What’s Inside...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>On-going Research</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six Things We Know About EU Referendum Campaigns</td>
<td>An Evaluation of the European Commission’s Training programme for National Judges Applying EU Competition Law: Part I.</td>
<td>Britain at a crossroads: the politics of asylum, immigration and Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can Germany Integrate its new migrants?</td>
<td>A Ph.D student talks about her first year experience at Sussex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bleeding Love: Raising Awareness on Domestic and Dating Violence Against Lesbians and Transwomen in the European Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Europe and the Everyday: Grassroots, EU and the Politics of Crisis (EUEve)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nobody can have escaped that the UK’s referendum on EU membership is underway. This is a critical moment for the UK politics and economy but also for the future of the EU. A result in favour of Brexit will sever the UK from the EU but will not remove the UK from Europe and will set the UK on a different trajectory from where we are currently. A remain result will ensure that the UK’s ongoing troubled relationship with European integration will continue. Any thought that the referendum will lance the boil can be quickly dismissed by observing how the recent Scottish referendum has not settled that issue and has played a key role in installing the SNP into Westminster as a new opposition.

What strikes me most about the referendum process is that it reveals how unusual the UK is. No other member state is even close to contemplating exit. For Eurosceptics, the unique nature of the UK is why it fits so poorly into the European project.

SEI is playing a full role in both promoting debate and information relevant to the debate. We have completed a run of three open seminars focused on different aspects of the referendum that we ran in collaboration with the Department of Economics. The first featured Mike Gasiorek and Peter Holmes and examined the economic implications of Brexit. The second seminar saw Alan Winters and James Hampshire address the implications for migration of Brexit while the final seminar had Kai Oppermann and me examining the politics of Brexit and the dynamics of the referendum. All the presentations can be viewed at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/economics/news_and_events/brexit.

This second seismic event for the SEI is the stepping down of Sue Millns as co-director. Sue has taken up the role of Head of Department for Law and so has had to step down to focus on that. Sue continues to remain engaged with SEI. Sue has been co-direction of SEI since 2011, first with Aleks Szczer-
biak and latterly with me. I know I speak for Aleks when I say that she has been the most wonderful person to work with. Sue's commitment to European Studies runs very deep and manifests itself in someone who is unfailingly positive and full of ideas and energy. I am very sorry to lose her as a co-director but I know that she is keen to stay engaged with the institute.

To balance the loss of a co-director, we are very pleased to welcome Neil Dooley as new lecturer in Politics and as a member of SEI. Neil has worked on Europeanisation and be a key member of the institute.

In this issue there is an analysis covering the six things we know about referendums by Kai Oppermann and me. The focus is on identifying what we can know and what remains up for grabs in the process. We do not predict the result of what we believe will be a tight referendum. Alan Mayhew addresses the migration issue in Germany arguing that Germany needs an influx of the young to address its demographic changes but suggesting that the key issue is how the new arrivals are integrated into the workforce. Erika Szyszczak outlines her role in evaluating the training of national judges in the light of the effective nationalisation of EU competition law in recent years. Cemil Kaya, a visiting fellow reflects on his stay here from Turkey and outlines his research on Freedom of Information. Maria Federica Moscati has been Stella Georgiadou that we owe huge thanks for keeping Euroscope on track and editing work on raising awareness of domestic violence it.
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.

Director: Prof Prof Paul Taggart
University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9QE
Tel: (01273) 678578, Fax: (01273) 673563
Email: seieuroscope@gmail.com; www.sussex.ac.uk/sei

Where to find Euroscope!

Euroscope is easily accessible:

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

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

Contents

Message from the Director 2
SEI Diary 5
Research In Progress seminars 9

Features

Six Things We Know About EU Referendum Campaigns 10
Can Germany Integrate its new migrants? 14

On-going Research

A Ph.D student talks about her first year experience at Sussex 17
Bleeding Love: Raising Awareness on Domestic and Dating Violence Against Lesbians and Transwomen in the European Union 19
Europe and the Everyday: Grassroots, EU and the Politics of Crisis (EUEve) 20

Activities

Britain at a crossroads: the politics of asylum, immigration and Europe 24
The SEI Diary provides snippets on the many exciting and memorable activities connected to teaching, researching and presenting contemporary Europe that members of the SEI have been involved in during Autumn 2015.

**September 2015**

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough and Miss Serena Verdenicci published an academic article called ‘People power and anti-corruption; demystifying citizen-centred approaches’ in the September 2015 issue of the Crime, Law and Social Change Journal.

SEI-based Politics Professor Paul Webb presented the main findings from the political party database (PPDB) project at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA) mö 5 September.

SEI-based Politics Professor Paul Webb talked to BBC Radio Sussex on Jeremy Corbyn’s Labour leadership bid. He commented that ‘if Jeremy Corbyn wins the Labour leadership contest, the party could return to the more radically left-wing position it occupied in the 80s under Michael Foot’ mö 10 September.

SEI-based Lecturer in Politics Dr. Elizabeth David-Barrett and Senior Lecturer in Politics Dr James Hampshire and Professor of Economics Alan Winters opened the Institute’s Autumn term research in progress seminar series with a roundtable debate on ‘The European Refugee Crisis’ mö 23 September.

**October 2015**

SEI Professor Paul Taggart and Professor Katharine Addeney from the University of Nottingham published an article in the Government and Opposition Journal entitled ‘Introduction: the future of democracy’ ö 1 October.

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough published an article in The Conversation entitled ‘I paid a bribe: how some citizens are fighting corruption from the bottom up’ ö 2 October.


