

The newsletter of the Sussex European Institute

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 European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Conference 2015: some observations and remarks on the current research on political parties and populism  
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# MESSAGE FROM THE CO-DIRECTORS...



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It's a great time to welcome new and returning students for the new academic year 2015/16. At the SEI we have a new cohort of Masters students taking the retitled European Policy and Governance MA but we also have a new cohort of MA students on the brand new International Politics MA as well as the next set of students on the Governance and Corruption MA. On top of that we have new PhD researchers joining us as well as a number of visiting scholars at the SEI who are coming to us from other institutions. We wish to extend a huge and belated welcome also to our new Professor of Politics and new Head of Politics, Prof. Claire Annesley who has joined the University of Sussex from the University of Manchester where she was Assistant Dean for Research in the Faculty of Humanities and Director of Research in the School of Social Sciences. Claire's research on gender, politics and policy has been internationally recognised, being awarded the 2011 Richard Rose Prize by the Political Studies Association, the 2011 Carrie Chapman Catt Prize by Iowa State University and the 2012 Public

Policy Section Prize by the American Political Science Association. Claire is currently working on a project with Karen Beckwith (Case Western Reserve) and Susan Franceschet (Calgary) on Political Women and Executive Representation (PoWER) and is a co-investigator for the ESRC seminar series Feminising Politics. You can read more about Claire and her research on pp. 20-21 below.

Nevertheless, however positive we might feel about the start of the new academic year it's not a great time for many Europeans and, some would say, for the European Union.

The economic crisis rumbles on throughout Europe with some very different implications in different parts of Europe. The recent Greek election has seen the re-election of Syriza despite its implementation of the austerity programme it was last elected to oppose. On top of that, as we write, Europe is facing its refugee crisis as the continent faces huge human mobility as hundreds of thousands seek refuge from conflicts in Syria and elsewhere and European states have mounted welcomes, barbed wire fences or bus services or very little in the way of services to deal with the mobile populations. And the European Union has faced the charge that it has not effectively co-ordinated a response to a crisis that, by its very definition, cries out for an integrated, or at least co-ordinated response.

SEI's very first activities of the academic year address these issues. We have just seen a highly successful workshop from SEI organised by Dr. Erica Consterdine looking at 'Britain at a crossroads: the politics of immigration, asylum and Europe' (see p.33) and our first Research in Progress seminar (taking place on Wed. 23 Sept.) is dedicated to a roundtable on the European Refugee Crisis. Linked to the migration theme, our present issue also includes an appeal for help for the Calais migrants from Dr. Suraj Lakhani, Lecturer in Sociology and Criminology (see p.25).

This issue of Euroscope contains a wealth of material on the challenges and capacities of Europe. We have a contribution from Dr. Sevasti-Melissa Nolas and Dr. Christos Varvantakis on Greece looking critically at the way in which social science has viewed and commented on the Greek crisis. Professor Aleks Szczerbiak looks forward with some reflections and predictions on the upcoming Parliamentary election in Poland in October. Corruption is addressed as Prof. Dan Hough looks at the issue in relation to Germany. On the more positive side of the equation Dr. Maria Mercade Frabboni looks at how far the promise of a single market in the digital realm has become a reality. Dr. Kimberly Brayson tackles the issue of the status of the Human Right Act and the ECHR in the UK given the present government's commitment to scrap this controversial piece of legislation. Dr. Maria Federica Moscati provides reports on European Commission funded projects investigating dispute resolution between same-sex couples and on a project aimed towards preventing domestic and dating violence against lesbian and trans-gender women.

As usual our community of PhD researchers provide a dynamic to the institute and in this issue we have a number of contributions from them. Huyla Kaya reports on what it is like to transition from working in a Turkish Ministry to being a PhD researcher at Sussex and bringing her family with her to live and work in the UK. Miguel Angel Lara Otaola reports on how his own doctoral research fits into the electoral integrity project which sees co-operation with Harvard University and the University of Sydney looking at the conditions under which electoral results are accepted. David Davies reports on his doctoral fieldwork in Spain and Sweden in which he has gathered data on how EU member states have tackled gender stereotypes in advertising. And we have conference reports from Toygar Baykan and Nikoleta Kiapidou on the ECPR conference in Montreal and the UACES conference in Bilbao re-

spectively. As evidenced by this issue, the summer has been a busy time for SEI. But the future months will be busy and challenging for Europe. Resolving the refugee crisis and moving through the economic crisis will be difficult and neither issue is likely to be quickly 'resolved'.

At the SEI we face forwards and we hope to contribute to at least understanding what is to come.



## 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

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## 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](mailto: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

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



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# SEI Diary

The SEI Diary provides snippets on the many exciting and memorable activities connected to teaching, researching and presenting contemporary Europe that members of the SEI have been involved in during Summer/Autumn 2015.

## June 2015

**SEI Professor of Politics Professor Dan Hough** talked to BBC News about FIFA and corruption. He warned about the challenges those who wish to reform FIFA will have to deal with, ◇ 3 June



**SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson** participated in the 'After Miliband' workshop, organised by the University College of Oxford and the PSA Labour Studies group. Emily was part of a roundtable entitled "Lessons of 2010-2015" ◇ 5 June

**SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson** contributed towards a published report comprising the views of several academics and practitioners on the campaign and result of the UK election and the Labour Party's future direction. Emily's article is entitled "The spirit of '97" and can be found in Volume 23, No 3 of the *Renewal* journal of social democracy.

**SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson** participated in Fabian Society's summer conference which focused on the future direction of the centre-left following Labour's defeat in the UK election. Emily was part of a panel entitled "1992 all over again-learning from the past" ◇ 6 June

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** spoke at 'Good Morning Trinidad and Tobago' about reforming FIFA ◇ 8 June

**SEI Professor of Politics Paul Webb** together with Professor Tim Bale from the Queen Mary University of London published an article in *The Conversation* enti-

led "Cameron risks losing grassroots support if EU plan fails" ◇ 17 June

**SEI Senior Lecturer Kai Oppermann and Professor Paul Taggart** published an article in *Politics in Spires* entitled "The referendum on EU membership: a very British affair" ◇ 27 June

**SEI Lecturer in Politics Olli Helmann** published an article in the *Japanese Journal of Political Science* (Volume 15 / Special Issue 02) entitled "Electoral Reform in Asia: Institutional Engineering against 'Money Politics'".

## July 2015

**Professional development away-day for School of Law, Politics and Sociology (LPS) doctoral researchers** ◇ 1 July

The away day - sponsored by the Sussex ESRC Doctoral Training Centre (DTC) Citizenship, Justice and Security pathway cluster - focused particularly on three themes selected by the students themselves: meeting the challenges of inter-disciplinarity, non-academic careers for doctoral researchers, and maintaining a work-life balance.



**SEI Professor of Politics Paul Taggart and Senior Lecturer Kai Oppermann** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled "The real question being asked of Greek voters in the referendum" ◊ 3 July

**SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson** took part in a roundtable at IPPR on the future of liberalism ◊ 6 July

**SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson** gave the keynote lecture at the TECHNE doctoral student congress at the University of Brighton. It was called 'Touching, Feeling: The Aura of the Archive' ◊ 9 July

### LPS student reps recognised in new Reputation Scheme

Two student representatives from the School of Law, Politics and Sociology have been recognised in the Students' Union's new Reputation Scheme. Nicola Lodge (Year 2 Sociology) and Adam Akbar (Year 2 Law) received gold and silver awards for their work as student representatives

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled "Cricket's Indian Premier League is in trouble, but popularity will see it through" ◊ 16 July

### Strengthening links with Humboldt University, Berlin.



Professor Paul Statham, member of the Sussex European Institute (SEI) and Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR), met with Professor Magdalena Nowicka at Humboldt University in Berlin to discuss the steps to be taken in order to develop collaborative research bids on migration flows to and from South East Asia. The idea is to develop the core research ideas of the Sussex-Mahidol Migration Partnership and to involve more research institutes in this programme of research ◊ 20 July

**SEI Doctoral Researcher Satoko Horii** passed her viva with only minor corrections. Satoko's thesis was on 'Frontex and the Evolution of Cooperation in European Border Controls' ◊ 24 July

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published a blog-post on the official blog for the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption. The post is entitled "FIFA's Reforms; More Smoke and Mirrors?" ◊ 20 July

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *South China Morning Post* entitled "Sepp Blatter's so-called reforms at Fifa lack real bite" ◊ 23 July

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published a blog-post on the official blog for the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption. The post is entitled "Cameron goes big on anti-corruption, but is the devil in the detail?" ◊ 28 July

**Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Erica Consterdine** published an article in the *International Journal of Public Policy* entitled "From zero migration to the migration state: Whitehall cultures, institutional conversion and policy change" ◊ July

### August 2015

**SCSC student appointed as corruption advisor to African Bar Association.** David Ugolor, student at the MA in Corruption and Governance programme of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC), has been appointed as a corruption advisor to the African Bar Association (AFBA).

**Politics Doctoral Researcher, Bart Napieralski** passed his viva. Bart's thesis was on 'Political Catholicism and Euroscepticism: The deviant case of Poland in comparative perspective' ◊ 5 August

**SEI Lecturer Liz David-Barrett** published an article in the *Democratic Audit* entitled "Parliamentary codes of conduct do not end political corruption, but they can help

build a democratic political culture” ◊ 5 August

**SEI Doctoral Researcher Sam Power** published an article in The Conversation entitled “A golden moment for political funding reform could be about to slip by” ◊ 7 August



european consortium for political research

**Politics Doctoral Researchers participate at the ECPR General Conference.**

Roxana Mihaila presented a paper on “Party Politics Vs the National Interest? UK and German Political Parties and the Negotiations of the Fiscal Compact”. Toygar Sinan Baykan spoke on “The Justice and Development Party (JDP) and Erdogan: ‘Non-charismatic Personalism’” ◊ 26-29 August

**The First Annual Conference of the PSA Specialist Group on Corruption and Political Misconduct (CPM) ◊ 27-28 August**

was convened by Dr Olli Hellmann and took place in the Freeman Building at the University of Sussex. The two-day Conference brought together academics to discuss a range of topics linked to the broader topic of corruption and political misconduct, with topics such as survey data, corruption and oil, corruption and security, and international treaties and conventions. Olli Hellmann spoke about anticorruption interventions and why they fail. Liz David-Barrett (together with Mihaly Fazekas) presented a paper on the relationship between ‘safe seats’ and possible incidences of corruption in local government in the UK. Moletsane Abraham Monyake (together with Olli Hellmann) gave a paper on corruption and violence in Africa. Lastly, Liljana Cvetanoska talked about EU conditionality and anti-corruption in Macedonia (more information is provided on pp.29-30)

**SEI Lecturer of Politics Liz David-Barrett**, together with Ken Okamura, published an article in the Governance entitled “Norm Diffusion and Reputation: The Rise of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative” ◊ 30 August

**September 2015**

**Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Erica Consterdine**, published an article in The Conversation entitled “Where do the Labour leader contenders stand on immigration?” ◊ September 1

**SEI Lecturer of Politics Liz David-Barrett** participated in the annual meeting of the American Political Studies Association. Liz (together with Paul Heywood) talked on whether open government is more accountable government ◊ 3-6 September

**SEI well-represented at the 45<sup>th</sup> UACES Annual Conference ◊ 6-9 September**

Dr Adrian Treacher presented a paper on “EU-NATO Relations in the Context of CSDP: Cooperation, Competition or Co-existence?” Dr Susan Collard spoke about “Extra-territorial Citizenship and Emigrant Voting Rights for Mobile EU Citizens: the Case of the UK”. Doctoral Researcher Nikoleta Kiapidou presented a paper on “The European Issue in Germany, the UK, Ireland, and Greece during the Eurozone Crisis: High Salience but No Real Debate in the National Party Systems”.

