



What's inside...

Features

Election 2015: negotiations with 'One Nation' politics ♦ The British Election, renegotiation and the economy ♦ Busted Flush or Breaking Through? UKIP and the 2015 General Election Result ♦ What does Andrzej Duda's victory mean for Europe?

Research

Party Members in the UK: A New ESRC-Funded Project ♦ EU DG Justice grant application success ♦ Researching multi-speed organising in the 2015 general election campaign ♦ New Media's impact on constituency campaigning. A comparative study of the United Kingdom and Japan ♦ The UK Development Budget and the IMF ♦ Taming the City? Financial Crisis, the EU bonus cap and the UK Banking Sector

Activities

Discussing (the absence of) Christian Democracy in Poland ♦ Practitioners and academics gathered for knowledge exchange ♦ LLM Geneva Study Visit ♦ MA in Corruption and Governance trip to Basel, Switzerland ♦ My Experience as a Research Hive Scholar

MESSAGE FROM THE CO-DIRECTOR...



Prof Susan Millns
SEI Co-Director
S.Millns@sussex.ac.uk

The summer of 2015 is proving a hot one for European politics as the economic and financial crisis in Greece has reached a tipping point and the news is full of stories of the thousands of migrants coming to Europe seeking to escape war, persecution and economic hardship and dreaming of a new life on European soil. Back on the domestic front, the UK is still reflecting upon the results and the implications of the general election 2015 with its promise of renegotiation with the European Union and ultimately the prospect of a referendum on the future of the UK's membership.

In this summer issue of Euroscope we reflect on some of these developments looking at the potential consequences of current events in UK and European politics. In the first feature article, Dr Emily Robinson, Lecturer in Politics, explores the rhetoric of 'One Nation' politics in the general election. Tracing the history of this concept, Dr Robinson reveals the malleability of the concept and how it can be called upon by all sides of the political debate and across all parts of the UK, ultimately questioning whether the idea of 'One Nation' can continue to hold the four nations of the UK together.

Prof. Alan Mayhew, in his contribution on 'The British Election, Renegotiation and the Economy' sets out the likely economic consequences of a UK exit from the European Union and argues forcefully that the economic arguments come down in favour of the UK remaining in the EU and indeed playing a stronger role in the development of EU

economic policy. Central to this proposition is the importance of British access to the internal market of the EU given that about half of Britain's trade is with EU states and that Europe remains the key market for Britain's exporters. Being outside this market, Prof. Mayhew argues, would negatively affect foreign direct investment and would mean Britain playing a lesser role in international organisations (such as the WTO) and on the international stage more generally.

A further interesting feature of the UK 2015 general election was the emergence of UKIP as a central player in the campaign. Prof. Paul Taggart explores the UKIP phenomenon in his discussion of the implications of UKIP's rise as key political player in national politics. Refusing to write UKIP off as a 'busted flush' following its failure to capture the number of seats that might have been anticipated, Prof. Taggart points out that UKIP attracted nearly 4 million voters making it the UK's third party in terms of the electorate. Where this will take us in the forthcoming referendum on UK membership of the EU is uncertain. However, Prof. Taggart's warns that the future potential impact of UKIP on British politics should not be underestimated.

Elsewhere in Europe, the recent presidential election in Poland appears to have also shaken up the domestic political scene. Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak discusses the surprise victory of Andrzej Duda both in terms of its domestic and European consequences. Raising the prospect of a period of political cohabitation should Civic Platform win the autumn election and remain in government, Prof Szczerbiak suggests that this may give rise to tensions over the development of Polish foreign policy potentially leading to two different foreign policy narratives emerging from Warsaw.

Turning to research funding, many congratulations to Dr Mark Walters (Law) for his successful bid to DG Justice for funding of a comparative research project exploring the life cycle of hate crime. This project, commencing in September 2015, will comprise an empirical study over 2 years on the effectiveness of legal processes for hate crimes across 5 EU member States.



Congratulations go also to Prof. Paul Webb who, along with former SEI colleague Prof. Tim Bale, has secured funding from the ESRC for a new project examining the inner life of political parties in the UK and in particular the roles played by grassroots members. This project, which comprises both quantitative and qualitative research, is set to run until 2017 with the first phase of work already underway and consisting in post-election surveys of the members of the UK's six biggest parties. Success too for PhD student Nikoleta Kiapidou who secured a Sussex Research Hive Scholarship and Roxana Mihaila for her internal award to carry out research with Dr Andreas Kornelakis (SEI/Business & Management) into the politics of bonuses in the UK banking industry.

Also highlighted in this issue of Euroscope is the research of some of SEI's PhD students. Read about Jessica Garland's research into 'multi-speed' organisation in the 2015 general election campaign and Sean Vincent's study of the impact of new media on constituency campaigning which compares the situation in the UK and Japan. Also see the write-ups of our postgraduate study visits for law and politics students to Geneva and Basel respectively.

As we approach a new academic year in September 2015, SEI is also pleased to announce the introduction of a new MA degree in European Governance and Policy which replaces the previous MAs in European Politics and Contemporary European Studies and which will take in its first cohort of students this autumn. Equally for 2015 the Politics department is introducing a new MA in International Politics which will allow for the exploration of European politics within a global context. For more information about opportunities to study with SEI see <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/politics/pgstudy/2015/taught/31751>.



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.

Co-Editors:

Stella Georgiadou, Liljana Cvetanoska, Rebecca Partos



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.

Co-Directors: Prof Sue Millns & Prof Paul Taggart

University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RG

Tel: (01273) 678578, Fax: (01273) 673563

Email: seieuroscope@gmail.com; www.sussex.ac.uk/sei

Where to find Euroscope!

Euroscope is easily accessible:

- The SEI website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/euroscope>
- The official mailing list, contact: seieuroscope@gmail.com
- Hard copies are available from the Law, Politics and Sociology office
- Join us on Facebook and Twitter for the latest Euroscope news

Contents

Message from Co-Director	2
SEI Diary	5

Features

Election 2015: Negotiations with 'One Nation' Politics	9
The British Election, Renegotiation and the Economy	11
Busted Flush or Breaking Through? UKIP and the 2015 General Election Result	13
What does Andrzej Duda's victory mean for Europe?	15

On-going Research

Party Members in the UK: A New ESRC-Funded Project	17
EU DG Justice Grant Application Success	21
Researching Multi-Speed Organising in the 2015 General Election Campaign	22
New Media's Impact on Constituency Campaigning. A Comparative Study of the United Kingdom and Japan	23
The UK Development Budget and the IMF	24
Taming the City? Financial Crisis, the EU Bonus Cap and the UK Banking Sector	24

Activities

Discussing (the Absence of) Christian Democracy in Poland	25
Practitioners and Academics Gathered for Knowledge Exchange	27
LLM Geneva Study Visit	28
MA in Corruption and Governance trip to Basel, Switzerland	29
My Experience as a Research Hive Scholar	30

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/Summer 2015

January 2015

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson spoke about the reinvention of Lib-Lab politics from 1971-97 during a workshop on political temporality at the University of Nottingham ◊ 17 January

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a blogpost entitled “The Polish left is in a state of turmoil ahead of the country’s 2015 parliamentary elections” at the LSE European Politics and Public Policy (EUROPP) Blog ◊ 22 January

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson presented a paper entitled ‘The Progressive Moment: David Marquand and the reinvention of Lib-Lab politics’ at David Marquand's retirement conference, organised by Political Quarterly at Kings College London ◊ 26 January

February 2015

The **Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption** (SCSC) welcomed the Deputy Ambassador of China, Shen Beili, to the UK during a visit to the University of Sussex. During her visit on 11 February, alongside discussions with the University’s Vice Chancellor, Michael Farthing, and the head of

the University’s International Office, Martin Hookham, Ms Shen spoke to students on the MA in Corruption and Governance course as well as third year undergraduates in the politics department taking a module on Political Corruption. In her talk to students Ms Shen, herself a Sussex graduate, explained how China was currently trying to deepen and extend the rule of law, although she stressed that this process would inevitably take time. She also noted that China is one of the few places in the world that has too few lawyers. Ms Shen fielded a wide variety of questions from Sussex students, ranging from how long Xi Jinping’s anti-corruption drive was likely to last to how effective she thought China’s Freedom of Information laws were ◊ 11 February

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak was the External Evaluator on the Aston University Periodic Review panel of undergraduate Politics and International Relations programmes ◊ 13 February

March 2015

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a blogpost entitled “Why the 2015 presidential election in Poland could be closer than many ex-

pected” at the LSE European Politics and Public Policy (EUROPP) Blog ◊ 6 March 2015

UG trip to Berlin Professor Dan Hough and 17 second year undergraduates spent 6 days (8-13 March) in Berlin, chatting to MPs about a range of issues related to the government and politics of Germany. During their time in Berlin the group held talks with Philip Lengsfeld (Christian Democrats), Stefan Liebich (Left Party), Jens Zimmermann (Social Democrats) and the former minister for consumer protection, Renate Kuenast (Greens). The group also talked with the Director of Strategy of Germany's newest party, Rainer Erkens, from the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party.

