



The Newsletter of the Sussex European Institute

*A Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence
A Marie Curie Research Training Centre*

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Issue Number
21



Autumn Term
2001

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EDITORIAL

Having taken over the editorial position just in time for the spring issue, this is the first real opportunity we have had to work on slight adjustments to the form and format of your tried and trusted newsletter. We hope to continue to improve and develop Euroscope over the coming year, adding new sections and building on the sound basis already in place with the regular contributions. With the present issue we make a start along these lines.

Our intentions are to make Euroscope more accessible to staff, students and all those outside the SEI and Sussex. This we hope to do both from a reading and a contributing point of view. The former research student representative, Enric Ruiz-Gelices, made an important and still valid statement when pointing out that doing your degree should be a fun experience. We not only took him seriously on that matter but decided that it should also apply to Euroscope. Reading the SEI newsletter should be fun. And informative.

Therefore, we have tried to put in a range of topics that will appeal to the diverse interests within the SEI. We hope to include a variety of articles which both report the news and ongoing research within the institute, and also stimulate feedback and interest in the themes presented. We believe that Euroscope should play a central role in keeping what is an extremely active research community up to date with the progress of its various components and projects.

Research naturally takes us all down very diverse channels and often many miles from the corridors of corner of Arts A. Even within the University, the expertise which benefits both the teaching and research at the SEI is dispersed through many different academic units. Euroscope can play a large part in keeping others up to date with progress. But we think it should also provide space for ongoing discussion and exchanges on the topics which are introduced in its pages. With this in mind we encourage you to send us your views and reactions to the current issue. We welcome all your comments on the content of this issue with a view to

publishing some of them at a later date. Our new email address is:

euroscope@sussex.ac.uk.

Our aim is to make Euroscope a forum for discussions and views on matters relating to current research interests alongside the usual announcements. We would also like to invite all those of you who have not yet ventured an article for Euroscope (students and faculty alike) to seriously consider putting fingers to keyboard in time for the spring term. In welcoming the new MACES students, we would also like to extend this invitation to them as well and ask them to carry on the efforts of last year's group who served us well. Finally, since we are in a period of reworking the layout, we are open to all suggestions and comments on the form and format of Euroscope. We look forward to receiving your views and suggestions and to bringing you an ever-improving newsletter.

So what does Euroscope have in store for you this term?

Hot on the heels of Jim Rollo's regular message, this autumn term edition kicks off with an announcement by the new Co-Director of the SEI, Jörg Monar. Naturally, this is a big event in SEI history and here we get a chance to introduce staff, faculty, the new and the old students to Helen Wallace's successor.

Even though SEI main man Paul Taggart is not physically present in Arts A anymore, his legacy lives on in the research network set up by himself and fellow SEI associate Aleks Szczerbiak. The 'Opposing Europe Research Network' special in this issue brings us all their news from the last few months. You will find a general overview on the last year and two detailed reports on conferences to which they have taken the OERN. We are very grateful to both Paul and Aleks for their substantial contributions to this issue.

Some might wonder what doing a DPhil is all about, so to clear up some of the confusion, we subcontracted second year research student Panos Hatziprokiou to

spread the word on what goes on in his research about Albanian labour migrants in Greece.

New MACES students will be able to find out what to expect of the EU, whose hand to shake and where to leave your business cards in the Brussels trip coverage provided by several of last years MACES attendees. Contrasting their experience we have the DICES encountering the corridors of power during their Brussels trip in March.

Keeping in touch with former SEI alumni is another important aspect which we would like to promote through these pages. In this issue we had hoped to bring you a new alumni section but last-minute developments have meant postponing this until the Spring. However, this is an avenue we are keen to pursue in reworking Euroscope and we would like as many as possible of former SEI staff, faculty and students to contact us with details of what they have been up to since leaving Sussex and memories of their time spent here.

In addition to these features and our regular news of SEI publications we also have contributions on the Rives-Manche Economic Observatory, a Sussex social theory conference and an update on what the regional development people have been up to. As usual, our 'In Brief' section provides an at-a-glance summary of the progress of our various researchers, faculty and their projects.

One final word is one of thanks to all those who have put forward articles for this issue. We are especially indebted to our regular contributors who have once again supplied us with well-written and engaging articles which form the core of Euroscope. We look forward to their future contributions and to welcoming new talent to these pages.

Pontus Odmalm & Nick Walmsley
Co-Editors

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MESSAGE FROM JIM ROLLO

This Euroscope, coming at the beginning of a new academic year would normally be one bright with hope for the new cohort of students coming to SEI. It also marks a change in SEI as Professor Helen Wallace, Founding Director of SEI, goes on leave to direct the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute and Professor Jörg Monar comes as Professor of Contemporary European Studies and Co-Director of SEI (see page 5).

All of this is overshadowed however as I write by the horrible events of 11 September in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. The loss of life, the symbolic and actual damage of the strikes against institutions which help sustain a liberal, market based, democratic and global society, and their likely consequences, may shift fundamentally the nature of the emerging post-cold-war global society. Once more liberal democracy faces a common enemy, albeit one which is shadowy and difficult to engage. The invocation of Article V of the NATO Treaty for the first time in the history of the alliance, is one such shift. The desire of Russia to be engaged in any response is another. The revealed vulnerability of the delicate mechanisms at the heart of an open society is yet another. The almost day-to-day nature of worldwide air travel and the underpinnings of the world financial systems have both been severely threatened and the way of life they represent can no longer be taken for granted, even if, as looks likely as I write, a semblance of normality returns over the next weeks.

From my own perspective, the cancellation of the IMF/World meetings in Washington and the possibility that the WTO Ministerial in Doha may be postponed point to a significant interference in the governance of the global economy. Some may welcome these consequences but that would be foolish in my judgment. Whatever their faults, these organizations represent the promise of a rules-based global economic system and not a power-driven one.