**Britain at a crossroads: the politics of immigration, asylum and Europe ◊ 18 September**

This one-day workshop was organised by the Sussex European Institute with the aim to provide a platform for some of the cutting edge research in the field of immi-

gration politics in Britain  
(more information is provided on p. 33)

Sussex  
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# Forthcoming Events

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS

AUTUMN TERM 2015-16

Wednesdays 14.00 - 15.50 (unless otherwise indicated)

Venue: Freeman G-22

DATE	POLITICS SEMINARS	SEI SEMINARS
Wed 23.09.15		SEI Roundtable: 'The European Refugee Crisis' Dr. Elizabeth David-Barrett, Dr. James Hampshire, Prof. Alan Winters (Sussex)
Wed 30.09.15	<i>LPS Meeting/Away day- no seminar</i>	
Wed 07.10.15	<i>Politics Departmental meeting – no seminar</i>	
Wed 14.10.15	<b>Professor Justin Fisher, Brunel University</b> 'Constituency Campaigning in the 2015 General Election'	
Wed 21.10.15		<b>Dr. Simona Guerra, University of Leicester/SEI</b> "Euroscepticism after the Crisis: Beyond Party Systems, Across Civil Society"
Weds		
Wed 4.11.15	<b>Professor Geoffrey Evans, Oxford University</b> 'From Valence to the Politics of Exclusion: Redirecting the Study of British Electoral Behavior'	
Wed 11.11.15	<b>Dr. Emily Robinson, University of Sussex</b> Grant Application in progress (GRIP): 'Interpreting British Populism.'	
Wed 18.11.15		<b>Dr. Lamprini Rori, Bournemouth University</b> "Emotion and politics during the July 2015 Greek referendum campaign."
Wed 25.11.15	<b>Professor Tim Bale, Queen Mary's</b> 'Party members' (3pm-5pm)	
Wed 02.12.15	<b>Dr. Jennifer Hudson, UCL</b> 'Pity and empathy: An experimental analysis of emotional pathways to engagement with global poverty.'	

If you would like to be included in our mailing list for seminars, please contact James Dowling, [email: j.dowling@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:j.dowling@sussex.ac.uk)

# Features

## Who will win Poland's October election?



**Prof Aleks Szczerbiak**

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The Polish parliamentary election will be held on October 25th. Opinion polls suggest that the right-wing Law and Justice (PiS) party, the main opposition grouping, will emerge as the largest single party. In May's presidential election the party's candidate Andrzej Duda unexpectedly defeated incumbent Bronisław Komorowski who was backed by the ruling centrist Civic Platform (PO), that has been in government continuously since 2007, in spite of the fact that he had been ahead in every opinion poll conducted during the campaign. Since then Law and Justice has held a lead of around 10% in the opinion polls.

### The 'politics of fear' no longer effective?

Law and Justice has benefited from the disillusionment with and hostility towards the political establishment that has been a noticeable feature of Polish politics in recent months. Much of this has been directed at the ruling party, whom many voters, especially younger ones, see as representing an out-of-touch elite. Various attempts by the Civic Platform-led government to demonstrate that it is in touch with voters concerns - such as a rail tour of Poland by prime minister and party leader Ewa Kopacz and government roadshow with cabinet meetings being held in the country's provincial cities - have only had a limited impact. Although they have kept the ruling party in the electoral game as a challenger for power, these initiatives have also failed to dent Law and Justice's opinion poll lead.

In particular, Civic Platform's attempts to mobilise its supporters through generating fear of an opposition victory, previously the party's most successful electoral tactic, do not appear to have worked as successfully this time around. Law and Justice has made a conscious effort to 'de-toxify' its brand. The party has focused on 'bread-and-butter' socio-economic questions rather than its previous signature issues of corruption and reform of the Polish state, part of the so-called 'Fourth Republic' project of moral and political renewal associated with the controversial 2005-7 period when it was in office.

Law and Justice has also attempted to give a higher profile to less well-known, second-rank politicians likely to appeal to centrist voters and to move its more controversial leaders into the background. Mr Duda's presidential candidacy was a good example of this as was the decision to make his campaign manager, the party's emollient deputy leader Beata Szydło, its prime ministerial nominee rather than Law and Justice's more combative leader Jarosław Kaczyński. Civic Platform strategists were banking on the fact that, with Mr Kaczyński as the focus, its negative campaigning would be more effective than it was during the presidential campaign when the Law and Justice leader kept a low profile. Mr Kaczyński has an extremely dedicated following among the party's core supporters but is a polarising figure and one of the country's least trusted politicians among more moderate voters.

### The minor parties could be crucial

However, even if, as appears increasingly likely, Law and Justice emerges as the largest single party in the new parliament, it is unclear if it will win an outright majority. Its current poll ratings suggest that this is a possibility

## Features

but no party in post-1989 Poland has yet achieved such a result. If that is the case, then Law and Justice will need to find coalition partners, which means that the performance of the minor parties - particularly the question of which ones cross the minimum vote threshold required to secure parliamentary representation (5% for individual parties and 8% for electoral coalitions) - will be crucial in determining what happens next.

None of the current parliamentary groupings - the agrarian Polish Peasant Party (PSL), Civic Platform's junior coalition partner since 2007, and the communist successor Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the liberal-left Your Movement (TR) grouping, the two smaller left-wing opposition parties that have formed an electoral alliance called the United Left (ZL), to boost their chances of securing parliamentary representation - appear likely to want to form a coalition with Law and Justice. So given the shortage of potential coalition partners, there is still a chance that Law and Justice could find itself in opposition. However, there are question marks over whether or not the Peasant Party and United Left will secure representation in the new parliament.

Another potential ally for Civic Platform is the 'Modern' (Nowoczesna) grouping led by liberal economist Ryszard Petru. Mr Petru's party has pitched itself as appealing to the kind of younger, well-educated and better-off urban voters who once formed part of Civic Platform's core electorate but have become disillusioned with the government for its failure to push ahead with more radical economic reforms and even, in some cases, to roll back from existing ones. However, Mr Petru is likely to prop up a Civic Platform-led government if the alternative is Law and Justice taking power. Polls suggest that 'Modern' is also currently hovering around the 5% mark so it could end up simply taking votes off Civic Platform without being able to provide it with support in the new parliament.

Law and Justice's only potential coalition partner appears to be the 'Kukiz '15' electoral committee, a right-wing grouping led by the charismatic rock star and social activist Paweł Kukiz. Standing as an independent 'anti-system' candidate, Mr Kukiz came from

nowhere to win more than one-fifth of the vote in the first round of the May presidential election. Although at one point enjoying around 20% support in the polls, and briefly becoming Poland's most trusted politician, Mr Kukiz squandered his political opportunity following a summer of bitter internal rows and splits within his movement. A national referendum on September 6th on replacing Poland's proportional list-based electoral system with UK-style first-past-the-post single member constituencies, his signature issue, was a huge missed opportunity with a derisory turnout of only 7.8%. Nonetheless, although its support has slumped in the last couple of months, the 'Kukiz '15' groupings is still holding up at just over the 5% and remains Law and Justice's most realistic potential coalition partner.

### Civic Platform could 'lose' but remain in office

If Mr Kukiz's 'anti-system' right-wing bloc fails to secure parliamentary, or does so with insufficient numbers to give Law and Justice a majority, but the smaller left, agrarian and liberal parties succeed, Civic Platform could still cobble together a coalition government. However, this is likely to be a very weak and unstable construct containing several partners with different policy agendas and having to 'co-habit' with a hostile Law and Justice-backed President.



Image Credit: Inside-Poland

## The Referendum in Greece and the Reflexes of Social Scientists



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Greece, which has preoccupied the world's media on and off over the last five years, has once again taken centre stage across media platforms on account of last Sunday's referendum and the unfolding developments since.

There are several reasons behind this explosion of media interest. The one that prompts our own contribution to the public debate is the recurring pronouncement of the referendum of July 5th as a 'historical moment', with consequences for democracy, Europe, the Euro, common currency, sovereignty, coup d'état, solidarity (among others). Accordingly, the stakes are high as taken-for-granted domains of everyday life are not only contested but also perhaps just about to be redefined or re-signified. It has also become apparent in the last few weeks (as evidenced by the sudden and widespread interest that the 'Greek Issue' has generated) that this is a subject that goes well beyond the interests of a single country, and apparently even beyond the interests of the European Union. It has been hailed as a global historical moment, even before it occurred, and its historical significance is acknowledged as such on any given occasion, by journalists, academics, politicians and individuals from across all political and ideological backgrounds.

To the mind of the social scientist, however, there's a certain melancholy in experiencing a reality which, as soon as it occurs, is 'condemned' to be the subject of future historical analysis. And so we find ourselves asking if 'the Greek crisis' is a subject for the historian of the future, why shouldn't it be a subject for the sociologist of the present too? Indeed, this appears to be an exemplary testing ground for the reflexes of social scientists, who have over the years been accused of not taking part in public debate – or of doing so a bit too late.

The occasion of the Greek referendum offers a particularly fitting occasion to enquire into the reflexes of social scientists and the implications of these reflexes. It seems to be an exemplary time to ask: how quickly can social scientists produce a response to their immediate realities? And what might be the epistemological issues at stake in this process of immediate reaction, what might be the possible misgivings in this process – and even more so, do these really matter?

In encountering these questions, we have been closely monitoring scholarly analytical articles that appeared in the press – in blogs or mainstream press, by social scientist, as well as by scholars in the humanities. For all the misgivings that their haste might have resulted in, the reaction has been surprisingly vivid and rather immediate\*.

To start with: anthropologist Theodoros Rakopoulos' was truly quick to write a blog post on Focaal blog, 'Of direct and default democracy: The debt referendum in Greece', straight after the results were announced. His piece draws much on his previous (and current) research with a grassroots activists group in Greece. Similarly, anthropologist Dimitris Dalakoglou draws on his ethnographic work to instantly produce his piece 'Want to know how Greeks see the future? Get in the ATM queue and ask them', straight after the referendum. Both scholars are additionally taking the opportunity to make a point for the merits of ethnography (in regard to the immediate access to the field that the relation and connections of the researcher with his informants results to).

