which reflected this, and which enhanced the national-level scrutiny of their governments which they undertake at home.

In February, the Belgian Parliament, in its capacity as President of the EU Speakers’ Conference, published its proposal. This made clear that the Belgian Parliament’s position was significantly closer to that of the European Parliament than to those of any of the national parliaments which had expressed a view (All the contributions received by the Belgian Presidency from national parliaments and the European Parliament in response to its original proposal are posted at www.ipex.eu/ipex/cms/home/EU-Speakers/pid/52935). Also available are an overview document and table prepared by the Belgian Presidency summarising the positions of the various chambers which expressed a view. For an overview from the UK Parliament’s perspective, see also the 23 February article by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Richard Ottaway MP at www.publicserviceeurope.com/article/41/frictions-and-factions-in-defence-policy). The UK parliament, along with others which broadly shared its views, lobbied the Belgian Presidency. At the end of March, the Belgian Presidency published a compromise proposal which halved the proposed size of the European Parliament delegation to the new conference (from 54 Members to 27), but left the proposed size of national parliament delegations at four Members each; whereas the majority of parliaments which had expressed a view (19 chambers in 14 Member States) had wanted uniform national and EP delegations of six Members each (Among the documents for the 2011 Speakers’ Conference available at www.ipex.eu/ipex/cms/home/EU-Speakers/pid/52935, the original

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Belgian Presidency proposal is “note-CFSP-CSDP.pdf” and the compromise proposal is “COMPROMISE PROPOSAL (30.03.2011).pdf”).

At its 4-5 April meeting, the EU Speakers’ Conference decided on the establishment of an Inter-parliamentary Conference for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Security and Defence Policy. Rather than the Belgian Presidency’s original proposal for a co-presidency with the European Parliament, the Speakers’ Conference agreed that the Presidency of the new Conference should be held by the parliament of the EU Council Presidency country, “in close cooperation with the European Parliament”. However, no agreement could be reached on the size of delegations, which was thus left unspecified in the conclusions (See EU Speakers’ Conference, 4-5

April 2011, Presidency Conclusions, via www.ipex.eu/ipex/cms/home/EU-Speakers/pid/52935). Although the way forward is far from clear, it appears that it could be up to the parliament of Poland, as the Council Presidency country in the second half of 2010, to decide how many national and European parliamentarians to invite to the inaugural meeting of the new Conference, sometime in the autumn. Given that the Polish Sejm and Senate do not appear to have a shared view, (See their contributions at www.ipex.eu/ipex/cms/home/EU-Speakers/pid/52935) the President of the European Parliament is a Pole, and Poland’s Presidency could in any case become entangled with its parliamentary elections, it may be that this one has a way to run before new arrangements are firmly settled.

Doing populism research at the SEI

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My visiting period at the Sussex European Institute last autumn, has been very fruitful for my research on populism. I have been very productive during the three months I stayed in Brighton.

Working in a new academic environment was very refreshing. The Sussex European Institute provided a stimulating atmosphere for me, strongly encouraged by the regular meetings with my two supervisors Paul Taggart and Paul Webb with whom I have had some inspiring discussions. Their political science perspective forced me to reflect on my philosophical work and their questions stimulated me to rethink my conceptualization of populism. Moreover, the discussion we had about my presentation in one of the weekly SEI research seminars encouraged me to elaborate further on some of my hypotheses. The research seminars offered me, in addition, the opportunity to meet other scholars working in the

field of politics. Brighton is a lovely city and I liked the social events with other PhD-students a lot. In sum, my research stay was a great experience and I hope that many other researchers will benefit from the possibility to study abroad for a while.

Currently, I am working on the final chapters of my PhD thesis. I have decided to expand the thesis a bit with two more chapters on contemporary populism and hope to finish writing these chapters before the summer.

In the meantime, I will also teach an introductory course in philosophy for first-years students of the faculty of management, social geography, economics and political science. After the summer, I will have a few months left to edit the thesis and, hopefully, I will finish my book at the end of this year. As some of you may know, my research project is part of the Nijmegen interdisciplinary research project ‘Repertoires of Democracy’ in which political scientists, philosophers and historians participate. This research group has edited a volume on ‘creative crises of democracy’, which will be published by Peter Lang (Germany) before the summer. The topics that are discussed in the volume will be of interest of some you.