The implications for Trans-Atlantic relations are clearly significant and the Institute will aim to involve itself in the analysis of the impact on EU and wider European external policy.

Returning to the more normal agenda, the first thing to do is to welcome new students, both for the taught masters in SEI and new research students. SEI is a busy, 'buzzy' and friendly place. We all look forward to working closely with you during your studies. We expect much of you, just as you expect excellence of yourself and of us. It will be hard work but it will also be fun, both intellectually and personally.

I welcome Jörg Monar as Chair in Contemporary European Studies and as my Co-Director. He will also be Associate Director of the ESRC Research Programme 'One Europe or Several?' alongside me as Director and Dr Aleks Szczerbiak (also Associate Director) and Laura Dunn as Administrator. I look forward to a long and fruitful collaboration.

Finally, let me mark the departure of Helen Wallace as Director and then Co-Director of SEI. It is hard to encompass the debt we owe to Helen, institutionally, intellectually and personally. The SEI you all see today

is an embodiment of Helen in its aspiration for rigour and intellectual excellence in the teaching and study of European Institutions and Society. It is truly interdisciplinary in its faculty, its teaching and its research and it is - and will remain - focused on Europe as a continent, and on European Integration widely interpreted, not just on the EU, important though that is. It is a daunting legacy but Jörg and I and the whole of SEI staff intend to build and extend the work of the institute on a basis of academic excellence, as the best compliment and thank you we can give Helen. This is not of course a goodbye as Helen is on leave and remains a Professorial Fellow in SEI.

There is much on the agenda for the coming term and academic year. Above all, as SEI enters its 10th year in 2001, we are planning a conference to mark the anniversary. Watch this space.



Message from Jörg Monar

As I will be taking over from Helen Wallace as Co-Director of the SEI on October 1st 2001 I would like to use this opportunity to briefly introduce myself:

My primary background is in European history and politics to which the subject of my second PhD thesis added a strong European law dimension. I have always been strongly attracted by interdisciplinary approaches to the study of European issues, and - for better or worse - the variety of my background is, I think, reflected in most of my writing. My main areas of

interest are the constitutional and institutional development of the European Union and some of its major policy areas, especially justice and home affairs, the common foreign and security policy and external economic relations. Some readers might find the use of the term 'constitutional' in this context objectionable. Yet I am using it on purpose because it is in my view that the political, legal and institutional system of the European Union has over time developed a number of truly 'constitutional' features which perfectly justify the use of the term - if one is willing to think beyond the boundaries of traditional state-based constitutional models. During the last few years my research work has focused on the development of EU justice and home affairs, an area which I believe will not only be one of the main areas of growth of EU policy-making in this decade but also raises fundamental questions as to the right balance between centralisation and decentralisation within the EU, the relationship between the citizen and the Union as a provider of essential public goods (in this case internal security) and fundamental values of the European construction (such as the degree of inclusion or exclusion of third country nationals and the protection of data on individuals).

Among my earlier formative experiences were two longer periods as a trainee in the Commission and the European Parliament, and since then I have aimed at staying in close touch with the practice of EU policy-making at both the European and the national level. I strongly believe that it is a fundamental duty for academics - without too many illusions about their impact - to make their expertise available to public administrations and policy-makers as much as possible. As a result, considerable parts of my

research concern evaluations and recommendations regarding the further development of EU institutional or policy-making aspects. Developing policy assessment and advisory capabilities is also one of the primary aims of my teaching. I have always considered bringing together practitioners, academics and students for open-minded discussion and work across the boundaries of theory, practice and disciplines amongst the most satisfying and fruitful an academic career in our field can offer.

This brings me to the SEI and the reasons why I applied for the job as Co-Director.

My previous posts at Leicester, at the Institut für Europäische Politik, the College of Europe and the European University Institute have - each in its own way - confirmed my view that the strength of any institution ultimately depends on a sense of common purpose and the team spirit of its members. From very modest beginnings, the SEI has in less than a decade developed into one of the most dynamic research and teaching centres in the field of European studies in Europe, and it has done so - this is the strong impression I got over the years - precisely because it has been driven by a common sense of purpose around a dynamic and open-minded agenda and a remarkable team spirit of its staff members, the many colleagues from other disciplines across the University and the practitioner fellows who contribute so much to its work. It was this aspect - apart from its high

reputation and the obvious success - which attracted me most to the SEI.

These essential assets do not emerge by chance. I remember Helen Wallace replying to my enquiry about her work at the SEI in the margins of an Academic Council meeting in Bruges in 1993 that it was all about "institution-building" and therefore "hard work". This work of institution-building has clearly succeeded in an outstanding way - but it will need to be continued. This will mean maintaining existing strengths, but also building on them, identifying new critical masses of interests among staff and students, exploring new co-operation and network possibilities inside and outside the University, adapting the research and teaching agenda to changing opportunities and needs and keeping in close touch with the rapidly developing political agenda of the widening European Union. I obviously would like to get a better idea of how the SEI functions and the interests of my future colleagues before suggesting any potential reorientations. Yet taking up the challenge of change for expansion into new fields and tasks has been one of the hallmarks of the SEI so far and - alongside Jim Rollo and my other colleagues - I am very much looking forward to make my own contribution to it.



‘Opposing Europe Research Network’ Special

The ‘Opposing Europe Research Network’ Goes From Strength To Strength

Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart

The SEI-based Opposing Europe Research Network (OERN) has completed a successful first year. It has gone from strength to strength (and in the process from Sussex to San Francisco via Manchester and Madison) and is looking forward to a busy programme of activities for the next eighteen months. Convened by Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, OERN was launched at a SEI workshop in June 2000 working on Euroscepticism in European party systems. Since then it has expanded to encompass over 50 scholars from a wide range of countries whose research specialities cover western, central and eastern Europe. The aim of the network is to produce comparative, pan-European research that charts the divisions over Europe that exist within party systems.