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson, spoke to staff at the National Audit Office about 'progressive' partnerships and alliances in modern British history as part of their annual LearnFest event ◊ 16 March

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson, presented a research paper at Oxford Brookes on 'The Meanings of "Progressive" Politics: Libs, Labs and others in mid-twentieth-century Britain' ◊ 23 March

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson published a book chapter entitled “‘Different and better times’? History, Progress and Inequality’ in a new book published by Routledge, “The Impact of

History” edited by Pedro Ramos Pinto and Bertrand Taithe ◊

30 March

LPS Sussex researchers at the PSA conference in Sheffield LPS members of staff took an active role as presenters and panel chairs at the Political Studies Association (PSA) conference in Sheffield.

Professor Paul Taggart chaired a panel on “Politics Beyond Mainstream: Political Alternatives in Comparative Perspective”. Professor Dan Hough and Dr. Olli Hellmann both chaired panels of the PSA Specialist Group: Corruption and Political Misconduct on Researching Corruption. Dr. Emily Robinson gave a presentation on 'The Rhetorical Shift from New to One Nation Labour' and with Paul Taggart 'The Strange Dearth of Populist Britain?' Professor Dan Hough presented a paper on “ The Role of Civil Society in Tackling Corruption. Can you get too much of a good thing?”. Dr. Olli Hellmann presented a paper on “The Institutionalisation of Political Corruption”. Dr. Elizabeth David-Barrett presented a paper on “Controlling Political

Favouritism in the Allocation of Procurement Contracts: A comparison of three institutional settings, together with Dr. Mihaly Fazekas from the University of Cambridge and Jon MacKay from the University of Oxford. Dr. Erica Consterdine gave a paper on “Labour’s Legacy: Lock-In Effects of Labour’s Immigration Policy” ◊ 30 March– 1 April



April 2015

SEI-linked Professor Dan Hough, Director of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) delivered a training course for the Saudi Arabian National Anti-Corruption Commission. He visited Saudi Arabia, where he spent five days with [Nazaha](#), the Saudi Arabian Anti-Corruption Commission. Professor Hough visited the capital of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, from 5-9 April 2015, where he led a professional development course for 25 members of Nazaha.



The Commission, which was established in 2011, is committed to creating integrity, transparency, honesty, justice and equality in the bodies that fall within its jurisdiction, and members were particularly keen to discuss issues of best practice in tackling corruption with Professor Hough. During his time in Saudi Arabia, Professor Hough also met with the President of Nazaha, Dr Khalid bin Abdulmohsen bin Mohammed Al-Mehaisen, and discussed future opportunities for working together. Research on how anti-corruption agencies can improve their work and further professional development courses were on the agenda ◊ 5 April

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson gave a paper on 'Englishness and the Problems of Radical Nostalgia on the Contemporary Left', at a workshop on The Dilemmas of Political Englishness at the University of Huddersfield ◊ 7 April

Prof. Susan Millns undertook an Erasmus visit to the University of Paris Descartes from 7-10 April to deliver a course on European Integration from a Common Law Perspective.

SEI-linked lecturer Emily Robinson delivered a research paper entitled "For Progressive Men Only': The Politics of Commerce in Inter-war Britain' at Teeside University ◊ 23 April

May 2015

SEI-linked lecturer Andreas Kornelakis published an article in the Business History journal in which he examined the cases of OTE and Telecom Italia in the context of the European market integration and the political economy of corporate adjustment ◊ 1 May

LPS secured an unprecedented number of ESRC studentships The School of Law, Politics and Sociology (LPS) has secured a record number of Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) studentships for 2015. Researchers who have been awarded the prestigious studentships are set to join the Sussex ESRC Doctoral Training Centre in the autumn. The Doctoral Training Centre is one of a network of 21 centres in the UK, set up by the ESRC to support the development and research training of postgraduate researchers.

Each year, the ESRC donates more than £3.5 million to the Doctoral Training Centre, enabling it to provide 22 studentships for social science re-

search. A total of five of this year's studentships have been awarded to LPS nominees, representing an unprecedented achievement for the School.

Each of the students will undertake research training at Sussex. They will also be eligible to apply for a support grant, overseas visits and internship opportunities, as well as attend conferences designed to make the most of their PhD ◇ May 8

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak presented a paper on 'Why there is no Christian Democracy in contemporary Poland?' at a Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN)/Catholic University of Lublin (KUL)/Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung conference on 'Christian Democracy and the European Union - Poland, Central Europe, Europe' at the Catholic University of Lublin in Poland ◇ 6 May

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson presented a paper at the conference on Progress and Duration of the Long Nineteenth Century at the University of Durham. Progressive and conservative mindsets in late nineteenth-century Britain was the main focus of Dr. Emily Robinson's paper which was entitled "The two natural and inevitable parties?" ◇ 9 May

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a blogpost entitled "What does Paweł Kukiz's election success mean for Polish politics?", LSE European Politics and Public Policy (EUROPP) Blog ◇ 15 May

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a blogpost entitled "Law and Justice now have the momentum in the lead up to Poland's general election" at the LSE European Politics and Public Policy (EUROPP) Blog ◇ 29 May

SEI-linked Lecturer Emily Robinson took part in the Fighting Inequality conference of the Labor And Working-Class History Association & Working-Class Studies Association at Georgetown University in Washington where she presented a paper on 'History, Progress and Inequality: It's the Way You Tell It' ◇ 30 May

June 2015

Success for LPS faculty in Student Led Teaching Awards

Six members of academic staff from the School of

Law, Politics and Sociology have received Student Led Teaching Awards including SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak, for Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching. The Awards,



which are delivered annually in partnership between the University of Sussex and the Students' Union, saw students nominate staff in a number of categories at the end of the spring term. ◇ June 2015

Features

Election 2015: negotiations with 'One Nation' politics



Emily Robinson
Lecturer in Politics
E.A.Robinson@sussex.ac.uk

In his constituency acceptance speech on election night, David Cameron announced that he wanted the Conservative Party 'to reclaim a mantle that we should never have lost: the mantle of One Nation, one United Kingdom.'¹ This was a reference both to Ed Miliband's attempt to re-brand his own party as 'One Nation Labour' in 2012-13, and to the surge in Scottish nationalism over the past year. Cameron was attempting to shed both the 'nasty' image that had clung to his party throughout the 2010-15 coalition and the memory of being the Prime Minister who had come dangerously close to presiding over the break up of the United Kingdom.

This speech was seen to be an attempt to reposition the party towards 'progressive' or 'compassionate conservatism' in the way he had tried to do between 2007 and 2010. At this time, the memory of Disraeli had seemed to be a way of moving away from that of Margaret Thatcher.² It was the Conservatives' failure to enact this kind of conciliatory conservatism in government that seemed to leave the phrase open to reappropriation by Labour. Just as Disraeli's novel, *Sybil*, aimed to correct perceptions that the 'condition of England' question was the natural terrain of Radicals and Socialists, so Miliband was able to use it to challenge the Conservatives' long-standing claim to speak for the whole nation, and to cast them instead as a sectional and divisive

party:

You can't be a One Nation Prime Minister if you raise taxes on ordinary families and cut taxes for millionaires. You can't be a One Nation Prime Minister if all you do is seek to divide the country. Divide the country between north and south. Public and private. Those who can work and those who can't work.³

This was not a new tactic. In the interwar years, Labour directly challenged Baldwinian conceptions of 'the public' by presenting itself as the truly national party. This was the basis upon which the narrative of the 'People's War' could later be built.⁴ But we should also remember that in 1950 another reading of the One Nation tradition took hold within the Conservative Party. The backbench One Nation Group was characterised by its members' meritocratic outlook and their emphasis on economic freedom as the route to national regeneration. Thatcher drew on this understanding of the phrase herself -- from her first speech as a parliamentary candidate in 1950, right through to her 1987 claim that the creation of a property-owning democracy was 'fulfilling the Tory dream of One Nation'.⁵ For Cameron, then, this choice of phrase is more appropriate than it might seem. Even as he asserted that in reclaiming Disraeli's legacy he would be able 'to mend Britain's broken society', he compared this to the way that Thatcher had 'mended the broken economy in the 1980s'.⁶

It is impossible to disentangle this economic legacy from the other side to 'One Nation' politics -- the status of the United Kingdom. Both Scottish

Features

and Welsh nationalism are explicitly underpinned by opposition to Thatcherism. And Cameron's party has not only provoked further resistance to its 'austerity' politics, but deliberately appealed to anti-Scottish sentiment among English voters during the election campaign.