Neni Panourgia, takes a somewhat different path, and looks at the reasons that enabled the referendum to ever take place – resorting to Hegel's Philosophy of

## Features

Right (here). Anthropologist Vito Laterza sums up speculations about what might happen in the aftermath of the referendum, in a pre-referendum piece.

Michalis Bartsidis, Akis Gavriilidis and Sofia Lalopoulou attempt a more deliberate analysis in their piece 'July the 5th: How the multitude blocked a post-modern coup d'état in the EU', in attempting to discern an exemplary instance of (Antonio Negri's) the concept of Multitude, in the protest gathering of 'NO' supporters on Syntagma square, in July 5th.

LSE's Hellenic Observatory, who have been closing monitoring developments in Greece over the past few years, were also fast to produce a series of posts on the outcome of the referendum. Here is the collection of posts produced thus far (prominently titled: 'Experts React: Greek Referendum'; including some very insightful articles).

As is the case with Chronos Magazine, whose authors have regularly been commenting on the greek issue – but currently has a pre-referendum edition (here) including both greek and english articles, but with significant contributions in English by anthropologist Athina Athanasiou and philosopher Costas Douzinas).

VersoBooks published Alain Badiou's thoughts on the aftermath of the referendum, as well as those of (Max Plank Institute's) Wolfgang Streeck; additionally, the same website has compiled a more general reading list on the greek issue.

Over at the Sociological Images blog, Martin Hart-Landsberg takes the opportunity of the referendum to discuss the corrupt economics behind Greece's trouble, (and, to make the point that it seems certain that the political economy textbooks of the future will include a chapter on the experience of Greece in 2015" )

Moreover, reference ought to be made also to pieces that are clearly intended to intervene in public discourse, written (or signed) by well-established academics, during the past few days. For instance, Slavoj Žižek declared that 'This is a chance for Europe to awaken'. Žižek is also signing, alongside several other prominent scholars (i.e. Judith Butler, Alain Badiou, Saskia Sassen, Immanuel Wallerstein, Homi Bhabha, Etienne Balibar et al.), a letter to the Guardian, titled 'Greeks, don't give in to the EU's austerity ultimatum'. Similarly, prominent economists (such as Thomas Picketty, Jeffrey Sachs et al.) have recently tried to bring

to chancellor's Merkels attention their opinion that 'Austerity has Failed'.

Finally, using a different tone, Science's editor Erik Stokstad, alongside some Greek (mostly) natural scientists, expresses his concerns over funding implications of the referendum, in his article 'Greek researchers worry as crucial referendum looms'

The list is not exclusive. It is our expectation that articles on the topic of 'the Greek issue' will continue in the days and, at least, weeks to come.

How do these contributions fair against scholarly standards of methodological rigour or impartiality? Well, the answer here is most probably 'not very well'.

They are probably biased and they probably don't subscribe to usual academic standards of doing research or writing about it. Often they are opinion pieces and don't pretend to be anything more than that. So what value should we assign to them? Are they the sign of a healthy public sphere and public debate and a model for engaged social science or something else? Does their social science authorship give them a weight that isn't assigned to the plethora of other opinions? Do they help us make sense of what's happening by opening up debate or do they hinder our sense-making?

The answers, as always, probably lie somewhere in between.

In 1961 a young French social psychologist Pierre Moscovici published a study examining how different social groups in French society of the 1950s came to know about and understand the therapeutic practice of psychoanalysis. Moscovici's study was about the ways in which knowledge circulates in society and the ways in which each social group constitutes knowledge according to their interests and concerns. The study, now a classic, provides some insight into understanding what value might be ascribed to commentary on the referendum.

The key thing about the financial crisis in general and the recent Greek referendum in particular, is that previous ways of understanding the financial world have been decimated, so to our capacity to understand the social and political effects of its collapse. The repeated references to high stake consequences are processes of collective 'anchoring and objectification', an important communicative mechanism of making sense of these novel and unprecedented situations. Here the past is invoked (anchoring) in order to find a way of talking about

(objectification) what are ultimately hugely destabilising experiences (e.g. the often repeated approach to understanding the yes-no division through recourse to Greece's civil war).

In this sense the commentaries are 'essays', attempts at understanding, and a testament to very human reflexes to communicate and to desire to reduce anxiety through the imposition of some form of narrative order onto everyday events that are experienced, for the most part, as being beyond comprehension; including the comprehension of experts. There is a solidarity in the process of commenting, of speaking up and of reaching out to a broader audience. Of trying. These essays are revealing of researchers' political selves, their communities of belonging and their 'relationships of concern' (Sayer 2011) to the world.

And indeed our own post is by no means an exception

to any of this.

But are these essays 'engaged social science'?

We don't know. We don't have an answer and our sense is that this must remain an open question. Indeed, leaving the door open, for nuance, for the unfinished, for trying, may well be one of the key qualities for an 'engaged social science' to flourish.

\*This blog post, aimed at international audiences, documents only English language sources. We claim this to be by no means exclusive; in fact, we're thinking of re-editing this post as more articles will come into our attention. So, if you have written or read something relevant, please do share it with us!

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## From copyright in Europe to a copyright for Europe



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The creation of a digital single market is at the forefront of the political agenda in the European Union. In an opening statement to a plenary session of the European Parliament, the then candidate to the presidency of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker indicated this as a main objective for the realisation of the full potential offered by digital technology ('New Start for Europe: My Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change', 15 July 2014). He also pointed out that, in order to create a connected digital single market, legislative steps have to be taken to modernise copyright rules and break down territorial barriers that have prevented consumers from accessing content on a cross-border basis.

Obstacles ensuing from the territorial nature of national

copyright laws and practices affect citizens at different levels. Two issues are illustrative of this point. The first comes from the Murphy reference to the CJEU (joined cases C-403/08 and C-429/08), on the legal consequences of individuals traveling to a member state other than the one where they reside, to acquire a decoder for the satellite reception and viewing of Premier League football matches in their own country. The outcome of Murphy highlighted the tension between the conditions included in licence agreements for the broadcasting of football matches, which are still drafted by the Premier League on a country-by-country basis, and the reality of consumers' preferences and demand for national and international sport events. The court indicated that Premier League matches attract an international public. When assessing the scope of communicating the broadcast of a Premier League football match, the definition of 'public' extends beyond the national audience of individuals resident in England and Wales.

This first example is linked to a second critical point on implementation of free movement principles and copyright rules, namely the issue of geo-blocking. While current technology allows for the accessibility of content on a cross-border basis, content providers often rely on technological measures to ensure that an artificial territorial demarcation is preserved in the way content is accessible in different Member States. The Commission states that 'Geo-blocking refers to practices used for

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commercial reasons by online sellers that result in the denial of access to websites based in other Member States' (EC Communication, 'A Digital Single Market Strategy for Europe', 6 May 2015). This practice applies to a variety of online business models. Several YouTube users come across the following message on a daily basis: 'this video is not available in your country'. YouTube itself explains that often these limitations are caused by rights owners who 'have chosen to make their content available only to certain countries (usually due to licensing rights)'. In order to comply with the territorial licence in question, YouTube may limit access to content by way of digital tools that detect where individual users are located, and determine the conditions under which content is available to them from the localised point of access.

Against this background of fragmentation implemented by way of

licences and contracts, the EU is continuing its harmonisation process of national copyright laws to meet the challenges of digital technology. The Directive on orphan works (2012/28/EU) was issued with the aim of offering new opportunities for users to access copyright protected content – such as books, journals, magazines, newspaper articles et cetera – that would otherwise remain unexploited. Often, such content is underutilised because the relevant authors cannot be identified or located, or because they decided to remain silent instead of exercising their rights. The Directive establishes an exception to the exclusive right of the owner and allow for certain uses of orphan works once a diligent search has been conducted. Significantly, it also indicates that if a work is considered as an 'orphan' in one Member State, it should be treated as such in all other Member States (Article 4). To a degree, this should contribute to the reduction of territorial barriers.

This reform of copyright is now in its implementation phase at the national level, and it was welcomed by its immediate beneficiaries, namely libraries, educational establishments and museums, as well as by archives, film and audio heritage institutions and public-service broadcasting organisations. New uses of material contained in the archives of these institutions contribute to the development of a Digital Agenda for Europe. Moreover,

alongside the implementation of the orphan works directive, some Member States are also adopting measures to facilitate mass digitisation of archived content, to ensure preservation of cultural heritage and to explore new funding streams via the commercial exploitation of their catalogues in digital form.

A second piece of reform that is changing copyright licensing practices in a significant way is the Directive on collective rights management and multi-territorial licensing (2014/26/EU). A section of this Directive seeks to modernise the functioning of collective management organisations (or collecting societies), which are institutions traditionally appointed for the management of copyright and other rights on behalf of authors and rights holders. Accordingly, collective management organisations will have to



meet some common standards and thresholds in terms of transparency and accountability towards copyright holders and users. The second part of the Directive specifically applies to collective management organisations operating in the market of online music licences, and establishes rules on the provision of multi-territorial licences for online rights in musical works. In adapting to the new legal framework, collective management organisations remain protagonists in issuing music licences for territorial offline uses, but also in the new market for online multi-territorial licences. The objective is that online service providers such as YouTube or Spotify should be able to approach a collective management organisation in a Member State, and obtain permission to use content for all relevant territories in a single transaction. This would avoid the cumbersome process of having to obtain separate licences for all Member States in which the service is or may become available. The message 'this video is not available in your country' could effectively be on its way out.

The degree of harmonisation in the field of copyright law across Member States has produced significant differences in business models, and in the availability and enjoyment of content by EU citizens. The brief comments above, however, leave one wondering whether the system would be better off if a truly European copyright

approach was adopted. The decisions by the CJEU form an example of how EU-wide standards of copyright protection are being set from a judicial authoritative source rather than by way of statutory law. As questions referred for preliminary ruling may easily be regarded as the most significant developments in EU copyright (see E Rosati, in *Originality in EU Copyright Law: Full Harmonization through Case Law*, 2013), it would be helpful to consider the appropriateness of this route and the possible alternative of establishing an integrated and consistent system which takes into consideration the creation of a well-functioning digital single market for Europe as one of its crucial goals.



## Supreme Court for Europe or Advisory Body? UK government policy, the Human Rights Act and Protocol 15 to the European Convention on Human Rights.



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Post general election 2015 the newly elected Conservative government made clear their mandate to scrap the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA), the instrument which incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) into UK domestic law. Having published a strategy paper on the scrapping of the HRA before the election and included it in their election manifesto, the new majority Conservative government stated that they would scrap the HRA within their first 100 days in office. The main justification given by the Conservative government for doing so was that the HRA undermines Parliamentary sovereignty. In fact the HRA specifically preserves Parliamentary sovereignty and UK courts are not explicitly bound by the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) but rather must take into account these decisions where they deem relevant. The promise to scrap the HRA in the first 100 days of Conservative power was not kept. However, in early September 2015 the government stated in House of Commons debate that plans to repeal the HRA would be introduced in Autumn 2015 and these plans would include giving the UK Supreme Court supremacy over the ECtHR. The scrapping of the HRA is viewed by many as a rash and unnecessary move espe-

cially given the fact that the HRA, contrary to the UK government's spin, does not undermine Parliamentary sovereignty and does not bind the UK courts by the decisions of the ECtHR. The idea proved popular and useful to the Conservatives during the 2015 election cam-



paign. However the mandate to scrap the HRA is not stand-alone and follows attempts by the previous Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition to limit the scope of the ECtHR.