SEI-linked Professor of Migration and Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) Paul Statham has been recognised for an article he co-authored with Hans-Jörg Trenz from Copenhagen University. The article has been chosen as the best paper published in the Journal of Common Market Studies in 2013 and is entitled ‘How EU Politicisation can emerge through Contestation: the Constitution Case’. The members of the jury commented: "The jury considered this a very impressive empirical work that is well presented and that makes a clear contribution to our knowledge in this field. The topic is highly relevant, both from a scientific and policy perspective. The approach employed in this paper is considered highly innovative and very well executed.” ö 6 October.
SEI Professor Paul Taggart and Associate Professor Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser from the Diego Portales University published an article in the *Democratisation* Journal entitled ‘Dealing with populists in government: some comparative conclusions’ ◊ 8 October

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in the *Quartz* entitled “How India is fighting corruption—using the very people who pay the bribes” ◊ 8 October

Head of Politics Department, Professor Claire Annesley presented the main findings of the Political Women and Executive Representation (PoWER) research project to the Japanese Political Science Association (JPSA) at Chiba University ◊ 11 October

Professor Justin Fisher from Brunel University presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on the ‘Constituency Campaigning in the 2015 General Election’ ◊ 14 October

SEI visiting Senior Research Fellow Dr. Simona Guerra presented at the SEI research in progress seminar on “Euroscepticism after the Crisis: Beyond Party Systems, Across Civil Society” ◊ 21 October

SEI Professor Dan Hough spoke to BBC Radio Sussex on the visit of the Chinese President to the UK ◊ 23 October

SEI Professor Dan Hough and Lecturer in Politics Liz David Barrett took part in a Sussex Salon Series event called ‘Does the UK have a corruption problem?’ ◊ 4 November

SEI Lecturer in Politics Emily Robinson spoke at the Politics research in progress seminar on ‘Interpreting British Populism.’ ◊ 4 November

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a piece in *EUROPP* entitled ‘Polish election: A final look at the parties and the campaign’ ◊ 25 October

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak spoke to BBC 4’s ‘The World Tonight’ on the Polish elections ◊ 28 October

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a piece in *EUROPP* entitled ‘What does Law and Justice’s election victory in Poland mean for Europe?’ ◊ 29 October

November 2015

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published a piece in *EUROPP* entitled ‘Law and Justice’s stunning victory in Poland reflected widespread disillusionment with the country’s ruling elite’ ◊ 3 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in *South China Morning Post* entitled ‘Wayward drive: China’s crackdown on party members playing golf fails to hit the mark’ ◊ 4 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough and Lecturer in Politics Liz David Barrett took part in a Sussex Salon Series event called ‘Does the UK have a corruption problem?’ ◊ 4 November

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak took part in a roundtable on the results of Poland’s Parliamentary elections and their implications both for the future direction of Poland and the politics of the wider EU. The event was organised by the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies ◊ 26 October

Head of Politics Department, Professor Claire Annesley published an article she co-authored together with Karen Beckwith from the

6 Euroscope
Case Western Reserve University and Susan Franceschet from the University of Calgary at the UK PSA Women & Politics Specialist Group’s website. The article is titled “What is ‘Merit’ Anyway? On using gender quotas in cabinet appointments” ◊ 5 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in The Conversation entitled ‘Sebastian Coe faces a monumental task in cleaning up athletics’ ◊ 10 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in the official blog of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption on Franz Beckenbauer and the corruption that underpinned Germany winning the right to host the 2006 World Cup. The piece is entitled ‘Franz please say it aint so’ ◊ 11 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough spoke on Five Live about the death of Helmut Schmidt and his impact on European politics ◊ 11 November

The SEI hosted a roundtable on the Polish Elections featuring Professor Aleks Szczerbiak, Dr Simona Guerra and Professor Alan Mayhew ◊ 11 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough spoke on the BBC World Service’s Newsday programme on the challenges that the IAAF faces in rooting out doping in athletics ◊ 13 November

Professor Richard Vogler gave his University of Sussex Professorial Lecture on ‘Future Courts and Future Justice: The way Forward for Criminal Justice’ ◊ 17 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in The Washington Post entitled ‘What are the benefits of campaign finance reform?’ ◊ 17 November

Dr. Lamprini Rori from Bournemouth University spoke at the SEI research in progress seminar on "Emotion and politics during the July 2015 Greek referendum campaign’ ◊ 18 November

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published an article in The Conversation entitled ‘Why Poland's new government is a problem for migrants to the EU’ ◊ 23 November

Professor Tim Bale from Queen Mary University spoke at the Politics research in Progress seminar on ‘Party members’ ◊ 25 November

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in The Conversation entitled ‘Cricket has the opportunity to be a truly transparent world sport – it should seize it’ ◊ 30 November

December 2015

Dr. Jennifer Hudson from UCL spoke at the Politics research in progress seminar on ‘Pity and empathy: An experimental analysis of emotional pathways to engagement with global poverty.’

SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak published an article in Social Europe entitled ‘How Will Poland’s Law And Justice Party Govern?’ ◊ 7 December

Dr Liz David-Barrett spoke on Share Radio UK on ‘How corruption affects our economy’ ◊ 9 December

SEI Senior Lecturer James Hampshire talked about the Race Relations Act on BBC Radio Sussex
Head of Politics Department, Professor Claire Annesley published an article in the *Politics and Gender* Journal entitled ‘Rules of ministerial recruitment’ ◊ 17 December

SEI Senior Lecturer James Hampshire talked about the current trends in global migration on BBC Radio Scotland. He commented that David Cameron’s net migration target for the UK is ‘unhelpful and unachievable’ ◊ 19 December

SEI Doctoral Researcher Gentian Elezi passed his viva with no corrections. His thesis was on 'Explaining Policy Implementation: Challenges for Albania in preparing for EU membership'. Gentian is now the Albanian minister for European Integration ◊ 23 December