This awakening of English nationalism has proved particularly difficult for Labour to navigate. Those associated with Blue Labour had been attempting to construct an explicitly English socialism for some time. It seems slightly odd, then, that this led directly to the idea of One Nation Labour. Perhaps part of the attractiveness of the phrase was that it allowed Labour speakers to riff on the 'Young England' rhetoric of Disraeli, while leaving phrases like 'it is an idea rooted in the history of the country' usefully ambiguous.⁷ Yet Miliband always defined 'One Nation' as 'a vision of Britain coming together'. As he put it in his 2012 conference speech, 'I don't believe that solidarity stops at the border [...] why would a party that claims to be left of centre turn its back on the redistribution, the solidarity, the common bonds of the United Kingdom?'⁸

As this indicates, Labour's defence of the Union was about much more than electoral calculation. While the Conservatives' unionism has tended towards Anglo-centrism, Labour's history, memory and culture is inextricably bound up with the 'Celtic fringe'. Even its attempts to tell a story of radical Englishness (including the Peasants' Revolt and the Levellers and Diggers), inevitably culminate in the formation of a British labour movement. From the Newport Rising, Taff Vale and Red Clydeside, through the 1945 Labour Government, to the miners' strikes and poll tax protests, the iconic moments of labour movement history are Scottish and Welsh as much as they are English.

It was no coincidence that on the morning of 19 September 2014, Alex Salmond acknowledged the 'No' vote on Scottish independence from behind a lectern bearing the slogan 'One Scotland'. But there is no comparable story of political Englishness that can cut across ideological, regional and class divides, or that points to a clear political future. It remains to be seen how long the more nebulous idea of 'One Nation' can continue to

hold four nations together.

1. Speech in Witney, 8 May 2015. <https://www.politicshome.com/party-politics/articles/story/david-cameron-pledges-reclaim-one-nation-tories-head-election-win>. Accessed 19.05.2015

2. For instance, David Willetts, 'Benjamin Disraeli, my hero', *Guardian* 30 September 2008. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/sep/30/conservatives.toryconference>. Accessed 19.05.2015

3. Speech to Labour Party Conference, 2 October 2012. <http://labourlist.org/2012/10/ed-milibands-conference-speech-the-transcript/>. Accessed 19.05.2012

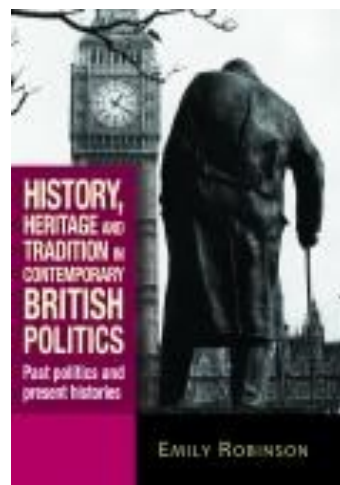
4. Jon Lawrence, 'Labour and the Politics of Class, 100-1940', in Jon Lawrence and David Feldman (eds), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 237-260

5. Speech at adoption meeting, Dartford, 3 February 1950. <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/100857>. Accessed 19.05.2015; speech to Conservative rally in Harrogate, 9 June 1987. <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106880>. Accessed 19.05.2015

6. Quoted in David Hencke, 'Cameron: I'll be as radical as Thatcher', *Guardian* 18 August 2008. <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/aug/18/davidcameron.conservatives>. Accessed 19.05.2015

7. Tristram Hunt and Jon Cruddas, both in Cruddas (ed.) *One Nation Labour – debating the future* (London: LabourList, 2014). <http://labourlist.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/One-Nation-Labour-debating-the-future.pdf>. Accessed 14.08.2014, p. 6

8. Miliband, speech to Labour Party Conference, 2012



Read more about how history, heritage and tradition influence British politics today in Emily Robinson's book: 'History, Heritage and Tradition in Contemporary British Politics' (Manchester University Press, 2012).

The British Election, Renegotiation and the Economy



Prof. Alan Mayhew
Jean Monnet Professor &
Professorial Fellow (Politics)
A.Mayhew@sussex.ac.uk

The narrow Conservative victory in the recent UK general election made the holding of a referendum on Britain's membership of the EU a certainty. The other parties have all now swung round to the necessity of holding such a referendum. The aim of the Conservative government is to renegotiate certain elements of British membership in order to be able to propose to the British electorate that it should vote to support membership in the European Union. There are however a substantial number of Conservative members of Parliament who oppose British membership of the EU on principle, irrespective of any agreement which the government arrives at with the other 27 member states. While current opinion polls suggest that there is a majority in favour of British membership in the EU, this could change rapidly given the very low level of understanding in the electorate of the EU, its aims and ways of working, and the unpredictable nature of the renegotiation process. The arguments put forward by those supporting a British exit from the Union are essentially concerned with the sovereignty of Parliament. In this short article I want to consider the economic arguments, which on balance clearly come down in favour of the UK remaining in the EU and indeed playing a leading role in the development of EU policy. One should probably ignore the extreme views. If Britain leaves the EU, its economy will not collapse, and once having left it is unlikely that there will be a new and glorious Victorian Imperial economic expansion as some people seem to think. The real question concerns the medium and long term growth prospects for the British economy.

In general, both the pro and anti-camps emphasise the importance of British access to the internal market of the European Union. Still roughly half of

Britain's trade is with the EU, and therefore, even though the Eurozone economy is growing relatively slowly it remains the key market for Britain's exporters. Ideally the British economy should not only be fully participating in the internal market but the British government should be playing a leading role in policy development. If Britain should leave the EU, it may well be possible that it can negotiate continued access, but not being a member state it would be a policy-taker rather than a policy-maker. This is the position of Norway and Switzerland, but for a large economy like that of the United Kingdom this would be a very unsatisfactory situation. Some leading Conservative Eurosceptics appear to dream that Britain can have access to the internal market but can retain a veto on any new internal market legislation. Just imagine how 'common' a market would be if all 28 member states were able to exercise a veto.

Being outside the EU would automatically lead to uncertainty about Britain's access to the internal market in the medium and longer term. This would almost certainly negatively affect foreign direct investment, for which access to the whole of the European market is so essential. One only needs to consider the car industry which is almost exclusively dominated by foreign direct investment, most of which is not of European origin, but which exports a very large proportion of its output to continental Europe. Britain has been remarkably successful in attracting foreign direct investment which has played a significant role in economic growth over the recent past. If this was to slow down or reverse, the impact on medium and longer term growth prospects would undoubtedly be negative.

The possibility of compensating for any problems in the internal market by developing trade with more dynamic economic regions such as Southeast Asia or the United States would be affected by the need to renegotiate current trade agreements with the main non-EU trading partners once Britain leaves the EU. However it is not at all obvious that these economic powerhouses would be interested

Features

in trade agreements with a relatively small economy like that of Britain. An exit would also mean that Britain would lose influence in the WTO, in which the United States, the EU, Japan and the largest emerging economies are the dominant players.

It is perhaps unlikely that the free movement of capital would be affected immediately by a British exit but the free movement of capital is essential to the development of the UK financial sector, which is a major pillar of the British economy. Again uncertainty will not help the sector's development and being outside the EU would almost certainly bring problems to that sector.

Immigration into Britain from other EU member states has played a very important role in the debate around the possible British exit. While there may be problems of the concentration of immigration in a few hotspots, in general all studies show that the arrival of other Europeans has led to a higher rate of economic growth than would have been possible without them. Some sectors of business would find it extremely difficult to operate without high quality staff from other EU member states. This applies not only to the business

sector but also in areas like health and research and design. The risk for Britain outside the EU is that it would be far less attractive to such immigration which would have a potentially serious negative impact on the economy in general but in the financial and service sectors in particular.