Conference panels - first we take Manchester, then we take Wisconsin

Research has been generated through a series of thematic panels at academic conferences, research funding bids, a working paper series and workshops. Three panels were held at the Political Studies Association (PSA) Conference held at Manchester in April 2001 (See Euroslope No.20 for a full report). This was followed up by two panels at the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) conference at

Madison, Wisconsin in June and a panel at the American Political Science Association (APSA) conference at San Francisco in August-September (See separate reports). In total, 18 papers have been produced that include both qualitative and quantitative research. There was also room for comparative conceptual as well as single country case studies that include Britain, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Scandinavian countries and the European Parliament. Some of these have been published as working papers (see below).

One paper does not make an ECPR Workshop

The main focus for activity in the forthcoming academic year will be the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions of Workshops to held in Turin in March 2002. Paul and Aleks submitted a successful bid on behalf of the network to hold a workshop on ‘Euroscepticism and Political Parties’ at these joint sessions. A number of network members researching Britain, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Greece, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia and the European Parliament have already expressed interest in participating but (at the time of writing) there are still a number of slots available. If you are interested in submitting a paper then please send a proposal to Paul and Aleks as soon as humanly possible. Both comparative and theoretical papers as well as single country case studies are welcome.

ESRC Research Seminars - separating the 'researchers of' from the Eurosceptics

Paul and Aleks also submitted a successful bid to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research seminars competition. Running in parallel with the ECPR workshop it will therefore be a series of five workshops beginning with an SEI hosted session in November 2001. This will be followed by workshops in Cambridge and Leicester and then, in 2002-2003 at the LSE and Durham. Each workshop will include both conceptual and case study papers, with the focus on the latter being 'rare' under-researched countries to complement the papers submitted to the ECPR workshop. The workshops will feature invited speakers from Western and Eastern Europe, interested researchers and representatives from interested practitioner organisations. Each workshop will also generate a short briefing paper. We are particularly keen to disseminate these to the practitioner community.

Working papers in progress

OERN has also created a new, joint working papers series with the SEI. All of them are available in hard copy from the SEI office or can be downloaded from the SEI website. The first of these was a report by Paul and Aleks of the OERN founding workshop held in June 2000 (SEI Working Paper No 36).

The second OERN working paper (SEI Working Paper No 46) also by Paul and Aleks and based on their PSA conference paper on 'Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe'. The paper presents

research into the location, electoral strength and type of Euroscepticism in the party systems of the central and east European candidate states. The data is then used to examine six propositions about the relationship between party-based Euroscepticism and left-right ideological spectrum, party position in party systems, public Euroscepticism, prospects for accession, 'hard' and 'soft' Euroscepticism and state longevity. The paper concludes that extending the scope of our study of Euroscepticism to the candidate states both extends our understanding of Euroscepticism from its study in Western Europe. It also brings new insights into party systems in central and eastern Europe as well as offering clues to some future effects of EU enlargement.

The third OERN working paper (SEI Working Paper No 48) is by Aleks, but without Paul, and is also based on a PSA conference paper on 'Europe as a re-aligning issue in Polish politics? Evidence from the October 2000 Presidential Election.' This paper considers whether or not EU membership has the potential to become a realigning issue in Polish politics. It argues that although the European issue certainly assumed a somewhat higher profile in the October 2000 Presidential campaign than in any previous Polish elections, it did not really feature as a major issue. Although there were clear differences of approach and nuance, the campaign did not produce a significant pro-versus anti-EU cleavage among the main candidates. Some of the minor candidates who were more openly anti-EU and did make it a major focus of their campaign received a derisory share of the vote. Although the EU has become a more salient issue, it is unlikely to provide the basis for

realignment in the Polish party system for the foreseeable future.

Further OERN working papers dealing with Hungary, Slovakia, Germany and Scandinavia are all in the pipeline.

Interested?

Of course you are. To find out more about OERN or to keep up to date with its activities then check our website at www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI/areas/OpposingEurope.html. If you would like to join the network then please send your name, institutional affiliation and research interests to either Paul (p.a.taggart@sussex.ac.uk) or Aleks (a.a.szczepiak@sussex.ac.uk).

'Opposing Europe' in Madison

**The European Community Studies
Association Biennial Conference,
Madison, May 31- June 2, 2001**

Paul Taggart

The European Community Studies Association conference in Madison, Wisconsin this year acted as the second stop for the Opposing Europe Research Network (OERN) roadshow as it hosted two panels. Bringing together participants from Europe and the US, the panels dealt with comparative pieces and case studies. The conference offered a great opportunity to extend both the range of cases and the conceptual discussions started at the three OERN panels at this year's Political Science Association conference at Manchester. It also gave the group a chance to use the 'net' in networking.

The first panel entitled 'Mapping Party-Based Euroscepticism in EU Member and Applicant States' was designed to house the broader comparative papers and both the range of cases and the conceptual discussions started at the three OERN panels at this year's Political Science Association conference at Manchester.

Kicking off, Simon Hix (LSE & Stanford University) presented a paper co-authored with Matthew Gabel (University of Kentucky) 'Defining the EU Political Space - an Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999.' Using confirmatory factor analysis and the techniques of the ECPR Party Manifestos Project, Hix and Gabel tested the manifestos of the four main European Parliament party groupings (conservative, liberals, social democratic and green) to see how many dimensions there were to the political space and how these dimensions are constructed. They specifically contrasted four models: (1) the national sovereignty model where integration is seen as more or less desirable; (2) the Tsebelis-Garret model where left-right divisions are tempered by policy area leading to a left (market regulation) vs. right (market liberalisation) axis; (3) the 'Hix-model' which posits a two-dimensional model with left and right dimension being supplemented by a more or less integration dimension; and (4) the Hooghe-Marks model of regulated capitalism vs. neoliberalism. They find most support for the Hooghe-Marks model. They also chart the changing positions of the party groups over time which lend support to the distinct identities of the groups.