On 7 November 2011 the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition UK government took up its six-month chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The UK government promptly published a document stating its top priority to be 'reforming the European Court of Human Rights and strengthening implementation of the European Convention on Human Rights'. Despite the neutral language of this statement of intent, the intentions of the UK government were revealed, exposing an plan to limit the powers of the ECtHR by means of the principle of subsidiarity: the Council of Europe states would have the final word of interpretation on the ECHR, which is supposed to be a check on their own exercise of power:

These intentions were followed through by the introduction of Protocol 15 to the ECHR. The suggestion made here is that the current reforms to the ECHR system introduced by Protocol 15 are the direct result of the incompatible nature of the human rights protection promised by the ECHR and the Conservative led UK government's domestic policy agenda. The ECtHR is characterised by the UK government as impinging on national sovereignty and as such the UK government want to ward off any notion of the ECtHR as a Supreme Court for Europe.

So the question must be raised, does Protocol 15 in fact demote the ECtHR to an advisory body as the UK government intended? The UK domestic context leading up to the adoption of Protocol 15 was characterised by the unhelpful slippage between legal problems and political rhetoric in the discourse surrounding the ECHR in the UK. As has been well documented the genesis of the ECHR system constitutes a complex interplay between politics and law and it is this interplay that has resulted in the emergence of the ECtHR as a Supreme Court for Europe. However, there are clear limits to the ECHR system as a supreme constitutional arrangement for Europe which manifest most clearly in the most recent epoch in the ECtHR's history, the age of subsidiarity, which can be characterised as a renewed political turn in the history of the ECHR system. The beacon of this age of subsidiarity is Protocol 15 to the ECHR and the revisions that Protocol 15 makes to the ECHR undoubtedly raise concerns over access to justice. Most significantly Protocol 15 explicitly includes the notions of subsidiarity and the margin of appreciation in the preamble to the ECHR in an attempt to limit the scope of the ECtHR.

In the run up to the adoption of Protocol 15 the three main issues that arose in UK political discourse as problematic for the UK government were prisoners voting rights, the deportation of Abu Qatada and an incident that came to be known as Catgate where, the Home Secretary fallaciously stated "We all know the stories about the Human Rights Act...The illegal immigrant who cannot be deported because – and I am not making this up – he had a pet cat".

In light of the above instances, reform to the ECHR was pushed through by the UK government as chair of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe at a conference held in Brighton in April 2012, which produced the 'Brighton Declaration' on the future of the ECtHR. The media, already galvanised by prisoner's voting and Abu Qatada, maintained an increasingly hostile approach to human rights discourse and set the scene in Brighton as a head to head between Strasbourg and London where the UK government would fight to save UK sovereignty from an illegitimate and activist ECtHR. Debate on the mundane fundamentals, such as the

rule of law and the UK's obligations under international law, was displaced by the domestic political debate of the moment steered by the Conservative Liberal Democrat coalition which sought to question the role of the HRA 1998 and potentially replace it with a British Bill of Rights. Such debate went hand in hand with a sustained focus by the UK government on a few controversial cases, outlined above, which the government found politically objectionable. The rights of the ECHR were proving problematic for the policy that the UK government wanted to pursue. As such the UK government sought to increase the power of national governments in implementation and definition of the ECHR system. The result was to include references to subsidiarity and the margin of appreciation into the preamble to the ECHR and to reduce the time limit for application to the Court.

The UK Joint Committee on Human Rights (JCHR) has interpreted the inclusion of these principles into the preamble of the ECHR in a manner contrary to that intended by the UK government. Instead of reducing the role of the European Court on Human Rights, Protocol 15 has been interpreted by the JCHR as a way to strengthen fundamental rights protection in the CoE. The JCHR envisages a more involved interaction between the political powers of the UK Parliament the legal powers at Strasbourg and in national domestic courts in ensuring the protection of the rights of the ECHR.

Former President of the ECtHR, Jean-Paul Costa, has stated that the principle of subsidiarity is already enshrined in the machinations of the ECtHR in the requirement that applicants exhaust domestic remedies before resorting to Strasbourg. As such, any reiteration or codification of the principle of subsidiarity in the preamble to the ECHR would be purely for "symbolic or political reasons". In this light, the extent to which Protocol 15 will strengthen national powers over the ECHR system is questionable and remains to be seen. Quantitative analysis of case law data since the advent of Protocol 15 suggests that nation states are relying surprisingly little on subsidiarity in their submissions to the ECtHR. But the political move embodied in Protocol 15 to extend the powers of national governments and limit the powers of Strasbourg *vis à vis* implementation and interpretation of the ECHR should not be seen as fatal to the ECHR system. Indeed such political and legal interplay lies at the very heart of the genesis of the ECHR system and as such does not pose a threat to fundamental rights protection in Europe. Rather such political manoeuvres as that of the UK seeking to limit the powers of the ECtHR are often contested not only by civil society, NGOs, Law Societies but also other national governments. As such these demonstrations of political will and authority, although given credence in the sense of amending the wording of the ECHR have been interpreted not as a mandate for the ECtHR to curb its activity

but instead can be appropriated as a way of bolstering human rights protection in Europe by further developing the dialogue and relationship between Strasbourg and national governments.

So, despite the limits imposed on the ECtHR by national governments, the evolved and independent ECtHR demonstrates the autonomy required to resist political manoeuvres which seek to limit its powers.

As such the ECtHR is already too well established to revert to a mere human rights advisory body and its

place as a Supreme Court for Europe looks secure even in the face of fierce self-serving opposition such as that of the UK government.

Whether the current UK government will be successful in scrapping the HRA remains to be seen. But an integral part of the debate surrounding that issue must be consideration of whether such a move would stand up to the UK government's international legal obligations under the ECHR to ensure principled and procedurally correct protection of fundamental human rights that can hold up over time.

## Anti-Corruption in Germany; A Culture of Complacency?



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The words 'corruption' and 'Germany' are not generally mentioned in the same sentence. While the Federal Republic generally performs admirably in international corruption comparisons, complacency is rarely a sound policy choice. Germany would benefit from thinking just a little more about where corruption may be lurking and what it might want to do about it.



Germany has traditionally been seen as a country where corruption is under control. This was further supported when Transparency International (TI), the largest and most prominent anti-corruption NGO, published its 11<sup>th</sup> annual progress report on the OECD's Convention on Combatting Bribery in August 2015. The Convention was adopted in 1997 and requires signatories to make foreign bribery a crime for which both individuals and companies are responsible. 41 countries have signed up to this, of which Germany is one. That might not sound particularly impressive (i.e. over three-quarters of the world

is *not* involved), but this group of advanced economies is still responsible for around two-thirds of the world's exports and around 90 per cent of FDI outflows. It's a group that subsequently matters.

Of those 41 only Germany, Switzerland, the UK and the US were described as 'actively enforcing' the OECD's treaty. Six (Austria, Australia, Canada, Finland, Italy and Norway) were put in the 'moderate enforcement' category, whilst nine were in the 'limited enforcement' group. These nine included some of the alleged anti-corruption superstars such as New Zealand and Sweden (2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, no less, in TI's oft-cited corruption perceptions index (CPI). Finally, nearly half of all signatories to the treaty (20) were in a group where there was 'little or no enforcement'. The likes of Japan, Mexico, Luxembourg and Denmark (currently in 1<sup>st</sup> place in the CPI!) appear to have signed up to the OECD's anti-bribery principles and then to have basically done nothing at all to put these in to practice.

### Leading from the front?

So, Germany's one of the good guys, right? Well, yes, but only up to a point. Reports like this continue to support rather lazy assumptions that corruption is either next-to-non-existent at home, too insignificant to be relevant, or is something that simply happens elsewhere. Indeed, these attitudes have been not just evident in Germany, they prevailed across much of the western world. This was in spite of scandals such as the Flick Affair in the early 1980s, an episode that enveloped much of the political class, and a steady stream of other corruption scandals since then. Indeed, and contrary to this general impression, there have been times when public life in Germany appeared to be plagued by a litany of high profile misdemeanours, ranging from a Chancellor maintaining a whole system of illegal bank

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accounts purely to side-track the country's laws on party funding to Siemens being forced to pay back £1.6bn on account of being found guilty of a variety of corruption charges.

The lack of public discussion about corruption also sits uneasily with a German public that has become highly critical of their public servants. Many were criticised for being in politics to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses and the increasing number of scandals in German public life led to a whole new vocabulary developing, as Germans complained firstly of *'Parteienverdrossenheit'* (disillusionment with political parties), then *'Politikverdrossenheit'* (disillusionment with politics) but finally, and most worrying of all, *'Politikverachtung'* (a disdain for politics).

Reports such as TI's also can't disguise the fact that over the last decade and a half Germany *hasn't* actually fared that well in the various international league tables that look to try and quantify corruption. In 2001, for example, Germany was a mere 20<sup>th</sup> out of 91 countries (with a score of 7.4 out of 10) in the above-mentioned CPI. The CPI certainly has its fair share of critics, but it still nonetheless gives observers a feeling for how much corruption is perceived to exist. By 2010 Germany's score had improved to 7.9 (14<sup>th</sup> out of 180) and by 2014 Germany registered 79 (now out of 100), leaving it joint 12<sup>th</sup> out of 175. Improvements since the nadir of the post-Kohl-donations scandal era, but not exactly top of the class either.

The 2013 Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) also gives plenty of food for thought. A mere 8 per cent of Germans thought that the level of corruption in Germany had decreased over the last two years. 57 per cent thought that it had *increased*. Only 13 per cent of Germans thought corruption was either 'not really a problem' or 'not a problem at all', whilst 28 per cent believed that 'it is a problem' and a worrying 37 per cent a 'serious problem'. Furthermore, 65 per cent of Germans thought political parties were in general corrupt, 54 per cent thought the same of the media whilst 49 per cent thought civil servants were either 'corrupt' or 'extremely corrupt'. Hardly an edifying picture.

### Where to now?

What does (or should) this all be interpreted as meaning? Well, Germany has at least begun to make good on the rest of its international anti-corruption obligations. In November 2014 Germany finally, after years of prevarication, ratified the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). Germany signed the UN-

CAC in December 2003, but took just shy of 11 years to finally pass the relevant legislation at home to enable its full ratification. This unseemly delay was, to be fair, due more to procedural than substantive factors centring largely around (predominantly conservative) parliamentarians' unwillingness to change legislation on bribing *MdBs* (members of Parliament). That stubbornness prevailed despite significant pressure from German business. That it took over a decade to sort this particular mess out didn't look good.