Finally an EU exit would affect Britain's rating with the major rating agencies. The uncertainty caused by the referendum has led to S&P downgrading the UK outlook to negative and an exit from the EU would almost certainly lead to a higher risk assessment in the UK. Rating downgrades fairly automatically increase the cost of financing government deficits.

While the economic arguments are fairly convincingly in favour of British membership of the EU, much of the argument in the run-up to the referendum will of course concern other areas, notably sovereignty, immigration from a social point of view rather than economic and human rights, the latter peculiarly having little to do with the EU. From an economic point of view however, it is in nobody's interest that the UK should go back to being a couple of small islands in the Atlantic.

Busted Flush or Breaking Through?

UKIP and the 2015 General Election Result



Prof Paul Taggart
Professor in Politics
P.A.Taggart@sussex.ac.uk

The 2015 UK general election result for UKIP may look as if the spectacular coverage of the party and the predictions for its impact during the campaign were overblown. The party attained only one MP and the Conservative Party managed to pull a parliamentary majority out of the bag, against all expectations. UKIP compounded the turmoil of the post-election period with the resignation and unresignation of its leader, Farage. At the same time, the mantle of the new challenger on the block

clearly went to the SNP which arrived in Westminster with 56 MPs. But we need to be very careful not to write UKIP off as a busted flush. In a number of ways UKIP was highly successful in 2015 and we need to not lose sight of this.

UKIP's vote share was 12.6% of the vote with nearly 4 million voters. Most importantly, this means that UKIP is now the UK's third party in terms of the electorate. Its vote share increased more than any of the other party with a rise of 9.5%. This compares with nearly 1.5 million votes for the SNP which was the fourth largest party with 7.9% of the vote and nearly 2.5 million voters. Furthermore, UKIP came second in 120 constituencies. The simple fact is that the vagaries, or more accurately the specificities, of a single member plurality electoral system mean that, as Liberal

Features

Democrats have always known, large dispersed electoral support is not worth as much as smaller concentrated vote shares. The SNP won 56 MPs by winning the plurality in 56 Scottish constituencies but not even standing in 593 constituencies. Whatever Westminster holds, Britain now has a party system in the electorate that places a right-wing populist party right at the heart of the party system.

During the campaign, it was sometimes easy to forget that the party was formed as a 'hard' Eurosceptic party, campaigning for British withdrawal from the EU. The focus on immigration and on the control of immigration came to the fore and party political broadcasts for UKIP failed sometimes to even mention Europe. But the linkage between the issues of immigration and Europe were foremost in the thinking of Farage and the party. The inability to control borders and immigration were linked to the UK's membership of the EU, it was time and time again asserted by Farage. And even, if we are to think of the two issues as decoupled, for voters the support for a party portraying itself as against the establishment on immigration and Europe come from the same fundamental well-spring. UKIP's profile has always been more of a populist Eurosceptic force than as a Eurosceptic party that happens to be populist. The focus on immigration has policy links to the EU issue but it has populist sources deeply embedded in this anti-establishment party of the right. In this sense it is much more realistic to view UKIP as part of wave of populist parties in Europe that mobilise around different issues (immigration, regionalism, corruption and Euroscepticism) depending on the context in which then find themselves.

Keeping in mind the level of support, and looking at other populist parties across Europe, it is clear that however low the supply of UKIP MPs is, the demand in the electorate for a party of this nature is both significant and unlike-

ly to dissipate. The party faces a challenge in how it reacts to the failure to break into Westminster but we should not underestimate the on-going challenge that the party represents for the British party system.

The up-coming referendum on UK membership of the EU is not only largely a consequence for UKIP but it will also provide an important arena on which the party can mobilise. The commitment of Cameron made in January 2013 to a membership referendum was an attempt to both manage internal divisions within the Conservative Party over Europe, but also represented a strategy to remove support for UKIP as a challenger for traditional Con-



servative voters. Now, sitting on a Conservative parliamentary majority, Cameron may well now see this as a success but it is also a key goal for UKIP and therefore, in this one way, the election was a score for Farage.

Europe is set to be the subject of fierce debate in the next year or so in the UK as the country heads towards the membership referendum. If the outcome is 'Brexit', UKIP will have achieved their core mission. If the outcome is to stay in the UK, the issue will not disappear. If we have learned one thing from the Scottish referendum, it is that a vote for the status quo on a divisive issue with a challenger party capturing the opposite position is a recipe for continuing the vitality and salience of that issue. The election result for UKIP show them as a major party in the UK electorate. The impact of UKIP on British politics and potentially on the politics of the EU should not be underplayed.

Image Credit: [The Telegraph](#)

What does Andrzej Duda's victory mean for Europe?



Prof Aleks Szczerbiak
SEI Professor of Politics and
Contemporary European
Studies
A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

The right-wing challenger's unexpected victory in May's presidential election has shaken up the Polish political scene but its impact on European politics more generally depends on the outcome of the autumn parliamentary poll. If the opposition wins then this could herald a major change in Poland's European and foreign policy. If the current ruling party remains in office, the country faces a possibly turbulent period of cohabitation with conflicting foreign policy narratives coming from the two main state organs.

Mainstream or 'own stream'?



Image Credit: [Open Europe](#)

The shock victory of Andrzej Duda - the candidate of the right-wing Law and Justice (PiS) party, the main opposition grouping - over incumbent Bronisław Komorowski, who was backed by the ruling centrist Civic Platform (PO) led by prime minister Ewa Kopacz, in last month's presidential election has led to speculation as to whether there will be a significant shift in Poland's international

relations.

The Polish President is not simply a ceremonial figure and retains some important constitutional powers, notably the right to initiate and veto legislation. However, the President's competencies are much more limited than those of, say, his French counterpart and real executive power lies with the prime minister, so Mr Duda's victory will not result in any immediate change in Poland's foreign policy. Nonetheless, if it is followed up by a change of government after autumn's parliamentary election then there could be major implications for the country's relationships with the rest of Europe.

The current Civic Platform-led government's strategy has been to locate Poland within the so-called 'European mainstream' by presenting the country as a reliable and stable EU member state and adopting a positive and constructive approach towards the main EU powers, especially Germany. By locating Poland at the centre of the Union's decision-making core, the current government claims that it has, in contrast to its Law and Justice predecessor, been effective in promoting the country's interests at the international level. The appointment last autumn of the then Polish prime minister Donald Tusk as President of the EU Council was presented as the crowning achievement of the government's strategy of positioning Poland as a 'model' European state at the forefront of the EU integration project.

On the other hand, while it supports Polish EU membership, Law and Justice is, in rhetorical terms at least, a broadly anti-federalist (verging on Eurosceptic) party committed to opposing further European integration and defending Polish sovereignty, especially in the moral-cultural sphere where it rejects what it sees as a hegemonic EU liberal-left consensus that undermines Poland's traditional values and national identity. Law and Justice also argues that Poland needs to be more robust in advancing its national interests within the EU rather

Features

than simply following European mainstream politics which it sees as being driven by Germany. Indeed, since the outbreak of the eurozone crisis, the party has, if anything, articulated a more fundamental, principled critique of Civic Platform's support for German-led closer European integration.

Knowing that he was potentially at a disadvantage on foreign affairs against a more experienced incumbent, Mr Duda was wary of highlighting international issues during the presidential campaign. However, when he did address European and foreign policy Mr Duda also argued that Poland needed to be more assertive in promoting its interests and form its 'own stream' that could counter-balance the major EU powers. He called for Poland to 'recalibrate' its relationship with Germany which, he argued, should not be pursued at the expense of subordinating the country's interests. Mr Duda also said that he wanted to revisit the allocation of decision-making powers between Brussels and member states to strengthen national sovereignty in areas such as climate policy, where he claimed EU policies were damaging Polish industry.

However, although a Law and Justice-led administration will be more assertive in terms of trying to carve out an independent foreign policy and more Eurosceptic in tone, in practice it is not likely to take any radical steps against the EU integration process. It is worth bearing in mind that when it was in government in 2005-7 the party's rhetorical inter-governmentalism often gave way to a more integrationist approach in practice; for example, signing Poland up to the Lisbon treaty. In fact, although the issue of Polish-EU relations was highly contested in recent years these divisions were often not about the substance of the European integration project as such but were rather simply an extension of domestic politics by other means, with the two parties treating the EU as a so-called 'valence' issue where they competed over which was most competent to pursue a shared goal - in this case, representing and advancing Polish national interests within the Union.

Conflicting foreign policy narratives?