The second paper by Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks and Carole Wilson (University of North Carolina, Chapel

Hill) also addressed the space of competition between national political parties in EU member-states and made use of expert survey data. The argument was broadly that both party ideologies and the European issue need to be disaggregated into distinct elements. They posited that there is a distinction between the Green/Alternative/Libertarian (or 'GAL') pole and the Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalism (or 'TAN') pole for the ideologies of parties. For the European issue, they argued that the elements of regulated capitalism or market-making provoke some very different reactions from parties. Charting parties' positions from an expert survey they found that the left-right distinction is not unproblematic in predicting support for the EU but they found evidence that the left-right dimension structures party positions on policies at the core of European regulated capitalism. They found that the association between GAL/TAN and EU support is strongest at the TAN pole but that, at the GAL pole, there was an association between GAL position and distinct elements of European integration.

Nick Sitter's (Norwegian School of Management) paper 'Opposing the Centre: Euro-Scepticism and Territorial Cleavages in European Party Systems' made the argument that the dynamics of government-opposition competition has a crucial structuring effect on patterns of Euroscepticism. Differentiating between three cleavage patterns, the politics of opposition, territorial divisions and the familiar left-right divide combined with cases from across Europe, Sitter argued for the importance of the role of opposition, and its different dimensions for accounting for party-based Euroscepticism. Sitter concluded that

the territorial dimension provided a substantial base for the development of party based Euroscepticism, but, like Hooghe et al, ended with the suggestion that the EU should be seen as bundling up a number of different stances related to ideology and different interests.

Paul Taggart (Georgetown University & SEI) presented the final paper on the first panel, co-authored with Aleks Szczerbiak (SEI) 'Party Politics, Political Support and Europe: Mapping Euroscepticism in the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe'. The paper looked at five different types of political support in the Central and Eastern candidate states and attempted to gauge the strength of the relationship between political support for the political system and electoral support for soft and hard Euroscepticism in the states. It also evaluated how far the party system affected support levels for Eurosceptic parties and used a differentiation between bi-polar and multi-polar systems. The findings suggested that the lowest levels of political support (i.e. those relating to support for politicians and political institutions) appeared to have the strongest relationship to support levels for party-based Euroscepticism whereas the more abstract levels of support (such as support for democratic norms) appeared to be less strongly related. With respect to the party system the conclusions were that multi-polar systems with governing parties expressing (soft) Euroscepticism will also give rise to (non-governmental) parties in their party systems expressing hard Euroscepticism, but it is not the case that bi-polar party systems are more likely to give rise to governmental parties expressing Euroscepticism.

At the second panel 'Comparative Case Studies of Party-Based Euroscepticism' there was a focus on four different cases of party-based Euroscepticism that covered local, national and European levels. Each paper presented one of the less 'usual' cases. With the German case we had an example of a country where most of us expect very little party-based Euroscepticism. With the European Parliament we have an institution that we might expect to be entirely free of Eurosceptics because of its role as an EU institution. Finally, the local elites - a case that simply has not been examined elsewhere but which provides important clues about the differences between national and sub-national party systems.

Starting at the local level the paper Claire Gordon (LSE) presented a paper co-authored with Jim Hughes and Gwendolyn Sasse (LSE) 'Euroscepticism or Pragmatism in Eastern Europe: The Regional Dimension' which offered data gathered as part of the ESRC 'One Europe or Several?' - project as the result of surveys conducted in Slovenia, Estonia and Romania. Focusing on sub-national elites their research showed a regional gap in terms of perceptions of local elites about the EU and its relevance for the local level. In general, sub-national elites in these countries appeared to be indifferent and uninformed about the EU. They suggested that this means there is an 'incipient Euroscepticism' at local levels with elites engaging in non-compliance or even hidden resistance to EU-transposed directives. They also showed that the local party affiliations of Eurosceptics are not necessarily in line with the positions of the national parties and therefore brought out the importance at looking at party systems at a sub-national level.

The second paper by Giacomo Benedetto (LSE) 'Scepticism and its Antithesis: the Case of Eurosceptics in the European Parliament' examined how the representatives of Eurosceptic parties have fared in the European Parliament. Drawing on interview data and on survey data, Benedetto demonstrated that there is significant potential representation of Eurosceptics from a range of parties and countries. He argued that there is, in practice, a differentiation between those that have become institutionalised in the EP and those that have remained anti-system in orientation. He then provided an account of the politics of coalition and group formation and voting patterns among Eurosceptics and concluded by suggesting that the difficulties of cohering an otherwise ideologically heterogeneous group institutionally and the failure to become institutionalised within the EP has fundamentally limited the voice of Eurosceptics within the EP and that the Parliament remains a difficult arena for Euroscepticism at the European level.

Charles Lees' (University of Sussex) paper 'Waiting for a Voice - the Political Opportunity Structure of Opposition to European Integration in Germany' started from the assumption that Germany is the case where most of us would expect to find very little Euroscepticism. The paper mapped out not only some of the manifestations of Euroscepticism in the German party system, but also constructed a framework (that could be used in different settings and for different issues) that focused on the institutional context to explain the different levels of mobilisation around Euroscepticism. Using a distinction between 'demos-shaping' and 'demos-constraining' contexts, Lees used the German case to demonstrate that federalism,

proportional representation and patterns of coalition government added up to a demos-constraining pattern that meant that only moderate soft Euroscepticism could have any real impact in the German party system.