January 2016

The Department of Politics welcomed Neil Dooley as Lecturer in Politics ◊ 1 January

SEI Lecturer Emily Robinson published an article in *The Juncture*, IPPR’s quarterly journal of politics and ideas. The article is titled ‘Ahead of their time: From progressive rock to the progressive alliance’ ◊ 7 January

SEI Professor Dan Hough and Doctoral researcher Liljana Cvetanoska published an article in *The Conversation* entitled ‘Politics in Macedonia has descended into a corrupt soap opera’ ◊ 7 January

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in South China Morning Post entitled “Corruption index gives few insights into what is really happening in Xi’s China” ◊ 27 January

SEI Professor Dan Hough published an article in The Washington Post entitled “Here’s this year’s (flawed) Corruption Perception Index. Those flaws are useful.” ◊ 27 January

The Sussex Mahidol Migration Partnership had a formal public launch at Mahidol University in Thailand. The SMMP was established as a partnership between the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) and the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR) at Mahidol University in 2015, following the award of an International Partnership and Research Network grant from Sussex. The SMMP aims to establish a framework for collaborative research on migration between Europe and SE Asia ◊ 12 January

Reader in Politics Kai Oppermann and Associate Professor at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich Alexander Spencer investigate what makes a foreign policy fiasco in a Special Issue of the Journal of European Public Policy ◊ 18 January

SEI-based Politics Professor Paul Webb, Professor Tim Bale and Postdoctoral Research Assistant Monica Poletti published an article at the LSE Politics blog entitled ‘Ideology is in the eye of the beholder: How British party supporters see themselves, their parties, and their rivals’ ◊ 8 January
## Research in Progress Seminars

**Spring Term 2015-16**

Wednesdays 14.00 - 15.50 (unless otherwise indicated)

**Venue: Freeman G-22**

(Welcome, Coffee and Biscuits provided)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>POLITICS SEMINARS</th>
<th>SEI SEMINARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wed 03.02.16</td>
<td>Politics Board of Study/Departmental meeting - No seminar.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wed 10.02.16</td>
<td>LPS School Forum - No seminar.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 17.02.16</td>
<td>Dr Robert Ford (University of Manchester) 'Secularism or Anti-Muslim sentiment? Experiments on opposition to religious schools in Britain, Norway and Sweden'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 24.02.16</td>
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<td>SEI Roundtable: The UK Referendum on EU Membership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 02.03.16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Chris Bickerton (University of Cambridge) 'Populism, Technocracy and the Crisis of Party Democracy'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 09.03.16</td>
<td>Professor David Coen (University College London) 'EP Lobbying'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 16.03.16</td>
<td>Professor Claire Annesley (University of Sussex) and Professor Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary) 'How to Become a Minister: a new and feminist institutionalist account'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 06.04.16</td>
<td>Toygar Baykan (SEI) 'Electoral Success of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey: the Role of Political Appeal and Organization'</td>
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<td>Wed 13.04.16</td>
<td>Professor Anthony Zito (University of Newcastle) 'Trajectories of European Environmental Governance over Time'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wed 20.04.16</td>
<td>Professor Paul Webb (University of Sussex) 'Who does the donkey work? Comparing the campaign work of party members and non-members in the 2015 UK general election'</td>
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<td>Wed 27.04.16</td>
<td>Pedro Rafael Constantino Echeverría (University of Sussex) 'The Effects of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs on Voting Behaviour and Socioeconomic Outcomes in Mexico'</td>
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<td>Wed 04.05.16</td>
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Donald Rumsfeld famously talked about ‘known knowns’ and ‘known unknowns’. Looking systematically at referendums and at the experience of these in Europe, we can learn from what has happened in other European referendums to help us in looking at what may happen in the UK’s referendum on EU membership. There may be uncertainty ahead but we can know what we don’t know from previous experience. We suggest that there are six lessons we can learn.

**Referendum outcomes are hard to predict**

The one ‘known known’ we have is the state of the polls at the outset. But early in the campaign, opinion polls tell us very little about what the outcome of the referendum will be on 23 June. Around 20% of voters are still undecided. More than that, voting behaviour in referendums is much less settled and more fluid than in general elections. This is because party affiliation and long-term party identification matter less in referendums whereas campaign effects tend to matter more. In particular, the referendum campaign will increase the level of information the average voter holds about Britain in Europe. The campaign only really started after the European negotiations about the British demands were concluded on 19 February, and voters will hear a lot about the EU from both sides of the debate between now and the referendum. Early polls reflect the balance of opinion in a relatively information poor environment, but the vote will take place in a quite information rich environment. This might swing a significant number of voters – in one direction or the other.
Turnout matters

EU referendums have been won or lost depending on the ability of the opposing sides to mobilise and to turn out the vote. Good examples are the two Irish ‘No’ votes on the treaties of Nice (2001) and Lisbon (2008). Both votes involved low turnouts – 35% in the case of Nice, 53% on the treaty of Lisbon – which were primarily down to the poor mobilisation of the ‘Yes’ camps. When the two treaties were put to second referendums in 2002 and 2009, the ‘Yes’ campaigns learned the lessons from their previous defeats and were better at mobilising their supporters. In consequence, the turnout increased by 15 points (Nice) and 5 points (Lisbon) which in both cases was sufficient to overturn the results of the first referendum and to deliver ‘Yes’ votes.