If Civic Platform wins the autumn election and remains in government, which is still a distinct possibility, then Poland faces a period of up to four years of political cohabitation. Although, according to the Polish Constitution, foreign policy lies within the government's domain, it also gives the President an informal oversight and co-ordinating role while failing to delineate the two state organs' respective powers precisely. Moreover, the President can exercise a powerful informal influence through his foreign visits and high profile speeches on international issues. He also ratifies international agreements, so can block treaties negotiated by the government, and is the country's highest representative and can, for example, try and participate in meetings of the EU Council. So the government has to factor in his position and there is a danger of two conflicting European and foreign policy narratives coming from Warsaw.



Indeed, the previous period of cohabitation between the Civic Platform government and the late Lech Kaczyński, the Law and Justice-backed President, in 2007-10 saw an ongoing power struggle between the government and President, with the former accusing the latter of attempting to pursue a parallel foreign policy. One of the most high profile disputes occurred in October 2008 when Mr Kaczyński and the government clashed bitterly over who had the right to determine the composition of the Polish delegation at that month's EU Council meeting in Brussels. This ended as a major political embarrassment for Poland as Mr Kaczyński attended the summit against the wishes of the government, which even refused the President use of the official government aircraft forcing him to charter a private jet. Mr Kaczyński and the government also had a number of high-profile disputes over the substance of Poland's EU policy, the most

Features

dramatic being when the President delayed Polish ratification of the Lisbon treaty for eighteen months in 2008-9.

The parliamentary election is the key

Mr Duda's unexpected presidential election victory will certainly have an impact upon Poland's relationships with its European partners but its full ramifications depend on the outcome of the parliamentary election. Experience suggests that Law and Justice is often more rhetorically than practically Eurosceptic and that foreign policy divisions between the two main parties are an extension of domestic politics by other means. Nonetheless, if Mr Duda finds himself working with a government with whom he shares a common programme then Poland will certainly be more assertive in pushing forward its interests at the international level inde-

pendently of the major EU powers. If, on the other hand, we are in for re-run of cohabitation then there is a danger of ongoing clashes between a Law and Justice President and Civic Platform-led government over both their respective competencies and the substance of European and foreign policy.

This is a shorter version of an article first published on Aleks Szczerbiak's personal research blog: <https://polishpoliticsblog.wordpress.com/>.



Image

Credit: [Wikipedia](#)

On-Going Research

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

EU DG Justice grant application success



Dr Mark Walters
Reader in Law
Mark.Walters@sussex.ac.uk

The Life Cycle of a Hate Crime: An Examination of the Legal Process

Dr Mark Walters from the School of Law, in partnership with five other institutions across the EU, has been awarded €527,960,73 to conduct an empirical study over 24 months on the effectiveness of legal processes for hate crimes. The project will examine the application of criminal laws and sentencing provisions for hate crime across 5 EU Member States, the Czech Republic, Ireland, Latvia, Sweden and the United Kingdom, capturing best practice in the tools used to combat hate crime across Europe, as it relates to strategies of legal intervention and the implementation of these rules.

Over the past 10-15 years EU Member States have sought to combat and prevent hate crime by enacting penal provisions that enhance the punishment of hate-motivated offenders. The application of provisions has not been uniform, with some countries creating new bodies of legislation to criminalise hate crime offences (UK), others amending criminal codes to aggravate existing offences (Sweden; Czech Republic; Latvia), and some with no specific hate crime provisions (Ireland).

The primary objectives of the study are to:

- Detail the operational realities of hate crime legislation by gathering experiential accounts of the legislation 'in action' from legal professionals
- Document differences in both victims' and offenders' experiences of the criminal justice system according to the legislative and policy context
- Identify shortfalls in the legislative responses to Article 4 of the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia as well as existing hate crime legislation among participating Member States
- Identify best practice models of hate crime legislation and supporting policy among the participating Member States and tailor these, where appropriate, to common and civil law systems
- Develop manuals outlining best practices and recommended legislative models on hate crime
- Disseminate information across the 28 Member States to enable States to benchmark, learn, and develop strategies to combat hate crime
- Inform future EU policy and legislative responses to hate crime

The project will commence on September 1st 2015.

Party Members in the UK: A New ESRC-Funded Project



Prof Paul Webb
Professor of Politics
P.Webb@sussex.ac.uk



Prof Tim Bale
Professor of Politics
t.bale@qmul.ac.uk

Few, if any, fully-fledged democracies prosper without political parties. But parties are in trouble almost everywhere - both in terms of public perceptions, which are becoming more and more negative, and in terms of membership numbers, which (with the exception of some newer, more radical entrants into the market) have been dropping like a stone for some time. Unless we are willing to see parties become essentially elitist, hollowed-out institutions, this should give us cause for concern. In a healthy democracy, parties cannot simply be brands run by elites for their own and for our collective convenience. They need to be rooted in, rather than disconnected from, society. Their programmes need to reflect meaningful differences. Their leaders and their parliamentary candidates are best chosen by competitive election rather than appointment or inheritance. Party members can help ensure that all this occurs in practice as well as in theory. They can also, of course, make the difference between a party winning or losing an election since contests are decided not merely nationally, in the media, but locally, on the ground.

This project seeks to shed new light on the inner life of parties in the UK, and in particular on the roles played by grassroots members, through a

combination of quantitative and qualitative research that is funded by the ESRC and will run until 2017. The first phase of work is currently underway. Immediately following the recent general election, we commissioned simultaneous surveys of the members of the UK's six biggest parties. This will shortly be followed by similar surveys of Labour's affiliated members in the trade unions and those citizens who feel strongly attached to one party or another yet do not choose to actually join them. In 12 months time, we will survey respondents who have left their parties over the course of the previous year in order to find out why they have done so.

By running these surveys (and complementary qualitative research with focus groups), we aim to produce original and accurate data on the composition, motivations, opinions, and activities of the members, potential members and, just as importantly, the ex-members, of the parties. Furthermore, by conducting interviews with the parties' professional staffs and elected representatives, we hope to understand the 'demand side' as well as the 'supply side' of party membership - that is, to know what the parties think of their members, why (and if) they still want members, and what they see as the proper role of the members.

Our central research questions are as follows: How, in the twenty-first century, are parties responding - and how should they be responding - to the severe drop in membership that most of them, with the exception of a few small parties and new-entrants to the system, are experiencing? What do they say they want and what do they really want from the decreasing proportion of citizens who feel some kind of connection with them? And what do those people want from their parties? What motivates the even smaller proportion of them that become party members, and what do they actually do - especially at elections? Why, over the longer term, do some of them stay but so many of them leave? Does the way they are treated, and

Research

the limited say and special privileges they are afforded, make a difference? Will blurring the definition of membership to encompass 'supporters', 'friends', and 'affiliates' - the solution that many parties seem to be lighting upon - improve matters or will it only make things worse?

Having received the first of our commissioned survey datasets a matter of days ago at the time of writing, we have not yet had time to engage seriously with these research questions, but we can report a few early findings about the social and political profiles of the memberships and their levels of activity during the election campaign. Table I shows a number of things.

First, British party members are (still) a fairly middle aged lot on the whole, although the Greens are somewhat younger (at 42) and 'kippers' somewhat older (at 58) on average. Men predominate among all party memberships, but especially so in UKIP, where three-quarters are men, while the Greens and SNP have the most female profiles, with over two-fifths of their members being women. The Tories and Liberal Democrats are the most middle class parties, with 85% of their members coming from occupational grades ABC1 (senior & routine white collar), while UKIP - not Labour - are the most working class party, with one-third of their members coming from the manual occupations (C2DE). On the whole, party members tend to be quite a well-educated bunch compared to the wider population, with half of them remaining in full-time education to the age of 20 or older, but once again UKIP is the outlier, with little more than a quarter of their members staying in education this long.

The majority of party members claim to have devoted some of their time to working on their parties' campaigns during the general election, although more than a quarter owned up to doing nothing at all. Somewhat surprisingly in view of their ideological emphasis on grassroots democracy and political participation, the Greens appear to have been least active during the campaign (or perhaps they are just more honest about these things?), while the LibDems were the most active - but the inter-party variations are generally not

very great on this variable. Conservatives, Greens, UKIP and - especially - SNP members are all well-satisfied with their respective parties' and leaders' performances during the campaign. Not surprisingly, perhaps, Labour and LibDem members are less content, but interestingly, both profess to be happier with their now former leaders than with their parties' campaigns as a whole. Only the Greens felt their leader (Natalie Bennett of the notorious 'car crash' interview on LBC radio at the start of the campaign) performed worse than the wider party in the estimation of her members. As for political attitudes, we can provide a couple of brief tasters: first, Green party members see themselves as considerably more left-wing than those of any other party, while Conservatives and UKIP adherents locate themselves furthest right - none of which should strike anyone as particularly surprising.