Catherine Fieschi (Aston University) served as panel chair and discussant for the first panel and Mark Franklin (Trinity College) did exactly the same for the second. The panels were well attended and generated discussions that crossed between the panels. Overall, three themes emerged from the panels. The first related to how far (and how) the left-right differentiation could be used to map Euroscepticism. The second theme was about the role of party positions and Euroscepticism and how far peripheral positions in the party system and oppositionalism could or could not account for party-based Euroscepticism. The third theme, a spin-off from the second panel, was that the more unusual cases of party-based Euroscepticism demonstrated potential for its growth but also offered clues as to where there might be significant institutional constraints to its development. These themes were heavily discussed during an informal network drink after the panels but no conclusions are remembered.

It was particularly encouraging to hear from conference participants that the two panels had cohered so well and that the panels attracted such attention. They were certainly well attended and the issue of nature and scale of Euroscepticism was not confined to the OERN panels as it came up in many of the other panels during the conference. Next stop, San Francisco.

For further details, please see - <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI/areas/OpposingEurope.html>

‘Opposing Europe’ In San Francisco

**American Political Studies
Association Annual Conference, 30
August-2 September, San Francisco**

Aleks Szczerbiak

The Opposing Europe Research Network roadshow moved on to San Francisco at the end of August for a panel at the American Political Science Association’s Annual Conference. The panel brought together two member-state case studies with contrasting levels of Euroscepticism (Germany and Britain) with a comparative overview of the nature of party-based Euroscepticism in all the current EU member and applicant states.

In the first paper on ‘Crossing Europe: Patterns of Party-Based Euroscepticism in EU Member and Applicant States’, Paul Taggart (Georgetown University and SEI) and Aleks Szczerbiak (SEI) presented results of research in twenty-five countries. After offering a conceptualisation based on the idea of ‘Hard’ and ‘Soft’ Euroscepticism, the paper mapped the incidence of parties expressing both varieties in both EU member states and the candidate states of central and Eastern Europe. Using this data, comparisons were made between the member and candidate states as well as across the range of states. The key findings were that patterns of Euroscepticism in the party systems of member and candidate states are remarkably similar and that support for Eurosceptical parties is an established component of European politics across Europe. The paper also demonstrated that there is a significant misfit between popular levels of

Euroscepticism and support for parties expressing Euroscepticism. This means that it is necessary to include parties in any evaluation of the impact of Euroscepticism in European integration. The paper concluded with an extended discussion of a possible research agenda for the future study of party-based Euroscepticism.

The second paper by Mark Aspinwall (University of Durham) was on 'Ideology, Government Majority and Support for EU Monetary Integration in Britain.' Aspinwall's paper challenged dominant theories of preference formation, suggesting an alternative explanation for British preferences on European monetary integration focussing on governmental majority. Empirical evidence was presented on both UK economic behaviour and the views of domestic economic interests, as well as government majority. The paper also analysed first and second-hand accounts of the main players involved in three key cases: the decision not to join the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1978, the decision to join the ERM in 1990, and the decision to opt out of stage 3 of Economic and Monetary Union.

Finally, in his paper on 'Dark matter: institutional constraints and the failure of party-based Euroscepticism in Germany', Charles Lees (University of Sussex) developed the ideas set out in his earlier ECSA paper on the distinction between 'polis constraining' and 'polis shaping' institutional

contexts. He argued that the nature of the institutional setting in the Federal Republic of Germany did not provide a fruitful "hunting ground" for party-based Euroscepticism and that the mobilisation of the (quite significant) popular unease about aspects of European integration was an unattractive option for rational acting political agents.

An excellent discussion followed introduced by Gerard Grunberg (CNRS). In a wide ranging set of comments, Grunberg particularly focused on the importance of teasing out the salience of the European issue and shifts in party attitudes particularly when Eurosceptical parties moved from opposition to government and vice versa. He also suggested the possibility of expanding the Taggart/Szczerbiak conceptual framework to examine the domestic politics of European integration more broadly by encompassing analysis of 'Hard' and 'Soft' pro-European currents.

If you would like a copy of one of the individual papers then you can either download them from the APSA website (www.apsanet.org) or contact one of the conveners who will forward your request to the individual authors.



The Researcher, His Project and the Book Announcement

Panos Hatziprokopiou, SEI

Panos Hatziprokopiou is a 2nd year Dphil student at SEI. His thesis title is "Globalization and contemporary immigration to Southern European cities: social exclusion and incorporation of immigrants in Thessalonik: (a) to examine social developments and changes related to recent immigration and to the process of inclusion/exclusion of the immigrants, in a Greek urban centre; (b) to compare the experience of Thessaloniki with related findings for other Southern European cities, in order to link the Greek case of migration with broader developments in the context of globalization.

Panos' first year was spent between Sussex and Greece and involved focussing the research, posing the research questions and designing the plan for the fieldwork. Before coming to Sussex, Panos had worked for the first of the two research projects described below. His reviews on specific topics of the related literature were finally incorporated into the book.

The book is divided in two major parts, which have been based respectively on two research projects. The first one, "The role of immigrants from Central and Eastern European countries in the economy of Thessaloniki: the case of Albanian immigrants" was carried out by Professor Lois Labrianidis (Department of Economics, University of Macedonia, Greece), Professor Antigone Lyberaki (Department of Economic and Regional Development, Panteion University, Greece) and

Panos Hatziprokopiou. The second project, "Statistical data of Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki", was carried out by Professor Lois Labrianidis and Brikena Brahim (DPhil candidate, Department of Economics, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece). Both the projects have been financed by the Region of Central Macedonia, as part of the INTEMIGRA project.