The difference between the Irish experience and the current referendum campaign in Britain, however, is that we should not expect a significant gap in the mobilisation of the ‘remain’ and ‘leave’ campaigns. There can be little doubt that the stakes are very high and that the question of British EU membership will dominate the UK political debate. Mobilisation will therefore be very strong on both sides of the divide. Turnout might well be higher than, for example, in the 2015 general elections when it stood at 66% but it is unlikely to be as high as the 85% achieved in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. What is less clear cut, however, is which camp a high turnout will benefit. On the one hand, the ‘leave’ side might be able to mobilise disaffected voters who do not tend to turn out in general elections. On the other hand, the core support for leaving the EU will likely be sufficiently mobilised to turn out anyway and will already be ‘priced into’ current opinion polls. An exceptionally high turnout at the referendum would therefore likely be driven by the mobilisation of supporters for staying in the EU and thus be to the benefit of the ‘remain’ camp.

Establishment vs anti-establishment

A distinctive feature of referendum campaigns is their binary and polarised nature. In the case of EU referendums, this generally pits the establishment on the pro-EU side against the anti-establishment on the Eurosceptic side. This binary structure tends to work as a magnifying glass for the anti-establishment case, and part of the resonance of Eurosceptic arguments in EU referendums precisely comes from their anti-establishment appeal. However, this divide between the establishment and critics of that estab-
lishment is probably less pronounced in the current British referendum than in many previous EU referenda across Europe. This is because the case for leaving the EU has moved towards the mainstream in British politics and resonates with parts of the political and economic establishment as well as across large swathes of the print media. At the same time, it is still evident that the 'leave' campaign seeks to play the anti-establishment card, trying to present itself as 'outsiders' standing up for the British people against Whitehall elites and 'Brussels'.

**Elite cues matter**

Although party identification is a less important driver of voting behaviour in EU referendums than in general elections, cues from the elites still matter. In particular, such cues will be more powerful, the more united each of the two camps is and the more voters trust their leading figures. However, elite cues on both sides of the debate will likely be weakened by internal divisions. The 'leave' camp has difficulty finding a common line on how to engage with UKIP and on whether it should officially be led by ‘Vote Leave’ or ‘Leave.EU’. On the 'remain' side, the cues from the government to Conservative voters will become weaker the more the Conservative party and the cabinet are divided. In terms of trust, the 'remain' campaign appears to be on the advantage, because David Cameron is better trusted on the referendum in the public at large than any leading figure of the 'leave' campaign, including Boris Johnson. In particular, Nigel Farage divides public opinion and is trusted mainly by those who have already decided to vote for leaving the EU. His cues will thus be unlikely to sway many voters who are yet undecided.

**Priming effects**

Voters in EU referendums are primed to think about the question on the ballot in terms of the issues that are on the forefront of their minds on voting day. This suggests that the outcome of the referendum will be affected by which issues are most prominent in June. If the issue agenda at the time of the vote will still be dominated by immigration, crowding out, for example, economic arguments and concerns, voters will be primed to decide on EU membership in terms of what they think it implies for immigration. This stands to benefit the ‘leave’ side which should therefore be expected to focus their campaign on the immigration issue. The more the political debate at the time of the referendum reflects a more optimistic mood and a broad
sense of satisfaction with the government and with personal circumstances, the more this should benefit the ‘remain’ side.

Voting behaviour in referendums (and elsewhere) is marked by a bias in favour of the status quo. Voters tend to be risk averse and prefer the certainty of the status quo to the uncertainty of change. The riskier voters consider leaving the EU to be, the more this benefits the ‘remain’ side. Much of the referendum campaign will therefore become a framing contest about the consequences of voting to leave. While the ‘remain’ campaign will portray leaving the EU as — in David Cameron’s words — a ‘great leap into the dark’, economically and political-
By December 6, 2015 just under 1 million new migrants had been registered in Germany since the beginning of 2015. The assumption of the authorities is that approximately the same number is likely to arrive in 2016. This very substantial number of migrants arriving in a very short period of time with very limited resources is posing a major social and logistical problem in Germany. Politically the current coalition government is resisting fundamentally changing its generally positive policy towards migration in spite of a growing awareness in the population of the extreme difficulty in integrating these refugees.

Although the current level of migration has not reached the scale of the inward migration following the end of the Second World War, the majority of migrants today do not speak German and while many have a good education and significant skills, many of the skills are not those required in a modern industrial economy. However they do have one very positive characteristic; they are overwhelmingly young.

Although recently the birth rate (children per woman in childbearing age) has started to rise again, it is still nowhere near the population replacement level. In addition any significant rise in the birth rate will not have a positive impact on the labour supply before 2035. The latest population projections with a low-level of inward migration suggest that in 2030 45% of the population will be over 65 or under 20 years of age: in 2060 this is likely to rise to 49%, with 13% over 80.

The current demographic situation is already putting a great strain on the labour market, with labour shortages affecting all branches but especially manufacturing and medical and social care provision. Employers can respond by helping employees to upgrade their skills, by increasing capital investment both domestically and abroad and, more globally, some further increase in female activity rates can be expected in coming years. However none of these measures are likely to prevent labour shortages from both limiting growth in the economy and from pushing up costs as employers compete for limited resources. Suddenly the situation is being changed by the arrival of 1 million migrants, with probably the same number next year, many of whom appear to qualify as refugees and a proportion of whom seem keen on remaining in Germany for the medium term future at least.

Unlike in the neighbouring countries to Syria which have absorbed millions of Syrian refugees who are living in camps presumably waiting to return home, Germany is intent on integrating as many of the refugees as possible. Although the German response has been motivated by a deep sense of caring for refugees, in the longer term one of the principal keys to success will be the ability of the German labour market to absorb the new arrivals most of whom will seek employment. The cost of supporting refugees from the German budgets before they find employment is significant but not extremely difficult, but for refugees to stay receiving roughly the same state allocation as German long-term unemployed would be socially explosive. But the integration of refugees into the labour market may be more complex and take longer than
many in Germany imagine.