Gerhard Schröder's centre-left government (1998-2005), Angela Merkel's 'Grand Coalition' (2005-2009) and her governments since have hardly trail-blazed in terms of prioritising anti-corruption initiatives. The Ministry of Justice did draft a second Anti-Corruption Act (*Zweites Gesetz zur Bekämpfung der Korruption*) in 2006, with the stated intention of factoring new international agreements in to Germany's criminal code. Ultimately, the draft got nowhere near the statute book, mainly as there was, and is, no consensus that Germany's first anti-corruption law actually needs radically changing. A significant number of German policy-makers remain, as Nick Lord has persuasively argued, confident that "national provisions on corruption-related criminal offences" are already located in existing legal statutes and there is therefore little reason to set out on wholesale changes.<sup>[1]</sup>

To be more specific, Germany still needs be more acutely aware of the corruption risks that small and medium-sized enterprises – the much-vaunted *Mittelstand* – face when conducting affairs abroad. Given the importance of exports to Germany's economy a new piece of legislation that takes the best of the American Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) and the UK's Bribery Act (UKBA) would be very useful.

Rather more transparency would also not go amiss. Despite the fact that Thuringia, Lower Saxony and Rhineland-Palatinate have committed themselves to follow Hamburg's lead in enacting transparency laws, the recent case of Bayer AG and the University of Cologne is a good indication that transparency as a culture is a long way from being genuinely embraced.

A stronger commitment to the culture of allowing wide-ranging access to beneficial ownership information would also be useful. Beneficial ownership legislation allows the wider world to see not just who officially runs a company, but also who takes home the profits. One of the tricks of the money launderer is to make a company look legitimate, whilst covertly taking home (or re-introducing and/or re-cycling as the case may be) the profits surreptitiously. Although the EU has been

active in trying to expand the scope of beneficial ownership legislation, Germany has tried to limit public access (and that is the key bit) to information on who exactly takes home these profits. Germany has subsequently tended to be one of the first countries to stress the problems inherent in the new (December 2014) EU transparency disclosure rule that would compel all 28 European states to make publicly accessible the real owners of companies and trusts. Germany, quite frankly, can do better.

A further example of German recalcitrance concerns data on anti-corruption law enforcement across the 16 *Länder*. As things stand, it is very difficult indeed to find comparable data on which people and which companies have been subject to legal proceedings. Making such information publically available in an accessible format could lead to a publically available list of companies that have fallen foul of corruption legislation. This could then lead to barring them from bidding for future contracts. If transparency in these areas is seen as the best disinfectant, then Germany still doesn't appear particularly interested in thoroughly cleansing itself.

Germany is clearly not a country where corruption underpins everyday life. But citizens perceive it as a problem and the political class doesn't spend a lot of time (in public at least) talking about it. That is a dangerous mixture and it is one that Angela Merkel and her government would do well to do something about now rather later.

[1] N. Lord (2011), *Regulating transnational corporate bribery in the UK and Germany* (Cardiff: PhD, Cardiff University), pp.131-132.



# 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

***Claire Annesley joined the School of Law, Politics and Society as Professor and Head of Politics in March 2015. In this piece she tells Euroscope about her prizewinning research.***



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I research questions about politics, policy and gender – most recently: when do women become government ministers? And: when and why do gender equality issues reach government agendas?

## Women and Political Executives

Women still form the minority of government ministers. In a handful of countries women have been appointed to cabinets at parity levels, but on the whole access to the pinnacle of political office continues to elude women. Why? My research with Karen Beckwith (Case Western Reserve University, USA) and Susan Franceschet (Calgary University, Canada) rebukes the common claim that the problem is merely one of supply – there are just not enough qualified women. Rather, we turn the focus on **the issue of demand**. To reach gender parity, the person who selects ministers – in almost all cases the president or prime minister – is the person to watch. Where the ministerial selector has the will to appoint more women, he will find a way. Remember, for example, David Cameron's 2008 pledge to appoint one-third women to his government? While he didn't manage it in 2010 (and he could legitimately blame his Lib Dem coalition partner for that failure), his 2015 cabinet does hit his target.

Our research identifies and compares the formal and informal rules which structure ministerial recruitment in

nine advanced democracies worldwide. We map the interaction of rules determining supply with the rules governing the autonomy of the president / PM to appoint who he wants. In 2011 our research was awarded an ECPR research session and we won the Carrie Chapman Catt Prize from Iowa State University. As we prepare our monograph, working papers can be read via our project website at <http://genderpower.net/main/publicationspapers/> and via [@execgenderpower](https://twitter.com/execgenderpower)



## The Origins of Gender Equality Policy

Many gender and politics scholars assume that once women gain access to political power – as MPs or ministers – gender equality issues are more likely to make it into policy. My research on this question finds compelling evidence of an alternative explanation. As the UK economy took a turn for the worse in 2008 my former colleague Francesca Gains (University of Manchester) and I developed a strong hunch that gender equality policy is significantly more likely to reach government agendas when the **economy is performing well**.

Using data from the Comparative Policy Agendas project we identified instances when 'costly', or redistributive, gender equality issues reach government agendas. We found that this happens more often when GDP is growing (Annesley and Gains 2013). We then extended our analysis to other Western European states, and our finding held up (Annesley et al 2014). Finally, we tested whether economic performance is an important

determinant for other non-costly or 'status' related gender equality issues. It was clear from our findings that weak economic performance does not prevent status based gender equality issues reaching government agendas (Annesley et al 2015).



Prior to publication this third paper was awarded the 2012 Public Policy Section Prize by the American Political Science Association.

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## Bleeding Love: Raising Awareness on Domestic and Dating Violence Against Lesbians and Transwomen in the European Union



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The project is funded by the European Commission (Daphne Programme) and aims at contributing to

the prevention of domestic and dating violence against lesbians and transwomen in selected countries in the EU. In achieving its goal, the Bleeding Love project develops a number of activities with the purpose of raising awareness about domestic and dating violence against lesbians and transwomen. In addition, the participants in the project carry out comparative research which investigates causes of domestic and dating violence; characteristics of



abusers and modality of violence. Finally, core activities developed during the project are dedicated to collect, compare and divulgate information regarding good practices for the prevention of violence, and to raising awareness among lesbians and trans-women in the EU. The countries involved in the project are Italy, Bulgaria, Croatia, England, Hungary, Lithuania and Portugal.

The project will produce the following outputs: 1) one comparative research analysing causes of violence and good practices adopted to prevent or to sustain lesbian women and transgender women who are victim of domestic and dating violence; 2) an awareness campaign; 3) an international conference. As far as deliverables are concerned the project will deliver: 1) one book on the issues addressed by the research; 2) one guide for citizens; 3) two videos on the issues addressed by the project; 4) a blog with experiences of victims of violence; 5) a Twitter profile for reporting episodes of violence; 6) a photo competition.

# Litigious Love: Same-sex Couples and Mediation in the European Union



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*Litigious Love* is a project which the EU Commission (Civil Justice Programme) has funded from May 2014 until September 2015. The purpose of the project was to enhance knowledge and understanding regarding disputes and dispute resolution between same-sex partners in Europe. Three questions have inspired the project: To what extent is mediation used by same-sex couples to resolve intra-family disputes? Which are the main differences between mediation involving opposite-sex partners and disputes between same-sex partners? Which are the restrictions to trans-national enforcement of judgments, and mediation agreements involving intra-family disputes in same-sex couples?

In order to answer these questions the project has looked at the manner in which intra-family disputes, including cross-border disputes, are resolved through mediation. In this case, emphasis has been given to the analysis of legal provisions regarding family mediation; power imbalances between the disputants during mediation; style and role of family mediators, and involvement of children. Secondly, the project has considered the influence that different degrees of legal recognition of same-sex unions have on the nature of disputes between same-sex partners, on the choice of the resolution process, and on the transnational recognition and enforcement of mediated agreements regarding dissolution and family disputes in same-sex couples. Third concern of the project was to analyse disputes on sexual orientation between opposite-sex couples and the manner in which such disputes are resolved. Final purpose was sharing knowledge and expertise on mediation techniques.

*Litigious Love* has achieved practical results through one international training session, and four national training sessions for mediators, lawyers and judges on issues surrounding the resolution of disputes between same-sex partners. This practical aspect is matched by a significant contribution to the literature on mediation en-

capsulated in the handbook, and in the first comparative research on the use of mediation in intra-family disputes, and related issues, between same-sex partners in Bulgaria, Croatia, England, Hungary and Italy. The handbook provides a practical opportunity for professionals of different disciplines to develop more grounded and effective understanding of the nature of disputes between same-sex partners, and of the issues involved in the resolution of such disputes.

Summary of the findings of the comparative research:

- The lack of homogenous legal recognition of same-sex unions in Europe has a direct impact on the sources of dispute and on the mediation process.



Image Credit: European Commission, Litigious Love Project website

- Sources of dispute between same-sex partners include parenting, finance, inheritance, coming out, property (including pets), whether and how to have an open relationship, sexual orientation and gender identity (for instance when one partner is bisexual, or decides to undergo gender reassignment), internalised homophobia, high expectations, domestic abuses, drug and alcohol addictions.
- The recourse to mediation is limited. The reasons for this restricted use of mediation include limited knowledge about the process of mediation, fear of being discriminated against, desire to protect privacy regarding sexual orientation, preference for other mechanisms.
- Same-sex partners adopt mediation not only for the resolution of disputes but also for signing pre-nuptial agreements, and cohabitation agreements.
- Therapy and counselling are often chosen for the resolution of disputes.
- The enforcement and the inter-country recognition of mediated agreement present issues based on the

different legal recognition of same-sex unions and public policy.

- In the jurisdictions analysed, there are no specific guidelines for mediators regarding mediation with same-sex partners.
- There is a lack of informative relevant materials focusing on same-sex partners, and the children of same-sex parents.
- Those mediators who have had experience of mediation between same-sex partners tend to adopt the

same style of practice and the model of practice as they use for third party intervention in disputes between opposite-sex partners.

General suggestions to acknowledge bias, avoid assumption and listen to the parties were given by the mediators who had experience of mediation between same-sex partners.

## The implementation of EU-Turkey readmission agreements and the Principle of Non-Refoulement



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I am doing a PhD in international law at Sussex University. At first glance, the prospect of an academic environment after working as a district governor at the Turkish Ministry for twelve years seemed to me highly challenging and demanding.

I had to think about my husband's and my daughters' careers as well. My husband was a lecturer at the Law Faculty of Istanbul University and he was actively teaching at the time. My decision would have meant him giving up teaching and taking research leave. My daughters, who are twelve and eighteen years old, were going to secondary and primary school in Turkey and would have had to change their school environment. Sometimes moving to a new country or city can have a traumatic impact on children.

After I took these challenges and their potential consequences into consideration, I made a radical decision and I came to Sussex.