The first part of the book deals with the theoretical aspects of contemporary immigration to Greece. It is a synthesis of different theories from the fields of economics, sociology geography and politics, criticized and elaborated under the perspective developed by the authors. The main areas of focus are the following:

- The relation between globalization and immigration.
- The economic effects of immigration on the host country.
- Southern Europe: from emigration to immigration (overview, factors, trends).
- Labor market fragmentation and segmentation, the informal economy and migrant labor.
- Immigration policy in Greece and the EU (history, philosophy, patterns, measures).

The second part introduces the reader to the background of immigration to Greece. It presents empirical findings from a wide survey as well as from existing literature and an analysis on the basis of the structures of the Greek economy and the characteristics of the Greek labour market.

The main contributions of the book are located here.

- Firstly, it presents the empirical findings of the survey (500

questionnaires, containing information about 1297 Albanian immigrants), which was the outcome of the second research project.

- Secondly, it compares the results for Thessaloniki with what is known for other urban or rural areas in Greece (through an overview of the findings of the existing empirical literature).
- Finally, by elaborating the empirical findings in the light of theoretical literature it focuses on the particular character of contemporary immigration to Greece from the Balkans. Two types of mobility, or flows, are taking place simultaneously. On the one hand, immigration from the Balkans into Greece (flows of labour). On the other, investment by Greek enterprises in the Balkan countries (flows of capital). Both of these flows reflect the increased demand for cheap labour force by part of the Greek capital.

Lois Labrianidis and Antigone Lyberaki, in collaboration with Panos Hatziprokopiou and Platon Tinios: "Albanian Immigrants in Thessaloniki", Paratiritis, Thessaloniki: July 2001.



The Italian Job: Regional Development Research in Four Sectors

Bill Haywood

The project comprises a critical evaluation of the debates over the factors contributing to regional economic performance and a comparison of the trajectories of change in regions with different economic structures, systems of local and national governance, and degrees of integration with the European Union.

As such, the project has three main objectives:

- (1) To explore more fully the extent to which European regions have converged in performance and governance of firms and sectors by focusing on both core growth regions and peripheral areas, i.e. by comparing a more dynamic region with a less developed region within each of the four countries;
- (2) To study the link between the corporate and institutional practices that might explain these trends;
- (3) To examine how far "successful" practices in determining regional, sectoral and firm performance are transferable across regions, which are so diverse in their economic and institutional structures.

During June, Mick Dunford and Bill Haywood, together with a colleague from the University of Durham, Ray Hudson, spent ten days carrying out research visits to a number of companies in the North of Italy as part of the Regional Development Project.

The visits included companies in the Piemonte and Lombardia regions. In Turin (FIAT, Breed and Visteon), in Como (Gruppo Ratti), in Lecco (Mariboselli Yarns and Rodacciai), in Milan (EniChem and Henkel) and in Brescia (Lucchini). The industrial sectors covered were Automobiles, Steel, Clothing and Chemicals.

Interviews were conducted with senior personnel from within these enterprises with a view to gaining greater insight into their activities and infrastructures. A considerable amount of valuable information was gathered which helped to supplement earlier interviews carried out by local academics.

These earlier interviews utilised a structured questionnaire developed at SEI, and the questionnaire was used in all four countries in the study, Italy, Slovakia, Poland and England. Clearly each was in the first language of the particular country in question, and in total some 120 such interviews have been carried out in each of these countries.

Following on from the Northern Italian research Mick and Ray then went on to the Puglia and Basilicata regions of Southern Italy where an even greater number of companies and institutions were visited. This included the new FIAT plant at Melfi together with on-site component suppliers, including the Lear Corporation.

Other companies included clothing enterprises, ICA Industria Confenzioni, Icoman Italia, Trecone and Dilpi, all in Martina Franca. Serone Pharma in Modugno and Mobil Plastics in Brindisi, both chemical companies. In addition, two steel companies in Bari, Siderurgica Pugliesi and Acciaierie & Tubicifio Meridionali were visited.

Interviews were also carried out at a number of government, academic and regional development agencies in order to gain a detailed outline of the interactions between these organisations and companies in the region.

A great deal of help in setting up the interviews was provided by the British Consulate General's offices in Milan and Naples, particularly those in the South, and in total some thirty companies and institutions were included during a hectic three week period of research.

The work in Italy was part of the 30 month project which is now entering its final stages, and is due for completion in April next year.



Rives-Manche Economic Observatory

Alexandra Bollard, SEI

With the organisation of three transfrontier seminars, the beginning of the summer was a busy time for the Economic Observatory. The first of these took seven Sussex multi-media companies to an E-Commerce trade exhibition in Rouen resulting in several companies forming useful contacts and collaborative work to commence both between English and French companies and among the English participants. The second, "Secure your Cross-border Contracts" was led by an English and a French lawyer from the

Eurojuris network and aimed to inform companies of the differences between contract law in France and the UK to assist them in their cross-border activities. The third seminar, held in Brighton, saw the participation of around 25 representatives from French institutions that wanted to learn more about the setting up of company incubators and start-ups at the Sussex Innovation Centre and Brighton Media Centre. During the autumn the Economic Observatory will be focussing its activities on the production of two further Economic

Information Bulletins, a thematic study in two volumes and its annual report. It has been decided that the Economic Observatory will be submitting a project proposal under INTERREG III and preparations for this are underway.



Conference Report

Social Theory at Sussex

International Social Theory Consortium's Second Annual Conference, 5-9 July, University of Sussex

William Outhwaite

The International Social Theory Consortium's Second Annual Conference (ISTCSAC) was held on July 5-9, 2001, at the University of Sussex, Brighton, UK. The majority of the 60+ participants were faculty members and/or research students delivering papers on a wide variety of topics. Most were from North America, but some from the UK (including a substantial number from Sussex and Warwick), mainland Europe, Australia and South Africa.