Not all of the migrants of course who have arrived in 2015 will seek work. Some are mothers with young children, others are unaccompanied minors. Above all not all of the migrants will be granted asylum and be able to stay in Germany. In the first nine months of 2015, around 97,000 asylum claims were made by people from the Western Balkans countries which are now considered ‘safe countries’ and therefore their nationals no longer qualify to be recognised as refugees. These migrants are being sent home at a significant rate although many will no doubt succeed in remaining in Germany.

For those migrants whose claim for asylum is eventually recognised by the state, the first problem is the time it takes from their arrival in Germany to the granting of asylum, during which period refugees cannot work. Although these delays are being reduced gradually, the whole process still takes several months. Once granted asylum the refugees can look for work, however, even although labour shortages in Germany are quite severe, integration into the labour market depends on an ability to speak German and qualifications to fit the jobs which are offered.

Whereas German is a general problem, the level of education and qualifications vary across the different nationalities involved. Although the statistics are somewhat unreliable, the Federal Office for Migration estimates that 30% of Syrian refugees have third level education and 25% completed high school. Across all refugees (including Syrians), the respective figures are 17% and 18%. It is of course also not obvious that the qualifications gathered abroad meet what is demanded on the German labour market. So while the integration of Syrian refugees into the labour market may prove to be possible, that of other refugees may well take a very long time and a great deal of training.

The German government is investing significant amounts of money into both language training and training to meet the needs of the German labour market. However, there is a major resource problem in the availability of teachers and trainers dealing with a difficult cohort of refugees, who are very diverse in their education and training needs.

The possibility (and the worry of the German trade unions) that refugees may be able to enter the low pay areas of the German economy is far less likely since the introduction of the general minimum wage of €8.50 an hour at the beginning of 2015. Many will no doubt find employment illegally in the economy, but this opens the way for refugees to be pressurised into unacceptable work practices and extremely low incomes. In their 2015 report, the German Council of Economic Experts suggested the introduction of a degree of flexibility into the minimum wage legislation at least for a limited period.

Data from past migration suggest that five years after the arrival of migrant groups, the employment rate amongst migrants reaches approximately 50% of that of the population as a whole. So in the best of circumstances Germany is facing in the short-term a substantial cost for education and training and for social benefits to recognised asylum seekers.

However in the longer term the refugees may make a significant difference to the skilled labour force in a country which is facing an extremely difficult demographic transition following several decades of low birth rates. Two unknowns will affect the ultimate outcome: for how many years will the flow of refugees continue at current levels and how many of the refugees will want to return to their home countries if peace should be restored there.
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.


Prof Erika Szyszczak
Professor of Law
E.Szyszczak@sussex.ac.uk

EU competition law will undergo a radical change of emphasis in 2016. Traditionally competition law was seen as an aspect of public law enforcement undertaken by the European Commission, centralised in Brussels. Over time, the nature of enforcement of EU competition law has changed. One shift in emphasis is the role of private enforcement, by competitors, individuals (for example consumers – you and me), parties to the cartel agreements and collective action, often through consumer protection organisations at the national level. Another dimension is that criminal law enforcement has gained acceptance in some Member States, with varying sanctions, ranging from individual fines to imprisonment.

Since 2004 the European Commission has encouraged the enforcement of EU competition law at the national level, in the expectation that this will free up European Commission time to investigate the hard core cartels and super dominant firms whose anti-competitive conduct has a bigger impact on the Single Market and competition in the EU. This strategy has paid off at the EU level: cartel fines have increased dramatically and investigations into Microsoft, Google, Intel, Gazprom feature prominently in the financial news.

The other side of the equation, increased national enforcement of EU competition law, is harder to gauge. Some jurisdictions, such as the United Kingdom and Portugal, have created specialised competition law courts, while other jurisdictions have created specialised chambers of commercial courts. But it is very hard to find statistics of the actual number of judges and competition law cases that are brought before the national courts. In some Member States EU law is still a novelty and competition law is not part of the general law school curriculum. Thus lawyers and judges often lack expertise in competition law, especially the way in which the modern development of competition law has used economics to underpin case analysis. The failure to expand the EU budget as the EU has increased in size has also meant that English has now become the working language of EU competition law.
In 2002 the European Commission began a funded training programme for national judges. Over 10m euro has been spent on the training programmes, but to date there has been no evaluation of what it has achieved. Thus in March 2015 I embarked on such an evaluation with colleagues at ERA, Trier (Germany) and Ecorys, an economics consultancy, based in Brussels, in order to present proposals to the European Commission on the future direction of training national judges. We were aided by a High level Group of Experts whom we used to test our findings and to receive feedback on our methodology. The evaluation is necessary and timely since by the Member States must implement a new Damages Directive (2014/104) by 27 December 2016 and it is expected that this will give rise to a greater amount of competition law litigation at the national level. Are the national judges prepared for this?

Research Fellow Cemil Kaya outlines his research on Freedom of Information.

Cemil Kaya
Visiting Fellow

I have been to many countries in the world, but the UK has always had a special place for me. My experience of Britain started with a language course at Sheffield Hallam University (September 1996 to March 1997) and continued with post-doctoral research position at Nottingham University (September 2000 to September 2001) and a second masters with a dissertation on the transfer of personal data at Portsmouth University (September 2008 to September 2009). Now I have been here at Sussex University as a visiting fellow since September 2015.

When I first came to the UK in 1996 as a junior research assistant; I am now visiting as a full professor almost 20 years later. I am getting older! I have had good friendly relations with people from all over the world while I have been in Britain. I will never forget my English teacher Jacky Murphy, my dear neighbour Ronny Mitchell and his late wife Brenda, my excellent landlords Mustafa Huseyin and his wife Serife and their good fish and chips,
Research

and Dr. Sylvia Horton, whose approach to students I have always admired, to name a few.