More interestingly, perhaps, for readers of this newsletter, we can report attitudes of UK party members on the issue that is likely to dominate British politics over the course of the next year or two: the referendum on membership of the EU. Reassuringly for supporters of the EU nearly three-fifths of all party members report their intention to vote for continued UK membership of the EU, regardless of whether or not David Cameron manages to renegotiate the terms of membership. However, there are some very sharp differences between the parties: Labour, the SNP, the Liberal Democrats and the Greens are all firmly in favour of remaining in the EU, irrespective of negotiations, while Tory members are only in favour of remaining in if the negotiations achieve satisfactory terms of membership, and UKIP members are overwhelmingly against membership, regardless of any re-negotiated terms.

And finally, a pointer to two important decisions that will be taken in the near future: members of the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties are still largely undecided, but if our data are anything to go by, their new leaders are most likely to be Andy Burnham and Tim Farron, respectively. You heard it here first...

Research

	Con (n=1193)	Green (n=845)	Labour (n=1180)	LibDem (n=730)	SNP (n=963)	UKIP (n=785)	Total (n=5696)
Average Age	54	42	51	51	49	58	51
Male	71.2%	57.5%	61.6%	68.5%	56.4%	75.9%	65.0%
Female	28.8%	42.5%	38.4%	31.5%	43.6%	24.1%	35.0%
Social Grade ABC1	85.1%	77.6%	77.6%	85.7%	71.0%	66.2%	77.6%
Social Grade C2DE	14.9%	22.4%	22.4%	14.3%	29.0%	33.8%	22.4%
Educated to 20+	44.7%	58.9%	59.8%	66.1%	46.1%	27.9%	50.7%
In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (0=far left, 10 = far right)							
	7.76	1.90	2.39	4.10	2.96	7.34	4.44
Over the five weeks of the election campaign this year, how much time did you devote to party activities?							
None	29.3%	35.4%	27.4%	29.2%	23.2%	39.4%	28.9%
Up to 20 hours	38.1%	45.0%	44.0%	34.2%	42.4%	39.2%	40.7%
From 21-40 hours	9.9%	7.7%	10.4%	12.0%	11.9%	10.7%	10.4%
More than 40 hours	17.4%	6.5%	13.8%	19.5%	13.8%	13.1%	14.1%
Don't know	5.3%	5.4%	4.4%	5.1%	8.6%	6.6%	5.8%
Overall, how well do you feel your party/leader performed in the general election campaign? Please rate on a scale of 1 to 11 (where 1 means extremely disappointing and 11 means excellent)?							
Your party	9.13	7.62	5.75	3.74	10.86	8.68	7.75
Your party leader	9.12	6.80	7.36	6.78	10.89	9.51	8.46
If there were a referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union between now and the next general election, how would you vote?							
I would vote for the UK to remain a member of the EU regardless of any re-negotiated terms of membership	19.4%	81.9%	84.7%	86.0%	81.3%	0.5%	58.6%
I would vote for the UK to leave the EU regardless of any re-negotiated terms of membership	15.3%	2.0%	4.7%	2.1%	4.6%	85.7%	17.3%
My vote would depend on the terms of any renegotiations of our membership of the EU	63.3%	13.4%	9.2%	11.6%	10.6%	13.1%	22.2%
I would not vote/ don't know	2.0%	2.7%	1.5%	0.3%	3.5%	0.6%	1.8%

Research

Researching multi-speed organising in the 2015 general election campaign



Jessica Garland
Research Student in
Politics
jg395@sussex.ac.uk

As the Labour Party begins to assess what went wrong and deals with a result that was a surprise for many a party activist and pollster, one of the areas to be considered will surely be the strategy and effectiveness of Labour's 'ground war'.

Just days out from polling day, Labour appeared to have the upper hand in the campaign on-the-ground. Ashcroft polls reported Labour had a greater contact rate with voters compared to the Conservatives; the so-called 4 million conversations that Leader Ed Miliband had set out to achieve at the start of the year appeared to have been successful. Not for Labour the expensive Saatchi billboards but 'doorstep conversations' facilitated by an army of volunteers, both party members and supporters.

Like Obama's presidential campaigns of 2008 and 2012, the Labour party's 2015 campaign placed a high premium on face-to-face contact facilitated through a more sophisticated data operation and financed by millions of small 'crowdfunded' donations. This was traditional campaign activity aided by new technology and social media as well as sheer numbers.

This model of campaigning appears to fit the pattern of what's known in scholarly research as a 'multispeed' model of organisation: a term coined by Susan Scarrow to capture the way that parties tend to organise their support these days. The multispeed party is centralised, digital and accessible, connected to a wider base of supporters and offering a greater range of ways to affiliate and engage in party activity.

This multispeed way of organising is the focus of my doctoral research which is examining why parties are adopting this model and what impact it is having both for supporters and the party. This election therefore offered a unique opportunity to see how the Labour party would fight a campaign with new technologies and a wider and more digitally connected support base. Particularly in this, the first General Election campaign fought under Ed Miliband who had introduced changes of a 'multispeed' nature within the party, such as embracing non-member supporters and community organising techniques.

It is not without a little hesitancy that the party activist approaches the short campaign in a marginal constituency: six weeks of endless leafleting, last minute ministerial visits and debates about where to park a campaign bus. These are the realities of campaigning. When everyone else has moved on, remembering only vaguely something about kitchens, stone tablets and hardworking people, activists will still have sore feet and an aversion to letterboxes with draught excluders.

It has been five years since I last worked on a campaign and whilst many of the aforementioned hazards remain the same, some things have changed. The technology is different, more sophisticated, though not perhaps as joined-up as it could be; supporters and the management of supporters is more organised and more online; social media, naturally, plays a bigger role. So far it looks like strong evidence of multispeed organising in operation. Yet none of this has replaced the more traditional; posters and leaflets, GOTV procedures and armies of retiree envelope stuffers remain central to the operation.

The 2015 General Election campaign saw old and new brought together; new technologies and networks used to support very traditional volunteer operations. Success for multispeed organising perhaps, if not electorally for the party.

Research

The UK Development Budget and the IMF



David Evans
Visitor Research Fellow
in Politics
H.D.Evans@sussex.ac.uk

Ring-fencing the UK development budget has been defended by UK governments for some time now on moral grounds, that is to say, by assisting the poorest countries develop in an uncertain world, the world will be a safer place for all. This research in progress report aims to give non-economists an insight into some of the macroeconomic development issues facing low income countries, countries assisted by the UK development budget.

I have an on-going research project with the IMF

on how low income countries can manage macroeconomic shocks from the global economy, and which macroeconomic policies work for those countries and which do not. Our focus is on poverty impacts arising from global and policy macroeconomic shocks for Ethiopia as a case study. Our earlier research on Ethiopia gives a historical example of the policy insights that quantitative research in this area can give. Our new research uses a contemporary base year and projects over time the poverty impacts of contemporary and projected world economy shocks and policy responses.



Taming the City? Financial Crisis, the EU bonus cap and the UK Banking Sector



Andreas Kornelakis (SEI/
Business & Management) and
Roxana Mihaila (SEI/Politics)
are working on a pilot project
that examines the politics of
bonuses in the UK banking
industry.

The project takes the financial services sector as a key industry in the 'financialised' UK model of capitalism, an integral part of the UK's comparative institutional advantage. Theoretically it is framed in the context of debates in comparative political economy and varieties of capitalism. The project is funded by a small internal grant.



More specifically, the project looks at executive pay, and specifically how have UK banks and other key actors (the UK government, Bank of England, British Banker's Association, etc.) responded to the EU regulatory cap on bankers' bonuses.



Research

New media's impact on constituency campaigning. A comparative study of the United Kingdom and Japan

Sean Paul Vincent
Research Student (Politics)
sv212@sussex.ac.uk

The last 30 years has seen what many writers describe as a decline in the power and influence of political parties. Writers such as Duverger, Lipsett and Rokkan and Sartori saw parties as being deeply integrated at an individual level with the specific constituents or social cleavages they were founded to represent. However the need for larger parties to appeal to a broad range of voters and the professionalisation of political campaigning saw a shift in both party branding and organisation. Since the 1980's there has been a growing emphasis on the party leader as the representative of the party brand, with many voters choosing which party to vote for based on the leader's image. This was reinforced by the fact that political campaigning became more expensive, meaning only the national party organisation was able to fully utilise new forms of mass-media communication such as television. The result has been the growing power of the party leader. This has coincided with a fall in grassroots support of political parties and growing voter apathy in established democracies. In short parties are seen as drifting away from the electorate whose interests they claim to represent.