My family has moved to Brighton with me. At the beginning, I was really anxious about them and how they would adapt. My husband had to get permission from his university to be with our children and me. Fortunately, Sussex University has accepted him as a visiting scholar

and has provided support for his research. My daughters have been accepted to a secondary school and a college in Brighton. They are very happy with their schools and their friends. Their schools' approach towards international students is fairly supportive and this is helping them to adapt. Brighton is a very peaceful and friendly city for every age group. Its multiculturalist environment makes everything much easier for international students.

I owe thanks to my sponsor, the Turkish Ministry of the Interior for supporting my research. Turkey's close relationship with the EU and the ever-increasing movement of people from East to North through Turkey renders the policy of governing irregular migration a highly relevant and important subject.

Therefore I decided to analyze the cooperation in regard to migration management between Turkey and the EU. This cooperation has presented some challenges concerning refugees and asylum seekers and their rights. The aim of my subject is mainly to assess the impact of this cooperation on refugees and asylum seekers from the international human rights perspective.

This research will not be simply based upon secondary sources, it will also benefit from interviews with practitioners and NGOs. It is apparent that this study requires a multifaceted approach, which is not easy to do. However there are various training courses run by the Doctoral School of Sussex, which are very helpful for early stage researchers. Also, Sussex University provides many facilities for researchers to make their job easier, for instance interlibrary requests, special working areas, IT support etc. Supervisors at Sussex continuously give guidance to students about research techniques, methodology and how to conduct effective research. I am very pleased to be a part of the great research environment at Sussex.

## Europe/SE Asia Migration Partnership starts with Thailand



**Professor Paul Statham**  
**Professor of Migration and**  
**Director of Sussex Centre for**  
**Migration Research**  
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In March 2016, Professor Paul Statham, member of the Sussex European Institute (SEI) and Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR), was awarded an International Research Partnerships and Network Fund by Sussex Research and the International Office to fund a European / South East Asian Research Network on Migration. In the first phase the Sussex Mahidol Migration Partnership (SMMP) has been established ([www.sussexmahidolmigration.co.uk](http://www.sussexmahidolmigration.co.uk)). The SMMP is a collaboration led by the SCMR and the Mahidol Migration Center (MMC) in the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR), at Mahidol University, Thailand.

The SMMP aims to open up a new field of cutting-edge research that investigates the transnational relationships between Europe and SE Asia that are driven by international migration flows. In the first instance, the partnership aims to develop an infrastructure for conducting new research on migration flows between Europe and South East Asia with a special focus on topics in the migration field, including retirement, wellbeing, care, marriage and cultural interaction. The approach is interdisciplinary drawing on insights from sociology, politics, demography, human geography, development and wellbeing. The primary aim is to generate a research framework and capacity to conduct new empirical research projects in the field of migration.

The idea is to broaden the SMMP partnership to other Universities in Europe and SE Asia. To strengthen the European side, Paul met Professor Magdalena Nowicka at the Humboldt University in Berlin in June 2016 to set up a plan of action aiming to develop collaborative re-

search bids on migration flows to and from South East Asia. The plan of action includes targeting European funding bodies, as well as involving other Asian partner universities. Professor Nowicka has already been liaising with Professor Brenda Yeoh, at the National University of Singapore, to develop research collaborations in this direction. To firm up these links, Professors Nowicka and Yeoh have agreed to present at the 2016 SCMR-JEMS conference on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Their visit will also include a workshop together with our colleagues from Mahidol University who will be visiting the SCMR during the same period.

For further queries about the partnership, about our research, or making links, please contact Professor Paul Statham ([paul.statham@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:paul.statham@sussex.ac.uk)) or Dr Sarah Scuzzarelo ([s.scuzzarelo@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:s.scuzzarelo@sussex.ac.uk))

Twitter: [@sussexmahidol](https://twitter.com/sussexmahidol)

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/sussexmahidol](http://www.facebook.com/sussexmahidol)

Webpage: [www.sussexmahidolmigration.co.uk](http://www.sussexmahidolmigration.co.uk)



**Professor Aphichat Chamratrithirong (Director of the Mahidol Migration Center ),**  
**Professor Paul Statham (Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research) and**  
**Professor Sureeporn Punpuing (Director of the Institute for Population and Social**  
**Research, Mahidol University)**

## Calais's migrants: Lecturer in Criminology and Sociology, Dr Suraj Lakhani, appeals for help



**Dr Suraj Lakhani**  
Lecturer in Criminology and Sociology  
[S.Lakhani@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.Lakhani@sussex.ac.uk)

Most of you will have seen the harrowing pictures in the news over the last few weeks regarding the migrant crisis in Calais. There are a few local collections taking place in Brighton taking urgent supplies across to Calais. I am collecting various items and dropping them off to a local group.

### Urgently needed are:

Shoes, trainers or hiking shoes  
(sizes 7-9 UK or 41-43 EU)  
Jackets (size small or medium)  
Travelling bags  
Socks  
Candles or other lighting  
Belts  
Tracksuit trousers  
Blankets  
Jeans (size 28-32)  
Smart phones (with SIM cards)  
Sleeping bags  
Soap  
Shampoo  
Toothbrushes  
Toothpaste  
Plastic bags  
Woolly hats  
Pants  
Pots  
Pans

We do not need women or children's clothes thank you.

Anyone wishing to make a donation please contact me, Suraj Lakhani ([S.Lakhani@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.Lakhani@sussex.ac.uk);  
Freeman Building G48, University of Sussex.



There are lots of grassroots groups being formed, sometimes just individuals or groups of friends (spending their own time and money), who are developing networks and appealing for donations, contributions, collections through social media, hiring/borrowing vans, and personally delivering the aid themselves to Calais. There are a number in Brighton and if people want to get involved please contact me directly and I am happy to put them in touch.

## Euroscepticism and the Euro Crisis



**Professor Paul Taggart**  
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After a few years since we last worked on it Aleks Szczerbiak and I have re-boarded the research train that is Euroscepticism. In 2008 we published two edited volumes of *Opposing Europe: The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism* (Oxford University Press). Since that time there has been a growth in research in Euroscepticism but, perhaps more importantly, the landscape of European integration has changed dramatically and this has had the effect of politicizing Europe in some new and different ways.

We are therefore currently engaged in research to map the nature and strength of Euroscepticism across the EU member states. And our particular concern is to see how far the economic crisis within Europe has affected Euroscepticism and to also look at the way that the European issue is framed in different national contexts.

Our research on this stage is based on an expert survey of country experts across the member states. The survey is nearly complete but we did an initial pilot study of a small number of countries to see what the expectations of the larger survey should be. We drew on expertise on the UK, Germany, Hungary, Slovenia, Greece and Italy which we felt gave us a range of cases that are larger and smaller member states as well as covering different parts of Europe. Based on this we can make a number of preliminary observations that we will expect to test more thoroughly with the full data.

The first observation is that the 'issue' of Europe is plural, amorphous and shaped by context. This is something we found out in our first study but it still seems to hold true. In some cases it is framed as an economic issue and seems to be a result of the changed economic circumstances. But, even where it is economic it is framed in very different terms as most clearly seen in the con-

trast between the German and Greek positions on the economic deficiencies of European integration. While there is a constant across Europe in the existence of an economic crisis there is a huge divergence in how that crisis is experienced and what it means. At the extreme, we can compare the very different experience of and understanding of crisis from Berlin and Athens.

The second observation is that there is likely to be a substantial variation in the salience of the European issue. Again, this might partly reflect how far the Eurozone crisis affects different member states but it goes deeper than this. Member states such as Greece, Germany and the UK may have a strong focus on European issues (albeit from very different perspectives) but we need to be careful to not generalise from the spectacular cases and we need to be alive to that fact that across the member states there are cases where the European issue has a low salience to both elites and mass publics.

The third preliminary observation is that the nature of the party system in different member state has an important influence on the way in which parties do or do not compete with each other on the European issue. The nature of competition varies with the shape of the party system. The importance of national party system impacts is most clearly seen where there are substantial discrepancies between Eurosceptic support in EP and national elections. This is most starkly illustrated in the case of the UK where UKIP, despite gaining the highest share of the vote in the EP election, has received a lower share of the vote in the latest general election and only one seat in the Westminster Parliament.

We look forward to getting a fuller picture to see whether these preliminary observations are borne out across the full range of member states. But one thing that we are clear on already is that there is variation. Too often the temptation is to take a few cases and extrapolate from them. The danger is that what we are extrapolating from is not the norm. And this is particularly the case for those of looking at European integration when we are based in the UK.

# Euroscepticism, beyond parties, across civil society

**Dr Simona Guerra**

**Visiting Senior Research Fellow**

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From September 2015 to January 2016 I am spending my research leave as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Politics, in the School of Law, Politics and Sociology, at the University of Sussex. At Sussex I was awarded my DPhil in January 2009. My thesis examined what determines support for European integration before and after accession in Poland and in the post-Communist region in comparative perspective. It is now a great opportunity for me to be back to Sussex, where I can complete my second monograph, examining one of the research avenues identified in my thesis, when and how religion can use a Eurosceptic narrative, comparing how the religious narrative may change, before and after accession. This would further lead to my next research project, seeking to study the 'embeddedness' of Euroscepticism at the public opinion and civil society levels, as defined by Simon Usherwood and Nick Startin (2013), colleagues

with whom I have worked in the last few years within the UACES CRN on Euroscepticism. Although opposition towards the EU has been pitched as a temporary phenomenon, it is now a distinctive characteristic of the EU integration process, described as 'embedded', pervasive and enduring, without being necessarily permanent, within an active opposition that links public opinion and political action and becomes structured in the domestic political debates.