I have had an opportunity to visit many British towns and find out more about British culture and lifestyle during my presence in the UK. With the exception of my first visit to the UK, my wife and daughters have accompanied me each time. My daughters continued their education in Britain. It was with difficulty, but this was a valuable lifetime experience for them. So it was for me too. In fact, all British cities are similar regarding development level. But each city is unique due to its cultural richness and natural beauty. I really fell in love with Brighton more than any of the other towns I have been to in the UK. Brighton reminds me of my hometown Istanbul, where I was born and raised. Both are located at the seaside with a moderate climate and multi-cultured and tolerant people.

I am here now because my wife has been granted a doctoral scholarship by the Turkish Ministry of Interior in February 2015. This time, I am accompanying my family in the UK. I had to give up my post as the vice dean of Istanbul University Faculty of Law and many other administrative duties and, more importantly, my students. I wanted to spend at least a year with my family in Brighton as a visiting fellow. I wrote to Prof Susan Mills about this; she welcomed me, and here I am now. Sussex University draws attention as a campus university with its green environment, on-campus student housing, great central library and its role as a leading UK university. The School of Law, Politics and Sociology is impressive with its modern building, the quality of academic personnel and opportunities it offers to its students.

I pursue my academic research here too. I am working on freedom of information (FOI) and data protection which are relatively new subjects of administrative law. I am also involved in writing a book on Turkish Procedure of Administrative Justice with two distinguished Turkish professors during my sabbatical leave.

FOI first appeared in 1766 in Sweden and expanded to other countries all over the world. Today more than 100 countries have adopted laws on FOI. Turkish FOI law was enacted in 2003. FOI, as a fundamental human right, deals with public access to information held by the administration. Data protection is the other side of the coin. Data protection deals with protection of personal information by administration and individuals’ access to his files held by the government. In Turkey, two draft bills on the subject were introduced to the Parliament in 2008 and 2014. Unfortunately, Turkey has not been able to adopt a law on data protection so far, although there has been a constitutional base for it since 2010. The new Turkish Government declared that it will pass such a law in 2016 as part of the Turkish accession process to the European Union.

As a final word, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Sussex University School of Law, Politics and Sociology for inviting me as a visiting fellow and I hope that this sparks collaboration between Sussex and Istanbul Universities: I feel I belong to both.
Bleeding Love: Raising Awareness on Domestic and Dating Violence Against Lesbians and Transwomen in the European Union

Dr Maria Federica Moscati
Lecturer in Family Law (Law)
E m a i l : M.F.Moscati@sussex.ac.uk

The project, which has been co-financed by the DG Daphne of the European Commission, started in February 2015 and will end in February 2016.

The results of the project are: first, comparative research analysing good practices regarding domestic and dating violence in the EU; second, an awareness campaign, a book for citizens, a blog where people are able to share experiences of violence, a Twitter profile where people can report episodes of violence; third, a photo competition, and two videos on domestic violence between female same-sex partners and dating violence against trans-gender women; fourth, one two-day international final conference and related conference proceedings.

Research was carried out in Bulgaria, Belgium, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Portugal, and England and has shown that overall domestic and dating violence against LBT women is a widespread phenomenon in the EU. However, it remains unreported, and does not receive adequate legal protection. Bias, stereotypes, machismo and limited recognition of the rights of LGBTI people are some of the causes which prevent comprehensive protection and prevention of such violence. In addition, healthcare professionals, police officers and social services do not receive specific training to deal with domestic and dating violence against LBT women. As a result, victims do not receive adequate protection.

Domestic violence between female same-sex partners includes: battering, recurring verbal aggression which most often consisted of insults, raging fits, intimidation and threatening behaviours, financial control, constant jealousy, limiting access to family and/or friends, and whether and how to have an open relationship. Transgender women suffer the same types of violence as other women, but they also suffer from trans-specific forms of violence including the obstruction of transition (hiding hormones), as well as disrespect of certain body parts. In addition the lack of a clearly defined sex reassignment procedure in some countries exposes trans-gender women to recurring discrimination.
Data collected during the fieldwork suggests that there is a common misinterpretation of what is known as ‘dating violence’ against trans-gender women. Dating violence is erroneously thought to be a consequence only of prostitution, and often there is the assumption that trans-gender women are - or can only be - prostitutes. With specific reference to trans-gender women who work as sex workers, they are often victims of trafficking and are coerced into prostitution and often experience abuses committed by the police along with a lack of respect from the health and social workers. These women are more likely to be victims of physical violence, extortion and theft with violence when they are at work (either in the street or in the places used to meet clients). The perpetrators are clients or the pimp. Often groups of people organise violent tours by car against trans-gender women who work on the street involving insulting, beating, throwing objects and trying to run the trans-gender women over. In addition, economic violence against them is perpetrated by land-lords.

In our research, we are interested in the processes of democratization and Europeanization in Southeastern Europe, and generally in the domestic politics of EU integration across the EU. The standard assumption in the academic discourse is that Europeanization enhances democracy in candidate countries by strengthening key democratic features (such as the rule of law, minority rights, good governance, accountability and governmental transparency) through the adoption of the acquis communautaire (see for example Sedelmeier and Schim-
melfennig 2005). However, more recent evidence (see Sedelmeier 2014) from countries that joined the EU in the last ten years (Hungary, Romania) and in particular from the Western Balkans demonstrates that a) EU integration might have a negative impact on democratization and b) democratic reforms might not be sustainable and can be reversed. Examples include the continued support of EU leaders for Bosnian officials despite their inability to agree on any reforms (and intensified public unrest against these elites), support for Kosovo elites who have shown little respect of democratic principles, and for Milo Djukanovic in Montenegro, who was indicted for tobacco smuggling in Italy in the past and is generally considered as an autocratic ruler that controls most sectors of the economy and society in the country.