The past twenty years has seen a revolution in technology and communication which has transformed the world. The Internet has become a tool used on a daily basis for over three billion people around the world. The effect of this on politics has become the subject of a growing body of literature over the past 15 years. The internet was initially seized upon by parties as a way to circumvent the independently controlled mass-media and get their message directly to voters. Since the middle of the last decade, most notably the 2008 campaign of Barack Obama, the use of the internet has shifted

from not only information provision but to campaign organisation. The internet provides parties and candidates with platforms for policy promotion, a way to greater personalise/humanise candidates, an alternative way to organise grassroots support and to fundraise.

The aim of my thesis is to examine the effects that the Internet is having on political candidates at the constituency level. With the decline of party support and the growing expense of political campaigning it can be argued that there is a greater incentive for local candidates to appeal for the personal vote and not to rely on the party label to attract support. New Media, such as personal websites and social media accounts, give candidates the platform to run more independent and personalised campaigns. The study will look at candidates' New Media use during elections – making a comparison between the UK (a party-centred campaign system) and Japan (a candidate centred campaign system). It is hoped that a comparison between candidates from two economically advanced democracies with very different traditions of campaigning will help to establish whether New Media is being used by candidates to pursue the personal vote, bringing them closer to their constituents and furthering their independence from the national party.



Activities

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

Discussing (the Absence of) Christian Democracy in Poland



Prof Aleks Szczerbiak
SEI Professor of Politics and Contemporary European Studies
a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

On May 5th-6th I attended an international conference on 'Christian Democracy and the European Union - Poland, Central Europe, Europe' at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) in Poland. The conference was organised by the University's Institute of European Studies, the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the research institute attached to the German Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) party. It was an inter-disciplinary conference, mainly involving contemporary historians and political scientists, there were also Christian Democratic politicians among the speakers, including some veterans of the Polish Christian Democratic movement. There were papers on a wide range of topics linked to both Polish and Central European experiences of Christian Democracy, and Christian Democratic traditions in Twentieth Century Europe.

An interesting case of a non-occurrence

In my paper on 'Why is there Christian Democracy in contemporary Poland?' I drew on a 2008 'Party Politics' article co-authored with former Sussex colleague, Prof Tim Bale (now at Queen Mary University London), a longer version of

which was published as a Sussex European Institute working paper. We began by noting that Poland was one post-communist East European state in which, given the nature of its society and political divisions, one might have expected Christian Democracy, at least at first glance, to have gained a foothold and even to flourish. Poland is a state where practising Roman Catholics make up around 95% of the population, a large proportion of which is still employed in the agricultural sector that, along with church-goers, traditionally supplied continental Europe's Christian Democratic parties with a core vote. However, when we look at Poland there seems to be no such thing as a successful Christian Democratic party: there are no successful self-identified (subjective) Christian Democratic parties in post-1989 Poland and none of the successful centre-right and centrist parties currently operating in Poland meet the (objective) criteria for what constitutes a (classic) Christian Democratic party.

In order to explain this interesting case of a non-occurrence, we examined the factors that were crucial to the initial formation and success of Christian Democratic parties in post-war, newly democratic continental Western Europe and found that these were largely absent during the emergence of democratic, multiparty politics in post-1989 Poland. Only the first of seven factors identified as crucial to the success of a Christian Democratic party - a substantial, practising Roman Catholic population - appeared to have been present unambiguously. A second factor - fear of a takeover by a militant secularist, anti-clerical, egalitarian

Activities

tarian and potentially totalitarian left - also existed, but only in attenuated form.

Missing links

None of the other five factors identified were present in Poland, or only in a very limited or qualified form. The social constituencies that provided the bedrock support for Western Christian Democracy (newly enfranchised female voters, the rural/agricultural sector, the propertied middle class) were either missing in post-1989 Poland or Polish Christian Democrats faced serious electoral competition for their votes.

Unlike post-war Western Europe, where potential competitors on the right were either delegitimised by their participation/acquiescence in totalitarian re-

gimes, there were many other, equally credible, political alternatives to Christian Democracy available on the centre-right in post-1989 Poland.

Like post-war Western Europe, the Polish Catholic Church certainly enjoyed high prestige and had a good organizational structure, but its hierarchy was unwilling to throw its moral weight and resources unambiguously behind a single pro-clerical party, Christian Democratic or otherwise, and eliminate its competitors.

Unlike in post-war Western Europe, where key civil society groups and associations like Catholic trade unions (at least initially) threw their weight solidly behind Christian Democratic parties, the Polish Solidarity union was (with a brief exception at the end of the 1990s) unwilling to support or campaign on behalf of any of the 'post-Solidarity' centre-right parties, including the Christian Democratic ones. Finally, the Church was, initially at

least, able to achieve many of its political objectives without having to 'pick a winner'. This was partly because, to a greater or lesser extent, virtually every centre-right party in post-1989 Poland stressed its commitment to Christian values and promoted policies sympathetic to the Church's social teachings and political agenda anyway.

Are there any (classic) Christian Democratic parties left?



I concluded my paper by reflecting on the fact that even those Western European parties whose membership of the Christian Democratic family appears to be beyond doubt have had to respond to challenges and contingencies - such as the emergence of economic liberalism as an apparently dominant

paradigm, and the secularisation of Western societies - which means that they are no longer exactly what they once were.

Both individual Christian Democratic parties and transnational party family groupings have attempted to cope in a more secular, market-driven age by adopting a more ideologically flexible and organizationally expansive approach. So while those parties that are currently successful in Poland do not resemble the 'classic' Christian Democratic archetype, maybe there are examples of the attenuated 'modern' version that currently predominates in Twenty First Century Western Europe?

Or, approaching the issue from a different angle: perhaps there are no 'classic' Christian Democratic parties actually left anywhere, even in Western Europe!

Activities

Practitioners and academics gathered for knowledge exchange

Rita Griguolaitė
PhD student in Law
griguolaite.rita@gmail.com

On 20 May 2015 School of Law, Politics and Sociology hosted a knowledge exchange workshop for practitioners and academics in the field of procurement and competition law. The workshop 'Financing and Organising Public Services under the New Procurement and Competition Rules', was organised by Professor Erika Szyszczak, SEI/Department of Law, and Mr Ian Clarke, Director of Excalibur Procurement Services Ltd, as a part of Higher Education Innovation Fund funded project. The event gathered around 20 local practitioners and academics and aimed to share experience and establish grounds for a network.

Professor Szyszczak opened the workshop introducing the main current issues in procurement and competition law and indicating the benefits of co-operation between practitioners and academics in



this field. Mr Ian Clarke (pictured below) then made a dynamic presentation sharing valuable insights on the topic from the practitioner's perspective. He illustratively showed that a procurement practitioner deals with a very wide spectrum of questions and stakeholders in his daily work. Mr Clarke pointed out that very often a procurement advisor acts as a mediator between public sector (politicians) and private sector (suppliers) and that she/he must be good at contractual relations, state aid rules, negotiations, etc. Moreover, participants of the workshop, especially practitioners from both private and public sector, actively contributed to Mr Clarke's raised concerns and also discussed what kind of educational background would best help a procurement practitioner: legal, management or financial.

Participants very enthusiastically welcomed the presentation on Corruption Risks in UK Local Government Public Procurement by Dr Liz David-Barrett, SEI/Department of Politics. She looked at the construction sector in more detail emphasising that post-award implementation is a most risky stage in terms of corruption and stated that: 'We are not getting any better in forecasting of project costs. And it is a global problem'. Examples from her research were provided.

The workshop was closed by my presentation relevant to my PhD thesis within the scope of the workshop. I analysed EU market and non-market values and how to assess values of service in a legal context. A discussion led by Professor Szyszczak on consumer side issues in the public services followed.

Participants agreed that the event was useful in terms of sharing knowledge and networking. Further topics and training needs have been identified for potential future meetings and common events of practitioners and academics in procurement and competition law.

LLM Geneva Study Visit

Dr Emily Lydgate
Convenor LLM International Trade

We have just returned from our inaugural LLM Geneva Study Visit on 26-28 May 2015, which was a great success!