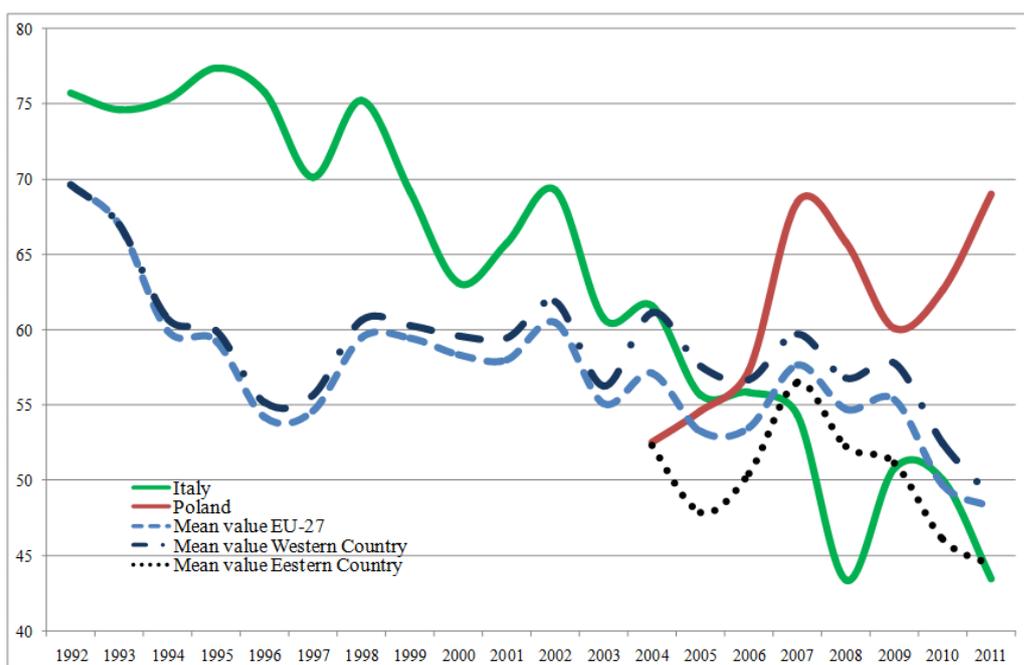
The process of European integration has been defined by the concept of 'permissive consensus', as elite driven (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970),

which was halted by the Danish 'No' to the Maastricht Treaty in June 1992. Popular consultation on the EU issue started to deliver contestation towards the EU that culminated with further rejections of the Treaty of Nice, rejected the first time it was held, on a very low turnout (34 per cent), in Ireland, in June 2001. Later, the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe had the same (unexpected) negative outcome in two founding member states, France and the Netherlands, in 2006. The so-called 'constraining dissensus' seemed to have reached Brussels to stay (Hooghe and Marks 2005).

Nonetheless, it is critical to note that the referendum vote did not reflect an opinion on the referendum itself. Supporting the EU was a sufficient reason to vote in favour, while different domestic issues, such as not feeling informed, possible economic implications, and high rates of unemployment characterised the French and Dutch voters' rejections (Taggart 2006, Marthaler, 2005, Harmesen 2005, Startin and Krouwel 2013).

## Figure. EU support (1992-2011)

In recent research with Fabio Serricchio, we pointed to decreasing levels of support across all the EU member states, with the exception of Poland. Unfortunately the



Source: Guerra and Serricchio 2014 (Data: Eurobarometer (various)  
Note: % citizens answering EU membership is a good thing - missing excluded).

Eurobarometer study has temporarily halted the study on the question asking citizens an evaluation of their country's membership to the European Union, but it is undeniable that dissatisfaction and contestation are increasing. At the domestic level, political parties that contest austerity measures have found an easy foot in the door, as in Greece, first with Golden Dawn in 2012, and then with SYRIZA, which won the elections in 2015 after an electoral campaign questioning the EU, 'dictating' economic measures, and the 'Weimarisation' of Greece (Ellinas 2015, in Guerra and McLaren 2015).

Some of the most pressing research questions, emerging by Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart's main study on Euroscepticism (2008), have been examined, looking at the role and influence of Eurosceptic parties in government (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2013) and to the analysis and understanding of Euroscepticism at different levels (Leconte 2010). Yet, there are still issues and questions that have not been explored:

(i) The lack of Eurosceptic parties (and Euroscepticism) at the domestic level;

(ii) Its understanding—whether the emergence of Euroscepticism actually represents Euroscepticism, or protest against political institutions/domestic situation/ economic recession and how this is linked to lack of knowledge/lack of interest of/in what the EU is;

(iii) How this opposition across public opinion and civil society emerges-what the drivers are (see Taggart and Szczerbiak 2014) - and if, and how, it remains embedded (as pervasive and enduring, without being necessarily permanent, see Usherwood and Startin 2013);

(iv) How it is articulated and manifested and what actors, institutions, and ideas addresses

Euroscepticism, as noted (Guerra 2015) is multi-faceted, it changes its colours and shifts its targets. Hence, its study would require tackling those issues it tries to represent, how the EU is communicated, and how perceptions of the EU are made up. Almost ten years ago, Taggart (2006) suggested proceeding by analysing domestic politics. This is even more urgent now that austerity measures have reinforced debates on the lack of legitimacy of the EU and the economic vs. democracy contestation; further dynamics at the domestic level are critical to understand Euroscepticism, and Sussex is the ideal academic environment, where I can further develop the next stage of my research around these themes.

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## The Electoral Integrity Project



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Conventional wisdom holds that if elections are technically accurate they should be accepted. The empirical reality, however, shows that quite a few elections classified as technically accurate and “free and fair” have not been accepted and have been followed by riots and protests claiming vote fraud. My research at the University of Sussex looks precisely at this and tries to find the conditions that allow citizens, political parties and other stakeholders to accept election results. In reality, election integrity includes this technical aspect but also goes beyond it. It refers to international conventions and global norms, applying universally to countries throughout the entire election cycle, including the pre-election stage, the campaign, polling day and the post-election period. Elections around the globe are marred by problems such as voter and candidate registration, gerrymandering and flawed logistics on Election Day but also by other issues such as unequal campaign finance, government intervention, biased election institutions and imbalanced media coverage for parties and candidates.

The Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) (<https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/>), an independent academic project and non-profit organisation based in the University of Harvard and the University of Sydney, where I am currently based, addresses these issues. The project director and founder is Professor Pippa Norris from Harvard University. In particular, the EIP has focused upon three questions: a) When do elections meet international standards of electoral integrity? b) What happens when elections fail to do so? And c) What can be done to mitigate these problems?

For answering these questions, the Project holds a number of research oriented activities in the field of elections. Firstly, it conducts a survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity (PEI). This is a survey based on expert evaluations about whether national elections meet internationally-recognised standards. It comprises 11 dimensions measured through 49 indicators of the electoral cycle, ranging from electoral laws and electoral proce-

dures to the vote count and the post-election phase. The most recent release of the PEI (version 3.5 available at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI>) includes information for 125 countries and 153 elections from July 2012 to June 2015. Second, the Project has published a number of volumes and articles on the topic. Some of the work includes the “Year in Elections” reports and books on electoral integrity such as “Why Elections Fail?” (2015) and “Why Electoral Integrity Matters” by Professor Pippa Norris and “Advancing Electoral Integrity” (2014) by Professor Norris, Richard W. Frank and Ferran Martinez i Coma. Third, the EIP also conducts evaluation studies of program initiatives using field experiments and other related methods. Currently, we are working on an evaluation on the effectiveness of election observation missions and its recommendations.

Within the EIP my work consists of conducting research on a number of topics. For example, the project has its own blog, where I have contributed with a piece on Mexico, where I use the PEI data to examine whether changes in electoral law or the government’s performance influence perceptions of the quality of elections in the country (<http://electoralintegrity.blogspot.com.au/2015/08/mexico-faces-decline-in-electoral.html>).

In addition, I am working on my own PhD dissertation (under the supervision of Prof. Dan Hough and Prof. Paul Webb), and specifically on a paper that focuses on the support of political parties to Election Management Bodies (EMBs) as a way to increase confidence in electoral processes. I will argue that if parties are included and their voices are heard it is more likely that they will see EMB decisions and activities as their own and therefore support electoral processes and outcomes.



Image Credit: Sydney Democracy Network

# Research takes Doctoral Researcher in Spain and Sweden

## Fieldwork Report



**David Davies**  
**Doctoral researcher in Law**  
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My two recent fieldwork trips took place earlier this year in January and April at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law (IISL) in Onati, Spain and Gothenburg University, Sweden. Both trips were made possible by the Doctoral School’s travel grant and the Erasmus teaching exchange programme. My research looks at how member states of the EU are independently tackling gender stereotypes and sexism in advertising through regulation and soft law measures. The goal of my research trip was to see how these two member states are ‘spearheading’ this issue. The trip helped me gain an understanding of how the two advertising regulatory codes work and how advertising affects young people in Sweden and Spain. The trips incorporated a mix of researcher led focus groups with school children (aged 12-17) and elite interviews with academics, legal practitioners and advertising regulators from both countries.

The focus groups took place over two weeks with a cluster of teenagers from local schools. The initial focus group brought the students together to discuss some of the key terms and were followed up by a second meeting a week later where upon the students had time to collect images of advertising they deemed discriminatory. The focus group discussions were extremely fruitful and helped me gain an understanding of attitudes the students have towards advertising as well as obtain some excellent examples of gender stereotypes in adverts that I would not have the time to collect. They also provided me with some interesting anecdotal evidence of Spanish and Swedish teenagers views of UK advertisements.

The elite interviews – notably the Spanish NGOs and activists that saw the Ryanair calendar banned in Spain last year – illustrated how the regulatory codes work in both member states and what influence they have received from EU law and soft law measures. The interviews also provided me with a greater understanding of how the recent changes legislation has positively impacted on how citizens can voice complaint once they are given the chance to do so. Other interviews with academics and NGOs have equally provided me with invaluable information on how the legislative changes were made – both countries have revolutionised their gender policies in the previous decade but have reached similar standards via different paths.

The data gathered from the field work has provided me with an understanding of how these two member states have tackled gender stereotypes and will be paramount for my comparative legal analysis, in which I will compare the regulatory codes with the UK’s Advertising Standards Agency.



Image credit: Advertising Standards Agency

# Activities

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

**The summer break hasn't meant that members of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) have been twiddling their thumbs; far from it, as Dan Hough reports.**



**Professor Dan Hough**  
**Professor of Politics**  
**D.T.Hough@sussex.ac.uk**

Corruption doesn't take a summer break and neither does the SCSC. There's been plenty going on. Firstly, Olli Hellmann, Lecturer in Politics, convened the first annual conference of the Political Studies Association's specialist group on Corruption and Political Misconduct. The event took place on 27-28 August in the Freeman Centre on campus. Olli Hellmann himself presented a paper on why anti-corruption interventions fail, whilst Lecturer in Politics Liz David-Barrett (together with Mihaly Fazekas from Cambridge) analysed the relationship between 'safe seats' and possible incidences of corruption in local government in the UK. Hellmann then combined forces with one of Sussex's burgeoning cohort of PhD students, Lets Monyake, to give a paper on corruption and violence in Africa. Finally, [Liljana Cvetanoska](#), another Sussex PhD student, also got in on the act, presenting her research on EU conditionality and anti-corruption in Macedonia.