In particular, while the rich literature on Europeanization continues to engage scholars in debates about how European norms, values, practices and policies shape and influence domestic politics and structures, far less is known about the impact of ‘Europe’ and ‘Europeanization’ at the micro level. The central concern of the EUEve project is the relationship between EU-level politics, policies, structures, actors and hierarchies and individuals, communities and spaces. The network builds on two key literatures: (1) scholarship on ‘the everyday’, examining the lived experience of politics and (2) literature on ‘subterranean politics’ (Kaldor and Selchow 2013), which examines how individuals and groups perceive contemporary cross-European crises, and how this is expressed in citizen demands, protests and other responses. We build on works by, amongst others, Boyte (2004), Brubaker et al (2006) and Husymans (2006), which discuss the ‘ordinaryness’ and the everyday experience of democracy, insecurity and citizenship, and how these experiences intersect with broader understandings of political practices, policies and structures. We develop this by applying insights from political and critical geography, which consider the role of local spaces and immediate surroundings in understandings and practices of democracy and politics (e.g. Davoudi and Madanipour 2015).

The EUEve project takes this approach because we understand the recent European crises – austerity, refugee crisis, potential Brexit and potential failure of the Euro – to be deeply shaped by broader policies and structures of the EU and its politics, but to be at the same time, experienced socially, locally and spatially. This is evidenced, for instance, in non-traditional responses to political problems and questions of democracy (Kaldor and Selchow 2013) such as ‘occupation’ of public spaces in response to austerity measures in Greece, or in the grassroots activism across Europe, in response to the refugee crisis. It is also evidenced in acceding or new member states, where the application of new EU rules and policies has had profound effects on a range of everyday experiences, such as mobility and employment, as well as, of course, a significant impact on the fluidity of the refugee crisis. Further, EU policies and practices may be entirely absent from certain communities in response to European crises (Kaldor and Selchow 2013), which is often the response of marginalised (e.g. young, unemployed or less-well off communities, certain minorities such as the Roma) in post-industrial cities, despite the visibility of the EU through structural funds and EU parliamentary elections. Therefore, we are currently observing a double-crisis in Europe, one that questions the ability of nation-states to cope with the pressures of globalization and its substantial impact, and a second crisis which casts doubt on the capacity of liberal democratic regimes to cope with changing socio-economic dynamics and ensure the wellbeing of European citizens.
Equally, understanding the everyday impact of the EU does not yet have a well-researched spatial dimension. We seek to experiment with this approach by inviting participation from political and urban geographers, who will contribute insights on how EU policies and frameworks change and shape localities and spaces in times of crisis and transitions. We are especially interested in how urban spaces respond to EU-funded regeneration, or how regeneration practices may be subverted or resisted locally, and how urban spaces have been adapted in support of the refugee crisis (such as in Germany).

We see the spatial dimension as integral to the everyday experience of politics and crisis. Indeed, as the refugee crisis has demonstrated – in the summer of 2015 particularly – specific EU policies or policies of specific EU member states – have an explicit spatial dimension, whose effects need to be investigated.

The project addresses the following questions: (1) What impacts do policies such as budget cuts have on individuals and communities, across different European contexts? (2) How have recent crises such as austerity and the refugee crisis, shaped the ways in which ‘Europe’ is understood and represented locally? (3) How do marginalised communities, and non-mainstream voters such as young people, engage with and experience, the idea of ‘Europe’? (4) How is ‘Europe’ entrenched in local spaces, cities and neighbourhoods, and what spatial or geographic evidence can we observe? In all questions, the aim of the EUEve project is to examine the everyday politics of the EU and Europeanization, and investigate how ‘Europe’ is embedded in the lived experience of ordinary individuals, communities and spaces. Thematically, we focus on Europe’s contemporary dilemmas: austerity, the refugee crisis, the financial crisis and ‘Brexit’ and the ways in which they are experienced socially, but also spatially. I am now looking forward to being back to Sussex for the last few weeks of my fellowship and I am delighted to share this good news, having also some Sussex Alumni’s works as backbones in this research proposal and project.

References


I am a first-year PhD student who is studying International Law at the University of Sussex, and I am funded by the Education Ministry of the Republic of Turkey. I would like very briefly to share my experiences at Sussex.

I am researching the integration of women’s rights in transitional justice processes. Transitional justice is an interdisciplinary area, which works in cooperation with law, politics, sociology and, sometimes, psychology. My first challenge was to find a university which encourages students to study with an interdisciplinary perspective. Rather than focusing only on the judgments of international tribunals, I wished to see the effects of these judgments on society, and on the everyday lives of women. Sussex University was my choice, since it has a strong reputation for encouraging students to improve their multi-disciplinary vision, and to analyse situations and cases with interdisciplinary approaches, in order to gain more depth in the field. Sussex also boasts great experience in the field of women’s rights. We have many centres here in which to present our research and discuss our opinions with people who are also studying in similar areas. In my experience, in terms of the fields of women’s rights and gender equality, Sussex is very well established and has many facilities to offer.

As a first-year PhD student, I realised that there are basically two important things that you need to understand about a PhD. First of all, other than my supervisors’ help and feedback, I needed to improve my research skills, in order to create a high quality dissertation. To do this, Sussex University offers a number of opportunities. For first-year students, different departments of the University (IT services, library, doctoral school and so on) provide a great variety of workshops and training courses. From technological help with our research, through to help with presenting a paper in a conference, I took a number of courses, which helped me both to improve my skills and also to understand the milestones in a PhD journey. I believe these workshops and training courses can be very beneficial for first-year students. Secondly, a PhD is almost entirely about research, and creating a contribution to the existing literature. That is why a good library is crucial for all PhD students. The library of the University of Sussex is, in a word, fantastic. I have access to every electronic database I want and need. Moreover, the library also has a great amount of publications. On occasions when I cannot find a book, I can obtain the book through the interlibrary loan service of the library in only a few days. Sussex has an impressive research environment.