We visited six different international organizations who work on trade and investment, environment and intellectual property, including the World Trade Organization, the United Nations Environment Programme, The United Nations Centre for Trade and Development and the World Intellectual Property Organization.



The presentations given at these organizations were targeted to the specific interests of our LLM students who got to hear directly from some of the organizations they have studied throughout the year; our students also posed many interesting and challenging questions.



We also toured the lovely Geneva UN Headquarters (the *Palais des Nations*) and students explored the lake by boat, picnicked in the sun in the beautiful lakefront Botanical Gardens, and some even went to France for the evening.

We look forward to next year's Geneva trip!



Activities

MA in Corruption and Governance Trip to Basel, Switzerland

Pamela Wadi
MA Student
MA in Corruption and Governance

As part of the MA in Corruption and Governance programme we had the privilege of spending 5 days in Basel, Switzerland. This small city in northwest Switzerland offered an idyllic setting to discuss prevailing issues of anti-corruption and compliance with representatives from Swiss banks, NGOs and other financial organisations.

With corruption, money laundering and illicit financing on the rise, the 5 day seminar was timely, informative and brought to the fore the key research topics in these areas. We were joined by high profile representatives from Switzerland's leading banking institutions, including UBS and Credit Suisse, who discussed the challenges they face in meeting their compliance obligations in an increasingly risky financial environment. Representatives and investigators from the Basel Institute for Governance outlined the methods used to recover illegally obtained

assets hidden in western bank accounts. Students from both Sussex and the University of Basel were also required to make presentations of their own research to the group. The Swiss students definitely impressed with their ability to articulate complex corruption-related legal terminology and theories in flawless English for the benefit of their visitors. The UK visitors also readily adopted the Swiss way of knocking on tables as a form of applause.

A visit to the mountain ringed town of Zug, 90 minutes from Basel, was a definite highlight of the trip. Zug is famous not only for being a low tax region, the headquarters of a number of multinational enterprises but for reportedly boasting a significant number of millionaire asset managers. During the time in Zug, the Sussex cohort did not shy away from asking probing questions to Ivan Glasenberg, the billionaire CEO of the highly polarising commodity and trading company, Glencore. Ivan allocated time to meet with us alongside his compliance, communications and CSR team.

Professors Mark Pieth (Basel) and Dan Hough (Sussex) did a remarkable job compiling the seminar timetable and chairing the events. The University of Sussex students were overwhelmed by

the Basel University students' friendliness, hospitality and generosity which included providing coats, gloves and hats for our final night which was spent at Kulm Rigi, a traditional hotel located on the summit of



snow-capped Mount Rigi. The hotel provided breath-taking panoramic views of Lake Lucerne, Lake Zug, Lake Lauerz and the Alps. The week ended with both sets of students sharing a meal which included delicious bread, creamy Swiss cheese and what was soon becoming a regular feature, asparagus!

My Experience as a Research Hive Scholar



Nikoleta Kiapidou
Research student in
Politics

N.Kiapidou@sussex.ac.uk

One year ago, I was delighted to hear that I was awarded with a Sussex Research Hive Scholarship for the academic year 2014-2015. For those of you who haven't visited it yet, the Sussex Research Hive is the Library's designated area for researchers, open to all doctoral researchers and research staff. It provides private study areas, bookable meeting rooms and space for discussion and collaborative work. SAGE Publications has given funding to support both the Research Hive and the Library's innovative work in engaging with the research community at Sussex. Every year, three Research Hive Scholars support

the area, engaging with researchers at Sussex to find out what they want from their community, and planning events in response.

My other two colleagues, Lana and Jay, are PhD students in the Humanities and the Life Sciences respectively, so we were a good mix of people across different disciplines. Our co-operation was smooth throughout the year in planning and running several events as well as taking the most out of the Hive social media pages. With the support of the Library and the Doctoral School, we organ-

ised a series of peer-led sessions under the name 'Doctoral Discussions'. During these sessions, researchers from Sussex shared their experiences about issues that are relevant to PhD life, such as conferences, teaching, collaboration, and the Viva. Other PhD students seemed very interested in learning from their peers. We also took part in organising a number of social events, such as Inductions for the September and January PhD starters, and Christmas and Summer events, where researchers came along to meet and mingle and enjoy some food and drinks on us. On our social media pages, and particularly the Hive blog, we had interesting contributions from PhD students at Sussex about their Doctoral experiences.

The Hive Scholarship, apart from a financial aid, was an invaluable experience overall. I met so



many people from the Library and the Doctoral School, but also researchers and PhD students from all around campus. Advertising and running the events was exciting and we learnt a lot about useful ways of event

promotion and project management. We also learnt about the needs and concerns of the research community. Therefore, we were happy to do our little bit for the researcher development and work/life balance at Sussex. I would definitely recommend the Hive events and activities to all new and old PhD students. It is a great way to meet new people, learn tips and advice from your peers and to keep in touch with the research community at Sussex. It would also be great to see another Hive Scholar coming from Politics next year!

MA in Corruption and Governance

This interdisciplinary MA is unique in the UK and explicitly looks at issues of corruption and governance. It also breaks new ground in encouraging you to take up three-month internships within non-governmental organisations, regulators, government offices or businesses, with a view to putting the theory learned in seminar room in to practice.

Assessment: All modules are assessed by 5,000-word term papers, presentations and exams. You also write a 20,000-word dissertation in the summer term. The internship will be assessed by a 5,000-word report on what you have done and how this links into theories of corruption, anti-corruption and/or good governance.

Core Modules

- Interdisciplinary Approaches to Analysing Corruption
- Research Methods in Corruption Analysis
- Corruption and Governance Dissertation

Options

- Corruption in International Business
- Corruption and the Law
- International and Transnational Offending
- International Crimes
- Internship
- Political Parties and Party Systems in Comparative Perspective
- State Capacity, Natural Resources and Corruption
- The State of East Asia: Corruption, Theft and Collapse

For all enquiries: Prof Dan Hough (d.t.hough@sussex.ac.uk)

Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption



MA in International Politics

1 year full time/2 years part time

This MA is designed to develop your understanding of the interaction between politics at domestic levels with the wider functioning of politics at the transnational and international level. It integrates the comparative study of domestic politics, foreign policy and international politics.

The course appeals to practitioners who wish to foster an analytical understanding of the interdependencies between domestic and international politics and how they impact on one another in real-world decision-making.

Autumn term:

- Comparative Governance
- International Politics
- Research Methods and Approaches

Spring term (choice of two options):

- Foreign Policy Analysis
- The United Nations in the World
- Politics and Government in India
- The State in East Asia
- European Political Integration
- Domestic Politics of European Integration

Summer term: you research and write a 15,000-word dissertation on a topic of your choice, related to one of your options, under supervision of a member of faculty.

For details contact: **Dr. Kai Oppermann**

k.oppermann@sussex.ac.uk

MA in European Governance and Policy

1 year full time/2 years part time

This MA is designed to give you an understanding of the way in which policy is made within Europe, covering national and EU level processes as well as the interaction between them. It focuses in particular on the political context to policy making in Europe. In exploring these processes, the course makes use of both cutting-edge research and the insights of policy-makers and others seeking to shape policy. As such, it prepares you for both further academic study and careers in the wider policy environment.

Autumn term:

- European Governance
- Politics and Public Policy
- Research Methods and Approaches

Spring term options (choice of 2 modules):

- European Political Integration
- Foreign Policy Analysis
- International Relations of the EU

- The Domestic Politics of European Integration
- Energy and Environmental Security in Europe
- EU Single Market Law
- Political Parties and Party Systems
- Territorial Politics
- The Political Economy of EU Integration
- The Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition
- Corruption and Governance in International Business
- Tackling Corruption

Summer term: you research and write a 15,000-word dissertation on a topic of your choice, related to one of your options, under supervision of a member of faculty.

For details contact: **Dr Sue Collard**

S.P.Collard@sussex.ac.uk

SEI Doctoral Studentship Opportunities



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

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

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

Applications are invited for ESRC doctoral studentships for UK applicants (fees and maintenance grants) or applicants from other EU member states (fees only).

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

Potential applicants should send a CV and research proposal to
Politics: Dr James Hampshire (j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk)
Law: Dr Ahmad Ghouri (a.a.ghouri@sussex.ac.uk)
Sociology: Dr Laura Morosanu (l.morosanu@sussex.ac.uk)