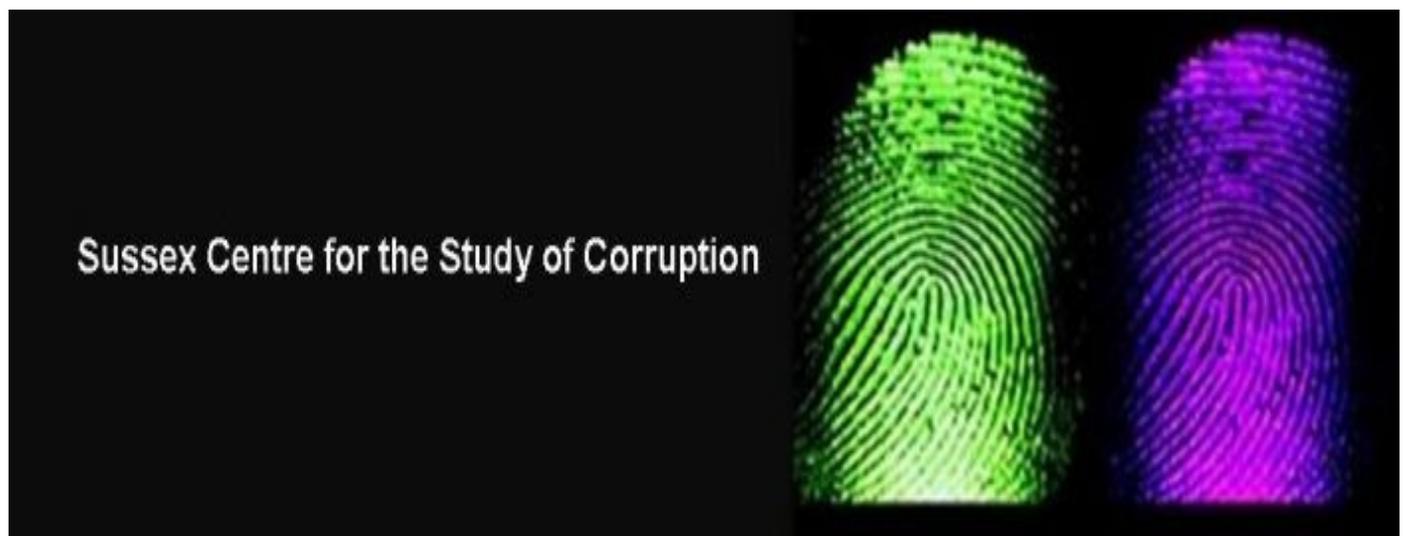
The SCSC's newest faculty member, Liz David-Barrett, has been active on a number of fronts. She's been responding to her well-received report on ['Lifting the Lid on Lobbying'](#). She's also been on the other side of the pond, analysing (alongside Paul Heywood) whether open government was more accountable government at the American Political Studies Association's (APSA) annual

jamboree in San Francisco. Liz, alongside Dan Hough and John Child, has also all been working with the Cabinet Office to help them think about where the UK is going in terms of its own anti-corruption infrastructure.

August 2015 saw Sussex's third cohort of MA in Corruption and Governance students come to the end of their 12 month programme, but that didn't stop some of them from taking part in a ['Dragon's Den' style event](#) with Nick Maxwell and other members of Transparency International UK on 4 September. The Sussex guys were encouraged to 'pitch' anti-corruption ideas and to explain what they would do if they had the ear of the UK Prime Minister. [Sam Power](#) made a strong case for pushing ahead with reform of how UK politics is financed, whilst Ben Halton made an equally impassioned plea for more work to be done on the UK's 'open data' agenda. Matt Broderick argued that the EU's transparency directive needed to be made to work in practice, and that encouraging states to do this could be in the UK government's interests with regard to its own attempts to reform the EU, whilst David Ugolor, Sussex MA student recently appointed as advisor to the African Bar Association (AFBA), argued that the UK needed to improve its coordination efforts with other countries. The dragons were, it has to be said, suitably impressed.

SCSC members have also been publishing their work in academic and non-academic outlets alike. Liz David-Barrett (alongside Ken Okamura) published an article on norm diffusion and reputation in 'Governance', one of the leading journals in the field, whilst Dan Hough and Serena Verdenicci have had their work on citizens and anti-corruption accepted for publication in Crime Law and Social Change. A number of SCSC members have also been active in writing in, and speaking to, the media;

- In August, Sam Power wrote for the [Conversation](#) on party funding and why we need to reform it
  - In July, Dan Hough wrote for the [South China Morning Post](#) on why FIFA was (is) proving so incapable of reforming itself
  - In July he also wrote in the [Conversation](#) on why the Indian Premier League (IPL) is going to survive its corruption troubles and the [Washington Post](#), again analysing FIFA's problems
  - In August, Liz David-Barrett wrote a widely read piece for [Democratic Audit](#) on the effects of codes of conduct on parliamentary practice.
  - Dan Hough also spent much of July talking to the media about FIFA. These included appearances on the [BBC](#), CNBC and Good Morning Trinidad and Tobago!
- September 2015 sees a fourth cohort of MA students join the 11 PhD students and half dozen staff members in the SCSC. Given that corruption hardly seems to be going out of fashion and given that the SCSC's role in analysing it seems to be increasing in scope, another busy term undoubtedly lies on the horizon.



## Talking about the European Issue at the 45<sup>th</sup> UACES Conference in Bilbao



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This September I attended the 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of UACES, the academic association for Contemporary European Studies, which was held in the beautiful city of Bilbao, Spain by the University of Deusto.

The Conference was a three-day interdisciplinary event where over 300 academics presented their research papers and covered all aspects of European studies.

An interesting Teaching and Learning Workshop, which took place in the beginning of the Conference, gave the opportunity to the participants to share knowledge and experiences on ways to deliver innovative teaching and learning in the field of European studies.

Moreover, many of the panels were focused on the impact of the Eurozone crisis on the European economy, national politics, and party competition as well as the future of European integration.

My paper was one of the projects that talked about how the Eurozone crisis affected national party politics. In particular, I examined whether national parties of Germany, the UK, Ireland, and Greece have been competing over the European issue during the Eurozone crisis.

Results from my expert survey on party positions before and after the Eurozone crisis began showed high salience of the European issue in most of the cases.

However, empirical findings from over 50 interviews with politicians, academics, and commentators showed that although the countries experienced high salience of Europe during the crisis, this cannot be translated into a real pro-/anti-European divide in the national party systems.

In fact, the European issue was brought forward because of the crisis and it pushed on the changes or revealed underlying questions that were already there; immigration, economy, and loss of popular alignment to major parties were some of the mechanisms needed for Europe to be operationalised in the national political contexts. Moreover, debate on Europe was rather abstract and there was no unified picture at the party level.



The paper was welcomed by the panel, which included two more papers on party systems research. All presentations received valuable feedback from both the chair/discussant and the audience and initiated a stimulating discussion on party system stability and change during the fierce economic crisis. Interesting insights on methodological issues also added up to the debate. I will take all comments into account in order to develop my paper into a journal article.

Image Credit: UACES

# European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Conference 2015: some observations and remarks on the current research on political parties and populism



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This year, the annual ECPR conference was held in Montreal, Canada between 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of August. I participated the conference as a presenter with my paper analysing the relationship between the Justice and Development Party and Erdoğan in Turkey from the perspective of discussions on personalism in one of the panels in the section titled “elites and political leadership”. In this specific panel another examination of the phenomenon of personalism was presented by Duncan McDonnell and Glenn Kefford which scrutinized the rise of plutocrat parties in Italy and Australia. Some characteristics of these parties indicated in this presentation which drew my attention were these: they “owned” by the party leader and the leaders of these parties actively inhibited the development of grassroots units in order to keep the leadership uncontested. Unlike the phenomenon of plutocrat party, my research findings illustrated that the personalist leadership can also grow on the ground of a large and pervasive grassroots organization diligently constructed and controlled by the party leadership.

I also attended several other panels on party politics and organizations relevant to my research. In one of these panels Paul Webb presented some of the findings of a collaborative research project devoted to create a broad data base on party organizations in Europe: Political Party Database (PPDB). Most surprising finding demonstrated in this presentation was perhaps the fact that, structurally, party organizations across Europe still

overwhelmingly protect the model created by the “subscriber democracy” in which “dues-paying members are the polis for most or all important decisions and in which the party conference is (formally) the party’s highest organ”. This was the fact illustrated by the PPDB project despite the long lasting enthusiasm about the rise of new parties in Europe such as rapidly rising and falling personalist parties and such as green parties which usually claimed to deploy different organizational models.

Another interesting part of the conference was its demonstration of the current state of the research on populism in various panels organized on and around the concept. In these different panels I observed two main diverging tendencies among researchers. While some researchers have started to see populism as a measurable set of attitudes, another cluster of researchers tended to see it as the essential-defining feature of certain parties in contemporary Europe and beyond. Thus, it is not unrealistic to expect the rise of new discussion points regarding this contentious concept because these two approaches are indications of new mutually exclusive perspectives on the concept. Another remarkable part of the conference was the plenary lecture given by Michael Ignatieff. He delivered a very relevant speech on the rise of illiberal democracy across the world examples of which included Russia, China, Hungary and Turkey. This lecture very clearly demonstrated the failure of the naive liberal expectation that the economic freedoms would also bring social and political freedoms.





**Britain at a crossroads: the politics of immigration, asylum and Europe  
SEI workshop**

*Freeman Building F41, University of Sussex, 18 September 2015, 10.30-4.00*

The Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex in Falmer has organised a one-day workshop which discussed cutting edge research on the politics of asylum and immigration in Britain on the 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015.

The 2015 UK General Election and the campaign that preceded it broke many trends in British politics, but one of the most unprecedented developments was immigration being at the forefront of the debate. Whilst the British public have long been in favour of reducing immigration, the high level of public concern has been more recent, gravitating from a marginal concern of a small minority to a top three voting issue amongst the electorate. What is unique about current public concerns over immigration is that much of this migration is actually EU free movement. Whilst the recently elected Conservative government “talk tough” to placate these public concerns, at the same time there are a number of migration challenges over the course of the next term which must be resolved. These include how to cooperate and reconcile the EU Mediterranean and related Calais crises, and in turn establish a coherent asylum policy, satisfying employer demands for migrant labour within a restrictive policy framework, and following further devolution to Scotland, how to negotiate intergovernmental relations between Westminster and Holyrood on immigration policy. With freedom of movement and its associated welfare rights becoming increasingly politically contested, the most important challenge for the Conservative government will be the upcoming EU referendum, and the repercussions for both EU citizens’ right to claim benefits, and immigration policy more widely.

The aim of our day event was to provide a platform for some of the cutting edge research in the field of immigration politics in Britain. The workshop ran as follows:

10-10.30: Registration

10.30-10.45: Introductory remarks, Erica Consterdine

**Session one: 10.45-12.30**

Lucy Mayblin, University of Sheffield: *Complexity reduction and policy consensus: Asylum seekers, the right to work and the pull factor thesis in the UK context*

Gareth Mulvey, University of Glasgow: *Devolution and the lack of intergovernmental relations in Scottish refugee integration policy*

Lunch 12.30-1.30

**Session two: 1.30-3.45**

Erica Consterdine, University of Sussex: *Labour's legacy: feedback effects of Labour's immigration policy*

Alex Balch, University of Liverpool: *The eye of the storm: immigration and Europe in the UK media 2006-2013*

Rebecca Partos, University of Sussex: *Odd, silly policies'? The UK Conservative Party's immigration policy-making 1997-2015*

3.45-4: Closing remarks

# 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, media, IT and IP 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](mailto:j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk)).

Law: Dr Ahmad Ghouri ([a.a.ghouri@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:a.a.ghouri@sussex.ac.uk))

Sociology: Dr Laura Morosanu ([l.morosanu@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:l.morosanu@sussex.ac.uk))