There was no single conference theme, but discussions at the two plenary sessions, strategically placed at the beginning and at the end with two parallel sessions in between, focussed

on general issues in the history, present state and future prospects of social theory. Philosophical and cultural issues were covered, followed by interesting discussions on feminism, multiple modernities and ethnic identities. There was also time set aside to cover individual theorists such as Gilles Deleuze, Zygmunt Bauman, Judith Shklar, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Margaret Archer.

Despite the wide range of topics and perspectives, the conference held together well, and there was a clear sense that participants wanted to carry forward what had been begun at St Petersburg and Kentucky.

Details of the programme, with links to the consortium site www.socialtheory.org are on <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SPT/conferences/st2001/index.html>

'In Brief'

Ivan Manokha went to the 4th Pan-European International Relations Conference organised by the guys and girls at the ECPR and hosted by the University of Kent but more importantly he presented a paper called "The Discourse of Human Rights and Global Capitalism: A Dialectical Relationship". The conference took place between 6 - 8 of September.

Lucia Quaglia attended the Essex Summer School on Social Network Analysis, University of Essex, 7-21 July. Between 3-5 September she attended the UACES Annual Conference at University of Bristol where she presented the paper "Economic rationalism in Italy: a country changing its mind?" on an SEI panel. A few revisions later she took the autostrada and her paper to the University of Siena and the Annual Conference of the Italian Political Studies Association, 13-15 September, where the paper was presented again but in Italian.

Rives-Manche Economic Observatory:

Economic Information Bulletin 9:
Recruitment

Aleks Szczerbiak presented a paper on 'The politics of lustration in post-communist Poland' at the 'West Coast Seminars on Economic and Social Change in Russia and Eastern Europe' at Glasgow Caledonian University, May 3rd.

Then he was southward bound and hit the Cambridge University Centre of International Studies and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 14 June where he presented a paper on "The European issue in Polish politics" at a seminar on "Current and future issues in European integration: public opinion and EU enlargement".

No time for refreshments since it was off to the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, San Francisco (see report p.12) with Paul Taggart between 29 August - 2 September where they organised a panel for the Opposing Europe network and presented a paper on "Crossing Europe: patterns of contemporary party-based Euroscepticism in EU member states and the candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe".

A short trip to the European Consortium for Political Research Annual Conference at the University of Kent followed between 6 - 8 September where Aleks presented a paper on "Cartelisation in Post-communist Politics? State Party Funding in Post-1989 Poland".

Finally, on 12 September he gave a briefing to next year's Polish DICES students and attended a reception organised by the British Council and the British Embassy in Warsaw.

In September **Adrian Treacher** presented a paper "Understanding the exception in French Foreign and Security Policy" at the annual ASMCF conference, University of Portsmouth.

Annika Bergman was invited to give a talk at University of Keele in May 2001. The title of the paper was: "Sweden and EU the Presidency". Furthermore, she presented a jointly written paper with Sussi Lindstrom, Manchester Metropolitan University, at the 31st Annual UACES Conference held in Bristol 3-5 September. The title of the paper was: "Managing Security in the Baltic and the Mediterranean: Sweden's policy towards the EU's Mediterranean and Baltic Initiatives".

Przemek Kowalski attended the "EU Enlargement and Competitiveness" conference organised by the Robert Schuman Centre of European University Institute in Florence 3-8 September where he gave a presentation on "The choice of exchange rate regime and competitiveness in the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe".

The 'One Europe Or Several?' Programme Working Papers have recently been added to the **European Research Papers Archive (ERPA)** network giving greater access to these documents for those wanting to consult them on-line. Previously available individually on the 'One Europe Or Several?' Programme web site (<http://www.one-europe.ac.uk>), the working papers can now be accessed via the search engine of the ERPA network making it far easier to pinpoint the relevant information. The 'One Europe Or Several?' Programme which had been under the direction of Professor Hellen Wallace since

January 1998 was taken over in September by the SEI based team of Professor Jim Rollo, Professor Jörg Monar and Dr. Aleks Szczerbiak. The working papers series (with a current total of 34 papers) is now added to the ERPA network containing over 400 on-line working papers from six other institutions in the field of European integration research. The common access point and search engine for the ERPA network is to be found at: <http://eiop.or.at/erpa/>

The other institutions contributing to the ERPA network are:

- **Robert Schuman Centre and Academy of European Law at the European University Institute**, Florence, (Online publications on European research)
- **Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIfG)**, Cologne, (MPIfG Discussion Papers & MPIfG Working Papers)
- **Harvard Law School**, (Jean Monnet Working Papers)
- **ECSA-Austria**, (European Integration online Papers (EIoP))
- **Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State (ARENA)**, Oslo, (Working papers)
- **Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES)**, (Working Papers)



SEI Publications

Alex Colas will publish a piece called 'International Civil Society: Social Movements in World Politics' which will be out with Polity in the autumn. His contribution will be the fifth chapter in the book entitled '*Global Governance, Cosmopolitan Democracy and the End of Sovereignty?*' Curious readers have been advised to keep a close eye on www.theglobalsite.ac.uk where the chapter can be found.

William Outhwaite has rightly posed the question 'What is European Culture?' published in (Ed.) G. Széll & W. Ehlert, *New Democracies and Old Societies in Europe* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 92-101.

Aleks Szczerbiak has published not one but ten pieces since the last issue:

"The Political Outlook and the European Issue", in Helen Wallace and Alan Mayhew, eds. *Poland: A Partnership Profile*, ESRC 'One Europe or Several?' Programme Policy Paper No 4, April 2001.