In my research, I am specifically looking at the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bosnia). This country has experienced one of the most tragic catastrophes in human history. During this catastrophe, which occurred in the middle of Europe, the world was but a mere spectator. Since the conflict ended, Bosnia has been the concern of many different entities (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, UN Security Council, EU, NGOs, and so on). My aim is to look at the effectiveness of the transitional justice process in Bosnia by specifically focusing on women’s issues. I am going to find the answer to the following question in my study: Have the transitional justice mechanisms in Bosnia offered anything for women to ‘transform’ their roles in society?
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.

**SEI Workshop:**

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

The SEI ran a one-day workshop on September 18th 2015 on the theme Britain at a crossroads: the politics of asylum, immigration and Europe. The workshop was run by Dr Erica Consterdine, and included external speakers from across the UK. Immigration has become an increasingly politically salient issue in Britain, rising up the agenda for the last 15 years as an issue of voting importance. In turn, the newly elected Conservative Government faces a number of major migration challenges over the course of the next term. We felt it was thus timely to be discussing the politics of immigration in Britain.

The biggest challenge for the Conservative government is how to cooperate and reconcile the EU Mediterranean and related Calais crises, and in turn establish a coherent EU wide asylum policy. Relatedly our morning session focused on the challenges of building a comprehensive asylum integration policy, including Dr Lucy Mayblin from the University of Sheffield who presented her research on asylum policy and the right to work.

Whilst Prime Minister Cameron faces the challenge of building a coherent EU wide asylum policy, promised further devolution to Scotland post 2014 referendum also bring with it issues surrounding asylum policy. Dr Gareth Mulvey from the University of Glasgow spoke to the issues, and examined the development of refugee integration policy at both the UK and Scottish levels of governments. He argued that the relatively informal and fluid nature of intergovernmental relations has opened up the space for policy discretion, particularly in the way of greater autonomy for Scotland leading to a type of ‘venue shift’ in the area.

Whilst the vast majority of asylum seekers in the UK are forbidden from working, based on the orthodoxy of the pull factor thesis – the idea that more asylum seekers will come to the country if permission to work is granted – Dr Mayblin’s research challenges such assumptions and identifies barriers to political change. Drawing on Bob Jessop’s work on the existential necessity for complexity reduction, Dr Mayblin described the ways in which asylum policy is built on ‘imaginaries’ that shape policy making.

Whilst the Scottish referendum caused political stir in 2014, perhaps the greatest challenge for the Conserva-
tive government is appeasing public concerns over immigration. Yet what is in many ways unique about current public concerns over immigration is that this immigration is in fact EU mobility, and such concerns have been propelled by the representation and coverage of free movement by the press. Dr Alex Balch from the University of Liverpool explored these issues in his research on media depictions and framings of EU migrants. Dr Balch demonstrated that the way the UK media reported the immigration debate has shifted over time and is becoming increasingly “dehumanised” – dominated by a narrow range of negative arguments with less coverage of any positive aspects. He found that the balance shifts away from economic nationalism (immigration controls aimed at benefiting the UK economy) towards welfare chauvinism (immigration controls aimed at protecting public goods).

Whilst public opinion has long been hostile towards increased immigration, the notion of it being a significant problem is far more recent, gravitating from low to high politics. As a result, immigration featured heavily in both the 2010 and 2015 campaigns for all parties to an unprecedented degree. Dr Consterdine from the University of Sussex spoke about feedback effects of the Labour government’s managed migration policy and the way in which these reforms have contributed towards the politicization of migration. She argued that Labour’s reforms have had generated three feedback effects on politics and policymaking in Britain, including changes to policy implementation practices, an indirect corporatist agreement built between government and interests groups, and ideational lock in effects on the immigration debate.

Whilst immigration has dogged Labour’s time in opposition, the issue also generates problems for the Conservative Party. Rebecca Partos, a PhD student at the University of Sussex, presented her research on the Conservative Party’s immigration policy change both in power and opposition. She found that of the possible influences on policymaking, the personal convictions and managerial style of the leadership of the Party have the greatest impact on policymaking; that electoral calculations relating to elections in the recent past or near future are critical, and that there is little evidence that changes to the factions of the Party have had an impact on immigration policy.

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

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**Core Modules**
- Interdisciplinary Approaches to Analysing Corruption
- Anti-Corruption
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- State Capacity, Natural Resources and Corruption
- The State of East Asia: Corruption, Theft and Collapse

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

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**Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption**
MA in International Politics  
*1 year full time/2 years part time*

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

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

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**Spring term** (choice of two options):
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- Politics and Government in India
- The State in East Asia
- European Political Integration
- Domestic Politics of European Integration

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

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

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MA in European Governance and Policy  
*1 year full time/2 years part time*

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

**Autumn term:**
- European Governance
- Politics and Public Policy
- Research Methods and Approaches

**Spring term options** (choice of 2 modules):
- European Political Integration
- Foreign Policy Analysis
- International Relations of the EU
- The Domestic Politics of European Integration
- Energy and Environmental Security in Europe
- EU Single Market Law
- Political Parties and Party Systems
- Territorial Politics
- The Political Economy of EU Integration
- The Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition
- Corruption and Governance in International Business
- Tackling Corruption

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

For details contact: **Dr Sue Collard**

S.P.Collard@sussex.ac.uk
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))