"The 'Professionalisation' of Party Campaigning in Post-Communist Poland", in Paul G. Lewis, ed. *Party Development and Democratic Change in Post-Communist Europe*, Frank Cass, 2001

(with Paul Taggart) "Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", SEI Working Paper No 46/Opposing Europe Research

Network Working Paper No 2, May 2001 (see report p.7)

"Europe as a Realigning Issue in Polish Politics? Evidence from the October 2000 Presidential Election," SEI Working Paper No 48/Opposing Europe Research Network Working Paper No 3, June 2001 (see report p.7)

"Party Structure and Organisation in Post-Communist Poland," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol 17 No 2, June 2001, pp.94-130.

"Polish Politics in the New Millennium," in George Blazycza and Ryszard Rapacki, eds. *Poland into the New Millennium*, Edward Elgar, forthcoming, 2001.

"Polish Parties and the Media: the Politics of Public Broadcasting in Post-Communist Poland", *Studia Politologiczne*, forthcoming, 2001.

Poles Together? The Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland, Central European University Press, forthcoming, 2001.

"Cartelisation in Post-communist Politics? State Party Funding in Post-1989 Poland", *Perspectives in European Politics and Society*, forthcoming, 2001.

"Explaining Kwasniewski's Landslide: The October 2000 Polish Presidential Election", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, forthcoming, 2001.

Adrian Treacher published “Europe as a Power Multiplier for French Security Policy: Strategic Consistency, Tactical Adaptation”, *European Security*, vol.10, no.1, Spring 2001 and “The Political Dimension: Summary and Conclusions”, in *Security At The Faultline: Security In Central and Southeastern Europe*, edited by Samuel Grier, Marjan Malesic & Dieter Ose, NATO Defense College Seminar Report Series, no.11, 2001.

He has also done a book review of Laurent Hottiaux & Joanna Liponska-

Laberou, *La Politique Européenne de Défense*, L'Harmatton, Paris, 2000, in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, forthcoming.



Brussels Trip Coverage

Making friends in high places: Doing Brussels with MACES

Hannah Bullock

In June we embarked on a pilgrimage to Brussels, the place we'd learnt so much about over the last year. The EU quarter, with its shiny tower blocks hemmed by fume-filled roads and populated with brief-cased bureaucrats seemed, at first, to live up to the rather bleak image of the organisation developed in many of its member-states. But MACES was given the chance to penetrate beyond these glass facades and to speak to the individuals who make the complex world of Co-decision and Combined Joint Task Forces go round.

We were welcomed as VIPs into the Parliament's airy building - designed to sell Europe to the people - where we discussed fresh developments in EU politics and their implications for the 'democratic deficit'. Within the high

security NATO headquarters, on the other hand, uniformed men fed us well-rehearsed 'Yes Sir!' answers to challenging questions on their controversial policies. Many of our hosts seated us around conference tables and treated us to highly sophisticated power point presentations and glossy brochures. But a memorable talk was given by a passionate lawyer who simply scribbled a mass of ingenious multicoloured diagrams to encourage us to visualise the EU in a new way - as 'a community of law'.



Photographed amongst the international flags or feigning important speeches before microphones, we the hopeful MACES students took a small power trip in Brussels, secretly wondering if, one day, we'd be doing this for real. For the moment, however, we have all taken a bit of the EU home with us on the key rings, pens and mugs branded with the famous blue and gold-starred flag.

Andreas Kettis (Cyprus)

Nicole Lungaro-Misfud (Malta)

Shinya Sugizaki (Japan)

It is quite difficult to put down on paper all the experiences we had in Brussels during SEI's glorious trip to Belgium between 17 - 23 June 2001. Frankly, few of us could imagine how smoothly our days would pass in Europe's capital. Due to the excellent organization skills and experience of SEI's Viga Nicholson, the MACES trip to Brussels last June was not only a huge success but will also be a trip that everyone of us will remember way beyond our 30th birthday.

Thus, how is it possible to forget that in a two-hour lecture in one of the Commission's buildings we comprehensively understood more about EC Law than all the years we spent at our home countries universities and in England? Perhaps that could be a possible thesis topic for future MACES students?

Brussels is probably not the ideal holiday place for the Euroscptic since everywhere one can see EU flags and other EU related souvenir shops. On the other hand it provides an excellent opportunity to improve your knowledge about beer. In true

European spirit, there was a wide selection of not only EU produced beverages but curious MACES students could also taste some of application countries' beers. Of course everyone knows how 'sensitive' British people are when it comes to beer. In any case we have to admit that although we come from Southern Europe where our 'drinking habits' focus more on wine, the KWAK beer is unforgettable not only for its nice taste but for its special chemistry-tube like glass. And a small detail on beer drinking - Adrian Treacher didn't try too hard to prove that he was a real Englishman. Actually he faced no fierce competition although Jim Rollo took his chances at some point.

After the lectures, we went out together in the city of Brussels more or less every night. In Brussels - not the biggest of cities - we frequently managed to run into the other the other MACES while strolling around after dinner. We really enjoyed ourselves, having many nice conversations which we could hardly have during term time when we are pressured with academic work. The atmosphere in Brussels gave us a great opportunity to establish a much greater friendship. Soaked in the truly European mood of the capital of Europe and after the brilliant EU related lectures, we - the MACES - truly became one.

But let us stay a little more on drinking in Brussels. We will never forget Shinya, our good Japanese friend and classmate coming back to the youth hostel every night after a long drinking session at Brussels' beautiful pubs. It is really very difficult to realize when a Japanese is drunk or not. Consequently, every night Shinya had to pass the so called Euro-alcohol test. Under strict supervision, he had to come up with the names of all the

former Commission's Presidents. We have to be fair to Shinya and admit that in all cases he passed the tests with first class honours.

In addition to that, the most important aspect of our trip to Brussels was dedicated to visits at the EU Institutions such as the European Parliament, the Commission and the Council of Minister. It was beyond any doubt a quite useful and constructive experience for any student of European

Studies. We just hope that future MACES will have the same opportunity as we did to enjoy a similar trip to Brussels.



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